Montaigne, Sir Ralph Bankes and other English Readers of the *Essais**

John O'Brien

The study of Montaigne in early-modern England has taken a particular turn in recent years. New strains of reading have examined the cultural-institutional context in which Montaigne in Florio's translation evolved,[1] or have scrutinised early-modern English readers' notes written in the margins of surviving copies of the *Essayes*,[2] or have used Montaigne as an example (and counter-example) in the history of early-modern English libraries.[3] Responding, sometimes explicitly, to Darnton's call that we study the 'communications circuit' of texts,[4] these trends situate Florio's translation within material culture and cultural history, which take a holistic view of their topic to include patronage, printing, readers and audiences, circumstances of composition and reception, bookselling and libraries, and traditions of collecting and display. Florio's Montaigne has thus benefited from the same attention that has been paid by Sharpe to Sir William Drake, by Sherman to Sir Julius Caesar, and by Schurink to Blount's annotations on Sidney.[5] By contrast, no-one has undertaken a comparable exercise for the French text of the *Essais* in seventeenth-century England.[6] The history of reading the French Montaigne has been confined to the study of a few figures such as Francis Bacon, Gabriel Harvey and John Davies, the argument being that Florio's translation effectively put an end to the need to read the essayist in his native tongue.[7] The purpose of this article is to begin to nuance this claim by examining a hitherto unknown account of Montaigne's *Essais*, in the autograph hand of Sir Ralph Bankes (1631?-77) of Kingston Lacy in Dorset. This account will be compared and contrasted with two others, one by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger (*c.* 1579-1614) and the other by John Locke (1632-1704), who thematically extend the concerns of Bankes' description and in so doing allow us to frame not only some characteristically English reactions to the French writer, but also the intellectual principles according to which their readings take place. While the prefaces by Florio

and Cotton to their translations of Montaigne would equally permit such comparisons, they have been more heavily studied than the group selected here, which has the added advantage of illustrating a particular social class and outlook: the school for gentlemen in the first place and the taste for philosophy in the second.

Some preliminary contextualisation is appropriate. Sir Ralph's account of Montaigne takes place within a personal and family tradition of book collecting and library building. He belonged to a family of assiduous book collectors. His parents, Sir John (1589-1644) and Lady Mary (1598-1661), began the library at the original family seat of Corfe Castle. Their children, Ralph and his elder brother, John (1626-56), were notable travellers and the library bears the fruits of their visits to Europe. John Bankes was certainly in France and Italy in the period 1646-48 and he signed the books he bought en route; Ralph seems to have accompanied him, signing one of his books when he purchased it in Rouen in 1648.[8] Together with the purchases made by Lady Mary after the death of their father in 1644, the Bankes brothers' collection effectively re-founded the family library when Kingston Lacy (originally called Kingston Hall) was chosen in 1663 as the site for the new house following the destruction of Corfe Castle by Parliamentary troops in 1646.[9] The later date of the *Essais* suggests that, like his mother,[10] Ralph continued actively to acquire French books during the Interregnum, at a time when he was first a member of Gray's Inn, in 1656, and then in 1659, MP for Corfe Castle during The Third Protectorate Parliament; he went on to represent this constituency after the Restoration until his death.[11] The likelihood is that Ralph bought his Montaigne in London. He read the volume almost at once, finishing it during the turbulent days of the Restored Rump Parliament of 1659.

Figure 1 shows Sir Ralph's account. It is written on the rear flyleaf of his copy of the 1657 folio edition of the *Essais* which is preserved in the library at Kingston Lacy in Dorset along with a number of other early modern French books.[12] The volume itself has a plain seventeenth-

century calf binding, whose unremarkable, functional nature, similar to a number among the Kingston Lacy French works, suggests that the book was meant for reading rather than for the purposes of luxurious display. Apart from Sir Ralph's characterisation of Montaigne, there are no other safely ascribable annotations or marginalia in the volume.[13] His account runs as follows:

Account of the Booke
And Author
Mich. De Montaigne

He was A Man of A profound Judgement and quicke Apprehention, A greate Humorist, and mutch wedded to his owne wayes & fancies. His Wrightings are full of Many Excellent Quotations,[14] And Noe lesse abound with Rarities of his owne growth, his Language is very Apt & significant, (and for the time hee wrote) Elegant, Hee takes A greate freedome in Expressing himselfe, and *[15]gives every thing itts owne Name without disguise, disaproving the Modesty of our Age in Bookes and discourse w^{ch} hee calls (Mauvaise Honte) Hee gives A Particular and Minute account of his Mind And Body and decends to Particular and Private actions, Hee was A greate Vser of Woemen and[16] temperate in all other things, A greate Ennemy to Physick and Physitians, showing good reason for itt, and Enioyed his health wthout the Helpe of Either. There was A greate Evenesse and Constancy in his Mind and actions and hee lived A most Happy and pleasant life being alwayes pleased and satisfied wth himselfe, Acheve de lire ce livre[17] att Shipton the 12th of August 1659.

Sir Ralph Bankes is clearly more than a casual reader of Montaigne. In his very opening words, he identifies prominent characteristics of the essayist: his prized faculty of judgement, his apprehension, and his whims and fancies; all are central to his self-portraiture.[18] Indeed, he underlines this last feature of Montaigne's, describing him as 'A greate Humorist', someone, that is, who either studies his humours, as is found, for example, in 'De l'experience', or else is

subject to the humours, wedded to his 'fancies', as the next part of the sentence puts it. Consistent with his intention of discussing the work as well as the man, Bankes then turns to the 'Wrightings', concentrating on some linguistic aspects of Montaigne's work: his style, his use of quotations, and 'Rarities of his owne growth', a probable allusion to Montaigne's stylistic innovations and idiosyncrasies which the essayist himself described at one point as 'du creu de Gascoingne' (literally, 'of the growth of Gascony').[19] In her long preface to the *Essais*, which was reprinted in the 1657 edition, Gournay, Montaigne's editor and adopted daughter, also defended the writer's style by saying he enriched any borrowings with enhancements 'de son cru' ('of his growth').[20] Another of these changes in taste is highlighted when Sir Ralph mentions that the essayist quotes from 'none of those wee call greate schollars' and observes that his language is 'very Apt and significant, (and for the time he wrote) Elegant'. Once again, he may well have seen Gournay's reference to the grace and elegance of the *Essais*; these are features some other early commentators also highlight.[21]

In addition to the general assessment he makes of his author and his work, Sir Ralph Bankes makes specific reference to the *Essais* and on two occasions cites the French. The first of these has already been noted in passing. It is a Latin quotation from chapter 5 of book 3, 'Sur des vers de Virgile', and its context is as follows:

> Je sçay bien que fort peu de gens rechigneront à la licence de mes escrits, qui n'ayent plus à rechigner à la licence de leur pensée. Je me conforme bien à leur courage, mais j'offence leurs yeux. C'est une humeur bien ordonnée de pinser les escrits de Platon et couler ses negotiations pretendues avec Phedon, Dion, Stella, Archeanassa. *Non pudeat dicere quod non pudeat sentire.* [...]. Au reste, je me suis ordonné d'oser dire tout ce que j'ose faire [...].[22]

> [I know that few of those who will glower at the unrestrained freedom of my writings do not have greater cause to glower at the unrestrained freedom of their thoughts. I am certainly in harmony with their sentiments: it is their eyes I offend! What a well-ordered mind that is which can gloss over the writings of Plato burying all knowledge of his alleged affairs with Phaedo, Dion, Stella and Archeanassa! *Non pudeat dicere quod non pudeat sentire.* ('Let us not be ashamed to say what we are not ashamed to think'). ... I have moreover bidden myself to dare to write whatever I dare to do.][23]

The embedded quotation from Cicero's *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (II, 77) reinforces Montaigne's comments on his licence and openness, which he contrasts with the hypocrisy of others who think licentiously but do not give voice to their thoughts. Bankes has clearly understood this point. Echoing comments made by French contemporaries about the essayist's freedom of expression or the defence of Montaigne's 'liberté d'anatomiser l'Amour' ('freedom in anatomising love') to be found in Gournay's preface,[24] his observation 'Hee takes A greate freedome in Expressing himselfe, and gives every thing itts owne Name without disguise' applies particularly well to 'Sur des vers de Virgile'. He then follows up this idea in the remainder of the sentence with a further quotation, this time from chapter 10 of the third book, 'De mesnager sa volonté': 'disaproving the Modesty of our Age in Bookes and discourse w^{ch} hee calls (Mauvaise Honte)'. Montaigne's French runs as follows:

> Comme Plutarque dict que ceux qui par le vice de la mauvaise honte sont mols et faciles à accorder, quoy qu'on leur demande, sont faciles apres à faillir de parole et à se desdire: pareillement qui entre legerement en querelle est subject d'en sortir aussi legerement. ... C'est aux despens de nostre franchise et de l'honneur de nostre courage que nous desadvouons nostre pensée ...[25]

> [Plutarch says that those who suffer from excessive diffidence readily and easily agree to anything but also readily break their word and go back on what they have said; so, similarly, anyone who enters lightly upon a quarrel is liable to be equally light in getting out of it. ... We disavow our thoughts at the expense of our frankness and our reputation for courage ...][26]

These words about 'mauvaise honte' come from the French translation made by Amyot of one of Plutarch's *Moralia*, *Peri dysopias*.[27] Paraphrasing and abbreviating his source, Montaigne applies them more generally to holding to one's opinion as the expression of one's true self; as he puts it in a subsequent sentence, 'Il ne faut pas regarder si vostre action ou vostre parole peut avoir autre interpretation; c'est vostre vraie et sincere interpretation qu'il faut meshuy maintenir, quoy qu'il vous couste. On parle à vostre vertu et à vostre conscience; ce ne sont pas parties à mettre en masque' ('You ought not to be considering whether your gesture or words may be given a different meaning: from now on it is your true and honest meaning that you should be seeking to defend, whatever the cost. At stake are your morality and your honour: those are not qualities for you to protect behind a mask').[28] In a move worthy of his author – his age becomes 'our Age' – Bankes uses 'mauvaise honte' as the criterion to judge the excessive modesty of his own times as found, he specifies, in books and discourse: too much moralism, too much restraint, too much diffidence. In context, although Bankes does not expressly say so, this point seems connected with the essayist's reflections on the body and sexuality in chapters such as 'Sur des vers de Virgile', from which Sir Ralph has just quoted and to which his following remarks would be especially pertinent: 'Hee gives A Particular and Minute account of his Mind And Body and decends to Particular and Private actions'. This is perhaps a reminiscence of Gournay's retort to criticisms that Montaigne 'rapporte en ceste sienne peinture, iusqu'aux moindres particularitez de ses mœurs' ('recounts in this portrait of his even the slightest particularities of his manners').[29] In any case, Bankes is one of the few early modern readers to pick out this most striking aspect of

the *Essais* with this degree of approval and precision. In France, Guez de Balzac comes closest: 'Ce qu'il dit de ses inclinations, de tout le détail de sa privée, est très agréable. Je suis bien aise de cognoistre ceux que j'estime ... Je veux les voir, s'il est possible, dans leurs plus particulières et leurs plus secrètes actions. Il m'a donc fait grand plaisir de me faire son histoire domestique' ('What he says of his inclinations, of all the detail of his private life, is most agreeable. I am delighted to get to know those I value... I wish to see them, if possible, in their most particular and secret actions. He thus gave me great pleasure by his privy account').[30] The near-coincidence of phraseology – 'Particular and Private actions' and 'leurs plus particulières et leurs plus secrètes actions' ('their most particular and secret actions') – hints at the fact that both Bankes and Balzac find an earthiness and a frankness in Montaigne that few other readers in this period seem to have appreciated.

Two further important Montaignian topics, women and medicine, are next evoked. Neither is given a precise reference. That Montaigne may have been a 'Greate Vser of Woemen' is not the most obvious dimension of his writing, although Bankes may have seen the reference to Montaigne's licentiousness in the summary life of the writer contained in his copy of the *Essais*.[31] The essayist himself admits in 'De trois commerces', 'C'est aussi pour moy un doux commerce que celuy des belles et honnestes femmes [...]. Mais c'est un commerce où il se faut tenir un peu sur ses gardes, et notamment ceux en qui le corps peut beaucoup, comme en moy. Je m'y eschauday en mon enfance, et y souffris toutes les rages que les poetes disent advenir à ceux qui s'y laissent aller sans ordre et sans jugement' ("There is for me another delightful kind of converse: that with beautiful and honourable women ... But it is a commerce where we should remain a bit on our guard, especially men like me over whom the body has a lot of power. I was scalded once or twice in my youth and suffered all the ragings which the poets say befall men who inordinately and without judgement let go of themselves in such matters').[32] Speaking of his moustache in the chapter 'Des senteurs', he also confesses, 'Les estroits baisers

de la jeunesse, savoureux, gloutons et gluants s'y colloyent autresfois, et s'y tenoient plusieurs heures apres' ('Those close smacking kisses of my youth, gluey and greedy, would stick to it and remain there for hours afterwards').[33] If 'Vser' has the broader sense of 'companion', Sir Ralph may simply be thinking of Montaigne's circle of female friends as evidenced by the number of chapters dedicated to women in the *Essais*.[34] By contrast, doctors and medicine come in for sharp criticism at several points in Montaigne, notably in chapter 2.37, 'De la ressemblance des enfans aux peres'. This chapter expressly addresses the medical profession in a sceptical vein: 'Que les medecins excusent un peu ma liberté, car, par cette mesme infusion et insinuation fatale, j'ay receu la haine et le mespris de leur doctrine: cette antipathie que j'ay à leur art, m'est hereditaire' ('Doctors will have to pardon my liberty a while, but from that same ejaculation and penetration I was destined to receive my loathing and contempt for their dogmas: my antipathy to their Art is hereditary').[35] These words are a prelude to an all-out attack on medicine and the medical profession: there is no race so ill and so slow in recovering their full fitness as those under the care of doctors; many nations know nothing about doctors and yet live longer than we do; prescriptions and remedies induce nothing more than emptying one's bowels.[36] In counterpoint, Montaigne emphasises his close knowledge of his own bodily health, derived from his self-experience independently of medical help or intervention: 'La santé, je l'ay libre et entiere, sans regle et sans autre discipline que de ma coustume et de mon plaisir. ... Je ne me passionne point d'estre sans medecin, sans apotiquaire et sans secours; dequoy j'en voy la plus part plus affligez que du mal' ('My health is complete and untrammelled, with no rules but my habits, no discipline but my good pleasure. ... I do not get worked up because there is no doctor or no apothecary nearby to come to my aid (something which I can see to be a greater affliction for some people than the illness itself)').[37] Such comments would have prompted Sir Ralph Bankes's deduction that the essayist 'Enioyed his health wthout the Helpe of Either' physic or physicians.

The concluding examples provided by Bankes return from the book to the writer and shed a very particular light on his reactions to his author, for he regards Montaigne as displaying 'A greate Evenesse and Constancy in his Mind and actions' and as leading a happy, contented life. Neither of these features is particularly prominent in the *Essais* as we would read them today. Picking up the earlier description of Montaigne as 'temperate in all other things', constancy introduces a Neo-Stoic colouring which is certainly not absent from the *Essais*, although critics are nowadays guarded about the degree to which they would wish to ascribe consistently Stoic positions to their author. Ullrich Langer puts the matter succinctly: 'Some of Montaigne's early essays took up Stoicism's themes, especially the contemplation of death, but he clearly rejected Stoic insistence on indifference to joy and suffering and the complete denigration of the passions'.[38] Sir Ralph seems to have felt differently about Montaigne. He himself owned a copy of *The Workes of Lucius Annius Seneca* translated by Thomas Lodge and printed by William Stansby (London, 1620), which, in addition, contained synopses by Lipsius, whose *De Constantia* of 1584 was widely influential.[39] From the same year as his reading of Montaigne comes his copy of *Les Œuvres de Seneque le Philosophe* (Paris, 1659), in the translation by Malherbe continued by Du Ryer; a few years after reading the *Essais*, he bought a copy of Du Vair's *The Morall Philosophy of the Stoicks* (London, 1664), Englished by Charles Cotton. Stoicism seems to have been in Sir Ralph's thoughts during this period. Lipsian constancy embodied in evenness of mind and action; temperance of conduct; happiness and satisfaction: all are qualities he finds to admire in his author. While his portrait of Montaigne is not specifically that of the Stoic wise man – there are particular features which do not fit and no attempt to harmonize all the details – the tonality of these lines has a decidedly philosophical flavour. In that respect, Bankes's account resonates with some earlier (but not later) seventeenth-century French assessments of Montaigne. Jean-Charles Florimond de Raemond, the son of Montaigne's friend, Florimond de Raemond, Claude Expilly, Alexandre de Pont-Aymery and Jean-Pierre Camus all emphasise the essayist's Stoicism and Senecism; François Garasse goes further still, styling him

the 'Sénèque françois'.[40] In England too, Montaigne was seen in some quarters as a vehicle for Stoic ideas, as Audrey Chew has reminded us,[41] and in this light it is no surprise that Sir Ralph finds the same characteristics in him.

Alongside this Stoic colouring, we can discern another leitmotif in Bankes's view of Montaigne: freedom. It is a dimension that features prominently under various guises in the *Essais* themselves: stylistic freedom, freedom of thought, freedom not to be beholden to others, freedom to explore one's own 'wayes & fancies'. In seventeenth-century Continental Europe, Montaigne's freedom of expression came in time to be considered more licentious than open and frank, and his *Essais* were placed on the Roman Index of Forbidden Books in 1676 for immorality: 'Sur des vers de Virgile', to which Bankes alludes in his account, contributed to the condemnation.[42] Yet as Bankes sees and implies, such freedom of expression and conduct (if one takes 'great Vser of Woemen' literally) is not incompatible with self-regulation and temperance nor with a Neo-Stoic constancy; he understands the contradictory impulses in Montaigne's thought – both the elasticity of his attitude and the concern for moderation which lies alongside it. Twenty-first century scholarship would agree with him. Indeed, one critic has very recently argued that Montaigne's concept of freedom centres on self-government and self-control, an idea specifically traced back to Seneca and Plutarch.[43] On this view, Montaigne's efforts are directed at owning oneself and keeping one's will free in contradistinction to the subjection and slavery that are brought about by external attachments. The same critic has equally claimed that such a view of freedom is nonetheless perfectly compatible with Montaigne's valuing of negligence and idleness, in that the disengagement such terms imply is an integral component of self-containment and self-husbandry. This ethical view of freedom has been complemented by Richard Scholar's emphasis on the principle of *libertas philosophandi* ('freedom to philosophize') at work in Montaigne, the notion that free thinking is not a libertine activity in the *Essais*, but proof of the mind moving to and fro without constraint and exercising

itself across the range and furthest reaches of the topics it selects for examination.[44] Sir Ralph offers historical confirmation that such views have something of an echo in his own understanding of the French essayist.

The evidence shows that Sir Ralph read Montaigne in French, even though he also owned a copy of the 1632 edition of Florio's Montaigne, which, like a number of other Kingston Lacy books, had originally belonged to his elder brother, John.[45] There is, however, no overlap between Florio's views about Montaigne and those of Ralph Bankes, whose assessment of Montaigne is independent and provides material not only for the history of reading a major foreign author, but also for the histories of education, philosophy, rhetoric, the body, and gender. Not all of those features can be developed here. Nonetheless, it will be instructive to compare his evaluation with two other characterisations of Montaigne, one by Sir William Cornwallis the Younger and the other by John Locke. Their significance lies not in what they tell us about any chronological evolution, but rather in the thematic continuities and differences they present in respect of Bankes's analysis. For in addition to providing comparable seventeenth-century reflections on the French author and constituting further episodes in the early modern English reception of the *Essais*, they offer twin perspectives on three aspects of Bankes's description: the question of rhetoric, the education of a gentleman and the philosopher's perspective on Montaigne.

Like Bankes, Cornwallis was a gentleman and an MP. Published in two parts in 1600-1601, his *Essayes* take us chronologically back but thematically forward. They contain the following tribute to Montaigne in the chapter 12 of the first part, 'Of Censuring':

> For profitable Recreation, that Noble French Knight, the Lord *de Montaigne*, is most excellent, whom though I haue not bene so much beholding to the French as to see in

> his Originall, yet diuers of his peeces I haue seene translated ...; but [t]his Authour speaks nobly, honestly, and wisely, with little method, but with much iudgement: Learned hee was, and often showes it, but with such a happinesse, as his owne following is not disgraced by his owne reading: He speakes freely; and yet wisely; Censures, and determines many things Iudicially, and yet forceth you not to attention with a hem, and a spitting Exordium: In a word, hee has made Morrall Philosophy speake couragiously, and in steede of her gowne, giuen her an Armour; hee hath put Pedanticall Schollerisme out of countenance, and made manifest, that learning mingled with Nobilitie, shines most clearly.[46]

Cornwallis makes it plain that he has not so much studied the French text as examined a translation, possibly (a portion of) Florio's circulating in manuscript prior to publication.[47] Like Bankes, he stresses Montaigne's judgement and freedom of expression; his point about the essayist's learning is in a not dissimilar vein to Bankes's about the nature of Montaigne's quotations. A special characteristic of Cornwallis's account, however, is the series of rhetorical paradoxes which he finds at the heart of the essayist's work. Montaigne's lack of an orderly approach nonetheless displays 'much iudgement'; he is learned, 'but with such a happinesse'; he speaks freely 'and yet wisely' (slightly earlier the essayist is said to speak 'nobly, honestly, and wisely'); he exercises a judge's discrimination 'and yet forceth you not'. In each case, pairs of 'but' or 'and yet' qualify the immediate judgement and turn it into a paradox. All these features define Montaigne's approach as opposed to 'method', a term which Cornwallis specifically mentions and which came in during the sixteenth century to denote, in the rhetorical and pedagogical spheres, 'a short, readie, and orderlie course for the teaching, learning, or doing of a thing' and more generally 'an apt Disposition of Things, or a placing them in their natural Order, so as to be easiest understood or retained'.[48]

Cornwallis reserves no less weighty comments for the essayist's re-shaping of moral philosophy, which he divides into two parts. His first point reverses a standard Renaissance idea. With Montaigne, moral philosophy now lays aside its gown and speaks in armour, with the courage of the soldier. Such a toughening of moral philosophy only enhances the 'learning mingled with Nobilitie' that is a feature of both the man and his work. Warren Boutcher is certainly right to emphasise that Cornwallis's telling phrase 'learning mingled with Nobilitie' also posits 'a certain kind of social relationship between learning, the learned and the nobility'.[49] Yet at the same time – secondly – that learning is specifically recognised as morally and educationally different from what was on offer in pedantic School learning, which is ridiculed by a parody of its oratorical style ('a hem, and a spitting Exordium'): Cornwallis is in sympathy here with the criticisms of the Aristotelian-based academic syllabus of the Scholastics that Montaigne makes in his writings, particularly in respect of logic and dialectic. Moreover, where Bankes highlights the self-portraiture of the *Essais* with Stoic overtones, Cornwallis brings together three strands in Montaigne's work: his distaste for pedantry;[50] his preference for the vigorous style;[51] and the ethical value of his learning, as indispensable to the education and accomplishments of a gentleman. In a complementary perspective, one of Cornwallis's *obiter dicta*, collected elsewhere, likewise makes the *Essais* the source of a wisdom deriving from the author's experience.[52] Once again, the explosiveness of Montaigne's initiative is intuitively grasped – the fact that wisdom arises not from bookishness or the automatic implementation of a philosophy, but from a criterion that subjects all such approaches to a weighing and assessing rooted in experience; a new way to 'censure, and determine many things Iudicially', a demonstration of what Bankes for his part calls Montaigne's 'profound Judgement'. While Cornwallis develops his own nuanced appreciation of the French author's manner of presentation and argument, his Montaigne is more expressly designed for educational use, and gentlemanly education at that, than Bankes's obviously is and his emphasis on Montaigne's re-shaping of moral philosophy, while less pointed and specific than Bankes, is also of more general application.

That philosophical dimension is further represented and expanded by John Locke, who shared with Ralph Bankes membership of the Inns of Court. He was, indeed, Bankes's exact contemporary at Gray's Inn (he entered in December 1656) and, like him, owned copies of Montaigne both in French and in Florio's translation.[53] With the exception of the educational sphere, where his debt to the French author has been widely acknowledged, Locke's interest in Montaigne is not greatly studied. Yet Locke spent three and a half years in France between November 1675 and May 1679 and it was during this period that his *Journal* begins to include references to French works.[54] The first reference to Montaigne occurs during his stay in Montpellier between May 1676 and March 1677, when Locke writes: 'Le bon sens est gay, vif, plein de feu, comme celuy qui paroist dans les Essays de Montaigne et dans le Testament de la Hoquette' ('good sense is gay, lively, full of fire, like that which appears in Montaigne's Essays and La Hoquette's Testament'). As his nineteenth-century editor notes, this quotation from Locke's reading during this period is not his own assessment, but in fact drawn from Bouhours' *Les Entretiens d'Ariste*.[55] Locke adds nothing more this point, but we may note his implicitly positive view of the French essayist. His longer assessment of Montaigne dates from a *Journal* entry on 14 February 1684 when he was in self-imposed political exile in Holland. It runs as follows:

> Montagne, by a gentile kinde of negligence & assurance clothd in a peculiar sort of good language persuades without reason. His essays are a texture of storys sayings sentences & ends of verses wch he soe puts togeather that they have an extraordinary force upon mens minds. he reasons not nor instructs but diverts himself & pleases others, full of pride & vanity.[56]

It may appear that Locke is giving his own opinion here. In fact, as scholars have recognized, it is another quotation or, more exactly, a paraphrase of part of Malebranche's long attack on Montaigne in *De la recherche de la vérité*.[57] Locke owned Malebranche's works[58] and he here picks out some of what Malebranche considered the worst excesses of Montaigne's style. His opening line blends them together, with the parallelism between 'a gentle kind of' and 'a peculiar sort of' introducing the seeming tension between 'negligence' and 'good language' and leading to the paradoxical 'persuades without reason'. The next part of the sentence explains that idea of persuading without reason by selecting the comment by Malebranche that itself pays remarkable attention to the very fabric of the *Essais*. They are, for the French Cartesian mind, 'a texture of storys sayings sentences [i.e. *sententiae*] & ends of verses', the very stuff of negligent composition. Yet it is precisely this maddening and contradictory jumble that produces such a powerful effect on men's minds. Montaigne's French admirers highlight the same characteristic of his style and *dispositio*,[59] whereas Locke understands that Malebranche remains unimpressed, if not scandalised: 'he reasons not,' he says in summary of the Cartesian view, paraphrasing Malebranche's description of Montaigne as a mere entertainer 'full of pride & vanity'. Some other late seventeenth-century French commentators such as Huet, following Pascal's major assault on the essayist, also shared the view that Montaigne was vain, whereas other French writers see him as exposing and ridiculing human vanity.[60] For Malebranche, if the work falters, the man falters; what touches the one, touches the other. Montaigne's self-portrait, for him, amounts to no more than self-preening vainglory, despite the fact that the essayist himself is aware of precisely the risks which his initiative runs and constantly undercuts his own enterprise, posing at one point self-deprecatingly as 'le badin de la farce'.[61] By contrast, as one modern critic, Peter Walmsley, puts it, 'Presumably what intrigues Locke here is this spectacle of the Cartesian mind struggling to comprehend the evident persuasiveness of a highly unsystematic, even irrational mode of discourse'.[62] The same critic underscores Locke's evident liking for Montaigne's approach to essay writing and sees in Locke someone who shared 'if at a lower register' the 'negligence &

assurance' that is ascribed to Montaigne here.[63] Although Locke does not record directly his own reaction to Malebranche's view of Montaigne, it seems a reasonable deduction that he favoured the essayist and did not share the Cartesian outlook. From Cornwallis through to Bankes and then to Locke, such a positive evaluation remained a constant of English seventeenth-century attitudes towards the French essayist; indeed, at the end of that period, Halifax's letter to Charles Cotton similarly highlights the intellectual value of Montaigne's compositional negligence: 'He let his *Mind* have its full *Flight*, and sheweth by a generous kind of *Negligence* that he did not write for Praise, but to give to the World a true Picture of himself and of Mankind'.[64] If French judgements on Montaigne in the seventeenth century tend to move along the trajectory from the art of discourse to the art of reason that Walter Ong saw as the result of method after Ramus,[65] English attitudes seem to remain remarkably consistent, appreciating his 'little method', his 'negligence & assurance', his 'wayes & fancies'. Locke joins Cornwallis and Bankes as a sympathetic reader of the French writer.

Sir Ralph Bankes thus adds a distinctive voice to the evidence we already have of interest in Montaigne in seventeenth-century England. His description is wide-ranging and yet fine-grained, embracing a range of features, idioms and techniques characteristic of the *Essais*. In particular, he pays close attention to the language of the work and, concomitantly, to the author's self-expression: the man is known through his words and what is known about the man is weighed in terms of his opinions as indicative of his judgement and wisdom. Far from a sharp distinction being drawn between the 'I' of the author and the 'I' of the book, the man and the work stand in a consanguineous and reversible relation to each other. Bankes also offers a shrewd appreciation of various elements of Montaigne's self-portrait, maintaining a balance between abstract qualities (judgement, apprehension) and specific instances (doctors, women). No less remarkably, his Montaigne varies between excess and restraint, between freedom of self-expression and great use of women on one hand, and constancy and temperance on the other.

Bankes sketches a remarkable picture of the French essayist as a combination of Stoic constancy and personal freedom, a picture very different from the quarrels over his libertinism and Scepticism which so polarised mid- and late seventeenth-century French readers of the *Essais*.

Undoubtedly, Sir Ralph's account of Montaigne arises in a series of overlapping contexts. He is a member of a book-collecting family which establishes and then re-establishes a handsome library symbolising social status as well as personal tastes. He has a strong interest in foreign literature alongside more local and national concerns. Above all, he belongs to the gentry, a stratum of society which was particularly receptive to the attractions of the *Essais* and their author, as recent research has suggested, confirming from this side of the Channel Camus's characterisation of Montaigne's work as 'le breviaire des gentilshommes' ('the gentlemen's breviary').[66] Cornwallis is a member of the same caste, as is Bullen Reymes (1613-72), a slightly older contemporary of Bankes whose surviving autograph copy of the 1602 Leiden *Essais* is one of a number of French books he owned.[67] They are, in other words, representatives of one prominent group of readers of the French *Essais* in seventeenth-century England; in addition to the gentry, these commonly comprise the clergy, lawyers and physicians. Locke is an unusual recruit to their ranks, although Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-65), philosopher, scientist and gentleman, who owned a copy of the 1635 *Essais* but no Florio, might equally be worthy of investigation.[68] It may be, indeed, that more research into seventeenth-century English libraries will provide additional instances of the philosophically inclined with a similar engagement with Montaigne, whether known directly or mediated through figures such as Charron. A salient characteristic of some members of these groups, as exemplified by Bankes, is that they read the *Essais* in the original French, sometimes alongside Florio, but frequently enough without any reference to or influence from him.[69] As such, they constitute a particular branch of the reception of Montaigne, one whose precise extent requires much greater investigation, but whose tastes and interests help define England's early modern linguists.

University of Durham

* I am grateful to Robert Gray of the National Trust for access to the copy of Montaigne in Kingston Lacy and to Yvonne Lewis, also of the National Trust, for a copy of her article about the library.

[1] See Warren Boutcher, "'Learning Mingled with Nobilitie": Directions for Reading Montaigne's *Essais* in their Institutional Context' in *The Changing Face of Montaigne*, ed. Keith Cameron and Laura Willett (Paris: Champion, 2003), 337-62; *id.,* 'Marginal Commentaries: The Transmission of Montaigne's *Essais* in Shakespeare's England', in *Montaigne et Shakespeare: Vers un nouvel humanisme*, ed. Pierre Kapitaniak (Montpellier: Société Française Shakespeare, 2003), 13-27; *id.*, 'The Origins of Florio's Montaigne: "Of the Institution and Education of Children, to Madame Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford"', in *Montaigne in England*, ed. Philip Ford, *Montaigne Studies* 24 (2012), 7-32.

[2] William Hamlin, 'Florio's Montaigne and the Tyranny of "Custome": Appropriation, Ideology, and Early English Readership of the *Essayes*', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 63/2 (2010), 491-544.

[3] William Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 46-50.

[4] See *The Textuality and Materiality of Reading*, ed. Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink, special number of *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73/3 (2010), 345.

[5] Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Fred Schurink, "'Like a Hand in the Margin of a Book": William Blount's Marginalia and the Politics of Sidney's *Arcadia*', *The Review of English Studies*, new series, 59, no. 238 (2007), 1-24.

[6] A possible exception is likely to be Warren Boutcher's forthcoming *Montaigne's 'Essays'. Enfranchising the Reader-Writer in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[7] For example, Hamlin, 'Florio's Montaigne', 493-94. Hamlin exempts Matthew Gwinne and Alberico Gentili. For an instance of the wider context, see notably Caroline Brown Bourland, 'Gabriel Harvey and the Modern Languages', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 4/1 (1940), 85-106.

[8] See Yvonne Lewis, 'Sir Ralph Bankes (?1631-1677) and the Origins of the Library at Kingston Hall', *Library History* 18 (2002), 215-23 at 218; David Pearson, 'The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century', *The Library*, 7th series, 13 (2012), 379-99 at 393-95, with illustrations of signatures.

[9] Lewis, 217.

[10] Lewis, 218, noting that Lady Mary summarily listed some of her book purchases between 1646 and 1654.

[11] Lewis, 219 and 223, n. 31. There is no *Oxford DNB* entry for Ralph Bankes, but on his career as an MP, see **http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/bankes-ralph-1630-77**, accessed 2 March 2013.

[12] *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (Paris: Bechet and Billaine, 1657), but with the engraved title page of the 1635 edition (Paris: Du Bray and Rocolet). Kingston Lacy shelfmark: M.1.1. This particular variant is unknown to Richard Sayce and David Maskell, *A Descriptive Bibliography of Montaigne's 'Essais', 1580-1700* (London: The Bibliographical Society with the MHRA, 1983), 151, who mention as standard only copies of the 1652 engraved title with the final 2 altered to 7. The Kingston Lacy copy of the *Essais* is unrecorded in Sayce and Maskell.

[13] This copy of Montaigne is also reported to have pencil markings by Sir Ralph, but in view of the inherent difficulty of dating these, they have not been recorded or used here.

[14] Added in the left-hand margin after an insert caret following 'Quotations' are the words: 'though none of those wee call greate schollars'.

[15] The asterisk is repeated at the bottom of the passage and is followed by the words, 'Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudeat sentire', a quotation from chapter 3.5 of the *Essais*.

[16] An unreadable word has been crossed out following 'and'.

[17] It will be seen from the illustration that the words 'Acheve [i.e. Achevé] de lire ce livre' are written by Ralph Bankes in a larger script and slightly below the line.

[18] See Craig B. Brush, *From the Perspective of the Self: Montaigne's Self-Portrait* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1994) and, for a historical account, Ian J. Winter, *Montaigne's Self-Portrait and Its Influence in France, 1580-1630* (Lexington: French Forum, 1976). On particular aspects, see Raymond La Charité, *The Concept of Judgment in Montaigne* (The Hague: Nijhof, 1968) and Marc Folgia, *Montaigne, pédagogue du jugement* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2011); on the last, see Olivier Guerrier, *Quand 'les poètes feignent': 'Fantasie' et fiction dans les 'Essais' de Montaigne* (Paris: Champion, 2002).

[19] *Les 'Essais' de Michel de Montaigne*, ed. Pierre Villey and V.-L. Saulnier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 875.

[20] *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (1657), Kingston Lacy copy, cijr. On this topic, see Olivier Millet, *La Première Réception des 'Essais' de Montaigne (1580-1640)* (Paris: Champion, 1995), 15-16 (varying opinions), 145-46 (Pasquier), 221 (Camus).

[21] *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (1657), Kingston Lacy copy, cijr. For other commentators, see Scévole de Sainte-Marthe and Jean-Pierre Camus, quoted in *La Première Réception*, 141, 164; Guez de Balzac, quoted in *Les 'Essais' de Michel de Montaigne*, 1212.

[22] See *Les 'Essais'* , 845; *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (1657), Kingston Lacy copy, 625.

[23] *Michel de Montaigne: The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech (London: Allen Lane, 1993), 953.

[24] See *La Première Réception*, 141, Sainte-Marthe (Montaigne's 'naïfve liberté de parler', 'natural freedom of speech'); *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (1657), Kingston Lacy copy, biijr.

[25] *Les 'Essais'*, 1019; *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (1657), Kingston Lacy copy, 758.

[26] *The Complete Essays*, 1152-53.

[27] 'De la mauuaise honte', in *Les Œuvres morales & meslées de Plutarque*, trans. Jacques Amyot (Paris: Vascosan, 1572), f. 79r A-B.

[28] *Les 'Essais'* , 1019; *The Complete Essays*, 1153.

[29] *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (1657), Kingston Lacy copy, [bvir].

[30] Quoted in *Les 'Essais'*, 1211-12; my translation.

[31] *Les Essais de Michel, Seigneur de Montaigne* (1657), Kingston Lacy copy, [cvr].

[32] *Les 'Essais'*, 824-25; *The Complete Essays,* 929.

[33] *Les 'Essais'*, 315; *The Complete Essays*, 353.

[34] See Jean Balsamo, 'Montaigne et ses lectrices', *Revue d'études culturelles* 3 (2007), 71-83 at 72-74. To Balsamo's list can be added the unknown princess – possibly Marguerite de Valois – who is addressed as the dedicatee of chapter 2.12, 'Apologie de Raymond Sebond'.

[35] *Les 'Essais'*, 764; *The Complete Essays*, 864.

[36] *Les 'Essais'*, 766-67.

[37] *Les 'Essais'*, 766; *The Complete Essays*, 866. For Montaigne and doctors, see François Batisse, *Montaigne et la médecine* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1962).

[38] Ullrich Langer, 'Montaigne's Political and Religious Context', *The Cambridge Companion to Montaigne*, ed. Ullrich Langer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 21. See also the longer assessment by Alexandre Tarrête, 'Stoïcisme' in *Dictionnaire de Michel de Montaigne,* ed. Philippe Desan, second edition (Paris: Champion, 2007), 1094-99. Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good News from Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1996), especially chapter 6, 'Neostoicism', 119-42, mounts a positive case for linking Montaigne, Charron and Lipsius with Samuel Daniel and Ben Jonson among others. For the general context, see Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[39] See Jacqueline Lagrée, *Juste Lipse et la restauration du stoïcisme* (Paris: Vrin, 1994); *id.*, 'La Vertu stoïcienne de constance' in *Le Stoïcisme au XVI^e^ et au XVII^e^ siècle*, ed. Pierre-François Moreau (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999), 94-116.

[40] Millet, *La Première Réception*, 26-27, 78 (Raemond), 129 (Expilly), 136 (Pont-Aymery), 180, 187 (Camus); and for 'Sénèque françois', *id.*, 38-39, 199 (Garasse).

[41] Audrey Chew, *Stoicism in Renaissance English Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 109 and 127 (Burton), 226 (Bacon; temperance), 229-30 (fortitude).

[42] See René Bernouilli, 'La Mise à l'index des *Essais* de Montaigne', *BSAM*, 4/8 (1966), 4-12.

[43] Felicity Green, *Montaigne and the Life of Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 71-84.

[44] Richard Scholar, *Montaigne and the Art of Free-Thinking* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010).

[45] Lewis, 219. Kingston Lacy library also holds two editions of Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598 and 1611) and a later edition (1659) of his *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese*.

[46] Sir William Cornwallis, *Essayes* ([London:] Printed for Edmund Mattes, 1600), H3v-H4v. On Cornwallis and Montaigne, see R. E. Bennett, 'Sir William Cornwallis's Use of Montaigne', *PMLA* 48 (1933), 1080-89; John Lee, 'The English Renaissance Essay: Churchyard, Cornwallis, Florio's Montaigne and Bacon', in *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 600-608 at 606; Hamlin, 'Florio's Montaigne', 510. The most recent study is by Sophie Butler, 'Sir William Cornwallis the Younger (*c.* 1579-1614) and the Emergence of the Essay in England', unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2013. There is also an *Oxford DNB* entry on Cornwallis by Arthur Kincaid.

[47] See Catherine Belsey, 'Iago the Essayist: Florio between Montaigne and Shakespeare', in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 262-78 at 267.

[48] Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1611), s. v. 'Methode'; Nathan Bailey, *A Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (London: Printed for R. Ware and others, 1675), s. v. 'Method'.

[49] Boutcher, "'Learning Mingled with Nobilitie'", 354-55.

[50] See *Les 'Essais'*, 'Du pedantisme', 133: 'Mais je hay par sur tout un sçavoir pedantesque' (quoting a verse from Du Bellay); Hubert Vincent, *Éducation et scepticisme chez Montaigne ou pédantisme et exercice du jugement* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997).

[51] *Les 'Essais'*, 'De l'institution des enfans', 171-72: 'Le parler que j'ayme, c'est un parler simple et naif, tel sur le papier qu'à la bouche; un parler succulent et nerveux, court et serré, non tant delicat et peigné comme vehement et brusque ... soldatesque' ('I like the kind of speech which is simple and natural, the same on paper as on the lip; speech which is rich in matter, sinewy, brief and short; not so much titivated and refined as forceful and brusque ... soldierly', *The Complete Essays*, 193); 'De la praesumption', 639: 'Il y a bien au dessus de nous, vers les montaignes, un Gascon, que je treuve singulierement beau, sec, bref, signifiant, et à la verité un langage masle et militaire plus qu'autre que j'entende' ('Towards the mountains way above where we live there is indeed a form of Gascon which I find singularly beautiful, dry, concise and expressive, a language more truly manly and soldierly than any other I know', *The Complete Essays*, 726.)

[52] See Francis Osborn, *A Miscellany of Sundry Essays, Paradoxes, and Problematicall Discourses, Letters and Characters* (London: Printed by *J. Grismond*, for *R. Royston*, 1659), [B6v]: '*I remember, to have heard from Sir* William Cornewallis*, (esteemed* none *of the meanest* Witts, *in his* Time*) That* Mountaign's Essay's [*sic*], *was the likelyest Book, to advance* Wisdom *: because, The* Authours own Experiences*, is the* Chiefest Argument *in it*'. The same quotation occurs in [John Dunton], *A Voyage Round the World: Or, A Pocket-Library*, 3 vols (London: Printed for Richard Newcome, [1691]), III, 20.

[53] See John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 191 for Montaigne. Locke owned the three-volume Paris 1669 edition

of the *Essais* (item 2029[a]) as well as the 1603 Florio (item 2029); his library also contained numerous works by Charron (items 673-74) as well as Lipsius's *De constantia* (item 1763). Florio and Lipsius appear in the listing of Locke's books compiled in 1681; he therefore seems to have bought his French copy of the *Essais* after this date. For a survey of the whole collection, see also Richard Ashcraft, 'John Locke's Library: Portrait of An Intellectual', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5/1 (1969), 47-60 (49 for Montaigne, discussed under 'Philosophy'). For the influence of Montaigne on Locke, see Paul Rahe, *Republics, Ancient and Modern* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 272-73, Peter C. Myers, *Our Only Star and Compass: Locke and the Struggle for Political Rationality* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 1998), 24-25, 161-64, and Douglas John Casson, *Liberating Judgment: Fanatics, Skeptics, and John Locke's Politics of Probability* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), *passim.*

[54] On this period in Locke's life, see *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679*, ed. John Lough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).

[55] Lord King, *The Life of John Locke, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals and Common-Place Books*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colbourn and Richard Bentley, 1830), I, 130. 'La Hoquette' should be 'La Hoguette' (Philippe Fortin de la Hoguette, 1585-1668).

[56] Quoted in Peter Walmsley, *Locke's 'Essay' and the Rhetoric of Science* (Cranbury NJ and London: Associated University Presses, 2003), 86; the original entry is in Bodl. MS Locke f. 8, 7–8. I am grateful to Peter Anstey for the MS reference and to M. A. Stewart, Olivia Smith and Michael Moriarty for their correspondence on this matter.

[57] Walmsley, *Locke's 'Essay'*, *loc. cit.* Malebranche writes: 'La negligence qu'il affecte lui sied assez bien... L'air du monde & l'air cavalier soûtenus par quelque erudition font un effet prodigieux sur l'esprit... ces Essais ne sont qu'un tissu de traits d'Histoire, de petits contes, de bons mots, de distiques, & d'apophetegmes [*sic*]. Il est vrai qu'on ne doit pas regarder Montagne dans ses

Essais, comme un homme, qui raisonne, mais comme un homme qui se divertit: qui tache de plaire, & qui ne pense point à enseigner... Le livre de Montagne contient des preuves si évidentes de la vanité & de la fierté de son Auteur... ' ('The negligence he affects becomes him quite well... The worldly air and the cavalier air supported by some learning have a prodigious effect on the mind... these Essays are but a tissue of extracts of History, little tales, witticisms, distichs and apothegms. Truly, one must not regard Montaigne in his Essays as a man who reasons, but as a man who is entertaining himself: who tries to please and gives no thought to teaching... Montaigne's book contains such obvious proof of the vanity and pride of its author...'; my translation), *De la recherche de la vérité*, 2 vols, 4th edition (Paris: Pralard, 1678), I, 159, 161 (= book 2, part 3, chapter 5). On Montaigne and Malebranche, see Alan Boase, *The Fortunes of Montaigne: A History of the Essays in France, 1580-1669* (London: Methuen, 1935), 415-17; Richard Scholar, 'De la force de l'imagination de Montaigne: Camus, Malebranche, Pascal', *Littératures antiques* 45 (2002), 249-77.

[58] Harrison and Laslett, *The Library of John Locke*, 182-83. Locke owned a number of editions of *De la recherche de la vérité*, all published in Paris: 1677-78 (item 1876; vol. 1 only), 1678 (item 1883), 1675 (item 1883[a]), plus various editions of the *Critique de la recherche de la vérité*.

[59] Jean-Pierre Camus, *Diversitez*, quoted in *La Première Réception*, 164: 'Il est confus et luy mesmes prend du plaisir à s'embrouiller et s'estudie au désordre, et quoy qu'il extravague à tous propos, il a néantmoins ceste dexterité, de lier sa suite avec tant de soupplesse, qu'insensiblement vous vous trouvez porté dans une autre route, non sans plaisir, et du profit au change ...' ('He is muddled and himself takes pleasure in getting entangled and strives for disorder, and although he digresses at every point, he nonetheless has the dexterity to link together his continuation with such flexibility that you find yourself insensibly carried into another way, not without pleasure, and deriving benefit from the change') .

[60] Huet, quoted in *Les 'Essais'*, 1222 ('vanité' and 'amour-propre'); Pascal, 1214-17. Contrastingly, Sorel, 1212 ('faire connaître à l'homme sa faiblesse et sa vanité'); Nicole, 1221 (Montaigne recognises 'la sottise et la vanité' of the world).

[61] The most obvious examples are the chapters 'De la gloire' and 'De la vanité'. 'Le badin de la farce' ('the jester of the farce') are the closing words of 'De la vanité', *Les 'Essais'*, 1001; *The Complete Essays*, 1133.

[62] Walmsley, *Locke's 'Essay'*, p. 86.

[63] Walmsley, *Locke's 'Essay'*, *loc. cit.*

[64] *Essays of Michael Seigneur de Montaigne*, trans. Charles Cotton, second edition (London: Printed for M. Gilliflower and W. Hensman and others, 1693), [*3v].

[65] Walter Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958). See also Philippe Desan, *Naissance de la méthode (Machiavel, La Ramée, Bodin, Montaigne, Descartes)* (Paris: Nizet, 1987).

[66] See Camus, quoted in *La Première Réception*, 163; Boase, *Fortunes*, 114-21; Warren Boutcher, "'A French Dexteritie, & An Italian Confidence": New Documents on John Florio, Learned Strangers and Protestant Humanist Study of Modern Languages in Renaissance England from *c.*1547 to *c.*1625', *Reformation* 2 (1997), 39-109.

[67] Reymes' Montaigne (Leiden, 1602 [Leiden A]) was sold by Bloomsbury Auctions in 2010, along with other French books bearing his signature, L'Espine and La Noue among them. His autograph copies of Plutarch's *Œuvres morales & meslées* in Amyot's translation and of Bandello's *Histoires tragiques* in Belleforest's translation are also known to be in private hands.

[68] Digby's copy of the 1635 *Essais* is recorded in the *Bibliotheca Digbeiana* (London, 1680), p. 53, no. 20, and was subsequently sold in the George Watson Taylor sale in 1823 (lot 735). Digby also owned two copies of Montaigne's translation of *La Theologie Naturelle de Raymond Sebon* (1603 and 1611).

[69] For some further examples, see John O'Brien, 'Montaigne in Some London Libraries', in *Montaigne in England*, 141-62 at 160-61.