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Persuasions to science: Baconian rhetoric and the *New Atlantis*

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For all his strictures on the use of language for rhetorical effect, it is now well established that Francis Bacon was thoroughly grounded in the Renaissance art of rhetoric and that he consciously drew on his rhetorical skill in his writings, adapting his style as occasion demanded. The nature and extent of Bacon's use of rhetoric has been extensively, though not exhaustively, explored.¹ Gone are the days when Bacon was regarded as a dysfunctional writer, or a 'dissociated sensibility', in T. S. Eliot's phrase. Nevertheless, Bacon's impatience with stylistic affectation is well known from his own comments: 'eloquence and copie of speech' is, he writes in *The Advancement of Learning*, 'the first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter'.² In conjunction with this repudiation of ornamental excess, Bacon's preference for an unadorned style of writing for the communication of natural philosophy, in particular his recommendation of the aphorism for the purpose, apparently confirms his antipathy to fictional flights of fancy. His one excursus into narrative fiction employs a genre, the utopia, where fiction is presented as fact. So successful was Bacon's use of the genre in the *New Atlantis* that the tale has come to be interpreted as a simple allegory or a thinly disguised blueprint for a society where science flourishes under state control.³ The *New Atlantis* is, then, not just a curiosity as a Baconian fiction, but an interpretative paradox: the only excursion into narrative fiction by a writer who repudiated the charms of language; a work of imagination that is read as a virtually factual

document of Bacon's project for the advancement of learning, and especially of science. Although an apparently unfinished narrative, it is treated as the epitome of his life's work as a whole, its apparently unfinished state a fit emblem for the incompleteness of his project at the time of his death.⁴ However, to read the *New Atlantis* as an unfinished allegorical narrative belies the literary complexity of the work and the intricacy of its web of cross-reference to Bacon's oeuvre as a whole. In this essay I argue that the *New Atlantis* is less an epitome of Bacon's ideas than a means of persuading others to support his projected reform of scientific endeavour. The *New Atlantis* amply illustrates Bacon's understanding of rhetoric, or the 'art of elocution or tradition', as the art of communication – a 'transitive' art, the scope of which is 'the expressing or transferring our knowledge to others'.⁵ But the *New Atlantis* is, above all, an *instrumental* text. Although it is designed to communicate Bacon's ideas, it is not so much a descriptive or a prescriptive text, but a *persuasive* one. This is consistent with Bacon's own view of rhetoric as having a key motivating function in active life, where 'the duty and office of rhetoric is to apply reason to imagination for the better moving of the will'.⁶ In all Bacon's writings, style is not incidental: eloquence, for him, has a key part to play 'for the winning and persuading' of an audience. In what follows, I shall discuss ways in which the *New Atlantis* exemplifies his understanding of the role of rhetoric and what we can discern from its relationship to other works, especially *Sylva Sylvarum*, with which it was first published.

The combined edition of *Sylva Sylvarum* and the *New Atlantis* appeared in 1627, having been seen into print by Bacon's secretary, William Rawley. It is from Rawley that we derive the information that both works are incomplete. The *New Atlantis* is described on the title page of the 1627 edition as, 'A Worke unfinished'. It ends with a brief editorial epilogue, 'The rest was not perfected.' Rawley corroborates this by noting in his preface that Bacon had intended to supply his imaginary society with 'a *Frame of Lawes*', but had not been able to do so, because his time had been taken up with 'Collecting the *Naturall History*'. The impression of incompleteness is underlined by Rawley's presentation of the companion piece of the volume, *Sylva Sylvarum*, as imperfect. In his preface, he introduces *Sylva Sylvarum* as uncrafted

and unpolished – ‘an Indigested Heap of Particulars’, an unpolished piece of writing which lacks ‘that Lustre which Bookes cast into Methods have’. Rawley takes credit for such organisation that the book has, namely the subdivision into chapters called ‘Centuries’. Bacon did, apparently, live to complete *Sylva Sylvarum*.⁷

It was also Rawley who set the mould for regarding the *New Atlantis* as a blueprint for his scientific programme. Its truncated state notwithstanding, he introduces the *New Atlantis* as a ‘Fable’ showing ‘a *Model or Description of a Colledge*, instituted for the *interpreting of Nature*, and the Producing of *Great and Maruellous Works*, for the *Benefit of Men*’. He also suggests that there is a practical objective for the *New Atlantis*, which cannot ‘be imitated in all things; Notwithstanding most Things therein are within Mens Power to effect’. Even if incomplete, the *New Atlantis* is a carefully crafted text. In contrast to the haphazard ‘unmethodized’ appearance of *Sylva Sylvarum*, the *New Atlantis* gives the impression of being a highly controlled piece of writing.

Bacon’s description of rhetoric as ‘ornament’, in contrast to the ‘judgement’ of logic, belies the importance of both eloquence and imagination in his philosophy. Not only does Bacon couple rhetoric with logic as ‘the gravest of sciences’, but he repeatedly reminds us in *The Advancement of Learning*, that rhetoric, or the art of eloquence, is ‘a science excellent, and excellently well laboured’.⁸ His criticism of humanistic style is directed at stylistic affectation and excess (*copia*). He condemns ‘speech that is uttered with labour and difficulty, or speech that savoureth of the affectation of art and precepts’.⁹ There is plenty of evidence, however, that Bacon regarded figurative language and imaginative fiction as more than mere ornament. He shares Sidney’s view that poetry is more effective than history, because poets are free from the constraints of realism and fact:

The use of this Feigned History hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it ... Therefore, because the acts or events of true history have not that magnitude which satisfieth the mind of man, poesy feigneth acts and events greater and more heroical; because true history propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of virtue and vice, therefore

poesy feigns them more just in retribution, and more according to revealed providence; because true history representeth actions and events more ordinary and less interchanged, therefore poesy endueth them with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variations. So as it appeareth poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and to delectation.¹⁰

Furthermore, as Bacon explains at a later point in *The Advancement of Learning*, fables and figurative language have a key role in conveying new ideas. Being by definition unfamiliar, these ideas are difficult to express, and require the aid of ‘similitudes’, that is, similes and other analogies:

For that knowledge which is new and foreign from opinions received, is to be delivered in another form than that that is agreeable and familiar; ... those whose conceits are beyond popular opinions, have a double labour; the one to make themselves conceived, and the other to prove and demonstrate; so that it is of necessity with them to have recourse to similitudes and translations to express themselves.¹¹

This is a situation which obtains when a topic is new, ‘in the infancy of learning’, as was the case in ancient times, when fables were used for communicating new science and philosophy. Abstruse mysteries of religion, likewise, are suitably conveyed by ‘similitudes’:

And therefore in the infancy of learning, and in rude times, when those conceits which are now trivial were then new, the world was full of Parables and Similitudes; for else would men either have passed over without mark or else rejected for paradoxes that which was offered, before they had understood or judged. So in divine learning, we see how frequent Parables and Tropes are: for it is a rule, that ‘whatsoever science is not consonant to presuppositions, must pray in aid of similitudes’.¹²

Furthermore, what he calls ‘allusive or parabolical’ poetry has a special purpose:

Allusive or Parabolical [poesy] is a narration applied only to express some special purpose or conceit. Which latter kind of parabolical wisdom was much more in use in the ancient times, as by the fables of Aesop, and the brief sentences of the Seven and the use of hieroglyphics may appear.¹³

An example of this in Bacon's own writings is *De sapientia veterum* which purports to be a collection of ancient myths to be interpreted in terms of his own scientific preferences. The *New Atlantis* is hardly a hieroglyph of the new learning, but it can be described as 'parabolical wisdom' that gives us a glimpse of the Baconian scientific method in action. Even in factual reportage, such as writing histories, the poetic has its part to play. When writing histories, 'poesy endueth them [historical events] with more rareness, and more unexpected and alternative variations'.¹⁴

Bacon was a writer highly conscious of his craft, and careful in the means by which he chose to present his ideas. With its in-built cross-referencing to More and to Plato, the *New Atlantis* claims a pedigree in the best utopian tradition. The text also refers back to his earlier writings in major ways. The most obvious one is the account of the scientific investigations carried out in Salomon's House. The closeness of the relationship between the experiments conducted in the *New Atlantis* and the *desiderata* of Bacon's own programme is mirrored in the language, for, at this point in the tale, the narrative gives way to what can only be described as a catalogue. The programmatic ending that describes the 'Preparations and Instruments', the laboratories and achievements of Salomon's House, is little more than a list. The typography of the first edition separates this section from the rest with a change of type-size. This entire section could be excerpted and appended to the list entitled *Magnalia naturalia* printed in the same volume.

Content aside, the very conceit of a 'new Atlantis' links the tale to Bacon's oeuvre as a whole. The *New Atlantis* of the story is a new-found land where the whole of society is organised to promote investigations that appear new to the travellers from the old world. The motif of a new world of learning beyond the seas waiting to be discovered is figured in the title page of the volume in which the story was first printed, *Sylva Sylvarum*.¹⁵ Here the Atlantic is signified by the imposing frame of the Pillars of Hercules – the markers of the limits of the old world. Whether this title page represents Bacon's posthumous intentions, or whether it was proposed by his secretary, we cannot be certain. Whatever the case, the aptness of the motif for Bacon's writings is striking: for it deftly recapitulates the title page of *The Advancement of Learning* which uses the same image of the Pillars of Hercules, but

has an outward-bound ship in place of the seaborne globe ('mundus Intellectualis') at the centre of the title page of *Sylva Sylvarum*. The motif of the Pillars of Hercules is taken up in the dedication of the second book of *The Advancement of Learning* where Bacon asks:

For why should a few received authors stand up like Hercules' columns beyond which there should be no sailing or discovering?¹⁶

As his simile indicates, the Pillars of Hercules are signifiers of intellect, denoting the limits of knowledge. By implication, the Atlantic beyond is the pathway to new learning. A classical precedent for this interpretation may be found in Lucian's satirical dialogue, *A True Relation*, where the narrator, disgusted by the emptiness and charlatanism of the philosophical systems he has encountered in the known world, sets out westwards from the Pillars of Hercules in pursuit of true philosophy.

Bacon's choice of metaphor was never accidental; judicious, even forensic, would be more apt descriptions.¹⁷ His reworking of this particular image has further connotations: as other critics have noted, the Pillars of Hercules are an image of power. They were the centre-piece of an emblem used by the Emperor Charles V, ruler of much of Europe and the Americas.¹⁸ The imperial connotations of this image were clear to sixteenth-century commentators whose 'happie conquest of the West Indies', as Paolo Giovio put it in Samuel Daniel's translation, 'eclipse the glory of the old Romaines'.¹⁹

While Bacon's application of the motif is an unmistakable allusion to the imperialism of Charles V, its connotations are not exclusively imperialist. Before concluding that the content of his fable should be read as epitomising the epistemological hegemony of science, we should recall the instrumental function of the work signalled by its utopian format. More's *Utopia* imagines an ideal state, but the narrative of Raphael Hythlodæus' journey there is presented as the outcome of a discussion on how to influence princes and potentates. In this respect the foundational text of utopian fiction is a version of the Renaissance 'advice to princes' genre. *Utopia* is the product of the centralised and autocratic Renaissance state. As a practical man of affairs, Bacon, like Sir Thomas More before him, was conscious of the difficulties to

be encountered when trying to advise rulers and introduce new policies. Bacon's own political advice reminds us that rhetoric in its wider sense is political. Persuasion is part of the business of everyday life. And, as Bacon himself notes in his aptly named Essay, 'Of Negotiating', the business of persuasion requires techniques other than reason and logic:

If you would work any man, [writes Bacon] you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him.²⁰

Successful persuasion is contingent upon knowledge of 'ends'. The man whose 'ends' Bacon 'knew' and whom he hoped to enlist as patron for his project for achieving new, practical knowledge through the reform of learning was the king himself.

The rhetoric of the *New Atlantis* bespeaks the political circumstances of its creation. It is a fiction adapted to the aspirations of those whom Bacon would persuade. The story presents a vision of Bacon's programme put into effect and allied to a vision of empire. The trope of new horizons links the new world of learning with a new world to be conquered. The trope of Atlantic voyages takes us back to the dedicatee of *The Advancement of Learning*, to British Solomon himself, James I. Indeed, the verbal use of the trope in the dedication to the king specifically connects him with the theme of *plus ultra*, sailing beyond the pillars of Hercules. To complete the quotation cited earlier:

For why should a few received authors stand up like Hercules' Columns, beyond which there should be no sailing or discovering, since we have so bright and benign a star as your Majesty to conduct and prosper us? (my italics)²¹

Bacon's choice of tropes, therefore, must be put into the context of the type of political power with which their author had to reckon. As we know, the political ambience to which the *New Atlantis* refers is hardly a revolutionary one. We might, however, speculate that, had Bacon been writing in the 1650s, he would have adjusted his tale to the political circumstances of the English Republic. At a later date his text might also have addressed educational reformers of the Comenian or Hartlibian stamp.²² In the 1620s, when Bacon was writing the *New Atlantis*,

political reality and the patronage that it commanded were very different. If Bacon's best hope of seeing his proposals for the reform of systems of enquiry put into effect was monarchical patronage, he had to write in terms that would appeal to the king. As he himself observes: where the logician does not need to adapt to his audience, the rhetorician does, 'for the proofs and demonstrations of Logic are toward all men indifferent and the same; but the proofs and persuasions of Rhetoric ought to differ according to the auditors'.²³ It is, therefore, important to draw a distinction between the content of the *New Atlantis* and the readers whom Bacon was addressing.

The audience Bacon had in mind for the *New Atlantis* was, of course, not the single audience of kingly patronage. That the effecting of his programme required the involvement of others is implicit in the trope of Hercules and his labours. As the Lucianic example cited earlier shows, the Pillars of Hercules was not an exclusively imperialist motif in the Renaissance, while the Labours of Hercules commonly had other import. One of the best-known expositions of the significance of the Labours of Hercules in the Renaissance was that contained in Erasmus' *Adagia*. Erasmus construes it as applying to works of great design, altruistic in application and requiring much toil. Hercules' labours denote 'something great and manifold which needs the strength of Hercules' but also 'of a kind to bring the greatest advantage to others, and little or no profit to the doer except a little fame and a lot envy'.²⁴ Such was Bacon's programme for the advancement of learning. Bacon draws on Erasmus to represent seekers after truth as 'Hercules' followers in learning, that is, the more severe and laborious sort of inquirers into truth'.²⁵

The special relevance of the Erasmian explanation of the trope to *Sylva Sylvarum* reinforces the rhetorical link between that book and the *New Atlantis*. For, of all Bacon's writings, *Sylva Sylvarum* is the one that best exemplifies his foundational aspirations and the laboriousness, not to say tedium, of the process of putting them into effect. It was compiled with the practical goal of laying the foundations of a new natural philosophy, and therefore of producing concrete advances in knowledge. Rawley tells us:

the Scope which his Lordship intendeth, is to write such a *Natural History*, as may be Fundamentall to the Erecting and Building of a

true *Philosophy*: For the Illumination of the Vnderstanding; the Extracting of Axiomes; and the producing of many Noble *Works*, and *Effects*.²⁶

This work of compilation of data is a prerequisite also for the exercise of the art of rhetoric. The Latin term *silva*, used by Bacon in the title of the work, is taken from Cicero's *De inventione* where it signifies the assembled data on which the rhetor must work. In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon himself notes the importance of amassing 'stuff and variety', or 'that which Cicero calleth *sylva* and *supellex*', which logic and rhetoric will 'set forth and dispose'.²⁷ Because Bacon's projected new philosophy has not yet been achieved, the work of *Sylva Sylvarum* is incomplete. But the intention of the book being to lay foundations of that new science, it contains, nonetheless, a completable project. Moreover, according to Rawley, the connection between an unmethodical way of writing and the expectation that others would contribute to the project of new discovery, and hence completion of the project, is not accidental. On the authority of the author himself he tells us:

I have heard his Lordship say also, that one great Reason, why he would not put these Particulars into any exact Method ... was, because he conceived that other men would now think that they could do the like; And so goe on with a further Collection: which if the *Method* had been Exact, many would have despaired to attaine by Imitation.²⁸

Bacon's preferred medium for recording and communicating his natural history was the aphorism. Because of the brevity of the form, the writer of aphorisms escapes the perils of *copia*, 'for discourse of illustration is cut off; recitals of examples are cut off; discourse of connection and order is cut off; descriptions of practice are cut off; so there remaineth nothing to fill the Aphorisms but some good quantity of observation'.²⁹ But aphorisms are also to be recommended because of their potential for continuity. Aphorisms, as Bacon reminds us, represent 'a knowledge broken'. Their incompleteness is their virtue, for by it they 'invite men to inquire further'.³⁰ Arguably, therefore, the rough-hewn effect of *Sylva Sylvarum* is deliberate design, intended to differentiate the book from those 'Naturall Histories' whose aim is to entertain ('gathered for Delight and Use, are full of pleasant Descriptions and Pictures; and affect and seek after Admiration, Rarities, and

Secrets'). Juxtaposed with *Sylva Sylvarum*, the *New Atlantis* invites the reader to do just that: enquire further. In its published format as the sister text *Sylva Sylvarum*, the *New Atlantis* appears less an unfinished account of a fixed scientific ideal than as an open-ended fiction designed to engage the involvement of others in the grand project for which *Sylva Sylvarum* lays the ground. Such an enterprise requires the involvement of others. It bespeaks co-operation, openness and inclusiveness, a very different political model from the imperialist aspirations of Bacon's patron.³¹

It is, perhaps, testimony to the persuasiveness of the *New Atlantis* that among its earliest readers, it did indeed become a model. Well before the Royal Society declared its Baconianism, the utopian writings of the English revolution indicate cognisance of Bacon's Bensalem and propound Baconian scientific ideas,³² for example, Gabriel Plattes' *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1641), Peter Chamberlen's *Poor Man's Advocate* (1649), Peter Cornelius Plockhoy's *A Way Propounded to Make the Poor Happy* (1659), and even Gerard Winstanley's *Law of Freedom* (1652). The work by which Bacon's project was best known in the seventeenth century was *Sylva Sylvarum*. It was the most widely read of Bacon's writings in that century, with more editions than of any other of his works.³³ These editions also included the *New Atlantis*. It is impossible to explain the popularity of *Sylva Sylvarum* either in partisan political terms (since it was admired by republicans and royalists alike) or in terms of a universalist scientific ideal that had not, at that time, yet emerged.³⁴ The imaginative appeal of the *New Atlantis* to other scientific utopians suggests that this, the sister text of *Sylva Sylvarum*, contributed not a little to the success of the latter – testimony to the 'eloquence of persuasions' of the *New Atlantis*.

Notes

- 1 See, especially, L. Jardine, *Discovery and the Art of Discourse* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974); B. Vickers, 'Bacon and rhetoric', in M. Peltonen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Francis Bacon* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 200–31; K. R. Wallace, *Francis Bacon on Communication and Rhetoric* (Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 1943); M. Cogan, 'Rhetoric and action in Francis Bacon', *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 14 (1981), 212–33.

- 2 Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, in Brian Vickers (ed.), *Francis Bacon: A Critical Edition of the Major Works* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 139. All further references to *The Advancement of Learning* are to this edition.
- 3 Famously, Benjamin Farrington regarded the *New Atlantis* as a prototype of modern industrialism, *Francis Bacon, Philosopher of Industrial Science* (London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1951).
- 4 The incompleteness of Bacon's sole venture into utopian fiction might also seem fitting to those mid-twentieth-century critics who regarded Bacon as antipathetic to fiction, not to say the enemy of the imagination, e.g. L. C. Knights, 'Bacon and the dissociation of sensibility', *Explorations* (Harmondsworth, Peregrine Books, 1964; first published 1946).
- 5 *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 237.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
- 7 See Graham Rees, 'An unpublished manuscript by Francis Bacon, *Sylva Sylvarum* drafts and other working notes', *Annals of Science*, 28 (1981), 377-412.
- 8 *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 237.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 235-6.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 236.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 186.
- 15 J. E. Steadman, 'Beyond Hercules: Bacon and the scientist as hero', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, 4 (1971), 3-48; A. D. Burnett, 'The engraved title page of Bacon's *Instauratio Magna*: an icon and paradigm of science and its wider implication', *Durham Thomas Harriot Seminar Occasional Papers*, 27 (1998).
- 16 *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- 17 On Bacon's use of metaphor, see Brian Vickers, *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1968).
- 18 E. Rosenthal, 'Plus Ultra, non plus ultra and the columnar device of the Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1510', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36 (1971), 204-8.
- 19 Paulo Giovio, *The Worthy Tracte of Paulus Iouius* (London, 1585), trans. Samuel Daniel, sig. Biii⁹.
- 20 Bacon, *Essays*, 47, 'Of Negotiating', in Vickers (ed.), *Francis Bacon*, p. 436.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- 22 On the take-up of Bacon's ideas during the English revolution, see Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform, 1620-1675* (London, Duckworth, 1975).

- 23 *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 239. Cf. *De augmentis*, VI. 3.
- 24 Margaret Mann Phillips, *The Adages of Erasmus. A Study with Translations* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 190–2.
- 25 *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 140. Bacon invokes these Herculean labourers when discussing stylistic excess, ‘the first distemper of learning, when men study words and not matter’ (*ibid.*, p. 139). Hercules’ followers exemplify those who shun stylistic affectation.
- 26 *Sylva Sylvarum* (London, 1627), sig. A1v.
- 27 Cicero, *De inventione*, l. 34; Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 173.
- 28 *Ibid.*, Preface.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p. 234.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 235. On Bacon’s use of aphorisms, see Vickers, *Francis Bacon* (1968), Chapter 3.
- 31 It has latterly become customary to interpret Bacon as a political conservative, if not a proponent of monarchical absolutism. See especially, Julian Martin, *Francis Bacon, the State and the Reform of Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992). Also, J. E. Leary, *Francis Bacon and the Politics of Science* (Iowa, Iowa State University Press, 1994). Others argue against reading the *New Atlantis* as pro-monarchical. See Markku Peltonen, ‘Bacon’s political philosophy’, in *Cambridge Companion*, pp. 283–310, and the studies cited therein.
- 32 According to Charles Webster, ‘Winstanley exhibited a kind of intuitive Baconianism, championing the “actor” against the “contemplator”, as a contributor to fruitful learning. His designation of the various spheres of knowledge ... closely paralleled the Baconian programme for histories of trade. Thus the inhabitants of Winstanley’s communes were expected to share in the benefits of experimental philosophy in the same manner as the citizens of the *New Atlantis* or *Macaria*’ (*Great Instauration*, pp. 367–8).
- 33 Aside from European translations, there were seventeen English printings of the combined volume. See Graham Rees, ‘An unpublished manuscript by Francis Bacon’. The claims of title pages are not reliable. The 1651 edition calls itself the sixth, and the 1664 edition the eighth. Two Latin editions, Amsterdam, Elsevir, 1648 and 1661; French, Paris, 1631.
- 34 Of course, the role of Isaac Gruter and his brother, Jacob, in securing a European readership for Bacon should not be underestimated. See Graham Rees, ‘The transmission of Bacon’s texts: some unanswered questions’, in W. A. Sessions (ed.), *Francis Bacon’s Legacy of Texts* (New York, AMS Press, 1990), pp. 291–310. See also Paul Dibon, ‘Sur la réception de l’oeuvre de Francis Bacon en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle’, in Martha Fattori (ed.), *Francesco Bacone. Terminologiae fortuna nel XVIII secolo* (Rome, Ateneo, 1984), pp. 91–115.