

MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE

ESSAYS



Book 2 · Chapter 16

Translation by Charles Cotton (1685, Public domain) · Last updated on June 18, 2026

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ESSAYS-2-16-20260831-212231

On Glory

There is the name and the thing: the name is a voice which denotes and signifies the thing; the name is no part of the thing, nor of the substance; 'tis a foreign piece joined to the thing, and outside it.

God, who is all fullness in Himself and the height of all perfection, cannot augment or add anything to Himself within; but His name may be augmented and increased by the blessing and praise we attribute to His exterior works: which praise, seeing we cannot incorporate it in Him, forasmuch as He can have no accession of good, we attribute to His name, which is the part out of Him that is nearest to us. Thus is it that to God alone glory and honor appertain; and there is nothing so remote from reason as that we should go in quest of it for ourselves; for, being indigent and necessitous within, our essence being imperfect, and having continual need of amelioration, 'tis to that we ought to employ all our endeavor. We are all hollow and empty; 'tis not with wind and voice that we are to fill ourselves; we want a more solid substance to repair us: a man starving with hunger would be very simple to seek rather to provide himself with a gay garment than with a good meal: we are to look after that whereof we have most need. As we have it in our ordinary prayers: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus*. We are in want of beauty, health, wisdom, virtue, and such like essential qualities: exterior ornaments should, be looked after when we have made provision for necessary things. Divinity treats amply and more pertinently of this subject, but I am not much versed in it.

Praise God in heaven! Peace on earth
to everyone. • LUKE, 2.14

Chrysippus and Diogenes were the earliest and firmest advocates of the contempt of glory; and maintained that, among all pleasures, there was none more dangerous nor more to be avoided than that which proceeds from the approbation of others. And, in truth, experience makes us sensible of many very hurtful treasons in it. There is nothing that so poisons princes as flattery, nor anything whereby wicked men more easily obtain credit and favor with them; nor panderism so apt and so usually made use of to corrupt the chastity of women as to wheedle and entertain them with their own praises.

The first charm the Syrens made use of to allure Ulysses is of this nature,

*Deça vers nous, deça, O très-louable Ulysse,
Et le plus grand honneur dont la Grèce fleurisse.*

These philosophers said, that all the glory of the world was not worth an understanding man's holding out his finger to obtain it:

Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?

I say for it alone; for it often brings several commodities along with it, for which it may justly be desired: it acquires us good-will, and renders us less subject and exposed to insult and offense from others, and the like.

It was also one of the principal doctrines of Epicurus; for this precept of his sect, CONCEAL THY LIFE, that forbids men to encumber themselves with public negotiations and offices, also necessarily presupposes a contempt of glory, which is the world's approbation of those actions we produce in public. He that bids us conceal ourselves, and to have no other concern but for ourselves, and who will not have us known to others, would much less have us honored and glorified; and so advises Idomeneus not in any sort to regulate his actions by the common reputation or opinion, except so as to avoid the other accidental inconveniences that the contempt of men might bring upon him.

These discourses are, in my opinion, very true and rational; but we are, I know not how, double in ourselves, which is the cause that what we believe we do not believe, and cannot disengage ourselves from what we condemn. Let us see the last and dying words of Epicurus; they are grand, and worthy of such a philosopher, and yet they carry some touches of the recommendation of his name and of that humor he had decried by his precepts. Here is a letter that he dictated a little before his last gasp:

EPICURUS TO HERMACHUS, HEALTH.

Whilst I was passing over the happy and last day of my life, I write this, but, at the same time, afflicted with such pain in my bladder and bowels that nothing can be greater, but it was recompensed with the pleasure the remembrance of my inventions and doctrines brought to my soul. Now, as the affection thou hast ever from thy infancy borne toward me and philosophy requires, take upon thee the protection of Metrodorus' children.

This is the letter. And that which makes me interpret that the pleasure he says he had in his soul concerning his inventions, has some reference to the reputation he hoped for thence after his death, is the manner of his will, in which he gives order that Amynomachus and Timocrates, his heirs, should, every January, defray the expense of the celebration of his birthday as Hermachus should appoint; and also the expense that should be made the twentieth of every moon in entertaining the philosophers, his friends, who should assemble in honor of the memory of him and of Metrodorus.

Come hither to us, O admirable Ulysses, come hither, thou greatest ornament and pride of Greece. •
HOM., OD., 12.184

What is glory, be it as glorious as it may be, if it be no more than glory? •
JUV., 7.81

Carneades was head of the contrary opinion, and maintained that glory was to be desired for itself, even as we embrace our posthumous issue for themselves, having no knowledge nor enjoyment of them. This opinion has not failed to be the more universally followed, as those commonly are that are most suitable to our inclinations. Aristotle gives it the first place among external goods; and avoids, as too extreme vices, the immoderate either seeking or evading it. I believe that, if we had the books Cicero wrote upon this subject, we should there find pretty stories; for he was so possessed with this passion, that, if he had dared, I think he could willingly have fallen into the excess that others did, that virtue itself was not to be coveted, but upon the account of the honor that always attends it,

*Paulum sepultæ distat inertiae
Celata virtus.*

Virtue concealed little differs from
dead sloth. • HOR., CARM., 4.9.29

which is an opinion so false, that I am vexed it could ever enter into the understanding of a man that was honored with the name of philosopher.

If this were true, men need not be virtuous but in public; and we should be no further concerned to keep the operations of the soul, which is the true seat of virtue, regular and in order, than as they are to arrive at the knowledge of others.

Is there no more in it, then, but only slyly and with circumspection to do ill? "If thou knowest," says Carneades, "of a serpent lurking in a place where, without suspicion, a person is going to sit down, by whose death thou expectest an advantage, thou dost ill if thou dost not give him caution of his danger; and so much the more because the action is to be known by none but thyself." If we do not take up of ourselves the rule of well-doing, if impunity pass with us for justice, to how many sorts of wickedness shall we every day abandon ourselves? I do not find what Sextus Peduceus did, in faithfully restoring the treasure that C. Plotius had committed to his sole secrecy and trust, a thing that I have often done myself, so commendable, as I should think it an execrable baseness, had we done otherwise; and I think it of good use in our days to recall the example of P. Sextilius Rufus, whom Cicero accuses to have entered upon an inheritance contrary to his conscience, not only not against law, but even by the determination of the laws themselves; and M. Crassus and Hortensius, who, by reason of their authority and power, having been called in by a stranger to share in the succession of a forged will, that so he might secure his own part, satisfied themselves with having no hand in the forgery, and refused not to make their advantage and to come in for a share: secure enough, if they could shroud themselves from accusations, witnesses, and the cognizance of the laws: *Meminerint Deum se habere testem, id est (ut ego arbitror) mentem suam.*

Let them consider they have God to
witness, that is (as I interpret it), their
own consciences. • CIC., OFF., 3.10

Virtue is a very vain and frivolous thing if it derive its recommendation from glory; and 'tis to no purpose that we endeavor to give it a station by itself, and separate it from fortune; for what is more accidental than reputation? *Profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea res cunctas ex libidine magis, quam ex vero, celebrat, obscuratque.* So to order it that actions may be known and seen is purely the work of fortune.

Fortune rules in all things; it
advances and depresses things more
out of its own will than of right and

'Tis chance that helps us to glory, according to its own temerity. I have often seen her go before merit, and often very much outstrip it. He who first likened glory to a shadow did better than he was aware of; they are both of them things pre-eminently vain glory also, like a shadow, goes sometimes before the body, and sometimes in length infinitely exceeds it.

They who instruct gentlemen only to employ their valor for the obtaining of honor: *quasi non sit honestum, quod nobilitatum non sit*; what do they intend by that but to instruct them never to hazard themselves if they are not seen, and to observe well if there be witnesses present who may carry news of their valor, whereas a thousand occasions of well-doing present themselves which cannot be taken notice of? How many brave individual actions are buried in the crowd of a battle? Whoever shall take upon him to watch another's behavior in such a confusion is not very busy himself, and the testimony he shall give of his companions' deportment will be evidence against himself. *Vera et sapiens animi magnitudo, honestum illud, quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in gloria, judicat.*

All the glory that I pretend to derive from my life is that I have lived it in quiet; in quiet, not according to Metrodorus, or Arcesilaus, or Aristippus, but according to myself. For seeing philosophy has not been able to find out any way to tranquillity that is good in common, let every one seek it in particular.

To what do Caesar and Alexander owe the infinite grandeur of their renown but to fortune? How many men has she extinguished in the beginning of their progress, of whom we have no knowledge, who brought as much courage to the work as they, if their adverse hap had not cut them off in the first sally of their arms? Among so many and so great dangers I do not remember I have anywhere read that Caesar was ever wounded; a thousand have fallen in less dangers than the least of those he went through. An infinite number of brave actions must be performed without witness and lost, before one turns to account. A man is not always on the top of a breach, or at the head of an army, in the sight of his general, as upon a scaffold; a man is often surprised betwixt the hedge and the ditch; he must run the hazard of his life against a henroost; he must dislodge four rascally musketeers out of a barn; he must prick out single from his party, and alone make some attempts, according as necessity will have it. And whoever will observe will, I believe, find it experimentally true, that occasions of the least lustre are ever the most dangerous; and that in the wars of our own times there have more brave men been lost in occasions of little moment, and in the dispute about some little paltry fort, than in places of greatest importance, and where their valor might have been more honorably employed.

Who thinks his death achieved to ill purpose if he do not fall on some signal occasion; instead of illustrating his death, wilfully obscures his life, suffering in the meantime many very just occasions of hazarding himself to slip out of his hands; and every just one is illustrious enough, every man's conscience being a sufficient trumpet to him. *Gloria nostra est testimonium conscientiae nostrae.*

justice. • SALL., CAT., 8

As though it were not a virtue, unless celebrated; • CIC., OFF., 3.10

The true and wise magnanimity judges that the bravery which most follows nature more consists in act than glory. • CIC., OFF., 1.19

For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience. • 2 COR., 1.12

He who is only a good man that men may know it, and that he may be the better esteemed when 'tis known; who will not do well but upon condition that his virtue may be known to men: is one from whom much service is not to be expected.

*Credo ch'el reste di quel verno, cose
Facesse degne di tener ne conto;
Ma fur sin'a quel tempo si nascose,
Che non a colpa mia s'hor 'non le conto:
Perche Orlando a far opre virtuose,
Piu ch'a narrar le poi, sempre era pronto,
Ne mai fu alcun'de li suoi fatti espresso,
Senon quando ebbe i testimonii appresso.*

A man must go to the war upon the account of duty, and expect the recompense that never fails brave and worthy actions, how private soever, or even virtuous thoughts-the satisfaction that a well-disposed conscience receives in itself in doing well. A man must be valiant for himself, and upon account of the advantage it is to him to have his courage seated in a firm and secure place against the assaults of fortune:

*Virtus, repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
Intaminatis fulget honoribus,
Nec sumit, aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.*

It is not for outward show that the soul is to play its part, but for ourselves within, where no eyes can pierce but our own; there she defends us from the fear of death, of pain, of shame itself: there she arms us against the loss of our children, friends, and fortunes: and when opportunity presents itself, she leads us on to the hazards of war: *Non emolumento aliquo, Sed ipsius honestatis decore.* This profit is of much greater advantage, and more worthy to be coveted and hoped for, than, honor and glory, which are no other than a favorable judgment given of us.

A dozen men must be called out of a whole nation to judge about an acre of land; and the judgment of our inclinations and actions, the most difficult and most important matter that is, we refer to the voice and determination of the rabble, the mother of ignorance, injustice, and inconstancy. Is it reasonable that the life of a wise man should depend upon the judgment of fools?

An quidquam stultius, quam, quos singulos contemnas, eos aliquid putare esse universes?

He that makes it his business to please them, will have enough to do and never have done; 'tis a mark that can never be aimed at or hit:

Nihil tam inæstimabile est quam animi multitudinis.

Demetrius pleasantly said of the voice of the people, that he made no more account of that which came from above than of that which came from below.

The rest of the winter, I believe, was spent in actions worthy of narration, but they were done so secretly that if I do not tell them I am not to blame, for Orlando was more bent to do great acts than to boast of them, so that no deeds of his were ever known but those that had witnesses. •

ARIOSTO, 11.81

Virtue, repudiating all base repulse, shines in taintless honors, nor takes nor leaves dignity at the mere will of the vulgar. • HOR., CARM., 3.2.17

Not for any profit, but for the honor of honesty itself. • CIC., FIN., 1.10

Can anything be more foolish than to think that those you despise singly, can be anything else in general. • CIC., TUSC., 5.36

Nothing is to be so little understood as the minds of the multitude. • LIVY, 31.34

He says more: *Ego hoc iudico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id a multitudine laudetur.*

No art, no activity of wit, could conduct our steps so as to follow so wandering and so irregular a guide; in this windy confusion of the noise of vulgar reports and opinions that drive us on, no way worth anything can be chosen. Let us not propose to ourselves so floating and wavering an end; let us follow constantly after reason; let the public approbation follow us there, if it will; and as it wholly depends upon fortune, we have no reason sooner to expect it by any other way than that. Even though I would not follow the right way because it is right, I should, however, follow it as having experimentally found that, at the end of the reckoning, 'tis commonly the most happy and of greatest utility. *Dedit hoc providentia hominibus munus, ut honesta magis juvarent.* The mariner of old said thus to Neptune, in a great tempest: "O God, thou wilt save me if thou wilt, and if thou chooseth, thou wilt destroy me; but, however, I will hold my rudder straight." I have seen in my time a thousand men supple, halfbred, ambiguous, whom no one doubted to be more worldly-wise than I, lose themselves, where I have saved myself:

Risi successus posse carere dolos.

Paulus Aemilius, going on the glorious expedition of Macedonia, above all things charged the people of Rome not to speak of his actions during his absence. Oh, the license of judgments is a great disturbance to great affairs! forasmuch as every one has not the firmness of Fabius against common, adverse, and injurious tongues, who rather suffered his authority to be dissected by the vain fancies of men, than to do less well in his charge with a favorable reputation and the popular applause.

There is I know not what natural sweetness in hearing one's self commended; but we are a great deal too fond of it.

*Laudari metuam, neque enim mihi cornea fibra est;
Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso
Euge tuum, et belle.*

I care not so much what I am in the opinions of others, as what I am in my own; I would be rich of myself, and not by borrowing. Strangers see nothing but events and outward appearances; everybody can set a good face on the matter, when they have trembling and terror within: they do not see my heart, they see but my countenance. One is right in decrying the hypocrisy that is in war; for what is more easy to an old soldier than to shift in a time of danger, and to counterfeit the brave when he has no more heart than a chicken? There are so many ways to avoid hazarding a man's own person, that we have deceived the world a thousand times before we come to be engaged in a real danger: and even then, finding ourselves in an inevitable necessity of doing something, we can make shift for that time to conceal our apprehensions by setting a good face on the business, though the heart beats within; and whoever had the use of the Platonic ring, which renders those invisible that wear it, if turned inward toward the palm of the hand, a great many would very often hide themselves when

I am of opinion, that though a thing be not foul in itself, yet it cannot but become so when commended by the multitude. • CIC., FIN., 2.15

This gift Providence has given to men, that honest things should be the most agreeable. • QUINT., INST., 1.12

I have laughed to see cunning fail of success. • OV., HER., 1.18

I should fear to be praised, for my heart is not made of horn; but I deny that 'excellent—admirably done,' are the terms and final aim of virtue. • PERS., 1.47

they ought most to appear, and would repent being placed in so honorable a post, where necessity must make them bold.

*Falsus honor juvat, et mendax infamia terret
Quem nisi mendosum et mendacem?*

Thus we see how all the judgments that are founded upon external appearances, are marvellously uncertain and doubtful; and that there is no so certain testimony as every one is to himself.

In these, how many soldiers' boys are companions of our glory? he who stands firm in an open trench, what does he in that more than fifty poor pioneers who open to him the way and cover it with their own bodies for fivepence a day pay, do before him?

*non quicquid turbida Roma
Eleuet, accedas, examenque improbum in illa
Castiges trutina: nec to quæsiveris extra.*

The dispersing and scattering our names into many mouths, we call making them more great; we will have them there well received, and that this increase turn to their advantage, which is all that can be excusable in this design. But the excess of this disease proceeds so far that many covet to have a name, be it what it will. Trogus Pompeius says of Herostratus, and Titus Livius of Manlius Capitolinus, that they were more ambitious of a great reputation than of a good one. This is very common; we are more solicitous that men speak of us, than how they speak; and it is enough for us that our names are often mentioned, be it after what manner it will. It should seem that to be known, is in some sort to have a man's life and its duration in others' keeping. I, for my part, hold that I am not, but in myself; and of that other life of mine which lies in the knowledge of my friends, to consider it naked and simply in itself, I know very well that I am sensible of no fruit nor enjoyment from it but by the vanity of a fantastic opinion; and when I shall be dead, I shall be still and much less sensible of it; and shall, withal, absolutely lose the use of those real advantages that sometimes accidentally follow it.

I shall have no more handle whereby to take hold of reputation, neither shall it have any whereby to take hold of or to cleave to me; for to expect that my name should be advanced by it, in the first place, I have no name that is enough my own; of two that I have, one is common to all my race, and indeed to others also; there are two families at Paris and Montpellier, whose surname is Montaigne, another in Brittany, and one in Saintonge, De La Montaigne. The transposition of one syllable only would suffice so to ravel our affairs, that I shall share in their glory, and they peradventure will partake of my discredit; and, moreover, my ancestors have formerly been surnamed, Eyquem, a name wherein a family well known in England is at this day concerned. As to my other name, every one may take it that will, and so, perhaps, I may honor a porter in my own stead. And besides, though I had a particular distinction by myself, what can it distinguish, when I am no more? Can it point out and favor inanity?

False honor pleases, and calumny affrights, the guilty and the sick. • HOR., EPIST., 1.16.89

Do not, if turbulent Rome disparage anything, accede; nor correct a false balance by that scale; nor seek anything beyond thyself. • PERS., 1.5

*Nunc levior cippus nunc imprimit ossa?
Laudat posteritas: Nunc non è manibus illis,
Nunc non a tumulo fortunatâque favilla,
Nascentur violæ?*

But of this I have spoken elsewhere.

As to what remains, in a great battle where ten thousand men are maimed or killed, there are not fifteen who are taken notice of; it must be some very eminent greatness, or some consequence of great importance that fortune has added to it, that signalizes a private action, not of a harquebusier only, but of a great captain; for to kill a man, or two, or ten: to expose a man's self bravely to the utmost peril of death, is indeed something in every one of us, because we there hazard all; but for the world's concern, they are things so ordinary, and so many of them are every day seen, and there must of necessity be so many of the same kind to produce any notable effect, that we cannot expect any particular renown from it,

*casus multis hic cognitus, ac iam
Tritus, et a medio fortunæ ductus acervo.*

Of so many thousands of valiant men who have died within these fifteen hundred years in France with their swords in their hands, not a hundred have come to our knowledge. The memory, not of the commanders only, but of battles and victories, is buried and gone; the fortunes of above half of the world, for want of a record, stir not from their place, and vanish without duration.

If I had unknown events in my possession, I should think with great ease to out-do those that are recorded, in all sorts of examples.

Is it not strange that even of the Greeks and Romans, with so many writers and witnesses, and so many rare and noble exploits, so few are arrived at our knowledge?

Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura.

It will be much if, a hundred years hence, it be remembered in general that in our times there were civil wars in France.

The Lacedaemonians, entering into battle, sacrificed to the Muses, to the end that their actions might be well and worthily written, looking upon it as a divine and no common favor, that brave acts should find witnesses that could give them life and memory.

Do we expect that at every musket-shot we receive, and at every hazard we run, there must be a register ready to record it? and, besides, a hundred registers may enroll them whose commentaries will not last above three days, and will never come to the sight of any one. We have not the thousandth part of ancient writings; 'tis fortune that gives them a shorter or longer life, according to her favor; and 'tis permissible to doubt whether those we have be not the worst, not having seen the rest. Men do not write

Does the tomb press with less weight upon my bones? Do comrades praise? Not from my manes, not from the tomb, not from the ashes will violets grow. • PERS., 1.37

The accident is known to many, and now trite; and drawn from the midst of Fortune's heap. • JUV., 13.9

An obscure rumor scarce is hither come. • VERG., AEN., 7.646

histories of things of so little moment: a man must have been general in the conquest of an empire or a kingdom; he must have won two-and-fifty set battles, and always the weaker in number, as Caesardid: ten thousand brave fellows and many great captains lost their lives valiantly in his service, whose names lasted no longer than their wives and children lived,

Quos fama obscura recondit.

Even those whom we see behave themselves well, three months or three years after they have departed hence, are no more mentioned than if they had never been. Whoever will justly consider, and with due proportion, of what kind of men and of what sort of actions the glory sustains itself in the records of history, will find that there are very few actions and very few persons of our times who can there pretend any right. How many worthy men have we known to survive their own reputation, who have seen and suffered the honor and glory most justly acquired in their youth, extinguished in their own presence? And for three years of this fantastic and imaginary life we must go and throw away our true and essential life, and engage ourselves in a perpetual death! The sages propose to themselves a nobler and more just end in so important an enterprise.

*Recte facti, fecisse merces est.
Officii fructus, ipsum officium est.*

It were, peradventure, excusable in a painter or other artisan, or in a rhetorician or a grammarian, to endeavor to raise himself a name by his works; but the actions of virtue are too noble in themselves to seek any other reward than from their own value, and especially to seek it in the vanity of human judgments.

If this false opinion, nevertheless, be of such use to the public as to keep men in their duty; if the people are thereby stirred up to virtue; if princes are touched to see the world bless the memory of Trajan, and abominate that of Nero; if it moves them to see the name of that great beast, once so terrible and feared, so freely cursed and reviled by every schoolboy, let it by all means increase, and be as much as possible nursed up and cherished among us; and Plato, bending his whole endeavor to make his citizens virtuous, also advises them not to despise the good repute and esteem of the people; and says it falls out, by a certain Divine inspiration, that even the wicked themselves oft-times, as well by word as opinion, can rightly distinguish the virtuous from the wicked. This person and his tutor are both marvellous and bold artificers everywhere to add divine operations and revelations where human force is wanting. *Ut tragici poetae confugiunt ad deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt.*

And peradventure, for this reason it was that Timon, railing at him, called him the great forger of miracles.

Seeing that men, by their insufficiency, cannot pay themselves well enough with current money, let the counterfeit be superadded. 'Tis a way that has been practised by all the legislators: and there is no government that has not some mixture either of ceremonial vanity or of false opinion, that

Whom an obscure reputation
conceals. • VERG., AEN., 5.302

The reward of a thing well done is to
have done it; the fruit of a good service
is the service itself. • SEN., EP., 8

As tragic poets fly to some god when
they cannot explain the issue of their
argument. • CIC., NAT. D., 1.20

serves for a curb to keep the people in their duty. 'Tis for this that most of them have their originals and beginnings fabulous, and enriched with supernatural mysteries; 'tis this that has given credit to bastard religions, and caused them to be countenanced by men of understanding; and for this, that Numa and Sertorius, to possess their men with a better opinion of them, fed them with this foppery; one, that the nymph Egeria, the other that his white hind, brought them all their counsels from the gods.

And the authority that Numa gave to his laws, under the title of the patronage of this goddess, Zoroaster, legislator of the Bactrians and Persians, gave to his under the name of the God Oromazis: Trismegistus, legislator of the Egyptians, under that of Mercury; Zamolxis, legislator of the Scythians, under that of Vesta; Charondas, legislator of the Chalcidians, under that of Saturn; Minos, legislator of the Candiot, ¹ under that of Jupiter; Lycurgus, legislator of the Lacedaemonians, under that of Apollo; and Draco and Solon, legislators of the Athenians, under that of Minerva. And every government has a god at the head of it; the others falsely, that truly, which Moses set over the Jews at their departure out of Egypt.

The religion of the Bedouins, as the Sire de Joinville reports, among other things, enjoined a belief that the soul of him among them who died for his prince, went into another body more happy, more beautiful, and more robust than the former; by which means they much more willingly ventured their lives.

*In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum est redituræ parcere vitæ.*

This is a very comfortable belief, however erroneous. Every nation has many such examples of its own; but this subject would require a treatise by itself.

To add one word more to my former discourse, I would advise the ladies no longer to call that honor which is but their duty: *ut enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari fama gloriosum*; their duty is the mark, their honor but the outward rind. Neither would I advise them to give this excuse for payment of their denial: for I presuppose that their intentions, their desire, and will, which are things wherein their honor is not at all concerned, forasmuch as nothing thereof appears without, are much better regulated than the effects.

Quæ, quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit.

The offense, both toward God and in the conscience, would be as great to desire as to do it; and, besides, they are actions so private and secret of themselves, as would be easily enough kept from the knowledge of others, wherein the honor consists, if they had not another respect to their duty, and the affection they bear to chastity, for itself. Any honorable person will much rather choose to lose their honor than to hurt their conscience.

Men's minds are prone to the sword,
and their souls able to bear death;
and it is base to spare a life that will
be renewed. • LUC., 1.461

as custom puts it, that only is called
honest which is glorious by the
public voice. • CIC., FIN., 2.15

She who only refuses, because 'tis
forbidden, consents. • OV., AM., 2.4.4

NOTES

- ¹ *Candiot*: a native or inhabitant of Candia. Candia is a historical name for Crete (and the city of Heraklion, in Crete).

MONTAIGNE'S SOURCES

Ariosto	Ariosto, <i>Orlando Furioso</i>
Cic., Fin.	Cicero, <i>On Ends</i>
Cic., Nat. D.	Cicero, <i>On the Nature of the Gods</i>
Cic., Off.	Cicero, <i>On Duties</i>
Cic., Tusc.	Cicero, <i>Tusculan Disputations</i>
Hom., Od.	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
Hor., Carm.	Horace, <i>Odes</i>
Hor., Epist.	Horace, <i>Epistles</i>
Juv.	Juvenal, <i>Satires</i>
Livy	Livy, <i>History of Rome</i>
Luc.	Lucan, <i>Civil War</i>
2 Cor.	<i>Second Epistle to the Corinthians</i>
Luke	<i>Gospel of Luke</i>
Ov., Am.	Ovid, <i>Amores</i>
Ov., Her.	Ovid, <i>Heroides</i>
Pers.	Persius, <i>Satires</i>
Quint., Inst.	Quintilian, <i>Orator's Education</i>
Sall., Cat.	Sallust, <i>War with Catiline</i>
Sen., Ep.	Seneca, <i>Epistles</i>
Verg., Aen.	Virgil, <i>Aeneid</i>