



THE  
Common Places  
of the most famous and  
renowned Diuine Doctor  
PETER MARTYR, diuided  
into foure principall parts: with  
a large addition of manie theo-  
logicall and necessarie dis-  
courses, some neuer  
extant before.

*Translated and partly gathered by*  
Anthonic Marten, one of the  
Sewers of hir Maesties  
most Honourable  
Chamber.

*Mcliora spero.*

In the end of the booke are annexed two tables of  
all the notable matters therein contained.

1. Cor. 3. 11.

*Oculus foundation can no man laie, plan  
Christi Iejus, which is al-  
ready laid.*





TO THE  
Most excellent, mightie, and religi-  
ous Princeſſe, ELIZABETH, by the grace of  
God QUEENE of England, France, and Ire-  
land, defender of the true Christi-  
an faith, &c.



**I**f almighty God (most gracious ſouereigne  
Ladie) had but as meanlie furniſhed mee  
with vnderſtanding and utterance, as hee  
hath plentifully enriched your Maieſtie  
with manie moſt excellent gifts and graces,  
my penne at this time would runne more  
agreeable to your Highneſſe eares, and my  
words pearſe more deepe into your Prince-  
lie breſt. Then might I, though with ſome  
boldneſſe, yet with all humbleneſſe, approach your preſence, and preſent  
you with ſuch matter, as God by his holie ſpirit hath offered mee: and in  
ſuch maner as might be moſt liking to your godlie diſpoſition. Nor that  
ſpoore ſimple man can prefer aught as yet vnknewne to your excellent  
Maieſtie, to whom God in his ſonne Chriſt hath imparied as great  
abundance of his wiſedome and knowledge, as fleſh & bloud in this life  
can well conceiue, but that I haue of long time beene carried with an ex-  
traordinarie zeale and deſire incomparable once in my life, by ſome per-  
petuall record of your roial name, to giue an outward teſtimonie of mine  
inward hart, and an aſſured ſcale of my bounden dutie, ſo long borne to  
your manifold vertues, religious profeſſion, and high eſtate. And for  
the better performance of this my determined purpoſe, perceiuing my  
ſelfe, though not vnwilling, yet vnable to publiſh anie worke wholie of

mine owne deuise, woorthie the regard of so great a Prince, and the reading of so iudicall a censure. I resolued at last vpon this booke: a worke, not so long, as learned; containing matter, not so hard, as true: written by an Author, not so late, as famous, which I haue faithfullie translated, and partlie gathered, and wholie dedicated to your excellent Maieſtie. For as all scripture inspired from aboue, is profitable to teach, to reprocue, to correct, and to instruct in righteouſnesse, that the man of God may be wise vnto saluation; and perfect vnto all good works: so in this worke is diuine a perfect forme of the most ancient religion, & true seruice of God set downe by the Apostles. In it is reprooued the huge heape of heresies and errors sproong up in the church, since the incarnation of Christ, with the particular discouerie of the Romane Antichristian kingdome: In it is comprised a due correction of sundrie defaults in life, and defects in gouernement: In it is deliuered a perfect instruction for soundnesse of conscience and sinceritie of conuersation to all estates: besides manie speciall comforts to the troubled, exhortations to the slowe, perswasions to the doubtfull, incouragements to the forward, reprehensions of the obstinate, explications of hard scriptures, distinctions of difficult saings, discoueries of false arguments, and definitions of diffiſe questions. And as for the Author in a word or two: neuer was there yet found anie aduersarie so enuious, as to denie his learning; nor so subtil, as to refell his arguments; nor so wise, as to ouer-reach his discretion; nor so terrible, as to driue him from his godlie purpose; no nor so malicious, as to slander his life: wherein he bestowed his time, and behaued himselfe not onlie as a right Euangelist, but (if it be lawfull so to saie) as a verie Apostle. Wherefore, I most humbly beseech your Maieſtie, that according to your accustomed gracious fauour, it will please you to be partaker of these fruits of his, and protector of these labours of mine, soyme and sproong up, ripened and gathered, begun and ended within the walles of your Highnesse Court, by your most faithfull and loiall subiect and seruant.

But now in making mention of this matter, I cannot but call to mind with ioye and reuerence, that this our native countrie did first of all kingdoms in the world, faithfullie receiue, and publickely professe the religion of Christ. And it reioiceth me much more, that after so long and so foule

a fall of the house of God, this of all other kingdoms did first openlie endeavour to repaire the ruines thereof: a principall labourer in which worke was D. Peter Martyr, who long sustained vpon his owne, and almost onlie shouldlers the greatest weight of this burthen: but most of all doo I praise the Lord euen from my hart, that after Satan our ancient enimie had giuen a sharp assault vpon Gods saints, who began to laie both their beds & their hands to the new building of this temple, the Lord, by your Maieſtie, though weake in respect of your sex, yet strong by his power (who chooseth the weake things of this world to confound the strong, that his power might appeere in our infirmities) repelled his violence, defeated his practises, withstood his force, ouertrew his complices, and proceeded to the reedification of his church. O that blessed daie, wherein your Maieſtie was placed in your roiall seate, to restore the decayed church, so long captiuated vnder cruell Pharao and idolatrous Nabuchad-nezar! wherein the bloud of so manie thousand seruants of God was saued from the vile hands of Antichristian tormentors: wherein the desperate estate of poore scelie afflicted banished soules was recovered and restored by a mighty hand and stretchèd-out arme, from Babylon, to Ierusalem; from Dan & Bethel, to the holie hill of Sion; from superstition, to religion; from idolatrie, to true worship; from the heatbenish masse, to a christian Communion: from papisticall rites, to apostolicall ceremonies; from beads to prayers; from legends to sermons; from bondage to libertie: and euen as it were from hell to heauen. O that all Christian English harts would celebrate that happie daie with all ioyfull solemnities, with all praises to God, and prayers for you, who reduced vs in triumph, your selfe as principall captiue leading the danse before the arke of the Lord! It was your Maieſtie that reuined those good and godlie decrees, which your most renowned father and gracious brother had made for the repairing of the Lords tabernacle. You sent laborers vnto the building, you prescribed them perfect rules, whereby to square euerie stone and peece of timber according to the paterne that the Lord shewed Moses in the mount: You commanded them to raise their building vpon the foundations of the prophets and apostles, Iesu Christ being the head corner stone. But ô lamentable case to be sorrowed of all such, as seeke saluation in Christ alone, and sigh with unspeakable grones to see the perfect finishing and furnishing

furnishing of the holie temple. The enimie hath sowed tares among the good seed, Reum and Samsai with their adherents haue bended themselves against the children of God. The sonne of perdition exalting himselfe in the temple of God, above all that is called God, hath spread diuers nets, laid many snares, digged deepe pits, used sundrie, some bloudie, some craftie meanes to hinder the worke, and to destroye the workmen: now by out-criengs & horrible rorings of the Romish bull: now by attempting forreine power, to depose your Highnesse from your state, and discharge your loiall subiects of their allegiance: now by asaieng how he could preuaile by more than ciuill sword: now by raising sundrie dangerous and damnable sects and sectaries to diminish the credit, and binder the good successe of the Gospell: now by sophisticall writing and printing against the receiued truth, mightilie confirmed by the inuincible word of God: and lastlie by conueieng in that secret seminarie of sedition, which close-lie and craftilie entering into this realme, vnder pretense of long prayers, deuoure widowes houses, lead captiue simple women, and other sillie seduced soules, trauell by land and sea to make proselytes double woorse the children of hell than they themselves: and so rob your Maiestie of your subiects, God of his creatures, Christ of his members, the people of their saluation: and vnder a colourable cloke of defending themselves, and bewailing their owne estate, in their pharisaicall libels, ouer-boldlie dedicated to your Maiestie, and the Lords of your Honourable priuie Councell, doo traiterouslie insinuate & vnjustlie accuse you and your most moderate lawes and statutes of intollerable rigour and crueltie. But such as their doctrine is wicked and worldlie, such are their words false and forged. Howbeit, all these their pestilent deuises and designements notwithstanding, as your Maiestie hath begun most godlie, and most maruellouslie proceeded, so go you forward most happilie from faith to faith, from strength to strength, and from glorie to glorie, vntill Christ shall tread downe his and your enemies vnder his feet and yours. Arme your selfe, most mightie Princeesse, with the principall spirit of fortitude, strengthen your hart with the certieintie of the truth, repose your faith on the onelie written word, cast your hope and care vpon the prouidence diuine. So shall you neuer need to feare, neither the maine forces of your professed enemies, nor the dissembled practises of your pretended friends.

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For so renowned is your name and honour among all godlie Princes, as no ennie can diminish your glorie: so trulie doo your people loue you, as no secret treason can be hid from your person: so wise and circumspect is your Councell, as no forreine practises can preuaile against you: so strong is your Kingdome, so well furnished your munition, so terrible your nauie, and so stedfast your fortune. Again, so valiant are your subiects, so manie in number, so frequented with victories, so readie to your defense, so assured to their countrie, and so zealous in religion: On the other side, so godlie are your owne purposes, so miraculous your proceedings, so peaceable your desires, so bountifull your benefits, and so cleare your owne conscience: so cleare, if I saie, speciallie from the blood of all men, as there remaineth no more in this worke of yours, but that you utterlie shake off all feare, and put your trust in the Lord of hosts, and so finish this glorious building. Which being performed, blesse you with Salomon all the church of Israel, and with all your people giue thanks vnto God the father in his deere sonne, because he hath dealt mercifullie with you, and made you more gracious and honourable in his sight, than anie King and Prince of the earth. And now, as your Maiestie for your owne part, by the speciall assisting grace of God, hath bene hitherto, and is at this daie, and shall by Gods grace for euer be throughlie settled and grounded on the right side, of all questions now in controuersie betweene vs and our aduersaries: so to the end that your people may continuallie vnderstand how they haue bene carried awaie by false teachers from the sinceritie and singleness of the Gospell published by the Apostles, and established in this your realme, vnto a multitude of erroneous opinions and mans inuentions: and that no faithfull subiect hereafter may iustlie claime of ignorance, or pretend a readinesse to followe the truth, if it were rightlie taught, and easie to be found: your Maiestie of your godlie zeale, hath vouchsafed to suffer the works of manie learned and true professors to haue free course in all your dominions to all good and godlie effects and purposes. Wherein you haue not onlie performed all the good parts of a gracious Christian Queene, but haue thereby saued infinite soules, which otherwise without the benefit thereof had liued still in blindness, and died in danger of euermorelasting damnation. Wherefore, seeing this booke of D. Peter Martyrs Common places,

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ces, among and above all other bookes written of like argument will most fullie and sufficientlie satisfie all those that read the same with a single eie, and bring not with them consciences vn sensible, seared vp with an hot iron : and seeing all the doctrine herein comprehended, is agreeable to the word of eternall life, and conformable to the religion restored in this your Realme, I am euisones most humbly to desire your Maie-  
*stie, that the same may obtaine free passage throughout your Kingdome. Whereby your Maie-  
 stie, besides all other benefites, for the which I stand  
 most deepe-ly bounden vnto your Highnesse, shall heape vpon me a grati-  
 ous fauour, by vouchsafing my labours so great a credit : vpon the Author  
 himselfe, by giuing him so famous a testimonie : vpon your naturall sub-  
 iects, by granting them so singular a commoditie : yea & vpon your selfe,  
 by witnessing to all posteritie and succeding ages, how highly you esteeme  
 the learning and vertue of so excellent a man. Finallie, you shall doo that,  
 which will redound to the glorie of almighty God, to the credit of the  
 time, the increase of the church, the furtherance of the Gos-  
 pell, the extirpation of error, the aduancement of ver-  
 tue, and to the vtter ouertrowe of all vngod-  
 lineesse together with Antichrist and  
 all his adherents.*

At your Maiesties Court in Greenwich the eight of Maie. 1583.

Your Maiesties most humble subiect  
 and faithfull seruant,

ANTHONIE MARTEN.



To the Christian  
 Reader.



Among all the sundrie and manifold affaires of this short life of ours, there is nothing (good Christian Readers) that so needlie toucheth man, whether we regard the end wherevnto he was first made, or the saluation, which he hath obtained by Christ, or the lone he hath to his owne kind, as dooth religion. For if man be carried with a continuall desire of increasing mankind in the propagation of the flesh ; with how much more ardent desire is he lead to multiply the spirituall seed of soules ? Becaue he knoweth, even by the light of nature ingrafted in his hart, and by a consideration of the power omnipotent, and prouident gouernement of all things, not onelie that man consisteth of two partes, the soule and the bodie :

but that though the bodie die, and be dissolved into dust, yet the soule is immortal, and neuer perissheth. And therefore all people in the world, in what countrie foueer they liue, and what maner of God foueer they serue, doo most highlie esteeme their owne religion : whereby they thinke, of mortall and corrupt creatures, to make a long and euertlasting generation, and of a daileie dissolved knot of societie, to make a perpetual bond of friendship. And for this cause, when all other questions and debates, betweene man & man, betweene state and state, betweene kingdome and kingdome, whether they concerne the bodie, or the temporall goods & possessions, are easilie decided, and in procelle of time are finished, and the aduersaries at the length reconciled : yet the controuersie in religion, which toucheth the conscience, which concerneth soules, which pertaineth to eternall saluation, not of one onlie, but of innumerable others, is neuer finished, is neuer pacified, is neuer quieted. And as this happeneth generallie betweene all religions in the world ; so the neerer that religions be of likenesse, the harder it is to disforme the difference ; the neerer the aduersaries be of countrie and kindred, the sharper is the contention, and the more desperate is the hope of reconciliation.

Now then, if euer this position haue bene found true, betweene anie religions or anie people in the world, how cleerlie is it seene in the differences of the Christian religion : but how sensible is it perceived here among our owne nation ? For who can without great lamentation and griefe, yea without abundance of teares flowing from his hart, remember the endless strife which groweth as well by words as writing betweene the Romanists and vs for the cause of religion ? Or what hart dooth not melt, so see the intollerable rage & vniuersall crueltie, which the pretended Catholiks execute against the poore professors of the Gospell ? Would to God that once all we, which be as it were of one faith, and for whom Christ shed but one and the selfe-same blood, and which hold the grounds of one and the selfe-same religion, and which haue but one and the selfe-same word, for the comfort of all our soules, would once condescend to one and the selfe-same doctrine ! Which we might easilie bring to passe, if they that make themselves the rulers of the Lords house, would seeke not their owne, but Iesus Christs : if they would not trust in their owne righteousness, but in the righteousness of faith, which Christ hath obtained for vs : if they would iudge themselves, that they might not be iudged of the Lord : if they would once with indifferent eares, and obedient harts, giue place to the truth, when it is laid be-  
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for them out of the holie word, or when their errors be plainlie confuted by inuincible arguments and authorities: if they would shake off the dregs of their owne vaine opinions, and the maliciousnesse of their owne cruell minds towards vs, and with a single hart and faithfull zeale towards God and his truth, would read and vnderstand, and laing afide all the trust and confidence that they haue of their owne cause, would come and confer charitable with vs, with all desire of true knowledge and sincere vnderstanding of the heauenlie word. Or if they that call themselves ancient and catholike, would once effectualie shew that their doctrine was written or taught either by the apostles, or by the primitive church. Or else when they call vs new masters, would shew where any opinion which we hold, is newlie sprung vp and deuised of vs, and which we doo not sensible prouoe to be deriued from Christ and his apostles. Wherefore, to the intent that all ye, my beloved bretheren, whose saluation in Christ I regard as mine owne, may haue continuallie before your eyes, if ye be of the reformed church, how to answer your aduersaries, or if ye be of the deformed synagog, how to discern your errors: I haue laid before your eyes, in your owne mother tongue, the summe of all D. Martyrs doctrine: not your countreiman indeed; but yet one, that for your sakes passed manie dangerous brunts by sea and by land, before kings and princes, publickly and priuately: that left his owne welth and quietnes, to instruct you in truth and godlinesse: that rested neither daie nor night to teach you the right waie of the Lord, and who contemned his owne life to gaine you to the Gospell of Christ. Innumerable books at this daie are written by manie zealous and faithfull men, wherein the errors of the Romish church haue bene discovered; but yet in none, nor fearefull of all are so cleerely confuted all the arguments of the aduersaries, as in this booke. Manie hard questions in the scriptures by manie haue bene asked, but no-where so manie and so difficult, as in this booke. Behold therefore here in the freed of all volumes one, to satisfie both the learned and vnlearned, the true professor and the false whisperer in all the waies of godlinesse, and all the principall points of true religion. If this will not suffice thee in all the controversies handled therein (and therein are handled in a manner all) of what opinion fouer thou be, thou wilt neuer be satisfied. Five yeeres continuallie haue I travelled herein: that since the Lord hath not indued me with such sufficient knowledge and vnterance, as I might be accounted worthie the roome of a builder in the church, yet at the least-wile I might serue the seruants of the Lord, in bringing to their hands such excellent stuffe and matter, as the most skillfull artificers and messengers of Christ haue already prepared for the worke. What paines, diligence, and faithfulness I haue vsed therein, I shall not need to be mine owne witness, others will testifie for me. And to shew the manner of my proceeding, and the manifold lets I had before I could achieve to my purpose, by reason of the heape of Editions, and multitude of Additions that came forth together, while the worke was in hand, were ouer-long to recite. Neuerthelesse, by comparing of this booke with the last edition in Latine, printed this present yeere of the Lord 1583: which all at my speciall request and instance was in manie places amended, and greatly increased, the same will most euidentlie appeere. Yet this must I needs shew you (good Reader) both for your contentment, and mine owne discharge; that if they find that the number of Common places herein, and euerie particular section in euerie place concur not in each respect with the said last Latine copie, vnderstand that we haue gained somwhat thereby: seeing you shall there perceiue, that I haue heaped more matter of Common place out of Master Martyrs Commentaries, than did Massonius a learned and painfull man, who gathered together the Latine booke: or else I haue placed some certaine things in a more exquisite order. All which notwithstanding I did by the aduise of vertue learned and excellent men. And besides sundrie and manifold additions, which out of the Commentaries I haue inserted into the Common places, you shall find the Disputations, which he made at Oxford with certain learned aduersaries of the Gospell: and also a notable sermon of reedification of the church, and some learned epistles, neither in the Latine booke, nor before extant in print, but brought to light by mine owne industrie and diligent search.

And last at last should mistrust, that I being not exercised in the studie of diuinitie, might not be able to performe so great a charge, and faithfullie to translate so notable a worke, wherein is comprehended so manifold learning, so incomparable knowledge, and so diuine

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vnderstanding; especiallie I liuing in the Court, as it were in continuall peregrination, and as a Rechab among the children of Israel: I thought it good for the satisfiing of you (my deere and welbeloued bretheren in the Lord) to let you vnderstand, that although the time of comming forth of the booke were hereby prolonged, yet the faithfull translation of the same was nothing hindered. For by this meanes I had fit oportunitie to confer and examine the same with sundrie persons of great learning and iudgment: neither did I presume to bring it into light, before I had found out the perfect sense of euerie thing, and was fullie resolu'd in euerie word, clause, and sentence, which was hard or doubtfull. And herewithall added, that what want of skill fouer might be ascribed vnto me, that hath my care and diligence fullie supplied. Wherefore, all godlie Readers, being by this means perswaded, it shall be verie profitable for them to bestowe some time in the studie of this booke: whereby perhaps the better leamed themselves may more readilie & with greater liking discern the hardnesse and doubtfulness, which otherwhile appeareth in the Latine booke: especiallie, where some of the ancient fathers be cited. Whereby also the lesse skillfull and learned sort, by applying their minds to the reading and remembering of those things, which they shall find herein, shall be fullie satisfi'd in the greatest matters, and be able to stop the mouthes of the most leamed aduersaries, in the cheefest controuersies of religion. And for this cause would I exhort the ministers of the word, not to let passe so good an occasion. Whome it the name of Iesus Christ I exhort, that they hauing taken vpon them to weightie a charge, will not be negligent in their excellent vocation, but will wholely dedicate themselves daie and night to all manner of godlie readings: necessarie for their function. For the better performance whereof, if they doo not knowe how to order their studies, and to benefit the church, I haue at the end of this Preface set downe a breefe waie and example for them to follow, with the right vse of common places of the scripture. Wherewith, if euerie one, because of my breuitie, shall not thinke himselfe satisfi'd, I refer them, which vnderstand the Latine, to Hyperius, an excellent writer to this purpose in his booke *De ratione studij Theologici*, where they shall bee fullie instructed. And when they are by this manner of meanes made fit harolds to proclaim the name of the Lord in Sion, I would desire them, and all other which seeke the truth, and would gladlie haue the church of the Lord to be restored to the right forme that God hath prescribed in his holie word, that they will set to their hearts and hands to the building vp of the same: and indeouor by all meanes possible to reduce the wandring flocke vnto their owne heepesfold.

And first of all ye my good Lords, whome I honour, reuerence, and obeie in my heart, with all durie and seruice; ye to whom the seruant of God our deare Soueraigne hath committed the sword of gouernment; ye which be the nurses, and pillars, and defenders of the English church; ye which be vnto vs, as Moses, Iosua, and Samuel to the children of Israel: continue ye the great care and zeale that ye haue alwaies borne to the true religion: and prouide that both by the faithfull execution of hir Highnes lawes, and by the vertuous example of your owne life, the church of England may be commended and well spoken of among all nations. But principallie I beseech you put to your helping hand, that the Bishops, pastors, and all others, that haue auncie commission to gouerne the church and causes ecclesiasticall, be so chosen, as their godlines of life be of all men allowed, their soundnesse of doctrine cleerely approued, their boldnesse in professing thoroughlie well tried, their gifts of edifiing of all men perceiued; and which seeke not for the desire of honour, but reuerie for edification of the church, the liuings, honours, and authorities giuen vnto them: which being performed, ye shall be rid of infinite care and businesse; otherwise your labours will be no whit lessened, nor your heauie burthen lightened: but the appeales vnto you will be daily increased, and the troubles of the church remaine vnpacified. And this will be one speciall furtherance to the building vp of the Lords temple.

Furthermore, ye that be the Bishops and cheefe Prelates of the congregation; my honourable Lords and reuerend fathers in Christ, which haue committed vnto you the care of the Lords house, and of the ministers of the same; I beseech you for the discharge of your owne offices and consciences, for the more speedie reedification of the temple, and for the desire ye haue of the choicest felicitie, ye will haue a watchfull eie vnto your charge: and that ye will neither for fauour, nor for affection, nor for priuate commoditie, nor not at

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the speciall sute of anie mortall man, admiranie other ministers, than such as bee learned, graue, and of good report among all men : and vnto whom God hath giuen gifts to edifie in the congregation. That ye will likewise prouide by your gouernment, that all things may be doone to the glorie of God, to spirituall edification, and to a decent order in the church. That ye suffer no notorious fault to escape unpunished, and that there be no occasion giuen to the aduersaries to speake euill of the Gospell for your sakes. That ye will by all meanes possible reconcile the diuersitie of opinions, and make that we may speake and thinke and beleuee all one thing in Christ Iesus. That ye will liue in a continuall peregination in your diocese : and not onelie visit all your particular churches (if it be possible by your selues, if not, by your faithfull and well chosen officers) but eftsomies also search and inquire, whether your decrees be executed, and all disorders amended. Remember if anie part of the Lords houle fall to deciae by your default, it shall be required at your hands; but if it be kept in good plight by your diligence and good ouersight, ye shall reape an incomparable reward in the kingdome of heauen. What remaineth now, when ye and other excellent men haue by your writing, and by your teaching and preaching both confirmed the true religion, and confuted all superfluous doctrine; but that all the aduersaries will be ashamed and yeeld, when they see your diligence in gouerning, and vnblameableness of liuing ioined with the godlie zeale of your preaching : if they perceiue you to contemne all things as dung in comparisn of the Gospell of Christ, and to be readie, if need shall require, to laie downe your life for the brethren : finallie, if ye mortifie your selues to the world, that ye may liue vnto Christ. For vnlesse life and gouernement be ioined with preaching and teaching, ye labour in vaine, and withhold the truth of God in vrichtousnesse, making the word of God of none effect. And ye shall but loofe your labour in rising earlie, and in late taking rest, and in eating the bread of carelesnesse. For if all these things be not performed of you, whatsoeuer ye build vp with the one hand, ye plucke downe with the other.

Again, ye that be the heads of both the Vniuersities, haue ye a circumspect eye that there be no corrupt member within your Colleges; and where ye perceiue anie such to growe vp, let him be examined and weeded out from the good corne, leaſt he persuaide Israell to commit sinne and idolatrie. Cease ye not, but declare him to the magistrates which may take further order for him, leaſt he by his libertie infect other places in the realme.

And generally, all ye that be the common people, which liue in hope of your felicitie, and looke for the second coming of our Sauour, be ye diligent in hearing and reading of the word. And cease not there, but if there be anie necessarie place which you doo not easilie vnderstand, compare it diligentlie with other places of the scripture which concerne that matter. If this will not suffice, consult ye either with some godlie and learned man, or with this and such other learned bookes how that place should be trulie vnderstood. And for this cause speciallie (beloued Readers) I haue set forth vnto you large and ample tables, whereby ye may, by the alphabet of letters, find out a full exposition of all those things, which this booke setteth forth out of the holie scriptures necessarie to saluation. Those read, I saie, with all humilitie; but be not too curious in searching out of the mysteries, which be too high aboue you : but desire God alwaies, that ye may see what the good and acceptable will of the Lord is. For it is no wonder why a great part of the world is yett full lead in blindness, sith it is their owne wilfulness that causeth their error : it is their owne negligence that maketh their ignorance : it is their owne malignant hart that drieth the Lord to refuse them. When Augustine was conuerted from Manicheisme to the true religion, hee was commanded by the spirit of God, To take vp the booke and read. And the Eunuch in the Acts, when he was diligent in searching out of a myserie that tended to saluation : God sent Philip to interpret vnto him. And thinke we that he will not send his spirit to interpret vnto vs, when we earnestlie desire him by praier to vouchsafe vnto vs the right vnderstanding of his word?

Now last of all, though with griefe and lamentation of hart, I conuert my speech vnto you the pretended Catholiks of England. O ye blind guides, the leaders of the blind into the destruction of their soules ! I bewaile your willfull care, howsoeuer ye your felues reioise in your euils. The God of this world hath blinded your minds, for ye disdain the glorious Gospell of Christ, and deride the plaine fynceritie thereof; ye are enemies to the true church,

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euert to them that Christ bought with his pretious blood; ye hate your owne flesh and blood; ye storme and rage against your mothers childrens and that more furiously and maliciouslie than against the Turks and infidels that haue no knowledge of Christ. Ye are deceiued and seduced in the waie of the Lord; and your ignorance is willfull because ye will not take vp the booke of the holie scriptures, and labour earnestlie therein, that ye might trie and searce out the truth: but ye followe your owne waies, and the decciueable paths of your forefathers : neither will ye suffer the simple sort to read it, or the true interpreters of it. Ye knowe that there is but one true religion, and that there be assured marks to knowe the same by : but ye in so diuine a thing choofe rather to trie a certeinie by such vn certaine marks, as the corrupt hart of man doth deuise, than by the infallible rule of the word of God. Ye knowe that all things in the world, which are out of square, must be compared by that rule and patterne from whence it was deriued. The picture of a man is examined according to that man whom it representeth, or by the first lineaments taken from him. A house to be built is set vp according to the platforme drawne for the same. A keie is shapen according to the print of the originall. Euerie offense committed against the lawe of man, is examined by the lawe prouided against that offense. If it so fare in temporal things, and that by reason of the vn certainie of mans iudgement, humane things must be tried not by mans will, but by mens rules; how much more then must the doctrine of Gods religion be tried by the rule of Gods word, and by no other meanes? Howbeit, ye will haue no other iudges of controuerſies but your selues, nor anie others to interpret the truth, but your selues : you consider not that ye be our aduersaries, and that no aduerſarie parts may be their owne iudges : ye see not that we are growne of equal number with you; our bookes and volumes as manie, and as great as yours; our arguments not onelie in number as manie, but in prooffe and substance more inuincible than yours. The fathers doo differ; your selues doo varie; Counsels doo erre; all men be lyers : but the word of God is true and endurth for euer. Why doo you not then confesse, that the written word is the most equal and indifferent iudge; and that the spirit of God speaking out of it to the harts of men, is the verie right and iust interpreter of the Lords will : and that no mortall man may presume to knowe his will further than he hath declared vnto him out of his holie word : but ye intermingle all, both diuine and humane things together. Ye make the waies of the Lord to be your waies : ye thinke it vnpossible that Christ sitting in heauen can rule his church vpon the earth by his spirit, and by the gouernement of Christian magistrates, vnlesse he haue one principall prelate on the earth for his vicar : (and him onelie will you haue to be the bishop of Rome) vnlesse the counsels of men doo establish after their manner that, which the counsell of God hath already decreed after his manner.

Besides this, of an insatiable hatred that you beare vnto vs, and vnto the truth which we professe, ye crye out against all our translations of the bible, and ye continually beate in to the eares of the simple, that they differ one from another, and euerie one from the truths and for this cause ye forbid men to read them at all, vnles they be translated by your selues. We grant indeed that our translations differ in words, but verie seldom in sense : if at anie time in sense, yet neuer in matter of great importance. As for differing in words, we proue that there was neuer yet anie mortall man, two, three, or mo, that without an apparent miracle could speake, write, and interpret ore and the selfe-same thing, after one and the selfe-same manner, with the verie same words. Which interpreters notwithstanding, whilst they keepe the true sense, are not to be condemned, though they varie in words : wherefore to saie the verie truth, the difference of our translations is rather in found of words, than in sense or meaning. And where there be anie alterations, they be seldom anie corrections, but explanations. But put the case there be some few elapses of small weight in some of the first editions, & perhaps some few in the latter, by reason of mistaking some Greeke, or Hebrue, or Syrian word or phrase : shall this make the word of God to be of none effect? Shall the people for this cause not once looke into the whole scripture for their owne comfort and edification? Shall the few small faults of an interpreter forbid a wounded conscience to seeke a medicine for his maladie, and a salue for his sore? Shall men be denied the vse of all vessels, gold and siluer, if anie cracke or flawe happen vnto them? Shall euerie pretious iewel that is not adorned with the finest gold, and with the best foiles, be cast awaie? Shall

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euerie good land that hath a bauke or bunch, be left vnmanured? Shall euerie good man that is able to do seruice in the Common-weale be abandoned, for committing one or two small offences? If we see no pretious thing in the world, that for anie accidental blemish is contemned & cast awaie; shall the rich diamond of the word of God be kept from the vfe of Christians, because of some few words misconstrued by some vnadvised men? Will ye denie the new testament lately translated by your Iesuits into English, to all the English pretended Catholiks, because some certeine words be misinterpreted therein: some childishlie affectate, & some in the verie sense it selfe corrupted? You should haue dealt more charitably with vs, and not so vniustlie haue accused all our translations: but especially if ye had spied anie thing amisse in the first Editions, which are mended in the latter: you should not so maliciouslie haue laid those things to our charge; and with more trauell you should haue learned the truth of the Greeke before you had objected vnto vs such things, as now turne to your owne shame and reproofe. I thought to haue spoken somewhat at large in the defence of our translations: but sith that learned Diuine Master D. Fulke, whose great labour and diligence in the church I can neuer sufficientlie commend, hath so stronglie, and so lately confuted all the causes objected against the same, as all you that be the aduersaries shall neuer be able by all your replies to shake the credit of that booke, much lesse to continue or disprove it; therefore I passe it ouer with a word or two: assuring you, that we haue doone nothing partiallie; but so far as God hath lent vs his talent, we haue searched out both the Latine and Greeke in all those places, wherein might be anie mistak of corruption, and wrong interpretation. Again, if we according to the Greeke copies haue translated otherwise than your Latine translations will beare, so long as the same agreeeth with the rest of the doctrine of the holie scriptures, it is warrant enough for vs to vse the same, and too great rashnesse of you to denie it. Furthermore, we confesse, that we in our translations are not so precise, but that where the words of the Greeke, or Hebrue, or Latine be so difficult, as they cannot be liuelie exprest word for word, especially in the English toong, we haue sometimes added a necessarie word by the sense of the place to be vnderstood; which you haue not doone in your translation of the new testament: and therefore haue you left such vnperfect sentences, and haue giuen such absurd termes, as euerie good man dooth pite and lament your great fruiidlesse labour. Furthermore, it may be, that we haue not in euerie word kept the proper English of the Greeke or Hebrue, as neither yee haue doone altogether out of the vulgar Latine in your translation; yet neuertheless will the circumstances alwaies beare the same: and so can it not be iustlie said, that we haue anie waie altered the sense. But now would I not haue you thinke, that we haue spoken this, as though the doctrine which we teach cannot be defended, vnlesse our translations be iustified at large. For our doctrine is vnreprouable, and that which we defend is found, and the verie same that Christ left in his word, that the apostles and all the fathers taught in the primitive church; that we haue receiued from them by the testimonie of their owne writings, and haue manie times sealed with our owne blood: finally, that we haue confirmed with innumerable books and writings, and that we will still stedfastlie defend so long as we haue breath in our bodie. Wherevpon also we conclude, that since all our translations are consonant to this doctrine, consonant to the originall copies of the Greeke and Hebrue, and consonant to that, which the apostles and fathers taught in the primitive church; that ye be sufficientlie authorized of themselves, without receiuing anie further defense from vs.

But what doo ye of the Seminate of Rhemes thinke, if we should receiue into our church the translation, which ye your selues lately made (simple I meane, and nakedlie without anie of your corrupt notes, and blasphemous glosses) would not the verie same confirme all our opinions in the cheefest matters, as much in a manner as our owne translations? For it is not your phantasticall & new deuised termes, that can make Christs true religion contrarie to it selfe: that can alter the sense and meaning of the holie Ghost, that can either misseke our true & grounded positions, or strengthen your false & forged objections. Neither can the name of Chalice in steed of Cup, turne our Communion into your Masse; nor Super substantiall in steed of Dailie, or true bread from heauen in the Lords praiser, turne naturall bread into the bodie, flesh, and blood of Christs nor Hosts in steed of Sacrifices, conuert our sacrifices of Thanks-giuing, Prailer, Almes, and Mortification into the vn-

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bloudie sacrifice of the Masse, and hanged vp Idoll of the Altar. Nor can the name of [Penance] for Repentance, establish your Satisfaction; nor [Condigne] for Woorthie, take away the woorthinesse of Christs death, to erect your merits of Condignitie; nor [Inuocate] for Calling vpon, establish your Inuocation of Saints; nor yet anie other of your new inkpot termes (to wit, [Impudicitie] for wantones; [Longanimitie] for long sufferings; [Pracuror] for forerunner; [Euangelize] for preaching the good tidings of the Gospells; [Azymis] for vni-leued Breads; [Pasce] for the daie of Preparation; [Sandalized] for Offended; [Conti-farte] for making Sorie; [Propiciat] for making Reconciliation; [Depositum] for a thing committed to the hands of another; [Victims] for Sacrifices; [Prepuce] for vnicumcisions; Contradicted] for Spoken against; [Resuscitate] for Stir vp; [Holocaust] for Burnt offerings; [By iuncture of Subministration] for, By joining together of that which seruet, &c. and infinite other such obscure and new inuented words which might easilie enough with some small Periphrasis, without hinderance of the sense, haue beene put in plaine English) that can make good anie of your heathenish superstitions. What need the common people be now fere to schoole to their dieng daie, before they can learne that out of Latine, by strange and difficult words, which alreadie they know as perfectlie as their Patern noster in plaine English, with a long acquainted custome? Was this Christs & his Apostles maner of teaching? Did they not speake in the plainest termes they could possible deuse, to make those whom they spake vnto vnderstand them? Did not babes and sucklings vnderstand that, which the Lord himselfe spake? Was not for this cause the gift of toongs sent downe to the Apostles, to the intent they might interpret euerie thing to euerie man in their owne naturall language? Wherefore, be ye better aduised hereafter, in accusing of our translations, before ye haue purged and perfected your owne; and before your gaines in this matter may be comparable to the trauell that you haue taken therein. Now then, since all these translations of ours haue beene doone by faithfull, learned, and godlie men, and of a good, sincere, and godlie purpose, we praise God perpetuallie, and commend the good indeouours of them. And we most humble and earnestlie desire of God, that because there is no perfect wisdom nor knowledge in man, vnlesse it be giuen from aboue: and that there were neuer anie mortall men, that without the assisting grace of the spirit of God, could doo anie thing so true and exactlie, but others after them might find some imperfection therein, it will please him for his sonnes sake to lighten continuallie the minds of men of vnderstanding, that they may daile put to their helping hands to the perfect polishing of this excellent translation, And let vs magnifie the Lord of heauen and earth, that hath turned the enie of you, which be our aduersaries, to the aduancement of his owne glorie, the increase of our diligence, the refutation of your errors, and benefit of his church. For ye hate vs vnmercifullie, because we deliuer the word of God vnto all the people indifferently to be read in their owne mother toong; and yet being forced to confesse, that the same ought not to be deteined from them, haue euen against your owne wils, in some respect set forth the glorie of God: and so by the selfe same sword, wherewith ye thought to haue destroyed vs, ye haue pearfed your owne bowels, confounded your selues, ouerthrowne your owne counterfet and false doctrine, and maruellouslie established the truth of our profession. And herein moreover are we beholding to God, though not vnto you (which ment not thereby either to pleasure vs, or to edifie the people) in so much as by the narrow sifting which ye haue made of our opinions, and translations, we knowe the verie vttermost which you are able to breath at, and braie out against vs. And that by this means, if yet there remaine anie thing that lieth in our power to performe which hatherto haue beene neglected, we may run therevnto with all willingness of heart, till at length we come to that principall marke, whereto we tend with all our desire and godlie indeouours.

Moreover, ye contend more vehementlie for all these opinions of yours which we denie, than did the ancient fathers with the Montanists, Marcionites, Ariians, and other damnable sects which denied the true humanitie or diuinitie of Christ: or as though the holie scripture had as plainlie and precise commended those things, as it did euerie other thing that ye and we both alike confesse. And yet Christ and the Apostles in setting downe all things in the scripture necessarie to saluation, gave not so much as a word or signe of anie such opinion. If your opinions had bene of necessitie to beleeue, as yee pretend vnto vs

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that they are; or if so the pleasure of God had beene, that we should imbrace them, would the holie Ghost haue passed ouer in silence fo weightie matters; and for the which hee knew fo great controuertie should afterward arise betwene the true church and the false? Would our mercifull God, that so tenderlie loueth his elect, and so desiroullie would haue them all to be saved; and who suffereth not his truth to faile, nor his Gospell to be hidden from anie, but from them that perish; would he, I saie, hide from his owne, anie of the necessarie principles of religion? If he kept nothing backe from the Ephesians, but shewed them euell all the counsell of God; would he be anie thing lesse mercifull vnto vs than he was vnto them, by not shewing to vs in his written word, that which by epistles and preaching the spirit taught vnto them? No verlie; but what he shewed vnto them, that hath he shewed vs, that is to saie, hath plainlie taught vs in the holie scriptures. Wherefore laie aside all malicioullieesse and hatred towards vs, and discerne with a pure heart and a single eie, what the good and acceptable will of the Lords is.

Again, you would make the authoritie of your church to bee far greater, than the authoritie of ours; because of a great consent of manie Prelates and Bishops. You weigh not that there is neither authoritie, nor counsell, nor conspiracie, nor consent, nor custome, which is not agreeable to the will and word of God, that is of anie force. We know that an other foundation besides Christ Iesus, which is already laid, can no man laie; and therefore for the true builders will build no other matter vpon that foundation, but such as is derived from the rocke Christ Iesus; but ye haue builded your owne vile trash vpon the same, and therefore the matter being such as neither Christ commanded to build with, nor anie of his seruants long after him vied, nor yet is answerable to the same foundation; wee conclude, that neither your church is Christs church; nor yet the builders thereof, the Lords builders. But wee for our part haue a more certaine and assured word of prophesie for the knowledge of our church, and whereby wee take not vpon vs to worke the Lords worke, with anie other fustie than the Lord himselfe hath appointed. Wee build altogether vpon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Iesus Christ being the head corner stone. And we finish the temple, euen according to that paterne, which is no lesse euidentlie set downe in the euerglasting testament of Iesus Christ, than was the Iewes temple vnto Moses vpon the mount. Therefore is ours the true church, and shall continue for euer, whereas yours shall consume, perish, and come to a fearefull end.

Furthermore, ye boast that the church of God hath long continued quiet without anie general resistance till now of late, that the learned men in Germanie and else-where began to disdaime that the truth of God should so shamefully be abused by couetous and carelesse men. Ye consider not that your forgeries crept in by little and little, now one thing and then another, whole ages betwene: that they sprong vp of deuotion; of a pretense of holines; of a wrong conceit of Gods omnipotencie; of a zeale towards religion, but yet without knowledge: that manie times your opinions either were not refuted, because learned men were otherwise better occupied in confuting of more grosse & palpable heresies: or if they were refuted, those monuments haue perished by the enuie of your side; or else through manie barbarous nations which inuaded Christendome: that manie of your opinions grew by mistaking of counsels, and misconstruing of the fathers, and of their darke and hyperbolicall speeches, and not of anie authoritie receiued from the primitive church: that your church of Rome might more liberallie and without resistance (and therefore more dangeroullie) raise vp errors, hir cite being the mistresse that commanded all nations: that those errors of yours were pretended vnto the common people to be taught out of the word of God, and that it behooued to keepe them vpon paine of damnation; that the godlie were humble and charitable: and besides the opinion they had of the authoritie and learning of bishops and counsels; either for charitie they would not, or for feare they durst not find fault with anie ordinance made by them: further, that God had not as yet put into the harts of kings and great estates to defend those that should find fault with the corruptions of the church; that the professours of the Gospell had not prepared so smooth stones, nor had so aptlings for the purpose as now they haue: for God had not yet prepared the art of Printing, whereby the word runneth verie swiftlie into all parts of the world: that the kings of the earth had not as yet dronke the full draught of the whore of Babylons cup, nor through

rough the infection thereof had shed the vniuersall measure of innocent blood; because the myserie of iniquitie had not yet wrought all his force, neither was that man of sinne so notoriouslie reuealed; whome now the Lord dooth euerie daie more and more destroe with the spirit of his mouth. Further, that the time was not yet come, wherein God by his eternall providence had decreed to build vp the walles of decayed Ierusalem, neither yet was the iudgement of God so neere at hand. Lastlie, that all things were not yet fulfilled, which Christ and his spirit prophesied should come to passe before the latter daie.

Give ouer therefore these insolent and vaine boastings: for the Lord dooth all things in time, in measure and in weight; his purposes are far from mens cogitations, he oftentimes maketh the vilest and basest beginnings to grow vp to the greatest advancements of his glorie; and he knew before all eternitie, whome he had chosen to himselfe. The finnes of your forefathers shall not excuse your wilfull obstinacie: for I saie vnto you, that not onelie they, but the cities of Sodome and Gomorrah would haue converted before this time, if either they had seene the wonders that haue bene doone in your daies; or else had heard the hundred part of preaching, instructing, and confuting of those errors, that ye haue heard, and learned, and throughlie tried. And sith our preachers haue preached vnto you, not themselves, but Iesus Christ; not anie deuse of their owne, but what they haue found in the holie word: and haue taken this labour vpon them, not for ostentation of their owne learning, or for enuie they beare to your persons; but in defense of the truth, but with a zeale of the Lords house, but for reformation of Christs church, but for the manifesting of your false opinions, & for the earnest desire of your saluation, ye should haue imbraced them as the Angels of God, much lesse haue persecuted them to the death. Ye should haue taken this faithful trauell of theirs, as an infallible token from heauen; that as GOD, before the first coming of his sonne, sent manie prophets betimes in the morning to rebuke the finnes of the people, and to shew wherein the priests had violated the lawe of the Lord, and how grieuoullie the false worshippers had defaced his holie sanctuaries: so now before his second comming, he hath sent heapes of these godlie and zealous preachers, to laie open the errors of the church, and to gather into the sheepefold the wandering flocke, & those whom he had predestinated to his kingdom before the foundations of the world were laid. If none of all these things will serue; if nothing will make ye relent; if not yet at the length ye will returne to the true church, for all the spirituall and supernaturall signes and wonders of your daies, for all the admonitions that haue bene giuen you, for all the arguments that haue confused you, for all the word that preuaileth against you, for all you see the latter daie creeping towards you, and the sonne of man as a theefe in the night (stealing vpon you: if still ye will be selfe-willing and obstinate; if still ye will giue more credite to your selues, than to the liuelie word of God; if no yet ye will leaue persecuting of your brethren, by fire & sword, by malicious lies and reproches, and by all manner of wicked waies ye can deuise; and that contrarie to godlines, contrarie to iustice & contrarie to all humanitie, contrarie to the law of nature, and contrarie to your owne consciences, ye will haue the iudgement of religion in your owne hands, and will haue no other interpretation, but such as your selues deuide: behold I pronounce vnto you that the mightie God Iehouah commeth; he commeth, and that speedilie in his owne person, riding vpon the wings of the wind. He will not now seeke anie more reuenge vpon Pharaoh and Nabuchad-nezar, for his people of Israell; nor yet vpon Dioclesian, Iulian, and other heathen tyrants for oppressing the Christians: yet hee will require the blood of righteous Abell, at the hands of his owne brother Cain; of Lot, at his owne citee Sodome; of Iacob, at his owne brother Esau; of Zacharie, at the prince of his owne people; of Christ, at the hands of his owne Ierusalem; and of his saints and martyrs of England, at the hands of their owne countreimen, kinsmen, and brethren. He will not reprocue you for intermitting your vnbloudie sacrifice of the masses; and for not offering vp his sonne euerie daie to his father, which himselfe once for all offered vpon the crosse, seeing he neuer commanded you thus to doo. No, but he will condemne you for mangling his sacraments, and prophaning his ceremonies with your false seruices; for giuing vnto creatures anie part of the honour that is due vnto himselfe; for turning your eares from him when he crieth vnto you out of his holie word; for refusing the congregation of his saints, and ioining your selues to Baal-Peor; for greening his spirit when he founded his



voice into your deafe eares; and for that yee haue persecuted him in his saints vpon the earth. Now the time approacheth, wherein the Lord shall preuaile against you, and shall tread all his enimies vnder his feet. Then shall ye know that the Gospell of Christ is his power vnto saluation, to all them that beleue; and that hee hath continually, since his departure, spoken and interpreted to you, by his holie spirit, speaking out of his word, whatsoever is necessarie to saluation; but ye would not hearken vnto him, no more than the Iewes would vnto Christ, when he told them plainly that he was that verie Messias. Therefore since ye will not giue credit vnto him, by the soft still noyse of his spirit speaking vnto you in his word, he shall come in a mightie consuming fire, with a voice more horrible vnto you than was heard vpon mount Sinai; more terrible than was there the face of his maiestie, victoriouslie leading captiuitie captiue, ioyfullie with all his saints; and triumphantlie with innumerable Angels. He shall gather his elect from all the corners of the earth: and all those which would not hearken to his voice, he shall reiect as they that would not suffer him to reigne ouer them: they shall be cast into the vttermost darkenesse; where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

But all vs that haue bene obedient to his word in this life, and haue sought our righteousnesse in Christ onlie: and which doo sigh and grone for his coming, he shall raise vp on high vnto him, and we shall see the saluation of our God. Let vs therefore with ioyfull and true harts looke vp to heauen aboue, for our redemption draweth neere. Let vs fix our eies and minds vpon our mightie GOD, which commeth in triumph and victorie. Let vs run forth together with palmes in our hands to meet our bridegroom comming vnto vs. Let vs spread our garments before him in the waie, and cry; Blessed is hee that commeth in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in he highest. Then will he receiue vs gladlie and imbrace vs; and because we haue continued with him in his temptations, therefore shall we eate and drinke with him at his table in his kingdome, where hee reigneth eueralstinglie, and shall iudge the world with righteousnesse, and his owne people with equitie.



A breefe waie how Ministers should order their studious  
exercises for to benefit themselves and their flocks, and  
also what good vse they may haue by traueilling in the  
Common places of the Scripture, and in such  
bookes as are already gathered  
to this purpose.



These things doo I write to the Ministers and Curates of the seuerall congregations, but speciallie to them, which hitherto haue not obserued anie conuenient order or method in their studies, whereby they might be able to edifie the Church, and discharge their duties in so excellent and honourable a vocation. And first I exhort them, that they will giue themselves to a continuall and earnest reading and studie of the holie scriptures, which is able to make them wise vnto saluation; and is profitable to teach, to improoue, to correct, and to instruct in righteousnesse. For vnlesse they haue the scriptures verie familiar vnto them, they will sticke at manie things; and while they haue not what to saie, they will either speake that, which rashlie commeth into their owne mind, or else what other men haue inuented. And they which giue themselves to this studie, it shall be requisite that they haue the knowledge of the tooongs, especiallie of the Hebrew and Greeke; wherein the holie books of the scriptures were first written by the Prophets and Apostles: for he that dependeth altogether of interpreters, seeth with other mens eies, and speaketh in another mans mouth. Further, it is necessarie that a Minister be well acquainted with the histories and examples, not onlie of the holie scripture of the old and new testament, but also of all prophane writers: and that he be perfect in the histories and chronicles of his owne countrie, that he may shew vnto his hearers what in old time was either profitable or hurtfull to their ancestors. Besides this, to the intent he may reape some fruit of his studie and labor, two things aboute other are necessarie.

First, that he conceiue a certeine summe of doctrine, which he must drawe together as it were into one bodie, and distinguishing the same againe into their members or common places; that while he teacheth, he may knowe vnto what places or cheefe heads the places of the scripture, which he will interpret to the Church ought to be referred. The other thing is, that he knowe what waie of teaching to take for the commodious and profitable shewing to

## To all godlie Ministers

to the people that, which with much studie he hath learned: so as it may serue for the instruction, edification, and comfort of the hearers. An example of the first kind is the ten Commandements, which afterward both Moses and Christ himselfe drew into a shorter summe on this wise; *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy hart, with all thy mind, and with all thy cogitation, and thy neighbour as thy selfe.* So as vnder this double loue, to wit, of God and our neighbour, Christ comprehendeth all the whole doctrine of religion and christian life. Howbeit, if ye looke more neerelie into the matter, both the loutes are verie largelic extended; for the loue of God stretcheth vnto his seruice, as well inward as outward; and together with faith it comprehendeth the obedience, which we owe vnto him: likewise, the loue of our neighbour is diuided into infinite kinds, according to the diuersitie of men with whom we deale. And in like maner did the Apostles, as *franeus* testifieth, comprise in those few articles of the Creed the summe of Christian religion: which articles in their sermons and writings they did more diligentlie expound.

Neuerthelesse, bicause such expositions are not taught in the holie scriptures in one certaine place or continued order, so as they can be perceiued of euerie one, except he be a verie attentiuereader, it is altogether necessarie that they, which shall profit the Church, doo knowe not onlie the summe in generall of the heauenlie doctrine, but that they can distinguish it into parts and kinds, and distribute the same into their parts and places; both that they may vnderstand how largelic they extend, and what may be godlie and soundlie said as touching each one of them. Thus haue manie and godlie learned men of old, but especiallie of our time doone. And to this purpose are these Common places of our famous Diuine D. *Martyr Vermilius*, according to which forme euerie learned and diligent man may gather to serue his owne vse, take out of such store-houses abundance of treasure when he shall instruct the people. And they that haue once promised so to doo, doo with greater diligence read ouer and studie both the holie & prophane books, and doo more diligentlie weigh whither euerie thing must be referred.

And bicause there be manie things found in the writings of the Philosophers, which they by the common sense and lawes of nature did teach concerning maners and the studie of vertue: and that in the histories of strange nations there be store of all kind of examples, whereof commeth a singular vse in preaching; whether ye will reprocue the licentious life of our time, or exhort your hearers vnto vertue, you shall picke out of them things profitable for your Common places.

But now it shall be necessarie for a Diuine, not onlie to haue matter of doctrine gathered abundantlie as well out of the holie scriptures, as out of the prophane writings; but to be also furnished with the abilitie of teaching, that he may knowe how to frame sermons rightlie, and aptlie dispose the matter

## being studious in Diuinitie

matter of them, which he hath gathered, and to bring in due place all sorts of arguments; with the testimonies and examples of others, and to speake those things in a right order, which shall be necessarie for the hearers to knowe. And herein shall the Minister obserue cheefly two things: one, that he throughlie knowe the true and naturall sense of that place of scripture, which he hath purposed to expound: secondlie, that he applie the same to the capacitie and instruction of the hearers, according to the condition of the time and place. As touching the first, it shall be needfull about all things to knowe the argument and state of all that holie booke, from whence that place is taken; least by neglecting this, he labour without fruit, and speake those things, which neuer perhaps the author thereof ment. As touching the other point, it shall be requisite to looke into our times also, and into the indouours and maners of our men; but especiallie to marke with all diligence the present state or condition of the Church which they serue, and when they preach, to warne diligentlie those that heare them, that those things, which the Prophets and Apostles spake in old time to the men of their age, doo verie fitlie agree with vs and our time. For this maketh them to be verie attentiuereaders, and taketh awaie wearinesse, which oftentimes is wont to inuade them, when they thinke, that whatsoeuer was spoken or written in old time, pertaineth nothing vnto them, nor vnto these daies of ours. And this maner of application ought to be such, as the Apostle teacheth; that *Whatsoeuer is said, should serue vnto edification of the Church.* VVhich rule we shall then followe, if all things be applied to the comfort and instruction of the hearers.

Moreouer, the present state, or some sudden chance otherwhile requirereth, that they shall digresse into some common place: howbeit, this must be so doone, that it appeere they doo it not without a speciall cause. VVherefore, least it should be thought that they altogether go from the matter, which they tooke vpon them to handle, and to breake off rashlie from that which they purposed to speake, not without mistrust of some particular affectation, the place of scripture which they haue in hand must be applied, as much as is possible, to the argument of their digression; and the words thereof in like maner must be repeated and vrged: and finally, their speech must hand somlie returne from whence it digressed; that the hearers may perceiue nothing is spoken altogether from the state or argument of the place, which they handle. In like maner that digression must not be ouer-long and tedious, least both they forget the original points and diuisions of the text, and also be induced thereby to mislike of the learning and teaching of their Minister.

And as concerning the maner of speaking or vtterance, which also must be well considered of, that is best to be liked, which is spoken with a voice neither too high nor too lowe; neither with bitter taunting, nor with too much cockering; neither with one long continued tune, nor yet with anie

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*To all godlie Ministers, &c.*

rash raising or letting fall the voice; neither with ouer-dulnesse of vntering, nor yet with words drowned by hastie speaking. Finallie, it must be such, as is neither affected, nor more losie than is conuenient, neither yet ouer-homelie or vile. For since the greater part of the congregation is vnlearned, whatsoeuer carrieth a shew of a close cunning, and no vulgar manner of teaching, seemeth vnto these obscure and troublesome: and for this cause the hearing is tedious to them, and they reape but small fruit of that, which they vnderstand not. Againe, least the doctrine should be the lesse esteemed by reason of a base maner of speaking, their speech must be somewhat more losie and graue, than that which they familiarlie and commonlie vse, yet so neuertheless, that the grauitie thereof be tempered with perspicuitie and plainnesse of vnderstanding. Againe, in admonishing and reproouing, the Minister must so vse the sharpenesse of the Euangelicall reasoning; that in the meane time he vtterlie abstaine from bold railing and taunting, least he be thought rather to speake things of a stomach, or of priuate hatred, than to seeke the saluation of them that haue sinned, and so to procure no fruit at all by his doctrine, but rather a contempt of the same, and a despising of his office and ministerie.



*To the Readers.*

*Beloued Readers, if ye find that the distribution of euerie seuerall chapter or Common place of the foure parts is not so ampie described in this Table, as they are in the like table in the Latine copie, vnderstand yet that I thought it but superfluous; because of the large alphabetically tables in the latter end of the booke, where ye shall find euerie thing as ampie and particularlie set downe as your selues would wish. And where I haue noted anie more whole Common places than are in the Latine; those haue I signified by a \*.*

## A GENERALL METHOD AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHOLE WORKE.

**S**Ince all Diuinitie (wherein mans cheefe good is expressed) is accomplished in the true knowledge of GOD, and that we acknowledge GOD to be partlie the Creator of the world, and partlie our Redeemer in Christ: First those things, which belong to the knowledge of GOD, either by the guiding of nature, or by the doctrine of the scriptures, are to be considered. Secondlie must be declared how God our Redeemer in Christ, appeared to the fathers, first vnder the Lawe, and afterward vnto vs in the Gospell. Howbeit, since it is necessarie that we receiue the grace, which is offered vs in Christ, least it be frustrate in vs; it behooueth vs besides this, to haue a respect vnto the fruits and effects. And last of all we must consider the outward meanes or helps, whereby God bringeth vs to the fellowship of Christ, and after he hath brought vs, doth reteine vs in the same. VVhich method we hauing followed, haue distributed all these places into foure parts.

### A PARTICULAR METHOD OF THE FIRST PART.

**A**lbeit that the knowledge of God is naturallie ingrafted in the minds of all men, and is also made the more manifest by the things created; yet such is the corrupt nature of men, as it shordie vanisheeth awaie, vnlesse we acknowledge God such as he is in the holie scriptures, and doo auoid all illusions and sleights of Satan. And in the scriptures, besides diuers praises of God; first he must be considered in Trinitie and vnitie; and secondlie, as he created heauen and earth, and moderateth all things by his providence. Wherefore, in this first part we haue set downe those places, which pertaine to the setting forth of these principall points.

# THE CHAPTERS AND COMMON PLACES OF THE FIRST PART.

- Cap. I. **I**f the ends of good and euill among the Christians, pag. 1.
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# A method of the Common places of the second Part.

**I**f the second Part comprehendeth the Common places, which doo expresse the naturall corruption of all mankind by the fall of Adam: the which corruption of humane nature is the more cleerlie discerned, by opposing it to the iustice of God, which is expresse in the lawes; yet so neuertheless, as by the acknowledging of sinnes, we are brought to receiue the grace of God, which was made manifest first to the fathers in the old testament; and then when the time was come, in the Gospell. Afterward is set forth vnto vs Christ the Messias, who is the well-spring and substance of all good things; who all maner of waies fulfilled all the parts of our saluation.

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### The method and order of the Common places of the Third part.

**A**fter these things doo followe the causes, and the generall meanes, whereby we are both put and retained in the possession of Christ and saluation: and there be also shewed the effects of Christ remaining in vs. All which things, the places following doo plainlie teach: to wit, the places of predestination and calling, of faith and hope, of adoption, iustification, Christian libertie, of repentance, of Christian life, of patience in afflictions, of the praies of good men; and finally, of eternall life.

## THE CHAPTERS AND COMMON PLACES OF THE THIRD PART.

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### The method of the Common places of the fourth part.

**A**lbeit that the holie Ghost be the onelie bond that we haue with Christ, and the most assured pledge of our saluation, and an vndoubted preferer of all things; yett veth he therunto diuers, and those external instruments for into the church he gathereth the elect, and by the ministerie of the word and sacraments, and also by the bond and helpe of discipline, he begeth vs vnto Christ, and he feedeth and preserveth vs vnto eternall life. And herewithall he raiseth vp and veth magistrats, as well for the preferuation of mans societie, and publike honestie; as also for the maintenance of pietie and seruice of God: so then this last part comprehendeth an explication of these places.

## THE CHAPTERS AND COMMON PLACES OF THE FOVRTH PART.

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## Certaine faults escaped.

Here is no garden so well trimmed, but hath some weeds; no siluer so well tried, but hath some dross; no wine so well fined, but hath some leeze; no honie so well clarified, but hath some dregs; finally, no humane action, but hath some defect: meruell not then (good Readers) that in so huge a volume, consisting of so manie leaues, lines, and letters, oftentimes varied both in forme and matter, a fault or two doe escape; were the Correctors care neuer so great, his diligence neuer so earnest, his labour neuer so continuall, his eyes neuer so quicke, his iudgement neuer so sound, his memorie neuer so firme; breeslie, all his senses neuer so actiue and liuelie. Such faults therefore as are passed, being but few in number, if it please you in reading fauourable to amend, according as they be here corrected; your selues shall be profited, and I faultied.

<i>Fault.</i>	<i>Correction.</i>	<i>Part.</i>	<i>Page.</i>	<i>Column.</i>	<i>Line.</i>
They,	Men.	1	143	2	19
anger,	pride.	2	529	2	49
fathers,	father.	2	600	1	25
renewed,	remoued.	4	59	1	58
whordome,	idolatrie.	4	245	1	11
Lord my,	my Lord.	in the additions.		113	2 10

These are thought necessarie to be noted; others (if anie be) I refer vnto your owne selues that shall take paines to peruse the whole booke aduisedlie.

The contents of those things which be added to this booke of Common places, are set downe at the end of the foure parts.

# THE

## Common Places of the famous and renowned diuine, Peter Martyr Vermilius a Florentine, se- lected into foure parts: out of his bookes and Commentaries.



*The first part, wherein is principallie intreated of the  
knowledge of God the Creator.*

Of the ends of good and euill among the Christians.

*The first Chapter.*

Out of the  
Epistle to  
the Rom.  
Chap. 8,  
vers. 25.

Hope is ca-  
ried to inui-  
sible things.

The ends  
that a faith-  
full man  
pursueth.



**V**GVSTINE  
in his 19. booke  
De Ciuitate Dei,  
the fourth Chapter,  
very wel declareth,  
how Christian hope  
is carried vnto those  
good things, which  
cannot be seen. For  
if thou askest (saith  
he) a faithfull man, what he maketh to be the  
end of good and euill things, he will answer;  
Life and death euertlasting: which things can  
not be seene, nor comprehended by mans rea-  
son. And therefore the wise men among the  
Ethnikes being puffed up with pride, would  
not settle their hope vpon those things. For  
which cause, some held, that the ends of good  
things, are the goods of the mind; some the  
goods of the bodie, and some, either vertue,  
pleasure, or both ioined together. But God  
laughed them to scorn, and saue how vaine  
their cogitations were. For they would rather  
account those things for the chiefe good, which  
be tempered with many miseries and calamities,  
than to receiue those sincere, perfect, and  
most firme things, which are offered by the  
boord of God. For who can with this expresse  
unto what miserable and horrible mischances  
this bodie of ours is cast out? It is sicke, it is  
wormed, it is dissolued, made crooked, toine,  
and maimed. Oftentimes men become blind,

oftentimes deafe. And as touching the mind,  
they are oftentimes mad, oftentimes franticke,  
and they that most labour about the truth, can  
not attaine to the knowledge of the same,  
without intermingling of infinite errors.  
How could the Ethnikes boast of vertues, as  
the chiefe good things, seeing we haue them as  
witnesses of our calamities? To what pur-  
pose serueth temperance, which is therefore  
giuen, to bridle drunkenness, gluttonie, lusts,  
and the soule and shamefull motions of the  
temperance. For these things declare, that it hath  
no place, but in minds, which be yet subiect to  
corruption. The which corruption, the more  
inward it is, the more miserable it maketh vs:  
and, as a domestical enemie, violentlie assai-  
leth the secret parts of our hearts. These as-  
saultions (saith Augustine) are vices: because (as  
Paul saith) they hinder vs, that we cannot do  
those things which we would. Besides, what  
is the part of wisdom, but to foresee, that by  
error we be not deceiued in the chiefe of good  
things, and avoiding of euill? Certainlie, if  
we were not beluapped in errors and dark-  
ness, we should not need of this remedie. But  
seeing it is vsed, it argueth, that men are not  
yet happie; but are solued in great and grie-  
uous errors, vntill wisdom by helpe on  
euerie side. Also iustice, whereby euerie man  
commeth by his owne, is necessarie for none  
other cause, but to suppress robberies, extor-  
sions, and violent dealings. And yet, neither can  
C. j. that

Naturall  
vertues are  
instruments  
of our cala-  
mities.

The end of  
the temperance.

Rom. 7, 19.

The end of  
wisdom.

The end  
of iustice.

The end of  
torment.

Out of the  
place up  
on the  
Ephie to the  
Romans.

The common  
opinion of  
the christ  
good.

The philo-  
sophers puff  
up by their  
rough know-  
ledge of natural  
things.

The hee  
dues op-  
inion of  
the christ  
good.

Paulus  
indigent  
concerning  
the christ  
good.

that to presume among men, but that iust and honest men oftentimes suffer manie things, both shamefull and vniuulid. Now what shall we speake of fortitude? The same doubtlesse armeth men patientlie to abide all forowes, dangers, torments, yea and death it selfe, if necessitie shall require. Among those so great evils, these wise fellows haue bukt appoint the chiefe goods. Which euils neuertheless, they said might sometime be so increased, as a man may kill himselfe. Wh happy life (crieth Augustine) that seeketh the helpe of death to finish it! For if it be happy, why do they cut it off, and shunt it? But if it be miserable, why do they place in it the chiefe goods? These are they derides of God, because they despised that hope, which is neither fene, nor attained unto by mans reason. And because they mocked it, when they heard it preached in the word, therefore hath God, by his heauenlie doctrine, condemned them, as folkes so ridiculous persons.

2 Another lost doubtlesse, perceiving the best fellicings into wickednesse, and that of vberie excellent men, thought by their religious procurements; yea rather by their superstitious, and woeshippings deuised of themselves, to cause God to be fauourable vnto them; of whom afterward they might obtaine all good things. And this for the most part was the opinion of the common people: who after a lost iudged not to euill as did the philosophers. For these men were so puffd vp in the pride of their vertues, and ciuill duties, and with the knowledges of natural things, that they thought these things to be sufficient vnto themselves for the obtaining of felicitie. But the common people were not ignorant both of the filthines of finnes, and of the baillie offendings of the sacrilegie of God. Therefore they thought it good to sic vnto religions, the which since they had them not pure and vncorrupt, they fell into idolatrie. And here came in the heathen people among them, and take part with both. For by reason of the ten commandements, they boasted that they had the summe of all vertues, among them: and that if they fell at anie time from them, they had ceremonies prepared for them, whereby they might make satisfaction. Against these things Paulus disputeth in his Epistle to the Romanes, and sheweth, that it cannot be, that we should obtaine righteousness by moiall: or naturall duties: because as well the Jewes, as the Gentiles, do not in their life and maners expresse so much, as they acknowledge that the lawe of nature, or Moyses lawe requirith. Neither must we grant, that we can fullie and perfectly obscure the lawe. For then might we attaine vnto perfect righteousness by works: which would be

a plaine absurditie. For herein standeth our righteousness, that our finnes shall not be imputed vnto vs; but the righteousness of Christ shall be imputed to the beleeuers. So doubt but there happeneth some renewing, when we being iustified do weake rightlie: but yet this is not though perfect. Also grace is given to the regenerate, but yet not such, as removeth all the lets which do hinder the perfect keeping of Gods lawe. Neither do we, in the teaching herof affirme paradoxes, or strange opinions, or let forth things that be contrarie vnto Paul; but we chiefe maintaineth those things which are most agreeable to the apostolical doctrine. But as for the rites and ceremonies, which on the other side the Jewes brag of, when they be without Christ and faith, they are accounted detestable before God: as Ieremie, Elsie, and the prophets, which were interpreters of the lawe, haue most plainlie taught. By all these things it is easlie gathered, that whereas all men, of all ages, professeth themselves to keepe for the chiefe god, yet that they which maintain the true and perfect knowledge of God, did as it were, but grope after it in the deepe darernes, and deuicd themselves in bootles labors.

These things being on this wise declared, I will now more largelie and particularkie treat of humane ends, following speciallie the course of Aristotle: and will shew betwene whyles wherein be, as touching this matter agreeeth, or disagreeeth with the holie scriptures.

3 Aristotle in his first booke of Ethics, inuenueth to proue, that before humane things there is set forth some certaine end, because all humane things desire some good thing: and that good thing whereunto they tend, hath the consideration of an end, and so humane things haue a prescribed end. And therefore both he make mention of god, because it is the chiefe thing thereof felicitie hath his name, and because the respects of god and end be verie nare alibe: in so much as some haue thought that god and end are all one. And therefore Aristotle commendeth the old pouerbe, that All things do count good: which may not be understood of anie one thing; for it can not be, that there should be some one certaine end of all things, but euerie thing requires his owne proper end. For a horse desireth not the chiefe god of a man; neither doth a dog wish for the perfection of a horse, but euerie one his owne perfection. So being the reason of Aristotle to a plaine syllogisme, thus it is. What better things desire god, they haue an end set before them: Humane things desire god, Therefore

In the commentaries  
vpon Aristotle,  
Ethics,  
Cap.1.

Euerie  
thing re-  
quires his  
owne pro-  
per end.

whether  
God be de-  
sired of all  
things.

33. ver. 19.

Phil. 7. 28.

How farre  
foorth Aristotle  
agreeth with  
the holie  
scriptures.

Gen. 1. 18.

for they haue an end set before them. As the Aristotles proposition is manifest: for in desiring of god, they rest when they are come vnto the same: And being the motion and actions there finished, there no farther is the end. The Aristotles is proued, because all humane things are comprehended vnder art, method, action, or choice: And 3 manner which at them, which by the god that Aristotle speakes of, do here neuer stand, not onely the chiefe god, but also thinketh that God him selfe is desirous, which maketh god that end is desired of all things. And this reason they bring; that it is God him selfe which offereth all the good things of nature which desired, and all those things are most perfectlie contained in God, therefore no man can desire them, but he desireth God him selfe. But who saith not that this is accidentalie, which is vnder the remoued from sciences, seeing they do not teach the things that happen accidentalie: And if this reason were of force, we should by this meanes proue, that vncient men, when they be delighted with anie forme of beauty, should wish for God: which thing would be ridiculous. We grant in deed willinglie, that in God are most perfectly comprehended all good things, euen as the number of ten cometh praiseworthy all the former numbers: which al for the holie scriptures do testifie. For in Genesis, God saith vnto Moses, which desire the sight of Gods countenance: I will shew thee all my good. But Aristotle had no desire of this continuation with God: the prophet David knoweth them, who said in the psalmes, It is good for me to cleaue vnto God. But that it is the sense of this place; which we haue expressed, the sequels doth shew. For the philosopher treateth of blessednesse, which although that all men wish for, yet for so much as they haue placed the same in diuers things; to wit, in riches, honours, pleasures, & vertues, hercof it cometh, that diuers men desire diuers kinds of good things, all which things neuertheless would participate with the nature and forme of a generall god. And, and the philosophers hauing respect to the verie same thing, inuote sometimes of the ends of god and euill.

4 But let vs weigh both those things agree with the holie scriptures. First, that all things we desire god, it seemes to be a certaine imitation of God almightie the author of creatures. For he while he made euerie particular thing, had respect vnto a god end. According as it is said in the booke of Genesis, that God sawe the light, the great lightes of heauen, the stars, herbes, and plants, and other things, that they were good. Finally, he created the seventh daie, perceiving that all things, which he had made were exceeding good. Therefore this meanes

of good things, is in all things the strepe and suppression of the diuine propriety. As touching artes and doctrines, we will easlie grant that they desire god by their felices, & of their owne nature, albeit that the same turne to euill and finnes vnto them which be not regenerate in Christ: and therefore it comes oftentimes to passe, that the secrets of saluation are hidden from men, which be furnished and adorned with godly artes and sciences, and are open to them that be simple, according to that saying: The which hideth them the things from the wise, and hath reuelled them vnto babes. And Paulus vnto the Corinthians the first Epistle: I thank you to your calling (my brethren) how that God hath called not vnwise wise men, but the foolish things of the world; that he might make the wise men ashamed. Which words would haue no place, if artes & doctrine might attaine to the true god things, and vnto that which might make vs acceptable vnto God. Whither these things; althoug they be god in their owne kind and nature, yet to vs, if we be vnderstande and arrogant, they are turned to euill. As touching choises and actions, the scripture saith in the booke of Genesis, that The heart of man is inclined to wickednes, euen from his first childhood. And Paulus inuolunt in the same sense, said vnto the Romanes; For I knowe, that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. Wherefore we must saie, that it is a fault of nature procured by Adam, that men not regenerate by Christ, are prone vnto those things, which are in verie deepe wicked, vniuill, and filthy, and which are exceedingly repugnant to the lawe of God: and that if afterward they be instructed by the discipline of precepts, & by moiall vertues, or else that they be indued with an excellent wit, true it is that they ouercome the fouler sort of appetites, and of their owne choise are caried vnto certaine ciuill and moiall things; but yet vnto those (as we said before) which both be finnes, and turne to destruction. Wherefore we must constantly affirme, that the choises and actions of them which be not regenerate, are prone vnto euill, as it is written in Genesis. Which neuertheless is not against Aristotle, because those euils are apprehended vnder the consideration of good things. And, and we that be regenerate, are in a manner perpetuallie, whether we will or no, bounde vnto finnes, and those we most earnestlie desire; yet by grace & the spirit we resist those desires, that at the length through faith in Christ we may become conquerours. But as for the rest of the creatures of God, we doubt not but that they desire for god: because they are gouerned by the lawes of God, and whatsoever they do, they do it by the lawe

Mat. 13. 35.

1. Cor. 1. 26.

Gen. 8. 6.

Rom. 7. 18.

C. 4.

of



that the  
end of hu-  
mane things  
is manifold.

two follo-  
wines.

of nature: albeit that euen they, for the summe of man, are compelled to be subiect into families. But of faith, hope, and charitie, which are of the grace and impulsion of the spirit of God, Aristotle made no mention, because he made not those things, which neuertheless do define the most true good things.

¶ All humane things haue not one end: as we haue taught, but that end is manifold; and in that diuersitie of ends some be more excellent than others, for inasmuch as this manifoldnes is of those kind of things which haue an order to themselves. And Aristotle (speaking of them for no other cause, but that he would of manie ends chuse the most excellent, which he thought to be manns felicitie; & therefore to this effect both Aristotle reason: humane ends are manie, and one is to be preferred above an other. A parte of the former part is: because of ends, some be actions, and others before actions, are woorkes; and of sundrie acts and doctrines there is not one end: so is the multitude of ends thewel, partly by their diuersity of nature, and partly by the diuersitie of their beginnings, according as they are desired by other acts and sciences. And of other part of the proposition was, that one end is better than another: which is proued, in that the ends of the principall acts & sciences, which Aristotle calleth *ἀρεταί*, be much more noble, than the ends of other faculties which be ordered vnto them. Whereupon may be made two syllogismes: The first; Whatsoeuer things haue a finisye nature, any belong to diuers faculties, be not one and the selfe. Same things; humane things haue a finisye nature; so: some of them are actiue, and some woorkes, and do belong vnto diuers faculties (for arts, actions, and sciences are diuers). Therefore the end is not one. The other syllogisme is conditional: If faculties haue an order among themselves, that one is better than another, the ends also of them must be so ordered, as one is better than another: But faculties are so in themselves, as one is preferred above an other; Therefore ends shall haue the same order. Aristotle theueth that this facultie hath action for his end, & that an excellent action; and therfore (as Euthracius saith) would haue it to be understood, that those be not the perfect sort of actions, which haue a woork remaining when they be ceased, but that vertie often-times the contrarie doth rather happen. And trulie if a man shall rather thinke that the faculties are better which leaue some woorkes after the actions, than those which are spent onlie in the action; such a one would thinke that the felicitie of man is more imperfect than his woorkes, seeing it standeth onlie in action. Therefore

we must understand, that sometimes the one happeneth, and sometimes the other: so be it, that sometime the woorkes which remaineth is more excellent, and sometime the action. For the end of the physico is a woork, namely health, which is remaining in a man when he is ceased: which end is to be compared vnto a dwelle, which is the end of the art of building, it is much better. And the other doe, the end of the art of building this, is the ship it selfe, the woork (I mean) which is left after the building: but this end being compared with navigation, which is the actiue end of the same craft, is more imperfect. So that as building woorkes, it maketh no matter, whether the end be a dwelle or an action: for sometime one is better, and sometime an other. But this is certaine, as saith Aristotle, that therefore the woorkes are the ends, the actions which goe before those woorkes; and for which they are made, are excellent in woorkes, and the reason is, because they are ordered to an other thing. And so is maruell that Aristotle in his booke of Ethics, speaketh so diligently as touching ends, since that manners, vertues, choised, affections, and other humane things be so placed, and he of diuers natures & kinds, that while they be joined together by some science or method, they cannot be taught, nor they are they made and joined together by any other thing, than by the ends. And in the foresaid booke of Aristotle we haue onlie one generall & breuifall rule. Certaine woorkes that remaineth after anie thing brought to passe, is more woorklike than the same: wherefore it behooueth that a woork be not imploied to anie other actions, than vnto that anie action whereby it is brought to passe. And that we may the better perceiue the matter, we must understand, that after the woorkes already brought to passe, do follozie other actions, for when a house is builded, it is inhabited, and when health is restored vnto him that is sicke, he beginneth to be diligetly occupied according to his nature: so when the woorkes shall be referred vnto these latter things, it is more woorklike than they, because it is ordered vnto them. But there be certain most noble actions, which running woorkes do neither go before, nor yet follozie: such be the actions of vertues. Whilse thou wilt say, that frequent actions, which be right and iust, do at the length leaue a woork behind them, that is to say, an habit in the mind, after which do follozie actions of vertues: which if thou saie, I will not much contend; although I knowe that Aristotle hath an other meaning, neither did he at anie time, so farre as I remember, call an habit, a woork.

6 But

21 definition  
of end.

But since we speake so much of ends, it shall be good in my iudgement to define what an end is. The etymologie of the word is shewed two manner of waies, one is of the Greeke word *τέλος* of *τέλεω*, which is, I make perfect, or I finish: whereof is deriued *τέλος*, which is a certaine perfection of those things, which are referred to it selfe. It is also taken for the terme a vttermost limit of anie thing. Wherefore death also is called an end, not that we looke for the same, or that we be made perfect thereby, but because it is the terme a vttermost time of our life. The other etymologie is, that it comes of *τέμνω*, that is to faile, to spilling, or arile vp, because before euerie action of thing brought to passe, it doth thine forth like the fume that ariseth; and it is defined of Aristotle to be that for the which anie thing is, and it selfe is not for anie other thing. And Aristotle said because there be manie acts, actions, & sciences, there be manie ends. And first he shewed the diuersitie of ends by their natures, and then in respect that they be of diuers faculties. He saith that riches, according to the vulgar opinion, are the ends of household gouernement, whereas in household and politike gouernement, he saith that riches are rather an instrument for the obtaining of some other good thing. I might interpret that other part, how ends are so ordered, as one is more excellent than another: but first shall be shewed of certaine doubts, that are against those things which we haue spoken. For if you shall heare these things while the matter is fresh, ye shall sooner understand them, than if we defer them any further.

It is called into doubt, by what reason Aristotle appointed two kinds of ends; namely, action and woork. For he seemeth to leaue out *ratio* *scilicet*, that is, contemplation, which neuertheless in his *Logicis* be reckoned up as an end. And Quinilian in diuiding of arts, the second booke, & 19. chapter, assigned three sorts of ends; woork, action, and contemplation. And Aristotle himselfe in his *Ethics*, at the end of the booke treateth of contemplation, and teacheth that the same without doubt is a great part of mans felicitie. Wherefore this distinction shall seeme to be maintained, when the third part is omitted. But hereto we will answere, that vnder the name of *ἐργασία*, contemplation it selfe is contained. And it is diligetly to be noted, that Aristotle said not of *ἐργασία*, he had not comprehended contemplation: so as the diuision is not imperfect, neither Aristotle contrarie to himselfe, nor yet is he against Quinilian: for although there are ascribed in the end, yet is there two

of them comprehended vnder one word.

7 But the holie scriptures are herein more excellent than Philosophie, that of men they appoint two sorts of ends: whereof the one may be obtained while we liue here, but the other is waited for when we shall at the length be loosed from hence: which because it is the more perfect, we will declare the same in the first place. And such it is, as we shall see God present, and shall fulle and most perfecte enioie his sight, which Paule writing to the Philippians did most earnestly wish to obtaine; I desire to be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ. And the same Apostle saith: Now we seee as through a glasse, and in a darke speech; then shall we see face to face. Again; Now we knowe in part, and prophetic in part, but when that which is perfect shall come, then that which is in part shall be abolished. And this excellent reward do the gospels set forth vnto vs, which after manie labours and miseries of this life we shall haue laid before vs in heauen. But the chiefe end and principall goal of this life, is, that we be iustified by Christ, that we be receiued into grace by the eternal father, vnto whose wrath we were thral from our nature. Wherefore iustlie said Dauid: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are couered; blessed is the man vnto whom the Lord hath not imputed sinne. Which place did Paule for good cause cite so diligently vnto the Romans. And to conclude, those are here blessed, which haue Iehouah for their God, and do trust and beleue in him with all their hart: & those not in vaine did Paule call blessed. For these is the blessednes of this life altogether distant from the end and principall god, which with a constant faith and inuincible hope we looke for in the world to come. For euen the chiefe god of this life is none other thing, but the selfe-same, which at the length we shall haue. And lie a difference of degrees and perfection passeth betwene them.

8 It is demanded moreover, that because we brought a reason why the woorkes is more excellent than woorkmanship, whereby it is brought to passe; to wit, because it is ordered to the woork, whether this be generally true; that whatsoever is directed to another thing, as to an end, is of lesse estimation than the same, which, as it may seme, is not to be granted. For it is the dutie of a shepheard to looke to his sheepe, that they may be in good plight. This he endeavoureth to bring to passe by his cunning: where neuertheless he far excelleth his sheepe. For the doubteth whether a man ought to be preferred aboue sheepe. And the angels, as it is said vnto the Hebzees, are ministering spirits, for the saluation of the clea, whereas

Phil. 1. 23.  
1. Cor. 13. 12

The chiefe  
good of this  
life.

Psal. 32. 1.

whether  
that which  
is ordered  
to an end  
be better  
than the  
end.

C. 19.

whereas new creatures their worthines and nature excellently men. And finally Aristotle writing of generation and corruption saith, that the end of the celestiall bodies is, that men should be begotten, whereas yet none of the Peripateticks doubt, but that the heavens are of more excellent nature than men. Some thought to have escaped the doubt, by saying that the ends are mentioned to be onlie of actions, but not of those actions that are efficient, to wit, of beaven, of angels, and of a shepheard. Doubtless this availeth nothing. For things efficient attaine not to their ends, but by actions, wherefore the selfe same end is to be assigned unto the thing efficient, and to the worke thereof. But we must understand, that as it is in Aristotle 2. booke *De anima*, the 35. and 37. chapters: there is two sorts of ends, one end called that, for whose cause the thing is done; and the other end is called that, to the which a thing is directed.

The Grecians thus describe them 3. and 4. That is to say, whereof, and to which. As for example, a creature which hath ingender hath the end, wherefore, to wit, that eternal and divine end, namely, perpetuities, which it would attaine; which since it cannot absolutely have, yet at the leastwise it claimeth the same by generation. The end whereunto, is the thing which is begotten: & the end of nature which is in plants, is to bring forth fruits & flowers: and this is the end, wherefore. But the use of men is the end whereunto, it may then well be, that the end whereunto is of lesse honor, & so is referred unto that end, which is wherefore. And the end which is wherefore, is the more worthie, as matter which is directed to the forme. And no man is ignorant of this, that the forme is better than the matter. But it happeneth otherwise, when a thing is directed unto that which is the end whereunto, not that it should be made perfect thereby, but that the same should make it perfect. For then the end whereunto is lesse worthie, because it is unto such an end. So of the angels and of beaven. The end of beaven wherefore, is to be resembled unto God, and to make other things perfect, which is the better end. For beaven in the doing of these things is better than if it did them not. Likewise in angels, the end is to obtaine God, and to keepe vs: in doing whereof, they be more worthie than themselves, if so be they did it not. And the shepheard hath an end wherefore, even his owne wealth and increase, wherewith he is better than if he were destitute thereof, and of the wealth of his familie and citie. But the end whereunto are the shepe themselves, over whom he is ordained, to keepe them safe and sound. And that one

The end  
whereof,  
and the end  
whereto.

thing is ordained for another, that it should preferre the same, and will that be more worthie than it, we have an example; When as by kings and monarchs, some are appointed to be chiefe rulers or deputies, and are directed unto the people, that they should govern and take care of them. Unto which end they are not sent to be lesse honorable than the people, but that they should be obeyed and honoured of them: and yet in their rulers, the end is whereunto. Doubtless, if we have regard wherof these things be done, we will alwaies acknowledge that there is a more excellent end. And by this distinction are dissolved the instances now alleged touching celestiall bodies, the angels, & shepherds. For these things though they be more worthie than the end whereunto, yet not more worthie than the end wherefore. For the shepheard is more worthie than the shepe, but yet not worthier than his owne selfe, or than his lord, if he be a hired servant, or than his familie or citie. For he belongeth to the shepe, either for his owne sake, or else for his lord, familie, or citie sake. In like manner do the angels and celestiall bodies. For they minister unto vs, not for our sake, but partly to please God, and partly to exercise their owne perfection. But the worke when it is referred to the actions which went before, and hath no further respect, is the end wherefore. Whereupon the actions which went before, are as Aristotle saith, more unworthie than it; but afterward a further end be regarded, to wit, the use of the worke, the same shall be more worthie than the worke, as we said before touching the habitation of an house, when it is referred to the dwelling. And the reason is, because the dwelling is then the end wherefore, and the house the end whereunto.

Allo the holie scriptures do denie and appoint, that there is a certaine principall end, whereunto men direct all their actions: whereupon Salomon at the end of Ecclesiastes, when he had in manie words treated first of ends, according to the common sort of mens opinions (speaking of the feare of God, which in the hebreue phrase signifieth true and sound godlines) added; And this toucheth all men: because men are herewithin ordained and made, that they should worship and honor God. And David: One thing have I desired of the Lord, & this will I seeke for, that I may dwell in the house of God. And Christ saith: This is life eternal, that they knowe thee to be the onlie verie God, & whom thou hast sent Iesus Christ. But that seemes to be repugnant which Salomon said: I am most vaine, and but plaine vanitie. But this is not in respect, it is the appointed end; but because that men either knowe not the same, or else refuse

That the  
holie scrip-  
tures de-  
clare a  
principall  
end.

Eccle. 12. 13.

Psal. 17. 4.

Iohn. 17. 3.

Ecclesi. 2.

refuse

refuse it, and like for the chiefe god else where. Wherefore their desires have an infinite scope, neither do they at any time rest. The yngodlike walke their circuit. Psal. 12. And this is the difference betwene vs and the Philosophers, that they let forth their end, as it should be attained by their owne proper strength and industrie; but we deere out of the holie scriptures, that the chiefe god cannot be obtained, unless we be holpen by the spirit and grace of Christ.

10. Again it is doubted, when Aristotle saith, because there be manie arts, actions, and knowledges, there be manie ends also, whether the proposition may be turned both wayes; namely, that wherefore there be manie ends, there be manie things also referred unto the same ends. And answered to the question, that this is not of necessity: because nature hath oftentimes ordained manie ends of one and the selfe same thing. For example sake: the tong is not onlie directed unto speech, but unto the relly of taste: also the teeth do chew and grind the meat, and do helpe the speech. And by the force of Logicke, we not onlie confirme true things, but we also confute false. Wherefore since there be manie faculties and arts, we will grant that there be manie ends: and yet by the number of ends the number of things can not be gathered. Likewise we doubt, because Aristotle saith, that the end of physike is health; of the art of war, is vicacie, &c. Against which opinion he him selfe writeth in the first booke of his Topicks the 2. chapter, and Quintilian in his 2. booke and 12. chapter) seeing the end of physike is, not health, but to applie all things, and to overcome none of those things which may further unto health. And if that the sicke man, either by the intemperance of his diet, or by too much weaknes of nature, or by the fierce and intolerable violence of his disease, be not healed, the physician sweareth not from the end of his art. The like is to be said of an orator, whose end is to speake all things which may serve to persuade, & to omit nothing that belongeth thereby: to wherof though he shall not be able to persuade, yet if he have a regard therunto, he doth not fraile from his end. The same may we saie of the gouernour of a house, and of a chiefe captain. Doubtless in dissolving of this question, we are not to take any great paine. For Aristotle in bingning of examples sheweth the matter after somewhat a grosse manner, and was not very careful that examples should alwaies agree in all points, but alleged them as they are vied of the common people. Forsooke, although that to heale, to persuade, and to overcome, do not alwaies followe the actions of

verge.

If where  
there be  
many ends,  
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Whether  
the end of  
physike be  
of health, and  
of warfare,  
vicacie, &c.

physicians, rhetozians, and foundlers: yet can it not be denied of any man, but that these faculties have respect unto their things, & inendeavour as much as they can to attaine unto them.

Likewise, because we are in hand with ends, there is a doubt how any worke is the end of an action, or of an art. For if the thing be considered which is made by the artificer, the same is the effect, & therefore not the cause. For it becometh that the cause be before the effect, and nothing can be before it self. Where do some answer, that the thing made, is the end, not in respect it is first and now perfect, but in that it was first comprehended in the artificers mind. And a thing may be before it selfe in a sumbre respect; for it is first pondered in the mind of the artificer, before it be in act. But I shal not say selfe with this answer; for that same knowen forme which is conuertant in the mind of the artificer, hath a respect of him that is the efficient thereof: for as an object it moveth his mind. Besides this, it is not the artificers desire to haue such a forme as he hath conceived in his mind, but would haue it to be expressed in the thing, and directly it thereunto, as to the end. Wherefore the outward thing it selfe is the final cause, not in that it is extant or brought to passe, but in that it hath a respect of god, and that either the efficient part, or else his action is made perfect thereby. I grant that these things ought first to be understood and known of the efficient partie, but I denie that these things haue the nature of an end, in that they be formes and shapes conceived in the mind, but in respect of those things which they signifie and represent unto the understanding of the artificer.

11. Forsooke, there be manie arts ioined together into one, and manie ends also into one certaine end, that they may reach unto that, for the which man hath his being. And it must be understood, that as faculties are more excellent among them selves, so are also their ends. The examples of Aristotle are bayne from the art of those that make bits for horses, and of other arts, or trappers & fadlers for horses, all which he affirmeth to be contained under the facultie of riding of horses. Allo of the same art of riding of horses, and of all other warlike actions, as to ride, to shote, to throwe a dart, to weare shelds, there is one architectonick or principall art. Whereupon he saith, that under the art of warfare are contained all these things: and it is to be understood, that the same principall art, or architectonick facultie, doth command and prescribe unto those inferior sorts which it hath under it, and that the end thereof of both gouerne the ends of them. Aristotle in his booke of Ethics calleth art, power, respect

The manie  
ends are re-  
ferred into  
one.

By art  
is called  
power.



1 Cor.14.30

Rom.14.

Col.2.

1 Cor.14.37

Also it hath  
under it  
most noble  
functions.

These magi-  
strates and  
ministers of  
the Church  
must be  
have them  
severe one  
towards  
another.

to farre forth as Gods lawe doth permit. It  
toulth that a prophet doe talke to the people;  
but yet no longer than it be revealed to him  
ther. Which when it is done (saith Paule) an-  
d the former hold his peace. Albeit commenda-  
tion and aliooth godlie and christian lecture  
meats, and other outward and civil things;  
but yet to farre forth as the effect of the  
weake be avoided. It teacheth in like man-  
ner a moderation, which we should applye to  
the infirmities of the simple, but yet to farre forth  
as by our distributing we confirme our selves;  
Also it preferreth numbers, as polige and op-  
der: for Paule would that there should be two  
or thre prophets which should speake by course;  
and appointed that the gift of tongues should  
give place to more profitable gifts. Also the  
holie scriptures hath knowe it most noble func-  
tions; for it commandeth kings, magistrates,  
governors of households, & parents. If there  
is none of all these faculties, which hath not  
speciall precepts appointed unto it in the holi-  
e scriptures, and doth vse all these magistrats  
and princes, for the defence of godlines, and  
for the true worshipping of God: eloquence;  
that it may persuade profitable and godlie  
things: government of household, that ne-  
cessary may alwaies growe up unto Christ;  
and finallye, all Arts, as well to the glorie  
of Christ, as to the profit of our neighbours.

15 And now, as I thinke, it may appeare,  
how the ministers of churches which professe  
these holi scriptures, should behaue them-  
selves towards magistrats, and magistrats  
towards them. They out of the holi scriptures  
drawe precepts and rules of the princes func-  
tion: those precepts ought the magistrate to  
heare, which also if he otherwise transgresse,  
must suffer admonitions, and must not be of-  
fended, if modeltie, and withall reverence  
he be corrected. And on the other side, when  
ministers shall behaue them selves either un-  
gentle in their office, or against the rules of  
Gods lawe, they may be kept in their dutie  
by the magistrate: and if they will not amend  
their faults, they may be removed from their  
place. And thus let the ministerie of the church  
helpe the civil power; and againe, the civil  
power oversee the ministerie, that it may be  
pure, and profitable to the christian Common-  
weale.

And in that wee attribute the these power  
unto that wisdom, which we have in the ho-  
lie scriptures, it must not be thought that a-  
nientie is plucked away or diminished from ci-  
vil administration; for that authoritie remai-  
neth still unto princes and magistrats; but  
they would onlie they, from whence they  
them selves ought to take the rules and prin-

cles of their authoritie. What they should not  
to effeme of the doctrines of the philosophers;  
and letions of men, as they should take from  
the most pure scriptures of iustice and honestie;  
which should be in the holi scriptures. And  
they shall be able to get into their senses this  
knowledge, either by diligent reading of the  
holie scriptures, or by the lecture, which Gods  
commandment bringeth to us: as also they may  
be instructed by ministers of the church. And  
whereas it is said, that it belongeth to the civil  
power to have and exercise over these professed  
sours which are to be retained in a cite, and  
over these things which are to be retained from  
them: let princes & magistrats understand, that  
the regard of divine worshipp belongeth  
unto them; namely, that they preserve pure-  
ness, and defend that which is law-  
full, and that they prohibit, and  
that they execute that  
which is contrary to the  
lawe of God.

## The second Chapter.

Of the natural knowledge of God by the  
things created: & wherunto this know-  
ledge tendeth. And whether there be  
any that knoweth not God. Out of the  
Epistle to the Romans, Cap. 1, verse.  
19. Looke, in Sam. Cap. 6, ver. 22.

**P**Aule in the Epistle to the  
Romans discussing  
of the natural know-  
ledge of God, faith, that  
that which is knowe of  
God is manifest among  
all men. In the Greek we  
read τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ;  
As it wee should saye, That which may be known  
of God. Which therefore is said, because  
there be many blinde mysteries, unto which  
we cannot by nature attaine: as is this, that  
God would indite vs to felicie, forgive us sins  
through Christ crucified, and restore unto us the  
better bodies of ours unto eternall felicitie. These  
such other like, the nature of things teacheth  
not. Wherefore (saith Paule) That which might  
be knowne of God is made manifest in them.  
In that place he declareth that manner of truth  
it is, that they witheld in darkness. It  
was the knowledge of God, which they had  
of God, which they attained unto by a natural  
instinct. And Paule reduceth all those things,  
that they knewe, unto two principall points:  
namely, the everlasting power of God, and  
his divinitie. For by the very wooshipfulness of  
this

wherein  
christian con-  
fesseth the  
majesty of  
God.

A simili-  
tude.

The wis-  
domes  
abundeth  
the gifts of  
God.

The philo-  
sophers had  
the know-  
ledge which  
they had of  
God.

Antiochus  
boasted unto  
Alexander.

Antiochus  
we cannot  
understand  
the myster-  
ies of God.

The origi-  
nal of figures  
and super-  
stitions.

The philo-  
sophers di-

this world, they knew God to be most mighty.  
Further, they knew by the beautie, shew,  
a definition of all things, that so great a power  
was administered by a most high providence  
and wisdom. Also the commoditie and profit  
of things created taught them the pacifice  
of God, which consisteth chieflye in this, that  
he hath good unto all things. These be the  
things which God bestowed upon the Ethio-  
pikes; but they abused the gifts of God. Where-  
fore verie well agreeth with them that simili-  
tude, which Chrysostome vseth. For thus he  
saith: If a king should give much money to  
his servant for the furniture of his household,  
a amplifying of his gorgeous estate, to the end  
that his magnificence and honor might be the  
more manifest: and the wicked servant should  
leisurely spend the money upon bothels and  
barlots, should not this servant (saith he) seeme  
unworthie a rightlie to have defended punish-  
ment? Can he do the worse men among the  
Ethiopes beaue themselves. For they receiv-  
ed of God a verie excellent knowledge of  
things, wherewith when they should have wor-  
shipped and adored him, they turned it to the  
worshipping of stones, and rocks, and of ima-  
ges. Wherefore not without cause did the wrath  
of God waxe hote against them.

2 And whereas it is written: It was made  
manifest in them: neither is it said, In all: the  
Scripture hath sence the wise and the philo-  
sophers, from the barbarous & unskillfull mul-  
titude. For all things were not knowne to all  
alike: which nevertheless happened by the fault  
of these philosophers. For they ought to have  
preached openly, and beaten into the eares of  
the common people, those things which they  
knew. And yet this they did not, as did the  
prophets and apostles, but with a proud mind  
kept these things among themselves, yea and after  
a sort his them, that they should not be under-  
stood of all men. Whereupon the epistle of Ari-  
stotle to Alexander is much spoken of; wherein  
he saith, that his bookes of natural philosophie  
be so set forth by him, as if they were not set  
forth. For the philosophers seemed of set pur-  
pose, to make their writings obscure, to the in-  
tent they should not be understood by others.  
Besides this, though their arguments they pol-  
ished those excellent things which they knewe  
to be pure. When they understood that there is  
but one God, and judged that he ought to be  
worshipped, they gathered after ward of them-  
selves: Seeing the common people are not apt  
to worship the high divinitie that is spied over  
all things, (for they cannot perceive it after  
this manner: it shall be well soon to divide it, and  
to assigne it unto images, signes of heaven, and  
to other creatures, And the same men, when

they acknowledged that the nature of God  
was sence from all corporal matter: that is  
to saie, that he is a Spirit, and therefore to be  
worshipped in mind and spirit: they thinking  
the common people to be so rude in comparison  
of themselves, as they could not attaine unto  
this, brought in outward rites and ceremonies  
 devised of their owne heads, the which men ha-  
ving performed, they should thinke that they  
had fulfilled the service of God: and so by their  
flesher reasons they corrupted that, which by  
being pure they had gathered out of the crea-  
tures, and gave no such credit as they ought to  
have done to the truth which they knewe. Where-  
fore they would have submitted themselves to  
the mighty power, which they acknowledged,  
and would have suffered themselves to be ru-  
led by the providence of God, and would have  
trusted to him in their adventures: which ne-  
vertheless they did not, naie rather they shame-  
fullye departed. Cicero crieth out in his later  
time in an Epistle to Octavius: What I was  
newer wile! And in his bookes De natura deo-  
rum, he bringeth in Cora, notwithstanding he  
was chiefe bishop, to saie, that he would verie  
faine have it proved indeed, that there be a-  
nientie gods at all. And so whilst they would not be-  
lieve those things which they knewe naturallie  
of God, they were not onelie wicked towards  
him, but also inhumane towards their neigh-  
bours. And oftentimes the more famous phi-  
losophers they were, the more infamous life  
they led. According as the Poet taunteth them:  
Caros life they fame, but followe Bacchus againe.  
For the wrath of God wased hot against  
them. And even as a schoolmaster that conti-  
nualle instructeth his scholler, (who yet in the  
meane time is thinking & doing other things)  
cannot suffer for great negligence: so doth God  
behaue himselfe towards vs. For he continu-  
allye holdeth open before our eyes, the bookes of  
the things created: he is ever calling and illu-  
minating of vs; but we alwaies turne away  
our mind from his doctrine, otherwise occupi-  
ng our selves. Wherefore God will cast vs  
awake, as naughty schoolers: neither will he  
suffer to great an inurie unreuenged.

3 And by these words which Paule addeth:  
namely: For God hath made manifest unto  
them, it was gathered, that all truth cometh  
of God. For it springeth not from vs: but how  
it is of God, there be two opinions. For some  
saie, that therefore it is, because God hath made  
those things, by which we may perceive the  
truths. But others saie (whom I better allow)  
that God hath planted in our minds certaine  
fore-gatherings and informations, whereby we  
are enabled to conceive excellent and wondrous  
things of the nature of God. And these know-  
ledges

The Philo-  
sophers yet  
did not the-  
selves to the  
providence  
of God.

The greatest  
the philo-  
sophers, the  
fooldest of  
life.

How it is  
all truth  
comes of  
God.

Teachers  
are  
instruct-  
ments,  
but  
not  
autores.

The crea-  
tures  
are  
figures  
which  
set  
forth  
God.

How the  
philoso-  
phers  
knew  
that  
there  
is  
a  
God.

March.6. 26.  
and 28.  
The holie  
Scriptures  
send us to  
the creatures  
to learn  
of them.  
Prou. 6. 6.

Esaie. 1. 3.

Psalm.19.1.

The booke  
of Job.

ledges of God being naturallic ingrafted in vs by God, are euerie daie more and more confirmed and made perfect by the obseruation of things created. Some doe fondlie, and no lesse wickedlie saie, that they haue learned those truths of Aristotle, or of Plato, so as they will giue God no thanks at all for them. In deed Plato and Aristotle were organs and instruments, but yet not authors. But these men saie euen as if an Israelite should saie, that hee knew the truths of the lawe, not by GOD, but by Moles, whereas he was but onlie a mediator; & messenger of God, and one who made relation vnto the people of those things, whereof God was the author. And it is to be noted, that whereas God is a nature to be discerned from any matter, as he cannot sensible be perceived; yet he hath bene accustomed by signes and certaine sensible wordes to declare himselfe. And those signes, which from the beginning haue declared God vnto vs are creatures: which when the naturall philosophers did see, as touching the wonderfull properties & qualities of nature, they are brought vnto the knowledge of God. For they knew the order of causes, and the continuation of them with their effects, and when they easily understood, that an infinite proceeding of things could not be determined, they concluded that they must attaine to some chiefe thing: and so included that there is a God. These things, both Plato, Aristotle and Galen, haue singularly well set forth. But least we should neglect the holie Scriptures, they also haue declared vnto vs euen the same waie. For Christ sendeth vs to the foules of the aire, and to the lillies & grasse of the field, to the intent we should acknowledge the singular poudence of God, in prescribing of those things which he had brought forth. And Salomon testeth before vs the Art to be followed for his wisdom, whereby he poudenth in summe those things, which shall be needfull in winter. Esaie saith, that the asse knew the manner of his lord, and the ore his hammer, but that Israel knew not his Lord. Whereby it plainlie appeareth, that we may be taught manie things by the creatures. David wrote a Psalm, wherein he declared the senseless thing. The heauens let forth the glorie of God, &c. But among other bookes of the holie Scriptures, which abound in this matter, is the dialogue of the booke of Job. For the speakers which he bringeth in were Gentiles, & therefore the matter is there handled onlie by natural reasons. Manie things are spoken of there concerning the euolutions of heauen, of the stars, of the earth, of the sea, of the light, of the winds raime, thunder, lightnings, snowe, and ice: also of beasts, as of lions, goats, harts, hofse,

and Behemoth, which manie thinke to be the Elephant: and finally of the Leviathan the most huge beast of the sea. All these things are so handled there, as they preach vnto vs the eternal poudce and diuinitie of God. But among other things, which do chiefelet forth God vnto vs, is the nature of our otone selues. For we are made vnto his otone image and likenesse. Wherefore we most of all resemble him, and especially as touching the soule, wherein shyneth the poudence of things to come, iustice, wisdom, and manie other most noble qualities: and also the knowledge of that, which is right and honest, leide and dishonest. And seeing that man and his soule is not sprung by of himselfe, but dependeth of God, it followeth that we ought not to deme vnto God the verie same that we take of him, but that we yeld it vnto him, as vnto the chiefe and principall author: reasoning after this manner: that God knoweth all things that are done, and is a iust iudge of our deeds: vnto whom, as honest things are pleasing, to dishonest are displeasing. I knowe that Cicero in his third booke De natura deorum, laboureth to ouerthrowe this reason, whereby we would proue that the things which we saie are most excellent in vs, must not be deuied vnto God. But let him reason as he list: it is enough for vs to be confirmed in this matter by the scriptures. In the 94. Psalm it is written: Hee which planted the eare, shall hee not heare? Or hee which fashioned the eie, shall hee not see? Whereby we are taught, not to withdraue from the diuine nature, those things which be perfect and absolute in vs. For neuer we see, that our consciences do naturallic detest the wickednes that we haue committed, and contrariwise reioice and be glad at our well-becoming. Which thing, seeing it is naturallic grafted in vs, we be taught that Gods iudgment is to come: the condemnation whereof is so terrible to our mind, that sometimes it seemeth to be mad: and on the other side, it reioiceth when it hopeth to be allowed and rewarded at the tribunall seate. We might also rechen by manie other like things of this sort: howbeit they may be easily gathered, both out of the holie Scriptures, and out of the philosophers bookes. Wherefore I will cease to adde any more: and I count it sufficient to haue said, that there can be nothing found in the world so abiect and contemptible, which giueth not the testimony of God. Of Iupiter (and the Poets) all things are full. For whatsoever is in the world, so long as it is preferred, so long hath it the power of God hidden vnder it, which by searching, art, and natural knowledge, it be discovered, will reueale God vnto vs.

The nature  
of man  
doth  
most  
resemble  
his  
God.

Cicero.

The feele  
of the  
conscience  
dooth  
testifie  
that  
there  
is  
a  
God.

Nothing  
is  
so  
base,  
but  
giueth  
a  
testi-  
mony  
of  
God.

1. Iohe. 1. 5.  
2. Iohe. 1. 5.  
3. Ioh. 1. 5.

Psalm. 14. 1.

Esaie. 1. 3.

Some per-  
suaded the-  
seuer that  
there is no  
God.

Two kindes  
of knowledge  
of God.

Rom. 1. 28.

Matt. 7. 23.

Rom. 1. 20.

With this saing of the Apostle seeme to disagree other places of the scripture, wherein is taken from the wicked, the knowledge of God. We read in the psalmes: The foolish man said in his hart: There is no god. And againe it is written: In the earth there is none that vnderstandeth, or seeketh after God. And to make no long recital, it is said in the first chapter of Esaie: Israel hath not knowne me. But this detestment may on this waie be reconciled. The wicked, as Paule saith, being conuined by the creatures, doe confesse that there is a God: but afterwards they affirme such things of his nature and propertie, as thereby may be well inferred, that there is no God. For Epicurus said indeed that there are gods, but he removed them from all manner of being, care and poudence, so that he ascribed to him a felicitie altogether idle. Also when they saie, that there is a God, but that he hath no regard to manis bones, punishment nor no: heareth such as call vpon him, and such like, it is gathered thereby, that this was their opinion, that they granted there is a God in name onlie. And therefore the Scripture denieth that they knew God. For the true God is not, as they said him to be: and as touching themselves, to be holpen, or haue the fruition of Gods help, he was euen as if he were no God, so farre as they neither called vpon him, nor looked for hope or aid of him. Further, some of them were so wicked, as they went about to persuade themselves that there is no God at all. And albeit they could not bring this to passe, (their owne mind denieng, & their conscience driving against them) yet the Scripture pronounceth of them according to their inuentions: and saith, that they knew not God. Lastly, we must vnderstand, that the knowledge of God is of two sorts: the one effectuall, whereby we are changed, so that we inuention to expresse in wordes those things that we knowe: (and this knowledge of God, the holie Scriptures ascribe vnto the godlie alone): but the other, is a cold knowledge, whereby we are made neuer a whit the better. For we shew not by our wordes, that we knowe those things, which in verie dede we haue knowne. And of this kind of knowledge saith the Apostle, where he saith: And as they regarded not to knowe God, &c. And Christ shall saie vnto manie, which will boast of the gifts and knowledge of him: I knowe ye not. But to knowe God after this manner, seeing it profiteth nothing, the holie Scripture dooth oftentimes to recte, as it boughtsafereth not once to giue it the name of diuine knowledge, and saith, that God knew not the wicked, seeing they were such manner of men.

due the godlike with this kind of knowledge. In the same, for verelie Aristotle teacheth in his Metaphisicks, that it is a godlike testimonie, whereby our affaires are allowed of our enemies. Wherefore it is an excellent thing to heare in the first booke of Samuel, how the Philistines, being the most greivous enemies of the God of Israel, confessed and pronounced his power to be so great, as they were not able to abide it: neither yet sought they out the natural causes of the diseases, wherein they were afflicted: when neuertheless the causes be naturall, both of the piles, hemoroids, and fluxes. But when they saue, that they were altogether, and at one time troubled with one kind of disease, they straightwaie beleue, that they were oppressed by the hand of the God of Iehoua: and so God informed them against their wills to confesse his name. In like manner Pharaoh, who after he had been diuerselie plagued, at the length cried out: I haue sinned against the Lord, and against you: make ynnocentice to God for me. Nabuchadnezzar and Darius, after they had well considered what God had don vnto Daniel, did notable confesse him to be the great God: and by their proclamations vnder a most greivous penaltie, forbad that any should blasphemize or speake evil of his name. And Iulianus the apostate, although otherwile most wicked, yet was constrained at his death to acknowledge the power of Christ, in saing: O thou Galilean, thou hast gotten the victorie. And the verie diuels were bound to the same confession, when they testified and cried out, that Iesus Christ is the same and the holie one of God: and acknowledged that he came to destroye them before the time: and confessed that they well enough knew Christ and Paule. By the same reason it is euident, that the arte of the Logos was not taken by the Philistines impossibill: and that the Iewes were carried auaie captiues into Babylon, reuen to the intent that some worship and knowledge of God, might at the last waie for a short season shine among forren nations. So that manie things which seeme greivous and desperate, haue oftentimes acceptablenes: but to what end those things will come, before the sequele appere, we cannot perceive. Therefore we must not iudge of the wordes of God before the last act or part be played. For if we shall geue by the beginning or mid, we shall do no other wile, than if we would iudge of the whole image of Phidias by one of the fingers. Certe part of the bodie must be thoroughlie considered before hand, if we be desirous to attaine vnto the knowledge of the proportion and knitting together of the whole bodie. Which thing, being oftentimes neglected by vs, it followeth, that we forgette, that we lament, that

In 1. Sam. 1. 11.  
1. Ier. 17.  
Exod. 9. 27.  
Dan. 3. 9.  
and 6. 25.  
Math. 8. 19.  
Acts. 19. 15.  
The fruit  
that came  
by taking  
of us.

How we  
must iudge  
of the wordes  
of God.

we dispaise and blasphemie that which we know not.

7 By that victorie therefore, and taking a-  
waie of the arke, the Philistines came by some  
knowledge of God: although not so great as  
they were reuealed to eternall life. Wherefore  
we must consider, that God both two manner of  
waies offer himselfe to be beholde of men, to  
the intent that on the one part, we should looke  
vpon his merrie and clemencie, & on the other  
part vpon his power and euertie. Wherefore  
the greatst number of the Philistines did feele  
the power and strength of Iehoua. For they  
were befeild of Iouath, made fit for destruction.  
But they did not see the clemencie and merrie  
that came by Christ, and therefore they flew and  
defected the sight of him in the arke, as from a  
to:mento; and cruell iudge: and for that cause  
they did not turne themselves. They bane the  
arke from them, neither did they receive the  
true worshipping of God, forsaking their idols.  
Thus also, when Christ came into the world,  
bringing saluation vnto men; the deuill, which  
felt his power and might, withhold him, say-  
ing: Why art thou come to defraie vs? And the  
Gergesites, when they had after a strange  
manner lost their swine, they neither received  
nor: worshipped Christ; but they meeting him,  
desired him to depart out of their coasts. Some  
write, that the countenance of God is of two  
sorts, to wit, the one cherefull and amiable,  
which he offereth to the goodlie: and the other  
terrible and fierce, wherewith he is fene of the  
wicked. But it is no need to imagine that God  
hath towards vs two faces, or two heds. We is  
alwaies the selfe-same God, and carrieth one  
manner of countenance, although he be not al-  
waies perceived of all men alike. For the  
faithfull behold him one waie, and the vnfaith-  
full another waie.

8 But they that be indured with this kind of  
In Rom. 1, knowledge Paul affirmeth to be incurable, the  
verie. 10. Cretes is uis to eiv dauois dionouayktous, which  
signifieth, Not able to answer for their faults.  
God vnbondeth did not to this end reueale  
these naturall knowledges, but this came to  
passe through our default. Wherby that which  
incurable, Paul speaeth here, seemeth to be repugnant  
to those things which are oftentimes mentio-  
ned, when we dispute of works and grace. For  
if it be true that we cannot of our owne strength  
and free will fulfill the lawe which we knowe,  
how shall these men be said to be incurable? I  
say: if that which we haue true, they might  
easilie be excused, that they in verie deed knew  
this lawe by a naturall light, but that they want-  
ed strength to fulfill so much as they knew, and  
therefore they seeme not to be incurable. But  
here Paul excludeth onlie of that excuse which

might be alleged of ignorance. For that which  
is now brought in as touching weakenes, this  
would not the Ethicks haue pretended. For  
they attributed all things vnto free will: where-  
fore they would not haue said that they were  
deficit of strength. Wherby this remained to  
excuse themselves by ignorance, which defence  
saith Paul hath cut from them, if onlie reman-  
neth, that by their owne iudgement, they should  
be said to be incurable. But, and if they had  
said, that although they knew what becometh  
them to do, yet that they were weak, this is it  
that Paul laboureth to conclude: namelic, that  
the knowledge of the lawe of nature made them  
not the better; because the lawe, although it be  
knowne, yet it cannot alter vs, nor give vs  
strength to live vphighly: and that therefore  
it is necessarie for vs to flie vnto Christ. But  
because he knew that the Gentiles did not do  
that excuse, therefore he repelleth that which he  
saith might easilie haue bene objected; and that  
is ignorance. Albeit the other excuse also, as  
concerning the weakenes of strength, was not  
worthy to be admitted. For that weakenes  
came by our owne fault, that is, by sinne. Be-  
cause this, they could not haue bene excusable,  
because euen that little that was in their power;  
namelic, as touching outward actions, they  
performed not according to their knowledge.  
For we are not so destitute of strength by rea-  
son of sinne, but that we be able to performe  
manie things in outward works, in which these  
men withheld themselves worst of all. Where-  
fore it is concluded, that they were vincible  
without excuse. Neither might they plead, that  
they were indured against their wills to do  
those sinnes that they did. Wherefore seeing they  
did euill, both willingly and willingly, they  
had no excuse. Neither is it to be thought, that  
God granted vnto them this excellent know-  
ledge, to the end that they should be incurable;  
for that infused by their owne fault. When as  
otherwise the prouidence of God turned their  
weakenes to the setting forth of his glorie and  
righteousness. Thus much they posited through-  
ly their sinnes, that the doctrine and knowledge,  
which they obtained, further them to iudgment  
and condemnation. Wherby we learne, that they  
ought not to be feared awaie from teaching,  
though we see that men become nothing the  
better: for so much as the selfe-same thing hap-  
peth vnto that doctrine, which God himselfe  
mindereth vnto vs. This commoditie at the  
least, will be arrie thereby, that if men will be  
conuicted by God, they shall be condemned  
by the testimonie and iudgment of themselves.  
And this seemes a thing that God most of all  
would: namelic, that he might be iudged when  
he condemneth and punisheth. The doctrine  
that

that Iudas the traitour received of Christ did  
thus much profit him, that at the length he con-  
demned himselfe, saying: I haue sinned in be-  
traying the innocent blood. For to this passe  
are the wicked dynen, that at the length they  
are condemned by their owne iudgement. And  
they which should haue taken profit by the doc-  
trine, are grievously hurt by the same: as we  
read in the prophet Eiaie the first chapter, when  
it is said: Make blind the hart of this people,  
dull their eares, and shutt up their eies, least per-  
aduenture they should see, heare, & vnderstand,  
and be conuerced, and I should heale them. Quen-  
to by the words of Moses, was the hart of Pha-  
ro euer more and more hardened.

9 And the cause why they are incurable, is  
declared in these words: Which withhold the  
truth in unrighteousness. They attained vnto  
so much truth, as thereby they vnderstood how to  
behaue themselves towards God, and towards  
their neighbors, and yet withhold they the truth  
in unrighteousness. The verie thing they did  
the Hebrews, as touching the truth, which God  
reuealed vnto them by the lawe. Seeing there-  
fore, that both these Hebrews, and those Gentils  
haue bene so grievously punished: what ought  
men, that be Christians in profession to hope for,  
which withhold to themselves so great a light of  
the Gospell without fruit? Doubtles they shall  
become most wretched of all. And the thing it  
selfe teacheth, that they which beak of Christ, and  
live dishonestly, do at the length exceed all men,  
by they neuer so wicked, in naughtiness and dis-  
honestie. The truth is after a sort withhold cap-  
tivity in them, which vnderstand the same, and yet  
expresse it not in word and life. And it is bound  
and tied with the chains of naughty lusts, the  
which, when they breath out from the inferiour  
parts of our mind, they darken the vnderstand-  
ing, and close vp the knowen truth in a darke  
dungeon. God doth lighten it in our minds, but  
through naughty lusts it is wonderfullie dar-  
kened. We must not thinke (as Chrysostome  
warneth vs) that the truth of his owne nature  
can suffer anie thing. For the truth of his owne  
nature is vndyngable. But what discomfort  
the fouler happeneth, the same hurteth our mind  
and soule. Paule in two wordes toucheth those  
things, which Aristotle in his Ethicks (when he  
disputeth of the incontinent person) uttereth at  
large. For he demandeth by what meanes the  
incontinent person becometh vnto vices, since  
that in his mind he hath a right opinion? And  
he answereth, that this happeneth, by reason  
he is so much affected to the particular good,  
which is obtained presentlie to the sense: by the  
weight wherof, the better part also is oppressed,  
so as he giueth place vnto the lusts, neither doth  
he his part in effectually considering of the truth,

which before he knew. Which also the Poet  
affirmeth of Medea,  
I see the best, which I allow;  
But yet the worst I do infuse.

All this doth Paul teach us, when he saith, that  
The wicked withhold the truth in unrighteous-  
ness. The truth both alwaies as much as can be,  
Indeavour to beake forth into act, but it is hindered  
by concupiscence of lust. And this it is which  
is written in the first booke of the Ethicks: that  
the best part of the foule both alwaies crieth  
and prouoche to the best things. For so hath God  
and nature framed vs, that the thing which  
we knowe, we desire to expresse in act: which  
being not done, we are reproued by our owne  
iudgement. And herein appeareth the wonder-  
full force of the conscience, which in the more  
grauous sort of offences, can neuer be perfect-  
ly seised.

10 To withhold the truth in unrighteousness,  
is propoie to refuse the calling of God, which  
continually by his truth, calleth vs backe into  
himselfe. Wherefore it shall be verie profitable  
for vs, if, whensoever we haue attained vnto  
anie truth, either through studie, or obseruation  
of things, we reckon straitwaie with our selues,  
wherunto God calleth vs through that truth,  
which he lately before our minds. By this word  
unrighteousness, the Apostoll understandeth gen-  
erallie whatsoeuer sinne we commit, either against  
God; against men. Wherefore Paul speaeth  
of that truth which is naturallie ingrafted in vs,  
a also of that which we attaine vnto by our owne  
fauour. For either of those instructeth vs of most  
excellent things touching God. Neither is the  
unrighteousness which we commit, able to blot  
it out of our minds. Which thing neuertheless  
the Academicall philosophers endeouored to  
teach, saying they earnestly affirme that there  
can be nothing certtainly taught by vs: and so  
would not haue vs to imbrace anie thing, as be-  
ing sure therof that it is true, but would haue vs  
account all things as vncertaine and doubtful.

In thiswise the Epicures go about to pull out of  
our minds those things, which by a naturall  
former conceit are painted in our hearts con-  
curing God. And yet neither of these were able  
to bring to passe that, which they endeouored. For  
will they, will they, that the truthe remaine still in  
the minds of men, but (which is to be lamented)  
they are withholden in unrighteousness.

11 Perhaps thou wilt demand how it com-  
meth to passe, that the truth which we haue by  
faith, is of more strength to beake out into act,  
than is the truth, which we naturallie perceiue.



difference cometh by the meane and instrument, whereby the same is perceived. The strength of nature is corrupt, feeble, and defiled through sinne: and therefore the truth, which it taketh hold of, it hath not effectually. But faith hath joined with it the inspiration of God, and the power of the holy Ghost, and therefore it taketh hold of the truth effectually: wherefore the difference is not in the truth it selfe, but in the meane and instrument, whereby we imbrace the same. Therefore it cometh, that there we be changed, but here we remaine the selfe-same that we were before. Of which thing we have a cleere testimonie in the Gospell. Christ set faith vnto the young man what he should do to obtaine saluation, the which he hearing, was not perswaded to giue place, but went aboute sorrowfull. He trusted vnto naturall strength, and therefore demanded of the Lord what he might do to obtaine eternall life. But contrariwise, Matthew 9, 9. As some as he heard of his calling, imbraced the same with so great faith, as learning his monie and custome, he straightwaie followed Christ. And Zacheus, otherwise a man grieuie of gaile, when he had heard of the Lord, that he would turne in vnto him, he not onlie receiued him into his house with a glad hart; but also offered immediatly to distribute halfe his goods to the poore, and to resstage fourescore to those whom before he had defrauded. Wherefore the whole difference consisteth in the power, whereby the truth is taken hold of; which must not to be understood, as though we affirme, that we haue not more truth reuealed vnto vs by the scriptures, both of the old testament and new, than we doe naturallie knowe. Onlie we haue made a comparison betwixt the selfe-same truth, when it is naturallie knowne, and when it is perceived by faith.

12 And so farre as God may be knowne of vs, the manner of waies; the first is deferred vnto another life. Which waie when Moyses desired, it was said vnto him: No man shall see me, and liue. Of the second did Paule make mention vnto the Romans: For the inuisible things of God, &c. Last of all, we perceive him by faith, whereof mention is oftentimes made. 1 Cor. 13, 21. But in the first to the Corinthians they are both compared together, and the one shewed to be but finally profitable, as it was shewed in the epistle to the Romans. But in Genesis, when as Moyses expresteth vnto vs the workmanship of the world, he sheweth things whereby we may picke out the inuisible knowledge of God. But this waie leaeneth altogether vpon faith; for except we beleue the wordes of God, we shall obtaine nothing. Wherefore it is written vnto the Hebrewes: By faith we vnderstand that worlds were made. Wherefore in beholding the crea-

tures of God, let vs alwaies put to the strength of faith, if we will not lose our labour, and busie our selues to our owne hurt. As for these inuisible things of God, which we perceive, they are innumerable; but they are all drawn to these principall points: his power, his wisdom, and his goodness. The greatness of the things brought forth, the making of them of nothing, and the sudden making of them by the commandement of his onlie word, doe inferre his most mightie power. But the workmanship, the forme, the comeliness, and the singular disposition of them, doe testifie the wisdom of the maker. The profit which we gather of them, declareth his great his goodness. As for great importance it is, that we should comprehend this creation of the world by faith, as euen the articles of our beleafe haue their beginning herevpon. For this being taken awaie, neither will the first sinne be extant; nor the promises concerning Christ will fall, and all the strength of religion will be overthrowne. And seeing that all the articles of the faith are certaine rules and principles of our godlines among them all, this is reckoned the first in order: the which, since we must learne by the reuealing of God, as we must also doe all other, not by the seigned drifts of satan, or precepts of men, we must first speake of all these things, before we come to the creation it selfe.

13 In the holie scriptures we haue a knowledge of God contemplatiue, and that which consisteth in action. Among the philosophers attuall contemplation goeth foremost, but in the holie scriptures contemplatiue hath the first place: inasmuch as we must first beleue, and be iustified by faith; afterward followe god wordes, and that to much the more and more abundantly as we be renewed daily by the holie Ghost. So doth Paule shew in his epistles: For first he handleth doctrine, afterward he descendedly to the instruction of manners, and to the order of life. So likewise the children of Israel were first gathered together vnder the faith of one God the saviour. Afterward in the desert they receiued lawes which ferued vnto attuall knowledge. And in the table of the ten commandments the same order is observed. For first he saith, I am the Lord thy God: which belongeth to faith or speculative knowledge. Afterward followe the precepts, which belong vnto the works required by God. The cause of this difference is, that mens contentions are gotten by searching out, and by the industry of meditation, and therefore moderate affections are necessarie. But those things which we beleue, are receiued by the inspiration of God: so that we need not those preparations. And in mans reason it belongeth men first to be before they be iustified.

iustified. But the order of diuine sanctification is far otherwise appointed: for first we beleue, afterward we are iustified, then by the spirit and grace the powers of our mind are repaired, and then followe iust and honest deas. Whereafter, the end of philosophie is to obtaine that blessednes of felicitie, which may here by humane strength be obtained: but the end of christian godlines is, that in vs should be repaired that image, whereunto we were made in righteousness and holines of truth, that we may euerie daie growe vp in the knowledge of God, vntill we be brought to see him with open face as he is. We can not in Aristotles Criticks heare of the remission of sinnes, nor of the feare and confidence of God, nor of iustification by the faith of Christ, and of such like things. For these things are opened by the will of God, which can not be gathered by naturall knowledge through any of the creatures. Neither do I denie, but that it happeneth oftentimes, that the selfe-same things are commended in Aristotles Criticks, which are commended in the holie scriptures; but then are those things the selfe-same in matter, and not in forme, properties, and beginnings: for the respect in those things is diuers, the properties diuers, and the beginnings are not all one. Euen as the matter of raine water, and of aine fontaine is all one; but the power, proprietie, and originals, are farre diuers: for the one cometh by the heat of heauen, and by the clouds and colnes of the middle region of the aire: but the other is brought forth from the passages of the earth, and from the sea, and is so strained, as it becometh sweet: or else (it to happeneth) by conuersion of the aire into water, through the colnes of the place where the fontaine ariseth. Euen so those things, which a Christian doth, he doth them by the impulsion of the spirit of God. Those things which the philosophers doe, according to mozall precepts, they doe them by the guide of humane reason. The philosophers are stirred by to doe those things, because they do iudge it to be honest and right: but the Christians, because God hath decreed. Those doo thinke to profit and make perfect themselves: these, because the maiestic of God must be obeyed. Those doo giue credit to themselves; but these giue credit to God, and to the wordes of the lawe which he hath made. Those take the loue of themselves; these, are diuined by the loue of God alone. And of this manifold difference it cometh to passe, that one and the same thing, as touching the matter, doth please God, and by his iudgement is condermed.

So now we see that the speculative knowledge is preferred above the active. For doing is preferred before contemplation, and not contrariwise.

And no man doubteth, but that that which is deemed for another thing, is lesse honorable than it. But it is objected, that the contemplatiue kind doth belong vnto action; therefore indubitably we beholde nature, that we may make much of the author thereof; and therefore we seeke to knowe God, to the intent we may worship him. And our diuinitie is for this cause by some called actual. Doubtless these men, reasoning after this manner, are exceedingly deceived. For no science is therefore called actual, because the worker attaineth vnto that knowledge, except the selfe-same thing be performed which was first knowne. Whether we beholde nature, and the heauen, although we obtaine thereby a worship and loue towards God; yet such a knowledge must not be called actual, because that is not brought to passe which we beholde. For there is no man that can make nature, and heauen, and other things which followe thereof: accidental they are said to behold them. For not all men, which behold these things, doe loue and worship God; nay rather they be oftentimes most farre from him. Again, the worker which soloueth that knowledge, and also our diuinitie, haue respect vnto this; that we may knowe God more and more, vntill we shall behold him face to face, in the kingdom of heauen. And Christ our God: confirmed this opinion, saying: This is eternall life, to knowe thee the onlie true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

### The third Chapter.

Concerning Prophecie; out of the first of Samuel, the 19. Chapter, verse 33.

Seeing therefore that God would be knowne vnto men by prophecie, I thought it not from the purpose to speake somewhat thereof. And that I may do it the more breuie and plaine. I will first shew what is meant by this name of word prophecie: then what are the causes of it; next the definition; and lastly, the properties and effects. As touching the name of prophecie: A prophet is in the Hebrew tongue called Navi; which name cometh of the Hebrew verbe Bo, which signifieth to come. And it is in the palliue conuigation Niphali. Khimbi both interpret prophecie to be a certain facultie receiued from God. For prophets doe suffer a certain beaating on them, and indur from God: and that word doth signifie sometime an interpreter or messenger. And a prophet is called sometimes in Hebrew

Summe examples of apprehension of the truth. Mat. 19, 22.

Math. 9, 9.

Luke 19, 6.

Pauls monie things are reuealed vnto vs by the scriptures, when we knowe by faith.

Out of the first place, on Genesis.

Rom. 1, 20.

1 Cor. 13, 21.

How God may be knowne by the workmanship of the world. Heb. 11, 3.

In the first face of the commentaries vpon Aristotles Criticks, of contemplatiue and attual knowledge.

Why by theological contemplation goeth before active.

Which knowledge is preferred above other.

Iohn. 17, 3.

A defining, guiding of this question.

What is meant by the name prophecie.

Bo, one in the fourth part, cap. 1. art. 2.

Hebrew

San. 9, 10.

The confes  
sion of prophe  
cie, the nature  
of prophe  
cie.

2. prophe  
cie to an inter  
preter of the  
word.

1. Cor. 13, 14.

Gen. 29, 7.

A prophet  
must praise  
for others.

1. Cor. 14, 17.

1. Cor. 14, 17.

wherein  
prophe  
cie differ  
from  
poets.

hecme Roe (that is, a seer:) sometimes Chofe, (that is, a watchman:) & sometimes lich Eloim (that is, a man of God:) as in the first of Sam. the 9. chapter, and first of Paralipo. the 29. In the Grecke he is called *prophetes*, of *prophetai*, to foretell: as is some rather will of *prophetas*, that is, to the. Whereupon among the Latins, temples are called *Phana*: and as Felus Pompeius thinke, the bishops of the temples were called prophets. There were also *interpretes*, to wit, interpreters, which did service to the greater prophets. They were also called among the Grecks *prophetai*, of *prophetas*. Among the Latins men are called *Pana*: yet further, they were called of the Grecks *idolopoi* of *idola*, that is, to stir up and drive forward. They were called in Latine *Vates*, as some suppose, of speaking, although there were that thought otherwise. A prophet is he, which being stirred up by the spirit, foretelleth things to come.

2. Now that we may also speake somewhat of the causes: a prophet is occupied about heauenly and hidden matters. Sometimes he seeth the things that be present: as Peter did of Ananias and Saphira: and Elizeus of Gehazi (saying). Was not my spirit present with thee? Sometime he seeth things that are past: as Moles concerning the creation of the world. For as touching things to come, no man doubteth, (but he foretelleth them.) Also they which expound other mens prophecies, are prophets. For so was Aaron said to be the prophet of Moles vnto Pharao: and the expounders of the holic scriptures are called prophets. Also it belongeth to the office of a prophet to pae vnto God: wherefore Paule saith, that curie man praising of prophecies, &c. And in Genesis, God and wher he Abimelech concerning Abraham, when he had taken his wife from him: Giue him his wife againe, for he is a prophet, and shall praise thee. And Paule in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 14. chapter, let forth more at large the office of a prophet. When ye come together (saith he) euery one hath a psalme, or hath doctrine, or hath reuelation, or hath interpretation: let all things be done to edifying. They may also make hymnes and thanks-giving, and exhort the people, for Paule faith: He that prophecieth, speaketh doctrine, exhortation, and consolation. Whiche facultie pertaineth to the mind and power of understanding. And a prophet differeth from a poast, in that a poast should not helpe exhort, teach, and comfort; but also minister helpe seruices, which thing a prophet may not doe. Besides, the poasts were of the tribe of Leui: the prophets were of other tribes. Moreover, the poasts might erre, & often did erre; but the true prophets, in that they were prophets, could not erre. And as they sometimes added somewhat of

their owne, but therein they were not prophets. And the poasts were chosen onlie by succession, and had an ordinance ministerie: but the prophets were sent by an extraordinary means according to the will of God.

3. The forme (of prophecie) is the reuelation of God. For he that declaredly natural causes and arts, and sciences, is not a prophet. And to a prophet is distinct frō a doctor, or teacher. For doctors, although they be instructed in the gifts of God, to teaching, persuading, & comforting: yet they get those things by exercise, instruction, studie, and labour: but prophets are taught by no other means than by the onlie reuelation of God. Howbeit, such prophets as are thus taught of God, although perhaps there be some new to a bales in the church, yet I thinke there be not many. But at the verie beginnings, when the church began to spring up, God raised many prophets. For when men were converted from Greckish gentilitie vnto Christ, and were altogether ignorant and unskillfull of the holic scriptures, it was needfull that God helped them by such reuelations: but now that all places abound with books, and teachers, there is no need of the helpe of prophecies. For the Times did onlie looke for Christ to come, he is now come: wherefore we haue no need of other prophets. Besides, they were not to instruct in the holic scriptures. For at the beginning they had the lawe, and nothing else. When came Samuel and other prophets, which made all things full and whole. Now there is scripture enough euerywhere. If malice, they were alwaies curious searchers of things to come, and prone to idolatrie: therefore least they should run vnto forerunners and forslayers, God promised that he would giue them a prophet from among their owne brethren. This doth Peter by the figure at two places trulie transfer vnto Christ. But in verie deed, God neuermore cared and provided, that they should not be without some prophet of their owne number. But in our daies that grosse idolatrie is taken away. Chrylosome vpon Ecclesiastes saith, that the times of men haue brought to passe, that no such rare & pure spirit can dwell among vs: which reason doth not much moue me. For when the people did most greuouslie offend, God did neuer stir vp his prophets. The end of prophecies, as Paule faith, is to edifice: that is, to bring vs to eternal felicitie: but that is not perceived by mans iudgement. For neither he euer saue it, or eare heard it: wherefore it was needfull to haue it shewed in a more hidden way by prophecies. But they could not open it, but they themselves understood it; neither could they euer understand it, unless they were admonished by the inward spirit of God. For otherwise they would be as ignorant in those things

The forme  
of prophe  
cie.

whereas a  
prophet dif  
fereth from  
a teacher.

prophe  
cie where  
when the  
church  
began thus  
now.

note in the  
13. art.

Deut. 18, 15.

Acts 3, 22.

Chrylo  
some.

The end of  
prophe  
cie.

The effect  
of the  
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The spirit  
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why God  
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man to  
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tell true  
things.

2. The 31, &  
& Ecce. 14,  
verfic. 19.  
Augustine.

2. notes of  
giuets as  
against  
idols.

prophe  
cie sure.

Gen. 23, 24.

The origi  
nall of prop  
hecie.

Acts 3, 24.

Samuel  
chief of the  
prophecie.

Chrylo.

things which are done by nature, as other men be. But now that spirit, wherewith they be stirred up, is sometime good, and sometime euill. For as God doth edifie the church by his prophecies: so the diuill apostolic counterfeiting God, subuerteth it by his prophets. There was neuer any heretic that boasted more of prophecies, than did the Montanists. For they accounted the Psalms and Maximilla, being rich and wealthy women, for prophetesses. The idolaters forced those things that were true, & the more ready to decrete, did mingle them with falsehoods. But thou wilt saie, Why did God suffer them to speake true things: Augustine in his 14. booke De trinitate answereth, because they were both finnes, and the punishments of finnes: and they had deserved to be giuen up to lies, and strong delusions, as Paule saith to the Ephesians. And God faith, that if a prophet be seduced, I haue seduced him. And Augustine against Iulian saith: The diuils report true things euen of Christ, because God will by all meanes maintaine the truth, both to the comfort of the goodlie, and condemnation of the wicked. But such kind of wilydges are now forbidden by the lawes of princes, as appeareth in the Code De maleficiis & mathematicis. Howbeit because none shall be deceived, they are not called apothematicians in that place, which do foretelle any thing by the starres, or speculation of naturall causes: but such as vnder the name of apothematicians brete for giuing curious arts and incantments: which kind of people the Emperour Constantine commanded to be burnt. But the good spirit is sent in by God, which when the heathen knew not, they called it furie, and disdaining of the mind. Plato in his dialogues Phaedro and Loue, faith, that poetical furie is one mystricall, another foretelling of that which should come, and another diuine. Now concerning the original of prophecie, it is certaine, that as touching the time thereof, the same was first in Adam: for thus did he saie: This is now bone of my bones. After him preached Enoch, which was the seventh from Adam, as it is written in the Epistle of Iude. Then succeeded Moles and Samuel. But thou wilt saie, if prophecie be so ancient, why doth Peter on this wise saie in the booke of the Actes: It is written in the prophetes, from Samuel, and thence forth: I assure, that Peter had first made mention of Moles: then he maketh Samuel the head of the prophets, because he had made him famous the order of the prophets. And because nothing was written of any prophet before Samuel.

5 Chrylosome in his second homilie vpon the words of Esai, I saue the Lord si-

ting, let forth forth (although not verie exactly) a definition of prophecie. Prophecie, saith he, is nothing els but a declaration of things to come. And vpon the prologue of Paule to the Romans, he faith, that the holie men did not onlie prophecie by writings and wordes, but also by deedes: as Abraham did in the sacrifice of his sonne: and Moles in the bagen serpent, and all the people of Israel in eating of the pasfouer. But a fuller definition is this: Prophecie is a facultie giuen vnto certaine men by the spirit of God, without teaching, or learning, whereby they are able certeinly to knowe things haueuier, high, and secret, and to open the same vnto others for edifying of the church. Here this twofold facultie is the generall word to prophecie, which may be referred to naturall power: not that the same power is naturall, but that it may make men apt, as naturall power doth, whereby they may be assured of their knowledge. Which 3. things are added, because they that utter those things which they themselves vnderstand not, be rather mad persons, than prophets. The other part of the definition may easilie be vnderstood by those things, which we speake concerning the causes.

6 But heauenly inspiration was not communicated to all the prophets alike. For some saue more, and some lesse. In the 12. of the booke of Iudithers God faith, that he did intimate himselfe to other prophets after diuers fashions, but that he presented himselfe vnto Moles mouth to mouth, and face to face. And at the end of Deuteronomie it is written, that after Moles there was neuer the like prophet. After Moles must be vnderstood of the time before the coming of Christ. For otherwise by the testimony of Christ himselfe, Iohn Baptist was greater than Moles. For (saith he) Among the children of women there arose not a greater than Iohn Baptist. For other prophets foretold that Christan time would come, but he with his finger shewed him to be present and conuerfant as among men. We may also, although I would not rubelie, thus distinguishing the degrees of prophecies, if that we call one, an oracle, another a dream, and another a vision. An oracle is, when by the voice of God him selfe, it is told what we should doe. So was Abraham warned by a voice from heauen, that he should not kill his sonne. As for the manner of dreaming, there is no need of examples, they are plentiful in euery place of the holic scriptures. A vision may be in three fashions: either when true things be discerned by an intus light, and by the mere vnderstanding: or else when besides that light, images also are discerned, and that either in the mind: as when Zacharias saue the horses and the camels: or else when the potes and the cisterns, and Ieremie the eyes

Elia. 4, 1.  
prophecie  
defined.

prophecie  
by deedes.

degrees of  
prophecie.

Num. 12, 6.

Deut. 34, 10.

A compa  
rison betw  
e Moles  
and Iohn Baptist.

Mat. 11, 11.

what is an  
oracle, a  
dream, a  
vision.

of these  
things read  
more in the  
next place.

Zach. 1, 8,  
and 4, 2.

Ierem. 1, 13.

and



Pythia and  
Sibylla  
among them  
fables.

Alfo the buell thow oftentimes dylue his  
prophecie to hang themfelves : as he did Pylla  
and Maximilla, of whom we fpahe before. In  
like manner, the prefts of Baal did boie them  
felves with fmall pybes. And the frend Sibyls  
did gels themfelves. And Chryfolome addeth  
as touching Pythia, that the was wont to fyt  
on a threfhold ftole, and to let in the diuell into  
hir by hir difhoneft parts, & from thence to gice  
hir answers. And it is no marvell : fo the buell  
is a tyant, and maketh men to behaue them  
felves shamefullie : fo that they cannot tell what  
to do : faie. But the holie Chofte blyth his pro  
phets after an other foie. Faie rather (will fone  
faie) God doth alio compell his prophets. For  
Mofes, Ionas, and Ieremie, do firft him the of  
fice of propheffing when it was offered them :  
yet were they compellid against their wils to  
prophecie. It is true that the holie men did firft  
firue against it, but afterward being perfuade  
by the holie Chofte, they toke vpon them the  
funtion. For they were not fo brought to the  
executing of Gods meffages, as though it had  
bene quite against their wils. But the buell  
compelleth and haleth his prophets by violence.  
He maketh their tong to ronne at random, he  
twifteth their cries, and tofteth their iudice boie  
after a lothfome manner. On the other fide, one  
may faie, that Caiphas fogetold vnwares he  
did not faie, becaufe he was the high preft fo  
that yere. And that Nabuchadnezar and Phrao  
were fweyched by their dreames, fuch things as  
themfelves vnderftod not. & fo anfwere, that thofe  
were no full prophecie, but onlie vnperfet. For  
in the definition we faid, that a prophet muft be  
able both to vnderftand, and expound his pro  
phesies : fo they be giuen to the vfe of the church,  
whilch vfe is not at all, vnleffe there be vnder  
ftanding. Thirdly, thou wilt faie alfo, that Saule  
hath naked a whole daie and a whole night. &  
anfwere, that the fleth of man is terrified and  
weakened at the prefence of the Godhead : yet  
that the holie Chofte doth neither corrupt na  
ture, no; yet diffigure the bodie of man. In deed  
all the ftrength and pover of man both faile,  
and is weakened at to great a maieftie, for  
fo did Daniel : fo did Iohn in his reuelation, fo  
prostrate to the earth. And fo did Peter, Iohn, &  
James, being affonished at the tranfiguration  
of Chrift, fall botome flat. And Balaam callith  
himfelfe, A man falling with his eyes open.  
And yet were not thefe men enforced to be  
comelie and difhoneft gectures. Whereas Paule  
faith, that the fpirits of the prophets are fubiet  
to the prophets : that he abed, leaft the prophets  
fhould be at any contention among themfelves,  
and fhould hinder one another : or leaft that a  
nie one fhould faie : he could not wait till any  
other had done. Paule addeth an other note in

he further  
God doth  
compell his  
prophets.  
Exod. 3, 11.  
Ionas, 3, 11.  
Ierem. 3, 6.

whether the  
infirmitie  
of God  
knowes not  
what they  
faie.  
John. 11, 49.  
Daniel, 2, 1.  
Gen. 41, 1.

whether he  
knows  
not what  
they doo.  
1. Sam. 19,  
verfe. 23.  
Act. 16, 23.  
Spanifch  
is certified  
at the prefence  
of God.  
Dan. 10, 8.  
Apoc. 1, 17.  
March. 17, 6.  
Num. 24, 16.

1. Cor. 14, 3

fhore may be, that thofe faienings were not  
prophefies, fo much as they were threatnings : and  
that the prophets do foietie thofe effects accor  
ding to the caufes : and when the caufes were  
changed, it was no abfurditie that the effects  
changed alfo : and therefore the prophets can  
not be reposed as liars. But that place of Deu  
teronome is not to be vnderftod of threat  
nings, but of other prophefies. Such is that  
which Samuel foietheft vnto Saule, that he  
fhould meet two men by the waie, and take of  
them loanes : and that afterward with him  
fhould meet a companie of prophets. Such alio  
was that which Gedeon receiued as touching  
the drie and draiue Marie : and fuch was that  
which was foietold to Marie : namely, that hir  
coulin Elizabeth fhould conceiue. Other to  
kens hath Chryfolome noted vpon the 12. cha  
pter of the firft Epiftle to the Corinthians, vpon  
thele woords, When ye were Gentiles ye were  
carried away to dumbe idols. Where he faith, that  
the prophets of the idols had two certain tokens  
to be knouen by. For firft, when they were po  
flefled with the cuill fpirit, they were veyed with  
vnderft gectures, as men ranshed out of their  
wits. Further, they vnderftod not themfelves  
whatfoeuer they faid. For the pofe whereof he  
allegeth the teftimonie of Plato : namely, that  
they fpahe gublie things, but vnderftod not  
themfelves. Iulius Martyr in the end of his Ser  
mon againft the Gentiles, faith, that thele woords  
be in a dialogue of Plato, which he intituleth  
Menon, the which Chryfolome writeth not of,  
but he addeh two things which faine repu  
nant one to the other. For he praifeth the Si  
bills, as though they had foken by the motion  
of the holie Chofte, and as though their prophe  
fies were certine preparatives to the reading  
of our propheies. But he faith that their verbes  
were corrupted by the writers : and that when  
the vehemente of their fpirit was affwaged,  
and they come to themfelves againe, hauing  
fogetten what they faid, could not correct them.  
But that it is not like to be true, if they had bene  
fired up by the fpirit of God. Firft Chryfo  
fome faith, that the diuels praftis were wont  
to be moued with leafe honie gectures. And  
he citeth an old poet, wherein this is writen :  
Vnlofe ye now the king, for a mortall man can  
no longer containe God within him. Whereas  
vnto that it is like which is writen by Virgil :  
Dame Sibyll mumbled made,  
and flungling ftrong withftood the charge,  
If haplie fo the might  
the gods enforcing fhake from brest :  
But he preuailing fill,  
with more and more hir fpirit opprest :  
Hir hart, hir raging mouth,  
he taming ftaid, and fixed faft.

In 1. Sam.  
2, 34, & 3n  
1. Sam. 19,  
17. and in  
this booke,  
part. 4. ch. 4.  
art. 8.  
1. Sam. 19, 2

Judg. 5, 36.  
Luke. 1.  
Chryfof.

1. Cor. 12.

The diuels  
prophets  
feare his  
mad men.

Infinims  
Martyr.  
Plato.

The Si  
bills.

The vnbu  
net gectur  
res of the  
prophane  
poet.

Act. 11, 4.  
and 10.

Prophets  
muft not be  
corrupted  
for fauour  
of rewards.  
Num. 23, 3.

By thir  
life they  
muft win  
credit to  
the world.  
Matth. 4,  
2 Kings, 4,  
2. A foudi  
miration of  
S. Iohn  
Baptift in  
apparel.

Two good  
prophets  
are knouen  
from bad.  
Lookes after  
in the flit  
the art. 10.  
Zelle in the  
fourth part  
chapter 4.  
art. 7.

Deut. 1, 1.  
and 18, 21.  
Sometimes  
the predi  
cations  
of true  
prophets  
appen not.  
Elic. 3, 4.  
Ionas 3, 4.

rit of God, faid, that manie greeuous afflictions  
were prepared for Paule at Ierufalem. And this  
in berie deed they fpahe trulle : but they gaue coun  
sell vnto Paule, that he fhould not go to Ierufa  
lem : which thing they had not of the holie Chofte.  
God prophets ought not fo to bebaue them  
felves. For if they will mingle their owne wif  
doms with the oracles of God, they may caftie  
both be deceiued themfelves, and alfo caufe o  
thers to be deceiued. Besides this, the prophets  
muft take heed, that they fuffer not themfelves  
to be corrupted either by monie, or fauour : as  
we reade that Balaam did. For they which lo  
de (faith Ierome) are not prophets, but blinners :  
As when Logice is corrupt with erro : s, and  
Fallaxie, it is no longer Logice, but Sophiftie.  
For they which may be hired to fpahe in fa  
uour for reward sake, be rather the blinners  
of idols, than the prophets of God : and if they  
beare any office in the church, they will fone  
infect their auditoie with erro : s : and fo  
both fhall be caft headlong into the ditch. Fur  
ther, they muft inuolue themfelves, by their  
life and maners, to win credit to the wo : rds  
of God. This is thought by fome to confit in ap  
parel : as fo they will imitate Elias and Iohn  
Baptift, and be appareled in camels haire, and  
weare girdles of leather. But this do the pro  
phets by the infirmitie and warning of God, to  
dualue the people vnto God by wondering at  
them. Contrarievife, there be fome which will  
abound in pleafores and exceffe : and this too  
reade in the Ecclefiafticall hiftorie of Priests  
and Maximilla, for they vied painted colours,  
and all kind of niceneffe. Whereas there a certine  
meane waie muft be vied, for offence may be  
committed on both fides, alwell in exceffe, as in  
homelineffe.

8 But thou wilt faie, Seeing there be fome  
good propheies, and fome bad, by what marke  
may the one foie be diuerfed from the other :  
fofoeth not by garments and apparell of the  
bodie. There be certine other moie fure  
hens fhewed vs in the fcriptures. God faith in  
Deuteronome, that there be two fure argu  
ments of a good prophet. The firft, if he leade not  
aue the people to idolatrie, and ftrange gods :  
Seconde, if it certine come to paffe whatfoe  
uer he foietheft. The one of thele, which  
concerneth idolatrie, is vnboubted and cer  
taine : but of the fecond fone doubt may be. For  
fometimes the foietheftings of the true pro  
phets haue not come to paffe. Eliae did prophecie  
that king Ezechias fhould die of that difeafe  
whereof he was ficke : and Ionas faid, that with  
in foitie daies the citie of Ninue fhould be de  
ftroied, and yet neither of thele things came to  
paffe according to the prophecie. Where the an  
fwere

and outward fenfe, as was that hand, foken of  
by Daniel, which appeared on the wall : and as  
that, when angels were fene to talke with men  
in boblie fhape of men. And in prophefies there  
is a difference of times. For fone were before  
the lalwe, as were thofe of Abraham, Noah, E  
noch, and Adam : fome in the lalwe, as of Mofes  
and others : fome in the gofpell, as the prophe  
fies of manie holie men in the primitive church.  
And this gift God demed not euen to women.  
For we reade of Marie, Debora, and Oлда, that  
were propheffes, beides other women. And in  
the beginning of the primitive church, the  
daughters of Philip, and other gublie women,  
did prophecie. And Paule faith, that a woman  
praising o propheffing, fhould couer hir head.  
But here, by the waie, arifeh no fmall doubt.  
For if at that time it were lawfull for a woman  
to praie and prophecie openly, why doth Paule  
writting to the Corinthians, and to Timothie,  
admonifh that a woman fhould not fpahe in  
the church. Thele two faienings, although they  
may feme fome what repugnant, yet may they  
diuers waies be reconciled. Some thinke that  
Paule meaneth that a woman praierly and pro  
pheticelie, when the is prefent and hearely pub  
licly praies and propheffings in the church, di  
rected by fone gublie and learned man. Others  
fuppofe that two erro : s crept into the church  
of the Corinthians, euen fo fone as the fame church  
beganne : the one, that women fhould pro  
pheticie openly : and the other, that they fhould  
not be bare-headed. And they thinke that Paule  
confutid the firft erro : in the 11. chapter to the  
Corinthians, and the other in the 14. and in the  
2. to Timothie : and that fo Paule altogether  
foi dotheth that either of them fhould be done in  
the congregation. Other fone vnderftand thofe  
woords of Paule as touching the ordinarie mini  
fterie, which by no meanes muft be permitted  
to a woman : but that by an extrao : rdinarie  
meanes it is lawfull for women fometimes to  
prophecie, as it was vnto Marie, Debora, O  
lda, and others, of whom we fpahe before : the  
which if it do happen at any time, they faie that  
Paule fcarreth that a woman fhould haue hir  
head couered. Others thinke that women are  
quite foibidden by Paule to prophecie openly :  
but that it is lawfull for them to do it priuately,  
fo they couer their heads. But whofoeuer it be,  
it importeth not much : our purpofe is onlie to  
teach, that God doth fometimes impart this gift  
vnto women.

Prophets  
muft not di  
minifh the  
wo : rds, no;  
adde to of  
their owne

Daniel, 5, 5.  
A difference  
in prophefies  
according  
to times.

Women  
prophefies.

1. Cor. 11, 5.  
Two wo  
men may  
prophefies,  
they being  
foibidden  
to fpahe in  
the church.

1. Cor. 11, 5.  
1. Tim. 2, 11.

1.Cor.12,3.

Enill men  
sometime  
prophecie  
true things.  
March.7,32.  
A generall  
rule to  
knowe true  
prophecie.

Auguſtine.  
Under the  
name of  
Chriſt is  
contained  
all the ac-  
tiones of the  
faith.

1.Theſſ.5,1.

In hearing  
of ſermons  
Doute rite  
muſt be ſe-  
wed.

prophecie  
muſt be ſen-  
ſecle.

the ſame place : None (ſaith he) can ſaie, that the ſame map be obtained by art; or induſtrie, or by a knowle not what manner of purgations. For Peter ſaith, that Prophecie proceeded as they were of the man, but that holie men ſpoke as they would ſee onely by the ſpirit of God. And Paul ſaith, that the ſpirit diſtributeth to all men, as it will; and ſometimes, the child & the herdsman; as it did of Amos the prophet, when he was gathering of wild figs : yet it cannot be denied, but that ſaſting and prayer do helpe verie well. For we knowe, that Daniel did much chaſten himſelfe, and refrained from the kings table, being content with pulſe. And ſuch things do further not a little, howbeit they beſerue not the gift of propheſie. But if we take propheſie more largelie for the expoſition of the propheſies, and word of God, it cannot be denied, but that that ſacilitie may be attained by exerceſe & doctrine. And therefore to that purpoſe we find, that ſchools were appointed, wherein the children of the propheſies were inſtructed, and that ut-<sup>1</sup> Elizeus was inſtructed, he called for a muſician, to the intent he might recover his right mind.

10 Now let vs in a few wordes declare the effects of propheſie. The firſt effect is, the conſoling of the church. Wherefore Salomon ſaith in the 23. of Proverbs: When propheſie ceaſeth, the people be ſcattered, and with idlenes and loitering be quite marred. For propheſie hapeth men in their duty: wherefore Paul ſaith : Hee that propheſieth, ſpeaketh doctrine, exhortation, and comfort: ſo that if the ordinarie miniſtration at anie time (as it happeneth) be out of courſe, God raileth by propheſies extra ordinarie to reſtore things into order. But it may be doubted, whether propheſies do ſurelie knowe thoſe things to be true, which they foretell : yea verelie. For otherwiſe how could Abraham have found in his hart to ſlaie his ſonne, unleſſe he had been aſſured of the commandement of God. Wherefore in that they be propheſies, they be ſure of that they ſaie; 3 ad, in that they be propheſies. For as being men they may both erre, & be deceived. In Parili, David told Nathan that he would build up a temple unto the Lord. When Nathan the prophet, as if he allowed the kings mind, bad him do that which ſeemed good to his owne eyes; but afterward he received from the mouth of God, that the ſame worke pertained to Salomon: therefore Nathan as man erreth: but God ſaith withall called him home. This much ſufficieth for the effects of propheſie. One onelie thing I will ad. It is written in Eccleſiaſticus that the bones of Elizeus the prophet did propheſie, becauſe by the raising up of a dead man, they gave teſtimonie of Elizeus doctrine; but we muſt not ſeeme to call that a propheſie, for then they ſhall all miracles be propheſies.

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11 But we ſee that Abraham and Abimelech did then propheſie, when C D appeared unto them, but not as they thought good themſelves. So we may perceive that this power of propheſie is not to be cometh on habit, but preparati- on, or as they terme it a diſpoſition, being in a kind of qualitie. And the beaueſtie light, where- with a mans mind is then lightened, is rather as a ſudden paſſion, as that which may eaſilie be remoued, than as a paſſible qualitie : and is as light in the aire, but not like the light of the celeſtiall bodies : not as a paſſible conſuming of the naturall temperature of the bodie; but as that is which riſeth of a ſudden frighting of the mind. And now how needfull a thing may eaſilie be perceived. For if men were to be ſaue, it was requiſite that they ſhould be iu- ſtified, and iuſtified we are by faith. Faith com- meth by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But the word is not poumoued unto vs, except it be revealed to the propheſies. Wherefore propheſie was as fit for them, as iuſtification is neceſſarie unto vs. But there is not fo neceſſarie a bond betwene propheſie & iuſtifying faith, as that euerie man, that hath attained to the gift of propheſie, is forthwith become a friend of God and iuſtified. Well knowe that Balaam was a wicked man, and yet neuertheles a prophet. And in Matthew there is mention made of certaine wicked perſons, that in the daie of iudgement ſhall obiect unto the Lord; Have we not prophe- ſied in thy name? Well neuertheles ſhall heare (Chriſt ſaie) I knowe you not. But this is no marvell, ſince the ſame happens in the office of the apoſtles and euangelists, and other mini- ſters of the church. Iudas was not in Gods fauor, and yet neuertheles an apoſtle, & ſent to preach among the reſt. And Paul in the epiſtle to the Philippians, ſpeaketh of ſome that they did not preach Chriſt with a pure mind; but onelie that they might bring up afflictions to him, whereunto the apoſtle addeſh, that he is glad, ſo Chriſt be preached, whether it be in truth, or by an occaſion. And why? This is no neceſſarie conſequent. Among their reaſons alledged, this alſo may be brought for a cauſe : nameilie, for that this gift is granted of the Lord, for the furtherance and pro- fit of others : euen as are the gifts of healing, of tongues, and of other ſuch graces. And this doth nothing derogate from the goodnes of God: nay rather it doth more plainlie ſhew the ſame vnto vs, when we vnderſtand thereby, that he is ſo gracious, as he will make euen the wicked to ſerue to a good purpoſe.

12 Sometime this name of a prophet is vſed in the holie ſcriptures for an interpreter. As in the 7. of Exodus. Aaron is appointed to be Moſes pro- phet, that is, his interpreter; before Pharao. And

ye ſhall find, that the word propheſie in the firſt of Samuel, is attributed vnto Saule, when he be- ing ſtailed with the euil ſpirit of the Lord, ſpoke ſtrange and vniuſuall things (as the Scriptures ſaie) by a vehement concitation of the mind. But the children of the propheſies were the diſci- ples of great and famous propheſies, which ſome- times with their muſicall inſtruments & ſongs, were ſo ſtirred up to ſing the praifes of God, as they ſpoke ſome things beyond their wonted manner and cuſtome : ſo that it eaſilie appeared they were ſet on by the ſpirit of God. And that God determined to rule the people of old time by the perpetual induſtrie of ſome prophet, it may plainlie appere by the 18. of Deut. where the cauſe is alledged, that whereas the Iſraeites might not endure the light of Gods maieſtie, they made ſute, that he would deale with them by Moſes, leaſt they ſhould die. With this pretti- on God ſo well allowed, as he ſaid he would not onlie ſo do, but promiſed that he would alſo after Moſes raiſe up a prophet among their oylt brethren, whom they ſhould be bound to heare no leſſe than Moſes himſelfe. The which wordes, though they be chiefe intent of Chriſt, as Peter teacheth in the Acts of the apoſtles, yet are they alſo to be applict vnto thoſe his propheſies, by whole means God did gouerne his people af- ter Moſes by the teaching of his diuine word, and to theſe it was committed to long to inſtruct and teach the people in profitable things, vntill ſuch time, as Chriſt which is the head, and well- ſpring of all propheſies ſhould come. vpon whom committing the former roe ceaſed. For the Iawe and the propheſies endured vntill Iohn. That place therefore is meant of the other propheſies as of figures and ſhadowes; but of Chriſt, as princi- pale: after whole coming there was no more need of their preſence. For now haue we him, whom they told vs of before : who though he be abſent in bodie, yet is he preſent by his ſpirit the comforter. And by this means the church may be gouerned.

13 Yet we denie not, but that there were manie propheſies in the primitive church. For St. Paul ſaith: There be appointed in the church, ſome church, apoſtles, ſome propheſies, ſome euangelists. Pet Paul himſelfe was a prophet, whole Goſpell and glad tidings was not brought him by man, but by mere reuelation from Chriſt. Peter alſo was a prophet, inſomuch as he thoughtfull ſaue the ſecrets of the hart. For he did ſee what Ananias and Saphira had done ſecretlie. So were Agas, and the daughters of Philip; and they alſo, which ſaid, that the holie Ghoſt ſpoke vnto them to ſe- parate Paul and Barnabas. But this was then done, becauſe it was needfull for the word be- ing otherwiſe rude, to be diuent to Chriſt by ſignes. For by theſe miracles, and cheſtie by

Prophets are not new to us. ecclesiast.

Prophets at this time

teachers in stead of prophets.

Teachers be no prophets.

1. Cor. 14.

Mark. 16. 17

Looke before thou. 3. art. 6.

prophecie, men might be lifted up to the admiration of the Gospell: in like manner as it was done when the laue was giuen to the Hebrewes upon mount Sina. Further also, because that they, which were first appointed to preach the Gospell, and laie the foundations of churches, could not by mans indowment industrie learne thoughtlike those things, which concerne christian instruction: it was meet that they shuld perceive these things by spiritual revelation. Wherefore prophecie were then thought most necessarie, but now not so. For now the Gospell is spread farre abroad: & the church may have manie, which by studie and paines taking, may learne of the fathers of the church, what maketh for the advancement of the Gospell. Therefore prophecie at this day is not to beerie necessarie, neither yet the gift of healing, the church having now plenty of physicians: neither the gifts of tongues, seeing the church is spread over all nations, and the studie of languages doth lieth among all christians: no yet the power of believing the wicked unto salan, since the church hath christen magistrates, ready to punish malefactors with the sword. Yet in mine opinion, it is not to be denied, but that there be still prophets in the church, although not so famous as in times past. And it should seeme, that in the freed of them, there succeed most learned teachers of the holy scriptures, plentifullie at this day giuen us of God. Nevertheless it cannot be proved by the scriptures, that such be called prophets, unless they, by the inspiration of God, discover some secret mysteries, without the earnest industrie of mans eloquence. Except thou looke west the words of Paule in the first to the Corinthians to that purpose: and yet thou canst not prove it necessarie. And although that Christ saith, that there should be such gifts in his church yet it did not warrant that they should continue till for ever: neither have we anie promises, that Christ should perpetually adorne his church with such gifts.

The fourth Chapter.

Of Visions: and how, and how much God may be knowne of men. Out of the booke of Iudges the 6. chapter, vers. 22.

**N**OW to the place it selfe putteth us in remembrance to speake some thing of visions, and in what sort and how much God may be seen of men. But least that this place should be passed over without either method or order, I will set forth certaine

distinctions, which I thinke to be needfull. And first it is supposed, that the knowledge of God is offered unto the senses: understanding: or else we thinke that it is granted by nature, either else by some prerogative and revelation, beyond the course of nature. And besides this, the knowledge of the substance, nature, and (as I may saie) the verie essence or being of God, differeth from that which consisteth of tokens, arguments, testimonies, & signes of the presence of God. All this we are to speake either of that knowledge of God, which is expedient for this life: or else of that onlie, which is looked for in the world to come. Therefore I will begin with the outward senses: & as touching the knowledge of them, thus I affirme: that the nature, substance, and essence of God cannot be reached unto by the senses. For so much as those things which be perceivable by the senses, have no affinity with God, but are a marvellous distance from him: and to saie the verie truth, the qualities which be of a certaine kind, are numbered among things accidental, do lie by the knowledge of the senses: whereunto since that God, who is most pure, is not subject, it is not possible that he should be knowne by the senses. And that this is true, it is understood by the certen experience, that euery man taketh of his owne mind. For it is most certenly true, that no man hitherto hath by his senses perceived him, and yet the Anthropomorphites persuaded themselves, that God might be knowne by the senses: for they attributed unto God a terrestrialall bodie: but their opinion is verelie refuted. For: for the scripture beareth record, that God is a spirit: and it maketh a manifest difference betweene a spirit and a bodie, when our Sauiour saith: Feele and see, for a spirit hath neither flesh nor bones. And there is no man but knoweth, that a mans bodie, and the parts thereof cannot consist, as he without flesh and bones. Further, the solidities of these men herby appereth, in that there is not a bodie to be found that is absolute pure, simple, and uncompounded. For as it is of as equal a temperature as may be, yet it hath parts whereof it is compounded: & that euery composition is contrarie to the nature of God, the verie Christian philosophers haue perceived.

2 But let us leaue these Anthropomorphites and speake of others, whom Augustine maketh mention of, in his epistle De uidentio Deo, to Paulinus. These men as the scriptures beare record, and the true catholike faith consenteth) beleue that God is altogether most pure, simple, and without bodie: but yet denie not, but that in that blessed state, which we hope for, the saints departed do behold him with their eyes: and therefore they saie, that we are deceiued, in that we wholly measure the state of the life to come, by those things

distinctions from the question proposed.

The nature of God is not known by the senses.

The nature of God can not be known by the senses.

The error of the Anthropomorphites.

John. 4. 24.

Luke. 24. 39.

Augustine.

The error of the bodie shall not detract from the essence of God, notwithstanding, any in the life to come.

What the patriarchs & prophets sawe.

Looke in 2. Tim. 2. 12.

Exo. 24. 16.

things that we see commonlie done and exercised here. Wherefore (saie they) although the dull eyes of our bodie cannot discern God, nor the angels, nor spirits: yet being once strengthened with that felicitie, they shall see them, not by their owne proper nature or power: but they shall haue the brightnes of their sight lightened, that they shall be able to reach to the verie essence of God. These men perhaps are lesse detested than the Anthropomorphites, but yet retracted. For: howeauer our eyes are to be confirmed, when we shall be in our owne country in heauen, yet they shall euen there remaine eyes, yea & bodilie eyes shall they be, and therefore shall not go beyond the kind & largenes of their owne objects. I neede they shall then easilie indure a more persing and greater light, than now they are able to abide with their eyes, neither shall the sight of those colours hurt them, which now offend them, yet shall they not reach unto the essence of God. For none of our bodies shall in that blessed resurrection be so dignified, that they shall either become spirits, or else increase to be bodies anie longer.

Wherefore there is not so much granted, no not to the bodie of Christ, that after his resurrection it should passe into a spirit. For that had not bene to haue the bodie rise againe, but to haue it abolished. Therefore, they that thinke our fight shall be made so perfect, that it shall be able to perceiue the substance of God, do nothing to the commendation thereof, but do in verie deed dectroy it. The Anthropomorphites offend against the nature of God, because they cloth it with a bodie: but the other do iniurie to the nature of man, in that they persuade themselves, that it shall not continue in the blessed resurrection. And to our opinion abeth true and in force, as well concerning this present life that we live, as also touching the life that we looke for hereafter.

3 But thou wilt demand, what the patriarchs and prophets did then see, to whom God, and his angels, (as we read in the scriptures) appeared diuers and sundrie times: I answer, that as concerning the outward senses, they did onelie perceive certen similitudes, formes and shapies, which were sometimes offered them by God, and his angels, whereby they might testifie that they were present, and spake with those fathers, that they heard them, and warned them of things for their saluation. But as for the presence of God, or of the angels, and also their speeches, & things by them signified, the sense it selfe perceived not: but the mind and reason gathered by them those things, which the capacite of the senses did expresse. Whereupon the Chalde paraphrast, where it is written in Exodus, that God came downe vpon mount Sina, doth not simple set downe, that God himselfe came downe: but translateth

it, The glorie of GOD. As if he should saie, that Certen mightie and wonderfull tokens were there seene, by the which God testified himselfe to be present. Which thing, in like manner he doth in the 6. of Esai, where he writeth, I sawe the Lord Esai. 6. 1. sitting vpon an high & lofty throne. And what manner shapies and similitudes these were, which betwene the presence of God, or the angels, it is easie to gather out of the holie scriptures.

To Moises there appeared a burning bush, a In what things God shewed him selfe to be present.

cloud, a pillar of fire, smokes, bolces, thunders, flames, lightnings, the propitiatorie, the arke of the couenant, him and thumim, diuers formes euen of men, which either did, or spake something, or else after some manner of sort shewed themselves, either vnto the prophets, or vnto others. All these, (I saie) were figures and tokens of the presence both of God, and of the angels, and offered themselves vnto the fathers, either cleaving or looking, to be perceiued of them. But sometimes the phantasia or imagination that is in men, was fashioned by the holie Ghost, & help of angels, at the commendement of God, to shew in such kind of similitudes and figures, whereby those things that God would haue, were no lesse exprest in the minds of those which knew them, than if they had bene offered to the outward senses.

4 Wherefore in expounding the prophets it, to falleth out, that we be manie times in great doubt, whether the thing they speake of were so outwarde performed: or else rather whether it did seeme to be done in the mind of the prophet. And in some places, by the circumstances of the matter it selfe we are compelled to confesse, that it was but a vision: as Ieron testifieth of Ieremies holie, which by Gods commandement he layd downe by a rocke at the riuer Euphrates, and let them there to long, till they were rotten, which yet he was commanded to take & weare againe. And this vision happened while the citie of Ierusalem was tharpeleie besieged by the Chaldeans when as the prophet had not libertie to go to and fro to Euphrates. For at the same time, when once he would haue gone to Anachoth, where he was home, he was apprehended as he went out of the gates, and charged with treacherie. And euen to both the same Ieron affirme, that it was onlie dam by vision. Which thing is written in Ezechiel, of the bread baked in one doie, and of his streng manie daies all upon one doie. Whereunto may be adde the eating of the booke, and such other like miracles, which neither the nature of man, nor the circumstances of the matters and times suffered so to be done, as it is written.

And as for praeding or expounding vnto the people, that which the prophets had in their minds, a thing seeme by phantasia or imagination.

Prophets to sometime to somethings phantised in their imagination, and sometimes times see them outwards.

Ieron. 23. 1.

Ier. 47. 11.

Ezech. 4. 15.

Ezech. 3. 1.

tion

tion was all one, and of as great force, as if it had outwardly happened. But yet we must not fit to the visions of the mind, when the thing it self may be down wardlie. For since as it was in God to vñe both waies, according to his owne pleasure, and as he thought it most fit and convenient for vs, therefore he sometimes vñe the one waie, and sometimes the other. And yet in all these matters, moe thinks, that the iudgement of Ambrose is to be followed, who intrerating of these visions saith, that they were such as the will made choise of, not such as nature framed: which maketh verelie against them, that thinke prophesies to be naturall, as though such figures; the wises offer themselves to the outward senses of the prophets to be seene, or to the inward imagination; or phantasie to be knowne by the power of the heauris, or by the influence of nature, or else by the temperature of humors; for the will of God, of an angel (saith Ambrose) would those things, and made choise of them before other things; it was not the power of nature that framed them.

But here ariseth another doubt, not to be winaked at. Whether God himselfe, under these images and forms, hath at anie time shewed himselfe? Or else, that onelie the angels appeared alwaies, who sometime dealt with the prophets, and spake to them in their owne name, and sometime in the name of God? There have bene some, which said; that God himselfe neuer appeared, but that whatsoever was said; or done in those visions, was wrought by the angels in the name of God: and they do affirme, that they have certaine testimonies of the scriptures making for them, where of one is in the Acts of the apostles, where euespeltie Steuen calleth him an angel, which spake with Moyses out of the bush; and yet in Exodus he is named God. Againe Paule to the Galatians saith, that The lawe was giuen in the hand of a mediator, by the disposition of angels. And no man doubteth, but that it is written in Exodus, that the lawe was giuen by God. Therefore they conclude, that it must be understood, that God appeared not by himselfe, but by angels.

But seeing the essence of nature of God can not be taken, either from the holie ghost, or from the forme, (for both of them is by nature God) how can they maintaine their opinion, saying it is expressely read in the scripture, that the holie ghost descended vpon Christ in the image of a dove: If they shall faie, that it was an angel, and not a dove that came downe, they charge the scripture with an vntreut; but if they confesse, that the holie ghost appeared together, with that the dove, what shall the let be, that God himselfe was not present with the fathers, in other types and similitudes also? This reason they can in no

waie auoid, vnlesse they should run into a plaine heresie, (which I thinke they will not) in denieng the holie ghost to be God.

And loke what I haue alledged concerning the holie ghost, the same I may obiect as touching the forme, out of the wordes of Paule vnto Timothee, the third chapter, where he writeth: Without doubt the myserie is great; GOD is manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, &c. Againe the vniuersall church and true faith confesse the word to be verie God, which appeared in the nature of man. And if so be he did this, (as without doubt, and vnfeinable he did) why may it not be said, that he did the like in the old lawe, vnder diuers forms and manifold likenesses? To witte, that which he bestowed vpon vs in this latter time was the greater thing: and that he which gaue the greater, is able to grant the lesse, we haue no doubt at all.

peradventure they will faie, that the holie scriptures set downe that to be believed, which was last deliuered: but that we read no where, that we ought so to thinke of that, which vpon this neede haue done in old time. If we marke well, the scriptures teach this also. For the forme of God is called of the Euangelist, The word, of John. 1. 14. which we must not thinke to be done of him in vaine; but because God is understood to speake by him, inwherof the scriptures beare record that he spake. Therefore so often as we read, that the word of the Lord came to this man; or that, so often (in my iudgement) it is to be attributed to Christ our Lord, the forme of God: namelie, that God by him spake vnto the patriarchs and prophets. Which thing, least I should seeme to speake but to small purpose, I will alledge for this opinion the witness and testimonie of a couple. The first is in the 1. of Iohn. No man had seene God at anie time: and abideth, by the figure of Præoccupation, is aduerted: The ionne, which is in the bosome of the father, he hath reuealed him. For it might haue bene asked, If neuer anie man haue GOD, who was then present with the fathers, when these heavenly things were shewed them: Or: who talked with them; when limbe forms and images appeared vnto them, and dealt with them in the name of God? It is by and by answered; The sonne, which is in the bosome of the father, he shewed (him vnto them). He was the true and verie image of the father amongst men.

The other place is in the twelfth chapter of the same gospell, where it is thus written word for word; Therefore could they not beleue, because he had binde their hart, least they should fee with their eyes, and vnderstand with their hart, and be conuerred, and I should heale them. This did Elia faie, when he saue his glorie, and spake of him.

The forme of God appeared in verie humane flesh.

It was the word, of which that he spake by the fathers and prophets.

bidem.

John. 12. 39.

and 42.

him. Those two pronounes (His and of Him) without all doubt haue relation vnto Christ. For a litle before, the euangelist had saide, When he (namelie Christ) had done so manie miracles in their sight, yet they beleueed not in him, that the saying of Elia the prophet might be fulfilled, &c. And to this opinion (which indeed is agreeable to the scriptures) Chryllosom, Ierom, Cyrill, and Augustine doe consent. Againe, the wordes of the prophet Ose, which he hath in the 12. chapter, are thought to be weighed. For thus the Lord speaketh in that place; I spake vnto the prophets, & I multiplied visions, and was reuealed in humilities by the ministris of the prophets. Whereof we gather, that from the beginning, there were not onelie similitudes giuen vnto the prophets, but that God himselfe also did speake vnto them.

But now are we to confirme by most euident examples, that the apparitions of God differed vnterlie from the visions of angels. First it is shewed vs out of the booke of Genesis, that Iacob saue a ladder which reached from the earth vnto heauen; by it the angels went by; & downe; and at the top of the ladder (to wit) in heauen, the Lord did stand, of whom Iacob receiued great and solemne promises. Whereby we gather (vnlesse we will be willfully blinded) that the angels were shewed after one forme, and God himselfe appeared in another. The verie same thing also may we see in Elia, when he saue the Lord sit vpon his seate of maiestie, and sawe him with him, crying one to another; Holie, Holie, Holie: which yielded to great reuerence vnto God, who was betwixt them, that with their two upper wings they covered their faces, and with their two nether wings, their feet. Vpon these not here a verie great difference of apparition betwixt God & his angels.

I speake nothing of Ezechiel, that saue angels vnder the similitude of liuing creatures, as of an ore, of an eagle, and of a lion, which turned the wheel about; but God himselfe he saue placed highest of all in the likeness of the forme of man. Of Daniel also was seene the ancient of daies, vnto whom came the forme of man: and he addeeth, that thynes were there placed, and bookes laid open, and a certaine forme of iudgement appointed. After that he maketh mention of angels; of whom he saith there were ten thousand, and ten hundred thousand present to minister vnto him. So we perceiue by this place, there was great difference betwixt God and the angels, which attended vpon him.

Whiles these, there is a verie manifest place in Exodus, when God being angry with his people, refused to make anie longer with them in the wilderness, lest he being prolonged by their sinnes, should vnterlie haue destroyed them all.

But yet he promised that he would send his angel with them; with which promise Moles was not contented, and said he would in no wise go forward with the people, vnlesse God also himselfe would go. And in verie deed at the length by prayer and persuation he persuaded, and according to his request, haue God the conuictor; of his iourne. Therefore how can they men faie, that God himselfe was present vnder those forms, but that the angels onelie were seene vnder such similitudes?

Further, let vs remember, that Moles being sought of God, (as we read in the same booke of Exodus) that he might see his face; whose request God for the incredible fauour he had vnto him, would not vnterlie graunt; & when as he neuertheless would not grant him whole that which he desired. Therefore he answered; Verelie thou shalt not see my face; because men cannot behold the same, and live; but my hinder parts, enen my back shall thou see. What plain testimonie than this can there be? Verelie God hath here bind himselfe in plaine termes, to appeare vnto Moles in mans likeness: of which forme or image Moles should fee, not the face, but the backe; and that he performed faithfully. For as God passed by, Moles faue the backe of his image nere vnto the rock, and he heard the great and mightie names of God, pronounced with an exceeding cleere voice; which when as he perceiued, he cast himselfe prostrate vpon the earth, and worshipped. And it is not to be doubted, but that he gaue that worship vnto him, which is due vnto God alone. For seeing he beleueed him to be present, according to his promise, there can be no controuersie, but that he worshipped him, as being there trulie present. And doubtles, had not God bene verelie present at the acke and propitiositie, but had onelie willed the angels to answer such as had asked commend of him, since he had commanded the 3. falesles to worship a call vpon him in that place, he should haue giuen them heling into idolatrie.

To these examples let vs adde that historic, which in the booke of Kings is mentioned of Achab the prophet, which prophesied before Achab the king of Israel, and said, that he saue God, and an host of angels present with him; and that he heard God alke, which of them would become Achab, and that one offered himselfe ready to become a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets of king Achab. Vpon this vision it is understood, that there was a plaine and notable difference betwixt God and the angels, which appeared altogether vnto the prophet. Therefore that gift, which God gaue vnto the fathers, must not be extenuated; or made lesse than it was; & it must be granted, that he was present in verie deed, when he appeared, saing we read that so it was done.

Ambrose. The visions of the prophets were not naturall, neither they were God at anie time; or the angels that appeared.

Acts. 7. 30.

Exod. 3. 2.

Galat. 3. 19.

Exod. 19. 18.

The Sonne, hee of the same, and of the holie ghost.

John. 1. 23.

The holie ghost descended vpon himselfe in a dove.

After in the 12. chap. art. 10. and 11.

Exod. 33. 18.

bidem 10.

1. Chro. 18. 7.

1. Kin. 12. 19.

8.

God was present to the angels as the Father is to the church

Galat.3,19 when God gave the law, the angel ministered.

Acts.7,30 the angel that spake to Stephen in the bush was the same of God.

Chrysost.

dome, and there is nothing to the contrary, so far as can be gathered out of the holie scriptures: neither is the nature of God anie thing against it, but that it might be so. And it were not safe for vs, to attribute vnto angels all those things, that we read in the scriptures of such kind of visions. For so we might casilie slip into that error, to beleeue that the world was not made immediately by God, but by the angels at his commaundment. It vs therefore confesse, that God was trulie present in those things, and that he shewed himselfe vnder diuers similitudes, as often as we heare the scripture either testifie of shew so much.

8 It remaineth that we answer to the places before alleged. As touching the place in the epistle to the Galathians, I grant that the ministring of angels was vsed in the giuing of the lawe. For they were with God, when he spake; They brought forth darkness, thunder, flames of fire, and lightnings; they prepared the tables of stone, and were manie waies diligent about God, while he was present, and talked with the people. Neither is it denied by the wordes of the apostle, that God spake, or gaue the lawe, as the wordes of the scripture doe testifie. Wea rather there haue bene that are expounded, The hand of a mediator, not to be Moles, but the forme of God himselfe: whether trulie, or no, I am not presentlic to discusse. And as for that, which St. Secreuen saith (as it is in the Acts of the apostles) that an angel appeared vnto Moles in a bush, and spake vnto him; long answere needeth not. For if by the angel, the forme of God be vnderstood, all scruple is remoued.

9 But to the intent that those things, which I haue spoken of concerning this matter, may the more certeinlie and plainlie be vnderstood, me thinketh it is god to confirme them by the testimonie of some of the fathers. Chryloston in the 1.4. homilie vpon Iohn saith, that whereas our theologicall of old time saue, it was of permission, but not of that pure and simple substance of God. And he addeth; If they had sense that substance, they should haue sene euery part like an other; for as much as it is pure, simple, and not to be described: wherfore it neither sheweth, lieth, nor sitteth in such wise, as was sometimes shewed vnto the prophets. Whereouer, he addeth, that God, before the comming of his sonne into flesh, exercised the fathers in such kind of visions & similitudes. And in that place granteth that, which we affirmed a little before, that the spirits created of God, such as be the angels and soules of men, cannot be sene with our bodily eyes. Therefore it is much lesse to be beleeued, that we are able by our outward senses to attaine to the knowledge of God.

And least anie should thinke, that it is onelie

proper to God the father to be inuisible, and not to the sonne, he allegeth that saying of Paule, that He is the image of the inuisible God. Colos.1,15. And surely, he should faile in the propriete of an image, unless he were inuisible, as is he, whose image he is said to be. Augustine also in his third treatise vpon Iohn saith, concerning Moles; Although it be said, that he talked with God face to face, yet when he made liue to God, that he might be his face, (that is to wit, his vertie substance) he could not obtaine it. And in the same place he addeth; He saw a cloud and fires, which were figures. And a little after, If they saie that the sonne was visible, before he was incarnated, they doo but dote. Spanie other things befores these, doth Augustine gather to the same purpose, in his Epistle to Fortunatus, out of Nazianzen, Ierom, and other of the fathers, which here ouerlong here to recite.

10 But yet will I here bring forth a couple of arguments, which are meant to be objected against those things, that I haue defined. The first at the beginning, that the essence of God cannot therefore be comprehended by sense, because his nature is not compoall; but all the ancient fathers seeme not to haue beleeued this: for Terullian against Praxias writeth, that God is a bodie; and diuers times he affirmeth the same in other places, yea and in his little booke De anima, he saith that our soules are bodies; and, which seemeth more strange, he laboureth to proue the same by manie reasons. And in his booke De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis, the 11. chapter; Currie him of creature is declared to be a bodie; namely, the vertie angels. For there is nothing that fillth all things as God doth, but all things are described by places certine; as appereth by the soule, which is shut by within his owne bodie.

Augustine in his booke Ad quod uide dem, ex ceteris Terullian in this sort, that by this words, bodie, he meant his substance, and that which God is in vertie deo. As if he had therfore taught, that God is a bodie; least he should seeme to denie his essence: wherbas the common sort thinke, that whatsoever is no bodie, is not at all. For which standing in his booke De genesi ad litteram, he is confuted by this reason, that being at the length ouercome by the truth, he confesseth that currie bodie is possible: for which cause, least he should make God possible, he ought to haue denied him to be a bodie. Neither was there anie such neede fittie, to applie himselfe to the capacite of the common people, that he should therfore speake fallacie of God. Christian men are not so to be taught, that like senselesse grosse beasts (which sort of men euen Aristotle confuteth) they should thinke that there is nothing but it is a bodie; but they ought rather to haue their mind lifted vp, that standing vpon God, they determine nothing

Colos.1,15.

Augustine.

Gen.1, 27.

Ierom. Augustine.

Terullian.

Amos. 3, 8. Deut. 4, 14. Hebr. 1, 29. Psalm. 94, 9.

Augustine ceteris Terullian.

the nature of God is without bodie.

A booke falselie attributed to Augustine.

Antipope poppites.

Gen.1, 27.

Ierom. Augustine.

Wherin consisteth the image of God, Ephel.4,24.

Amos. 3, 8. Deut. 4, 14. Hebr. 1, 29. Psalm. 94, 9.

Why the scriptures doe attribute vnto members vnto Christ.

Why the Antipope.

thing beyond the rules of the scriptures. But vnto that booke De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis, we must not attribute more than is meete. For it is ascribed to Augustine, but the learned thinke that it is none of his.

11 The other, which is sometime objected, is an argument of the Anthropomorphites. For they dispute, that therfore true ought not to beleeue, that God is without a bodie, because the scriptures doe writeth, that man was made after the image of God: which could not be, unless hee had a bodie as one of ours. For if the image should haue no likenes of that thing wherinto it is compared. And they thinke moreover, that the scripture is on their side; forasmuch as it doth oftentimes ascribe the members and parts of mans bodie vnto God. But Ieron (as Augustine in his epistle to Fortunatus citeth him) saith, that the argument of theirs is vaine and learnelie. If we allow this reason (saith he) we may casilie conclude, that a man hath wings, because the scripture hath sometime attributed them vnto God, vnto whose image it is manifest that man was made.

These men should rather haue considered, that the image of God consisteth in holines, righteousness, and truth, as Paule hath taught. Which thing if they had marked, they would not onelie haue remoued a bodie from him, but also haue whelped from their minds, all such grosse and carnall imaginations. Why doo they not as well saie, that God is a vertie beare, a lion, or a fire; seeing that Amos and Moles and the epistle to the Hebrewes doe terme him. It is written in the 94. psalme, He that planted the cie, shall hee notice? And he that made the care, shall not hee heare? Where (saith Ieron) it should haue bene said: He that planted the cie, hath he not an cie? And he that made the care, hath he not an care? But it is not so laid, least they should muste vpon him, though should be deceived, and imagin him to haue these kind of parts. And the scripture, if sometimes it attribute parts of members vnto God, verelie it doth it onelie to the intent it may helpe our vaine capacite; with the which although we cannot comprehend the substance of God, as it is, yet it laboureth, by the helpe of certein speciall signes and shadovs, what it can, to make vs haue some knowledge of it. Wherfore these members are by a vertie profitable metaphor; or translation attributed vnto God, that we by the due consideration of his qualities, might haue our minds godlie and faithfullie exercised.

And if we thinke the Anthropomorphites had for that cause ascribed God to haue parts and members, as the scripture doth, to helpe mans vnderstanding, they might haue bene excused, and not condemned: but they were earnest, that it standeth to witth the nature of God in vertie

ded; and therefore are casilie and deservelie accursed and condemned. But what shall we answer vnto the wordes of Paule, who concerning the beholding the nature of God in our countrie in heauen, saith; We shall see him face to face, 1. Cor. 13, 12.

And so seemeth to grant vnto our face and vnto the power to see God, and after a sort to denie: a face for God himselfe. Augustine answereth, that there is a face also of the mind, because Paule saith; We now behold heauenlie things bare face, not with a vail or covering; as it came to passe with the Iewes, when they spake vnto Moles.

12 But now that we haue thus finished and concluded these things, let vs brieue the set doctrine certine other waies, whereby God is knowen. In the life everlasting, the saints shall knowe the essence of God, not by their senses; but by their soules or mind: because Iohn saith, When he shall appere, we shall see him as he is. And Paule testifieth the same thing, saying; Now we behold him, as it were through a glasse, but then we shall see him face to face. And the same thing is gathered of Christs owne wordes; that they shall alwaies behold the face of the father. For in another place he taught, that the iust in that blessed resurrection, shall be as the angels of God. Wherupon it is concluded, that we shall see God as well, and no otherwise than the angels do. Therefore, if they see his face, we in like maner shall behold the same.

There is also another testimonie of Paule to the Cogitians: Then I shall knowe euen as I am knowen. But no man doubteth, but that we are knowen vnto God theroughlie, and in currie part of our substance: yet am I not persuaded, that the saints shall theroughlie and in all respects knowe the nature & substance of God, except so far as their nature and capacite shall reach vnto. For things measurable do in no wise comprehend that which is infinite and vnumerable: neither can the things created fullie apprehend the Creator. Wherupon Chryloston in his 14. homilie vpon Iohn, Amos, broke in his first booke vpon the first of Luke, and Ieron, as Augustine reporteth in the place before recited, doe denie that the angels see God: which cannot simple and absolutely be vnderstood; seeing Christ saith, that They see the face of the father that is in heauen.

Wherefore the place must be vnderstood of the whole and perfect knowledge of God, in his nature and substance. Wherupon it is said in the first of Iohn; No man hath sene God, but he which is of God, he hath sene the father. And againe; As the father knoweth me, so I knowe the father. And that to knowe all the substance of God fully and perfectly, is granted onelie vnto Christ, who is God. Others also shall in vertie

There is a face also of the mind, as well as of the bodie.

The saints in heauen shall knowe the essence of God.

1. Iohn. 3, 2. 1. Cor. 13, 12.

Matt. 18, 10.

Matt. 22, 13.

1. Cor. 13, 12.

The nature of God is not whole and in all respects he knoweth.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

Amos. Chryl.

doted for the same; but yet according to their capacite. But if thou aske whether all shall see it equallye or no: Whereunto I will not answere at this time. For we shall have another place to speake of the duerctine or equalitie of rewards in our celestiall countrie.

13 But what shall we see before concerning the state and condition of this life: Whether doth our mind, while we live here attaine to the knowledge of Gods substance? No verilie. For it is written. Man shall not see mee and live. No man hath seene God at anie time. And Paule faith further, that He cannot be seene, because he dwelleth in the light that no man can attaine vnto. But this is not meant of euery kind of knowledge. For it is granted vs to knowe God after a sort, while we are yet in this life. We must therefore account those things to be spoken of the officiall & substantiall knowledge of God, as the scholmen terme it. Neither is that aie thing against it, that Moyses is said to have seene him face to face; which also Iacob said before him: nay, that which is spoken of the same Moyses in another place, that God talked with him, as one friend with another. For these things are not spoken absolutely, but by waie of comparison made with others; because these things which were reuealed vnto men in that age, concerning God, were knowne to those excellent men to himselfe all others. For it pleased God to shew himselfe vnto them, after a certaine requisite & vnaccustomed manner, which he did not to others. And that this is the sense and meaning of their wordes, Augustine & Chrysostom doe there by gather, for that when Moyses desired to see the face of God, it was denied him.

14 Now there remaineth, that we speake of that our knowledge of God, which we can possibly compasse, while we are in this life. First the same as we haue said is natural, and that verie slender and obscure. Which Simonides hinc be- ne well, who (as Tullie writeth) in his booke De natura deorum, being asked of Hiero king of Sicilia, what God was, he curt deferred his answer, because the more he did studie vpon it, the darker it alwayes seemed vnto him. Wherefore Clemens Alexandrinus q. 11.roma, alleging a reason why our knowledge of God is so difficult, saith; It is neither generall kind of creatures, nor diffirence, nor accident, nor subiect for accidents: and therefore not for vs to knowe, who comprehend such things onely with our minds and reason.

The effects whereby the philosophers vied to bring themselves to the knowledge of God, are far inferior to his wondrousnes, strength, and power: and therefore it is but common and knowenious which they declare of him. And we giue him certen epithets and properties, namelie; god, iust, wise, bountifull, and such like; because wee

have not more excellent things, nor more goodlie titles, that can be fitter or more agreeable vnto him. And yet are not these things in him in such sort as we speake them. For, as in simplicitie of nature; so in goodnes, righteousness, and wisdome, he is far otherwise, than men either can or may be said to be.

15 But besides this natural knowledge that we haue of God, that also offereth it selfe vnto vs, which consisteth of faith, and is reuealed vnto vs by the word of God. This faith is not of our felicitie, (as it is said to the Ephesians, but it is the gift of God, for Christ saith; None can come vnto me, vnles the father draw him. Faith therefore gaze forth plentifull knowledge of God out of the scriptures, so far as our saluation requireth, and the capacite of this life admitteth. But yet (as Paule writeth) This knowledge also is vnperfect. For we knowe now as by a view, through a glasse, and in part. And although we profic in this knowledge more and more while we live, yet do we not reach to the vnderstanding of the substance of God.

I knowe verie well, that Augustine thought as touching Paule and Moyses, that they had som time seene the substance of God with their mind, while they liued here: but I should haue vied to him therein; forasmuch as Iudge those places of Iohn, of the late, and of Paule, which I alledged before, to be most plaine & evident. Wherevnto may be added that which is in the 6. of Iohn; None hath seene the father at anie time. He that is of God, he hath seene the father. And note, that wherefore is said of the father in this place, the same is also true of the sonne, as concerning his Godhead. For, as I haue declared before, both out of Chrysostome and Augustine, the nature both of the father and of the sonne is inuisible. Neither maketh it anie matter to saie, as Augustine saith, that they saue the nature; substance of God, not by the use of their outward senses, but as it were rauished, and in a trance, quite removed from the use of this life. These things are not gathered out of the scriptures; nay rather on the contrary, we haue heard that it was denied vnto Moyses, to haue a sight of Gods countenance. Wherefore though the knowledge that cometh by faith, we vnderstand what God and his louing kindnes towards vs is, as much as truthfully for our assured and perfect saluation.

But among all these things, whereby we knowe God out of the scriptures, nothing is more excellent than is Christ himselfe. Wherefore Paule hath in cause to saie; Doubles is it a great mystery, GOD is made manifest in the flesh, &c. And the Lord also said; Philip, he that seeth mee, seeth also the father. Also Paule faith, that He knoweth nothing else but Christ, and him crucified. And indeed God may be said to be made

The knowledge of god by faith.

Ephes. 1, 18 Iohn. 6, 44

1. Cor. 13, 12

Augustines opinion of Paule and Moyses.

Iohn. 6, 46

Exod. 33, 20

1. Tim. 3, 16

Iohn. 14, 9

1. Cor. 2, 2

god is said to be made visible in Christ.

Colos. 3, 3

In Judges 6, 23. 2. Iohn. 21, 19. Sam. chap. 34, 16. 2. Cor. 13, 12.

Exod. 33, 20. Iohn. 1, 18. 1. Tim. 6, 16.

2. Cor. 13, 12. Iohn. 1, 18. 1. Tim. 6, 16.

Judge. 6, 22. Gen. 32, 30.

Exod. 33, 19

Exo. 34, 17. 2. Iohn. 1, 19. 2. Iohn. 19, 11.

Esaie. 6, 11. Jerom. lxxi. 2. Iohn. 1, 19. 2. Iohn. 19, 11.

made visible in Christ, because he is ioined in one person with man. Wherefore they that saue Christ, might anough that they saue God: and that he acknowledge a beholdest him by faith, doth he a great deale more, than if he should see Moyses burning bush. Therefore it is written vnto the Colossians, that All the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God are laid vp in him.

16 But in marching thou shalt alwaies perceive, that the fathers of old time, after they had once seene God, or any angels, were in creating great feare; and were so astonished, as they labored but for present death. And no maruell: for it was not vnknowen to them, what answer God made vnto Moyses, when he desired to see his face; Man shall not see mee & live. And Iohn the Baptist, as we read in the first of Iohn, said; No man hath seene God at anie time. And Paule vnto Timothy hath confirmed the same, saying; No man hath seene God, nor yet may see; for he is inuisible, because he dwelleth in the light that cannot be come vnto. Which thing also both Cedeeon and Manoah the father of Samion, do testifie. Iacob likewise after his nightes wrestling, (wherein he thought he had contended with a man) when he perceived it was an angel, marveled how he had escaped safe and aliuie. I haue the Lord (saith he) faced to face, and yet my life is safe: as though he could scarcely beleue it might be.

Whereupon the Videntes, when the Lord came downe vpon Mount Sinai, to giue the lawe, were so bismasted with feare and trembling, that they said to Moyses; Weepraie thee dealethous with God, least if he continue talking so with vs, we die euery one. And with these places, that also maketh much, that is written in the same booke of Exodus, even when the covenant was made betwene God and his people; and Moyses had created the same, and signified the people with the blood of the sacrifices, and had brought the elders vnto the mount, where they saue God sitting vpon a throne in great maiestie and glorie. But after that vision is created, it is added: And yet did not God stretch out his hand vnto them. Which declareth, that it was a rare sight, and a strange, that men should see God without all perill and danger of life. Therefore euery part of that is recorded, as done by speciall prerogative.

Ierom also testifieth, that Esaie was slaine by the Jewes, vnder this colour, because he said, that he saue God sitting vpon his throne, as it is written in the first chapter of his booke. They caualled with him, that it was but a lie, forasmuch as God cannot be seene of anie man that liueth, and therefore they vniuallie condemned him, as one that taught the people his imaginations, not that

which the Lord had shewed him. These things did they deuile against that innocent prophet, when as they had no other cause to laie against him.

17 The like examples also are not wanting in the new testament, when the Lord reuealed to his apostles a certaine vew of his glorie & maiestie vpon mount Tabor: he shone with exceeding great brightnes & light, & was whole created before them; with whom Moyses & Elias were there twice present, & the voice of the father was heard from heauen. These things, because they did make his wordes exceed the power of mans sight, the apostles eyes might not endure them: wherefore they fell prostrate vpon the earth, as if they had bene dead. Also Peter, when an incredible number of filthes, and caught an incredible number of fishes, (for before that commandment he had labored long in vaine) wondering at the strangenes of the thing, and perceiving that God was in Christ, he was so afraid, that he said to him; I pray thee Lord depart from me: for I am a sinful man, and cannot abide the presence of the Godhead without perill. And Paule, when he would make relation, how he was taken by euery to the third heauen, where he learned such heauenly things, as he could not by speech expresse vnto man, wrote; Whether in the bodie, or out of the bodie, I knowe not. Astonish he durst not affirme, that those things happened vnto him while he vied the bodie, and sense of this life. Wherefore it is euident enough, that Cedeeon was not astonished without a cause.

18 But now I thinke it good to shew the reason, why the sight of God, or of the angels, doth seem to bring present destruction vnto men. Peradventure it cometh to passe by means of the heauie matter of this bodie, which (as the Platonists affirme) is vnto vs as a darke and shadowy prison, where with we are so hindered, that we cannot perceive the things which are brauenlie. It happeneth we doe sometimes see them, by and by we thinke the continuation of our soule and bodie to be founded, and that we shall be out of hand; and that therefore the sight of heauenly things is propounded vnto vs, because the diuorce of the mind & of the bodie is at hand. Whereupon Aristotle in his metaphisicks doth witnes, that the power of our vnderstanding, is so little able to comprehend the things diuine, which in their nature are most clere and manifest, that it may iustlie be likened to the eyes of owles and bats, which cannot abide to looke vpon the brightnes of the sunne, or the light of the daie. Why which thus tinge doo faie somewhat; but yet not so much as sufficiently for a plaine declaration of the matter.

The bodie from our first creation, was not therefore giuen vnto men, to be anie hinderance to our knowledge of God; nor yet to flye by our senses as it were in a dark and blind prison. For

Matt. 17, 6.

Luke. 9.

1. Cor. 13, 2.

Aristotle.

The bodie was not giuen vs to hinder us from seeing of god.



Gen. 2. 15. and 19.

Eximere. mouneth. us from the sight of God.

Gen. 3. 7. and 8.

1. John. 3. 3.

so the goodnes of God should become guiltie, for makinge the nature of man bodilie and corporall. And that it is so, it is to be pained by the historie of Genesis, which testifieth, that God was verie familiar with our first parents, not withstanding they had bodies. For he brought them into paradise, which he had planted; he shewed them the fruits wherof they might eate; and concerning other course, he made a lake, that they should not touch them; and he set all liuing creatures before Adam, that he might call them all by what name he would. Wherefore the bodie was no let, but that our first parents might vse familiaritie with God. But it was sinne, that remoued vs from the sight of God. From thence came vnto vs the darknes, blindness, and ignorance in beauenlie things. For this cause are we transformed into moles, bats, and owles. Otherwise God, of his owne nature is most cleare, yea & the verie light in itselfe, vnles the folowenes of our sinne be let betwixt vs.

Perhaps thus thou wilt saie, it hath bene sufficientlie declared alreadye, that our blindness springeth out of sinne; but it hath not bene shewed, what the cause is, that men be to afraid at the sight of God. Yes, hereupon dependeth all this matter: for men, because that by reason of their owne blindness, they are swallowed vp with that beauenlie light, being guiltie in their owne consciences, do flee from the iudge, no lesse mightie than Iust. For they in such wise conceiue of the Godhead, that they knowe, that by reason of the purenes and righteousnes thereof, it can adoe nothing that is filthie and vncleane. Wherefore they thinke, that to haue the presence of God, is nothing else, but to haue the iudgement prepared, and punishment deferred, presentlie to be laid vpon them.

For this cause our first parents hid themselves immediately after they had transgessed, and were so greatly terrified at the voice of God, that straiwaies they decreed to shewd themselves among the trees in paradise, which doubtles was pordced of a troubled conscience, seeing God in his owne nature doth chere men, and reuiew them, as the author of all manner of comfort. Wherefore it is manifest inough, that their inconueniencies & terrours haue fallen out not by any fault of his, but by our owne default. Wherefore John, in the third chapter of his 1. epistle, giueth this wholesome admonition, that we which haue pety to see God as he is, should prepare himselfe therevnto, by purifying himselfe, euen as he is cleane and pure.



The fifth Chapter.

Of Dreames; chieflie out of the booke of Iudges, the 7. chapter, vers. 13.



He that seeme to make these foyts of dreames. The first they account altogether naturall. The second more diuine, as when one is cast into a sleepe by God, and in the same is warned of things secret and hidden: as we knowe was done in the first man Adam, when Luc was framed out of his side. For the Lord cast him into a slumber, and (therein) instructed him of the coniunction betwene Christ and his Church. The same we knowe was done to Abraham, when as God cast him into a sleepe, in the midst, betwixt the paces of feth, and told him what should happen vnto his sonne many yeres after. The third sort of dreames is mixt of men both, and is common vnto the prophets, when naturall sleepe cometh vpon them: but yet God is present with them in their sleepe, and instructeth them of things to come; of which sort was that of Jacob, about the vision of the ladder.

And saying we purpose to speake somewhat largelie of dreames, we will first se what may be said of them by naturall reason; and secondlie, how much must be attributed vnto them by the word of God. Concerning the first, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, and diuers other famous philosphers haue written much; and among others, Aristotle in his little booke De diuinatione per somnia, (if that were his, and yet no doubt but it is both leareddie and clarklie written) first saith, that this kind of diuination by dreames, is not bitterlie to be reieted, because commonlie we re much is attributed thervnto: and the things which be receiued in a manner of all men, are neuer altogether false. And he saith moreover, that there be many dreames, wherof there may be giued a verie fit and conuenient reason, which (as experience teacheth) becomen not men, but fall out true: therefore it were not well to despise all manner of diuination by dreames. Yet we must take heed, that we be well aduised in admitting of them; seeing it is a verie hard matter to shew the causes of them; for that nature on this behalfe woeeth most obscurelie.

And Aristotle doth not thinke, that visions are sent by God: saying, that if they were sent by him, he would giue them to such as are good and iust men; but we see by experience that it is otherwise. For the foolish and simple do manie times pceual in this facultie.

These foyts of dreames. Of Iden 28. vers. 10.

Gen. 2. 18.

Gen. 15. 12.

Gen. 28. 11.

In Iudges 7. vers. 13. 2. Sam. 28. vers. 15.

Aristotle autopsa.

A peripeteticall explanation of dreames.

According to the diuerstie of humors, fo are likened to mooued.

spokeouer, the brute beasts haue their dreames; but who will saie that God giueth them the power of diuination? Neither are visions occupied about the phantasie of men in their sleepes, to this end, that thereby they should prognosticate things to com. And besides, if God did send such visions, he would rather do it in the daie time, than men might with more diligence consider of them: neither can we easilie iudge, why he hath chosen the night for such a purpose.

And to conclude, seeing God is not enuious, he would not so obscurelie warne them, whom he would haue to be instructed in the things to com; but he would shew those things cleerelie & plainly: but dreames are so darke and obscure, that for the interpretation of them, men must repaire to prophets and foethsayers. These things are gathered in a manner out of Aristotle, wherby he doth plainlie transferre this thing from God vnto nature: as though the causes of dreames should be deaume from thence. But of those things I will intreat more, when I come to speake of dreames, according to Diuinitie. I will now declare what he hath of this matter.

2. Dreames (saith he) are either signes, or causes; or else they are chanceable, and by fortune applied to those things, wherunto they are referred. And euery one of these three kinds is thus expounded. He saith, that dreames are sometimes signes of the affections of the bodie or mind. For by them is declared verie manie times, what humors do abound, beare rule, & do most of all offend in mans bodie. For thewes & liuenesses of things are raised according to the qualitie of nature, & temperature of humors specialling in the bodie. Where choler aboundeth, there flames, fire, coles, lightening, ballings, and such like are seene. If that melancholie haue the vpper hand, then smoke, great darknes, all blacke and ill favored things, dead coles, and such like, present themselves. But if some raileth by the libenes of the powers, raines, fumes, waters, hails, &c. that sooner else hath plenty of moisture joined with colnes. By blood are stirred vp golic fighes, cleare, white, and fragrant, and such as resemble the common purenes, and vniual forme or face of things. Neither are these things neglected of the physicians. For euen they themselves (as Hippocrates and Galen report) do verie diligentlie examine their patients touching them: because thereby they can find out the temperature of those humors, which lie hidden within the bodie.

But the cause why men do perceiue the nature of these motions by vision, when they are awake, and not waking, is this: for that they are awake, but small, and the kinde of them vanishe as smoke as we awake. For outward things which are still in our eyes, beare vs to stronger motions another waies; but being quiet from

outward busines, we see fire, and are free from the greater things, which occupied our senses. Wherefore our phantasie doth apprehend those sights and likenesses of things, which humors alwaies raise in vs, rather while we are awake, than when we are waking. And that we perceiue small things far better, when we are awake, than when we be awake, it appeareth hereby; in that we iudge euery final noise to be great thunders. And if there happen but a little sweet sleigme, to remaine vpon the tong or rafe of the mouth, we thinke that we taste either home, or sugar, or sweet wine, or some baintie meates: and sometimes that we eate and drinke verie liberallie. Wherefore, that state and but small motions of humors, do appere in the time of sleepe to be exceedingly great. For which cause the physicians may hereby knowe the beginnings and occasions of verie manie diseases.

Dreames also are certaine signes of the affections of the mind; as of desires, hope, ioy, and mirth, and also of perfect qualites. Wherefore, careful men do see other manner of things, than men of courage; couetous men other things, than they which be in hope; also the learned are wont to haue far other manner of dreames, than the countrie man, or crafts man hath. For euen when we sleepe, the mind is occupied about those things, which we are continuallie or commonlie doing. There is also another thing to be considered, as we are well admonished by Galen: that there be certine kinds of meates, which being naturallie cholericke, flegmaticke, or melancholicke, do by reason of their qualitie stir vp the phantasie of men in their sleep, as it were shapen and similitudes of things agreeable to those humors; although the temperature of the bodies of such, do not of it selfe offend by those humors. Which thing also a physician must obserue in dreames; namely to se what manner of meate the sick man vsed. For and white (as teacheth Aristotle) being immoderate taken, both in the time of sleepe make manie deformed shapen of things.

When a dreame is a signe, it is referred to the cause, namely to the superfluous humor, which it becometh. And then it may also be called a signe of some euent to follow; for that from the selfe same cause, that is, from the humors which are bestowed, either health or sickness may be deriued. Wherefore a dreame, as it is a signe of the humor; so it giueth also a token of the effect that shall arise of it. For of the same cause, to wit, of the humor, ariseth as well the disease, as the cure. But yet haue they not relation crumble one of another. For sickness or health be no tokens of dreames.

3. But now let us see how dreames may sometimes be called causes: that happeneth, when one

Dreames be signes of the affections of the mind.

Galen.

The qualitie of meate and drinke nourisheth the similitude of dreames.

Dreames are sometimes the

causes of  
these things  
that we do.

is moved by a dreame, either to do or to make  
triall of anie thing. As when one is cured of the  
spleene, because he lieth upon the back of his hand:  
for so he was taught to do in his dreame. And  
sometimes it comes to passe in learned men, that  
they find out those things, which they be in doubt  
of: as such booke, where they save themselves in  
their dreame both to find and to read them. But  
let vs consider the third part of the distinction,  
which we brought: namely, when dreames do  
happie or by chance, betoken things which after  
ward fall out. That takes place in such matters,  
the cause whereof consisteth not in our felues, but  
is rather distant & far removed. As if we should  
see a victorie, or an overthrowe given in a campe,  
a great waite off from him; or else one that is ab-  
sent, to be advanced to exceeding great honour.  
These things are joined together (as the Peripateticks  
say) by chance, and cannot be compared  
together, either as causes, or as signes. When as  
when we talke of anie man, if happie the same  
part come in the meane while, we say *Lupus in fabula*.  
The while is in presence. And yet the tal-  
king with him was neither cause, nor token of  
his coming. So therefore, these things are said  
to be token by chance, and also sometime have  
cause. For this is the nature of things that come  
by chance, to happen but seldom.

who do na-  
turally to  
the mode  
part dream  
dreames.

4. Moreover, Aristotle hath taught, that they  
be, that before others knowe manie things afore-  
hand by dreames, and this he ascribeth chiefly  
unto such as are idle and full of words: next to  
melancholike and phrensie persons, alienated  
both from their mind and senses. Some what also  
he seemeth to grant unto himselfe and friends.  
For these kinds of men dreame verie much in  
their sleepe. Whales in verie deep and idle per-  
sons be altogether in their muses, whereby they  
are fringed inwardly with phantasies and visions.  
And those which are troubled much with mel-  
ancholie, due by reason of the strength & nature  
of that humor, dreame of verie manie things, and  
moreover are wont to be much given to pinate  
cogitations. The phrensie sort also, because their  
mind is void both of the knowledge of the out-  
ward senses, and che of the use of reason, there-  
fore they be wholly given up to idle imaginati-  
ons. As little friends do therefore in their dreames  
see manie things of their friends, because they  
be full of thought and care for them. All these now  
rehearsed are wont to foretell fundie things by  
their dreames, because in such a diuers, and in a  
manner infinite sort of dreames and visions, it is  
not possible, but that some things should other-  
wise happen true. They that exercise themselves  
all daie long in flouting, oftener hit the marke,  
than others which do shote but now and then:  
and they which spend the whole daie in playng at  
tables, or dice, cast manie more happie chances,

than they which seldom or little sport themselves  
in that kind of pastime.

But it is to be understood, that those signes,  
which be attributed unto dreames, as touching  
the first sort already declared, are not of necessi-  
tie, because they may be hindered: and yet this  
proueth not, but that they may be signes. For  
this also cometh to passe in the clouds, which  
vndoubtedly be tokens of raie; when as never-  
theless they be sometime scattered with the wind  
before it raie. Also wine hath tokens both of  
richnes and health, when as yet the effect may be  
hindered by more beherment causes. And the same  
likehold happeneth in the pulses. And even the  
countenances, which we have purposed and deter-  
mined of with great deliberation, are oftentimes  
frayed, because of things that fall betwixt, by the  
occasion whereof we cannot proceed anie further.  
Therefore no marvell, if the same thing come to  
passe in dreames, seeing they be signes of things  
not fullie perfected, but rather new begun: and  
the true and false motions of humors may  
easily be staied by manie other causes.

Democritus doth on this wise expound those  
kind of dreames, which represent things coming  
by chance, and are far distant. There is somewhat  
(saith he) ever flowing frō the things themselves,  
and carried even unto the bodies of them that  
sleepe, affecting them with the qualitie and simi-  
litude which they bring with them: and he affir-  
meth that in two respects it is more easily per-  
ceived rather in sleepe than waking. First, be-  
cause the aire is most easilie moved in the night,  
as we see it fall out in the water: when it is  
stricken with a stone, a great manie circles are  
made with that stroke, and diuen a great com-  
passe about, except there be some contrarie moti-  
on to it. But the aire is quieter in the night than  
in the daie, because it is not diuen into diuers  
parts by the confluence of creatures moving  
the milnes. Another cause is, that where lit-  
tle fire & noise is verie easilie perceived by them  
that be awake. And to conclude; this author also  
doth not refer the causes of dreames unto God,  
no more than Aristotle doth. But Galen in his Galen.  
booke which he wrote of diuining by dreames, tea-  
reth this much about others: when as we see  
in our dreames, those things which we neither do  
nor thought of, they are not to be referred either  
unto acts or habits, or custome of such things as  
came to passe while we were waking, but unto  
humors.

This rule seemeth to tend to this end, that we  
may understand, of what things dreames are to  
be counted signes. And he granteth, that these  
things are better knowne by night than by daie,  
because then the soule defendeth to the lowest  
and deepest things in a mans hart, where it per-  
ceiveth the more easilie what is there. And he tels

the necessi-  
tie of effects  
must not be  
gathered of  
dreames  
which be  
signes. A simi-  
litude.

Democritus.

A similitude.

A certaine  
manie  
dreame.

of a certaine man, who being awake, imagined  
that his leg became a stone; which when manie  
thought that it pertained to his seruants, the  
same leg of his within a few daies fell into a pal-  
sie. Another thought with himselfe that he was  
sunke up to the throte in a certene full of blood,  
out of which he could no manner of waie escape:  
but that shewed that blood verie much abounded  
in him, and that it was needfull for him to haue it  
abated. He maketh mention also of another,  
which dreamed on his sicke daie, that he saw  
himselfe washed in a hotboyle; who thence after  
fell into an exceeding great feuate. Apocroner  
(saith he) men when they are awake, imagine  
themselves sometimes to haue so great a bur-  
then upon them, that they are not able to beare  
the weight of it: and at another time, that they  
are so light and so nimble, as if they were run-  
ning, and after a manner, flying. All these things  
(saith he) are tokens either of the exesse or of  
the want of humors.

Hippocrates as concerning these things writ-  
teth in a manner the selfe-same; namely, that the  
mind in the daie time doth distribute his powers  
into the senses and other faculties; but that in the  
night it draweth them into the inward parts,  
and so that cause doth knowe them the better.  
But he saith, that there be certene diuine dreames  
whereby are foretold calamities unto cities,  
peoples, and some certene great men. For the  
expounding of which dreames, some there be that  
professe certene arts, so the which yet, he himselfe  
seemeth to attribute verie little. And when by  
dreames it is noted, that the humors offend or in-  
noie vs, then (saith he) they are to be holpen by  
good diet by exercise and medicines. And whether  
they be good dreames or bad, he would haue vs to  
be patient. When health is signified, we must then  
paye (saith he) to the sunne, to Iupiter of heauen,  
to Iupiter possessor, to Minerva, to Iulius Mercurie,  
and to Apollo. But if they be vniuile dreames,  
paye then (saith he) to the gods, which turne evils  
from men: as to the gods of the earth, and other  
perie gods. Wherefore Hippocrates, either was  
or else would seeme to be superstitious: but true  
he for my part, as touching true religion I mis-  
like not, (saith rather) I verie well allow of it, that  
if we be troubled at the which yet, with fearefull  
dreames, we should repaire to God, paying then  
to retaine from vs those evils, if there be anie,  
that do hang over our heads.

6. There is another kind of dreames, which pro-  
ceedeth from an outward cause: namely, of the  
power, or (as they commonlie speake) of the in-  
fluence of the heauen, which changeth the aire:  
and this once touching our bodies, maketh them  
of a new kind of qualitie; whereupon arise diuers  
appearances and fumes of things to men awake.  
Wherefore there be manie effects that come from

what is the  
outward  
cause of  
dreames.

heauen, whereof it bringeth forth some in the phan-  
tastic, and in the facultie of power of imaginati-  
on, and other forme in the things themselves: and  
this may be easilie shewed by an example. The  
raie vndoubtedly hangeth in the aire of clouds,  
and before the raie fall, there is such a change in  
a crooked imagination, that by and by he be-  
ginmeth to call. Wherefore the effects that be in  
the phantastie of dreames, & in the thing, do vndou-  
tedly come both of one cause: yet haue they great  
diference, by reason of the faculties, in which they  
fall out. And no doubt, but there is a little kind  
of likeness betwixt the effects: but it is verie hard  
to see the manner of this proportion or analogie.  
And if it be agreed vpon, that the cause of such ef-  
fects or affection is in the stars, who yet can re-  
fer the effects to their owne proper cause, that is,  
into some stars rather than to others? Surely  
I thinke verie feele. I will not saie none are  
able to do it. And yet besides, if they should be re-  
ferred to their proper causes, what can we doubt  
will come to passe by them, especially as tou-  
ching things contingent, being vniuile astrolo-  
gie was euer accounted a most vncertaine art.

And to conclude: the forms and similitudes,  
which are said to foretold the cures of things  
to come, are so doubtful and vncertaine as it fee-  
meth, that nothing can be surely determined by  
them. Whereunto moreover is to be added, that  
seeing dreames (as hath been declared) may come,  
not of one cause, but of manie; we shall easilie fall  
into error, if among those manie causes, we hold  
vs to ayme one. Wherefore we are to suspend our  
iudgment, and not lightlie to diuine of anie thing  
upon dreames, seeing that they may more easilie  
be iudged of by the cures, than the cures can  
be conjectured of by them. Now then, there re-  
maineth onely a certaine suspicion to be had by  
dreames, and which also must be but verie slender.  
Those two most famous poetes (I meane  
Homer and Virgil) fained two fable gates of  
dreames: the one of hope, and the other of iudice;  
the home they attribute to true dreames, but the  
iudice to false dreames: and (as they say) there  
passed a greater number of dreames through the  
iudice gate, than through the hope gate. Where-  
fore in iudging of natural dreames, let vs not  
passe the measure of suspicion: neither let vs  
cleare to much vnto visions. For it is not the  
part of chaffian men to leane vnto perous and  
vncertaine conjectures, more than in mete. For  
while they be ouer-earnest about these, they a-  
wait things of more importance: before that, the  
quell doth oftentimes intermeddle these things  
of purpose, either to daue vs to do that which is  
euill, or to withpauise vs from that which is  
good.

7. But now let vs see what the most determinate  
concerning dreames put into vs either by Gods  
or by our

the power  
of the ima-  
gination.

who by him-  
selfe, by na-  
ture, by  
dreames is  
hard vniuile  
certaine.

notes of  
hope and  
iudice.

1. hope is  
being, &  
verie is.

of dreames  
sent by gods





God may  
be both  
right and  
day.

The freeth  
willow both  
sleeping &  
waking.

Iob. 33. 15.

Genat. 1.  
Dan. 2. 19.

Why Ari-  
stotle was  
deceived.

Epicurus.

Plato.  
The Sto-  
ics.

Part.1.

The Common places

Cap.5.

Of Dreames.

12. We haie mercurie, If God were the au-  
thor of dreames, it seemeth that he should worke  
such things no leise in the daie time, than in the  
night. But I saie, that it is in Gods free choise,  
to vse whether time he thinketh good, seeing he  
is Lord aluall of the night, as of the daie, and  
of sleeping, as well as of watching. And in verie  
true the scriptures doe testifie, that he theued  
visions to the prophets, sometime sleeping, and  
sometimes waking; as he thought it most con-  
uenient. Further, what absurditie is it, though  
he do often vse the conuenientie of rest, seeing  
the philosophers themselves, and the physicians,  
do agree, that men in that time are verie apt  
to discern the smallest stirring of noise that is:  
Shall this commoditie of the time serue the phy-  
sician, to knowe the humors of mans body by?  
or map it not serue God, to the sauing of soules?  
In the 33. chapter of Iob, there is a goodlie para-  
ple, fit vnto this purpose: When sleepe is fallen  
vpon men, and that they are at rest in their beds,  
then the Lord openeth the eare, and confirmed  
his chaffinements.

As if it was objected, that if God would ad-  
monish men, he would do it openly and plainlie,  
and not couertlie by darke speeches. I an-  
swere, that the true prophets, and such as were  
inspired by God, vnderstood verie well those  
things which God spake to them in their sleepe:  
wherefore they had no need of teachers. And  
if at anie time that happened vnto Cheneke-  
nezar (as it did vnto Pharaos and Nabuchad-  
nezar) God did it, to the intent that his pro-  
phets, as were Ioseph and Daniel, which were  
hidden; or vnknewen, might be made famous:  
otherwise, he gaue vnto his prophets iudge-  
ment, and cleere intelligence of such visions as  
he cast vpon them. But Aristotle was herein be-  
trayed, because he looked onelie to conuersers,  
which professing diuination, belofed the people;  
as though they had bene able to expound all  
sorts of dreames, and to telow what they signi-  
fied. But we may not vnderstand those things  
which are not alledged, of all kinds of dreames,  
no3 of all sorts of prophets. For they pertaine  
onelie vnto those, which infallible are sent in by  
God. Wherefore the conuenientie of conuersers,  
and teachers, are not within the compasse  
of this matter.

Neither is there any cause why the authori-  
tie of so great a philosopher should much moue  
vs, though Epicurus be of his part; vpo to ease  
his gods from troubling themselves about  
dreames, affirmed, as he did all other things,  
that they come by fortune and chance. But con-  
trariwise Plato ascribed much vnto dreames  
that come of God; & the Stoicks taught, that  
the dreames which we haue by night, are as it  
were a familiar and domesticall oracle, wherby

manhinde is prouided for by God. This I will  
not omit, that Augustine in the place now al-  
ledged, *Super genesi ad litteras*, cap. 15. deman-  
deth, whether the soule haue naturallie of itse-  
the power to foreknow things to come: he saith  
that in his opinion it hath not: because (saith he)  
it would then be that power, seeing all men lo  
greatlie desire to knowe things to come. Where-  
fore the visions and dreames of prophets ob-  
taine not their truth from nature, but from  
God.

13. But if so be that dreames be suggested by  
God and his angels, let vs see for what cause we  
are forbidden to make any account of them.  
For if the matter be thus, dreames are to be  
contemned, but diligetlie to be observed. I  
answer, that all manner of regarding of dreames  
is not to be forbidden, but that onlie which is pro-  
ceeded by naughtie and vaine acts; and that is wont  
to be gotten by wooysipping of diuels: othe-  
wise nothing leteth, but that one may iudge of  
humors by them; or if they be of God, and are  
perceiued to come from him, then to followe  
them. Forouer, it is forbidden to extend natu-  
rall dreames beyond that, which nature will suf-  
fer. And this do we they which apply their dreames  
to changeable euents of things, about which  
they haue no manner of consideration, either of  
the cause, or of the effect. And this superstitious  
obseruation of dreames, is not onelie conueni-  
ent of chikilans, but also of long time  
since, was vnto Pharaos and Nabuchadne-  
nezar) God did it, to the intent that his pro-  
phets, as were Ioseph and Daniel, which were  
hidden; or vnknewen, might be made famous:  
otherwise, he gaue vnto his prophets iudge-  
ment, and cleere intelligence of such visions as  
he cast vpon them. But Aristotle was herein be-  
trayed, because he looked onelie to conuersers,  
which professing diuination, belofed the people;  
as though they had bene able to expound all  
sorts of dreames, and to telow what they signi-  
fied. But we may not vnderstand those things  
which are not alledged, of all kinds of dreames,  
no3 of all sorts of prophets. For they pertaine  
onelie vnto those, which infallible are sent in by  
God. Wherefore the conuenientie of conuersers,  
and teachers, are not within the compasse  
of this matter.

And the difference assigned for the lawfull  
vnto lawfull obseruation of dreames, is notable  
described in the 23. of Ieremie. For there God  
deseeth vaine & foolish dreames, but commen-  
deth those that are diuine and true. In the 18. of  
Deuteronomie, all obseruers of dreames haue  
generallie to be reponed. But we must vnder-  
stand, that according to the true Hebrew text,  
there is no mention made of them. Where-  
fore, other superstitions and idolatries are there  
condemned, but neuer a word of dreames, although  
that else where the twiced obseruation of them  
is reponed. Therefore the gods lawfull obser-  
uation of dreames is not to be forbidden; yea it  
is permitted vnto godlie men to praise, that they  
may be admonished even in their dreames,  
especiallie

Augustine.  
whether  
the soule  
haue  
power  
of itse-  
to know  
things  
to come.

1. Iob. 33.  
2. Dan. 2.  
3. Dan. 2.

1. Iob. 33.  
2. Dan. 2.  
3. Dan. 2.

1. Iob. 33.  
2. Dan. 2.  
3. Dan. 2.

1. Iob. 33.  
2. Dan. 2.  
3. Dan. 2.

1. Iob. 33.  
2. Dan. 2.  
3. Dan. 2.

Of Dreames.

Part.1.

of Peter Martyr.

Cap.6.

Monica the  
mother of  
Augustine.

Augustine.

Dan. 2. 18.

1. Iob. 33.  
2. Dan. 2.  
3. Dan. 2.

especiallie of those things, which they thinke to be  
most, and which they cannot discerne of them-  
selves. Monica the mother of Augustine being  
desirous that her sonne should marrie, for the  
avoiding of fornication, desired God, that euen in  
sleepe he would reueale vnto her some thing as  
touching that matter: and the testified that he  
obtained of God some taste, whereby the differ-  
ent the thing, which in sleepe the salue of himselfe,  
from those things, which were theued by inspira-  
tion from God: which thing Augustine wrothly in  
his first booke of Confessions, the 13. chapter. And  
we knowe assuredlie, that Daniel praised for the  
vnderstanding of Nabuchadnezears dreames, and  
this is without controuersie to be holden, that it  
is the part of godlie men to praise to God, that  
euen in our sleepe we may be preferred pure, and  
chaste, both in body and spirit. For those night vi-  
sions, by the which either the mind is troubled, or  
the bodie distressed, are certeine punishments of  
sinne: especiallie of that which hath bene done  
from our first creation. For so it should not haue  
bene in paradise, if Adam had abidden in that  
truth, wherein he was made: as Augustine wrote  
in his first booke, and eight chapter against Iulian.  
Ioh. 3. In Gen. chapter 20. verse 3.

The sixth Chapter.

Of the holie scriptures; out of the Pre-  
face vpon the first epistle to  
the Corinthians.



Nowe must speake  
something of the holie  
scriptures, whereby we  
are both encouraged to  
studie their, and some-  
what also are holpen  
in the following of that  
vie; and this shall be done,  
if I touch first in few wordes the worthines and  
profit of them; secondlie, if we shew by what cer-  
teine marks & tokens we may be able to iudge,  
and saie what is the sense or meaning of them;  
and lastlie, if we shall open the waie and means  
how to challenge them vnto our selues. This diui-  
sion I vnto to folowe, as being most conuenient  
for the vnderstanding of those things, which shall  
be spoken. And first of all, because we are to speake  
of the worthines and profit of the holie scriptures,  
I will giue this plaine and homelie definition of  
them. For it is a hard matter for anie man, per-  
fectlie and exatlie to define those things which are  
of God. Wherefore I will define the holie scrip-  
tures, to be a certeine declaration of the willcome  
of God, inspired by the holie Ghost vnto godlie  
men, and then set downe in monuments & wo-

things. That it is inspired by the inward motion  
of the holie Ghost, for the saluation and refores  
of vs, Peter testifieth in the first chapter of his la-  
ter epistle, when he saith, that Prophetic came not  
in old time by the will of men, but holie men of  
God spake as they were moued by the holie  
Ghost. And verie great honour hath come there-  
vnto, because as well Christ, as the apostles, and the  
found conuersers haue vnto the testimonie of it, for  
the confirmation of those things which were de-  
creed: yea, we may not thinke that anie traditi-  
ons be necessarye to saluation, which are not sure  
lie and stronglie grounded therevpon.

And we must alwaies beare in mind, howe we  
are first abaid by Christ, the best teacher of the  
church, to search out the scripture, when he saith  
in the first of Iohns gospell: Search ye the scrip-  
tures. Forouer, curie facultie and learning  
bordereth his worthines from the matter about  
which it is occupie. For, according as both  
excell, so is anie science account of more or lesse  
estimation. Wherefore, seeing this science of ours  
intreateth of nothing else but of Christ, it is so  
much the more to be accounted the head of all that  
other, as Christ is the most excellent about all  
other things. And as I suppose no man doubteth,  
but that the new testament speaketh chieflie of  
Christ. But because some men perhaps doubteth,  
whether the old testament do so likewise, let him  
heare euen Paule writing to the Romans the 10.  
chapter; Christ is the end of the lawe. And in the  
first of Iohn, when the Lord had said (that which  
euen now I recited) Search the scriptures; he ad-  
ded incontinent, For they beare witness of me.  
And in the same chapter it is said of Moses; He  
hath written of me. And manie other places may  
be brought, to confirme this selfe-same thing;  
but let vs content our selues with these for this  
time.

2. The holie scriptures also are highlie con-  
mended, through those excellent properties ther-  
in, which God hath adorne them. For they are glo-  
rious, that they seeme vnto vs, which walke as it  
were in darknes, to be like a candle lighted of  
God: whereof Peter hath admonished vs in the  
first chapter of the second epistle. And we haue  
a sure speech of prophesie, wherevnto you giue  
heed, as vnto a light shining in a dark place, yea  
do well, till the daie appeare, and the daie far  
arise in your hearts. In which wordes thou shalt  
note this also, that they be verie true. For godlie  
men are assured of the truth of them, that for  
them they feare not to suffer anie cruel death;  
which thing hath felosome or neuer happened a-  
mong naturall philosophers, or mathematicians,  
that they confirmed the opinions of their know-  
ledge with their blood, and with the losse of their  
liues. And vnto faithful and godlie hearts, there is  
in the scriptures no want of clearenes, which the

1. Pet. 1. 11

the true  
prophe-  
cies are  
take out  
of the scrip-  
tures onlie.

Christ test-  
ifies us to  
the reading  
of the scrip-  
tures.  
Iohn. 5. 37.

The sun  
of all that  
is done in  
the scrip-  
ture is  
Christ.

Rom. 10.

Iohn. 5. 39.

Iohn. 5. 46.

The notes  
of the prophe-  
cies of the  
holie scrip-  
ture.

They thinke  
as a can-  
dle in the  
darknes.

1. Pet. 1. 19.

The holie  
scriptures  
are cleere  
and certeine.

To the god-  
ly they be  
cleere and  
certeine.

Cricks call *Capitula*, and the Latines periphrastick. For whatsoever the founder Diuines dispute, they alwaies finly their conclusion according to the testimonies of the Scriptures; as rules commonlie knowne among christians, whereof it is not lawfull for any man to doubt. So that this ought to be esteemed as the chiefe principle, by the which all matters of true diuinitie are to be resolu'd and examin'd: to wit, The Lord hath said.

But yet this periphrastick is not to be sought at the light of mans sense & reason; but at the light of faith, whereby we ought to be most certainly perswaded of whatsoever is contained in the holie scriptures. For as we read in the last chapter of Luke, when Christ was about to send out his disciples to preach throughout the world, that they might increse the number of his disciples, he opened vnto them the meaning of the scriptures, which he declared, that otherwise they were not able by their owne industrie to vnderstand them. And in the first of Timothy, the third chapter, the church is so no other cause said to be the pillar and ground of truth, but because it hath the word of God, and useth the same perpetually in hir opinions and definitions: which when it doth not, it dealeth not as the church of Christ should doe.

Augustine *Contra epistolam Fundamenti*; faith, that things defined in scriptures must be perserued aboue all other. Besides this, the truth of them hath an euerslasting continuance. Which thing Christ taught vs, when he said in the 24. chapter of Matthew; Heauen and earth shall passe, but my word shall not passe. And it is commonlie spoken euerie where; The word of God endureth for euer.

3 And although there be in a manner infinite things, which may strongly proue the iustitienesse of the Scriptures; yet in this place I will measure my selfe, thinking it sufficient, that I haue after a sort shewed the springs or heads: the rest may easilie be found out by any that will take paines to search diligentlie. I will not like vnto this, but declare the commodities which we receiue thereby. We read in the 3. chapter of the 2. to Timothy, that All scripture inspired by God, is profitable both to teach, and to impute, (to wit as touching doctrine) and to correct and instruct in righteoussesse (which be longest vnto manners.) And least thou shouldst thinke that any thing both want, be adde thy freight waie: That the man of God may be perfect and ready to euerie good worke. And

Roman. 15. in the 15. chapter to the Romans we reade; For whatsoever things are now written, they are written before hand for our learning, that by patience & consolation of the scriptures, we may haue hope. Which things seeing they are so

ken of the old testament, (for while this was written, the new testament was not published) what shall we now thinke, hearing the monuments both of the Apostles and of the Euangellists added thereto?

Trulle we haue now euen these verie things more plentifullie in the holie scriptures. And the holie Christ secretly not to attribute the power of fauour vnto us: in the first Epistle to Timothy, the fourth chapter, it is written; Take heed to thy selfe, and to thy doctrine; continue therein, for in so doing thou shalt saue both thy selfe, and those that heare thee. And in the parable of the gospel, where it is described, that the seed fell, some in the waie, some among stones and thornes, and some in good ground: the gospel of word of God, by the interpretation of Christ, is vnderston by the seed; because thereby we are borne anew. Therefore Paule wrote bolshie vnto some; I haue begotten you by the gospel. And Augustine did then first arise out of his errors, whereby he had bene captiued, when he began to reade the scriptures. And at the reading of Paule (as we may perceiue in his confessions) the darkenesse was chased fro his eyes. And vnto such reiding he was vsen by an oracle of God. For he heard voices, as if children had sang, and said; Take and read, Take and read: which word when he had obeyed, & had lighted vpon that place in the holie scriptures; Put on the Lord Iesus Christ, &c. he was conuerted vnto God, who had so long before stricken (against the truth) These be notable tokens of the word of God. Adde herewithall, that the decrees of the christian faith can be confirmed by no other means, than by authority of the holie scriptures. Therefore as the ecclesiasticall historie declareth; Constantine the great, in the council of Nice, exhorted the fathers of the church, that by the oracles of the holie scriptures, they should appeale the controversies sporing up in religion.

4 But he that will knowe more at large the properties of the holie scripture, let him reade the 19. psalme; there they be described, both with maruelous beautie, and great elegance. First, the lawe of the Lord is called *Temma*; that is, immaculate & perfect. Secondly it is affirmed, that it doth reioyce the soule; and that is not to be looked for in porphane learning. Thirdlie it is called a true testimonie of the Lord; whereas mans commandes are euermore variable and inconstant. It teacheth the simple and ignorant; whereas other knowledges do instruct only the prudent and sharpe sighted hearers. Moreover, the lawe of the Lord is right, and hath nothing crooked, slippie, or vnjust; as in euerie part of mans lawe is clyped. Also it reioiceth the hart, euen vnto such a glaucie as is chaste and holie.

The power of fauour attributed to the scriptures.

1. Tim. 4, 13.

Mat. 13, 19.

We are borne anew by the word.

1. Cor. 4, 15.

Augustine conuerted by reading of the scriptures.

Rom. 3, 14.

Decrees of faith must be confirmed only by the scriptures.

Constantine had that conference should be decided by them.

The properties of the scripture out of the 19. psalme.

Ps. 19, 8.

The Lords commandment is pure, but mans deuises are neuer successefull; seeing they be fratched with many crafts and deceits. It lighteneth the eyes, but contrariwise the traditions of men darken them. The lawe of God is cleane, and is offered vnto vnto vs, being without any falshood or lying; whereas mans ordinances are most foliwe infected with both the euils. The statutes of God endure for euer; but those things, which be ordained by men, are alwaies shifting, attentances chaunged, and are neuer of long continuance. To conclude, those things which the Lord hath prescribed, are both true and iust, which cannot be affirmed of mans lawes. Moreover, they are to be desired aboue gold and precious stones; where as the best treasures be verie much milike the precepts of mans lawe. Finally, those things which God hath taught vs in the scriptures, be more sweet than the hony and the hony combe; where contrariwise, men are not accustomed to teach any other than hard, difficult, and often times cruell things. Besides these properties of the holie scriptures, I purpose not to ad anie more. For they that be studious, may enliue of themselves find out the other fruits and commodities.

5 Now must I declare another point, which I promised to wit, by what iudgements and absters, we must assure our selues for vnderstanding of the scriptures. Two tokens I haue alwaies obserued, by which the truth of the holie scripture may be perceived; namely, the holie ghost, and the word of God it selfe. Concerning the spirit, Iohn writeth in the 8. chapter of his gospel, that Christ thus said; If ye haue God to your father, why do you not acknowledge my word? And seeing it is certaine, that he was not adopted to be the chyliden of God, but by the coming of the holie ghost; Christ testifieth in this place, that when we haue once vnderston the same spirit, we may so discern betwixt his word and a strange word, as the same will appere verie euident and plaine vnto vs. According to which sense, he also said in another place; My sheepe know my voice, and followe not a stranger. And there is no doubt, but that we, by the strength of the holie spirit are made the sheepe of Christ, which followeth not falshood, errors and heresies (which be voices of strangers) but do imitate onlie the voice of Christ; that is to wit, do followe the true and naturall sense of the scriptures. Again, we haue in the second chap. of the 1. epistle to the Corinthians;

1. Cor. 1, 24. A naturall man doth not perceiue those things that be of God, neither is he able to do iudicially they be but foolishness vnto him. But the spiritual man iudgeth all things. And againe in the 1. bidem. 6. same place, The spirit searcheth out the deepe

mysteries of God. And Christ himselfe saie; The spirit of comfort shall declare all things that I haue said vnto you. Also Iohn in his epistle saith; The spiritual vnction hath shewen you of all things.

But howe will I saie; These things be true in deede, but we be destitute of the spirit. To what I answer saieing; If you haue not the spirit, how dare you call your selues christians, seeing Paul to the Rom. sheweth vs, that They be none of Christs, which haue not y spirit of Christ. And yet I speake not this, as though I were ignorant, that there must be begras of this spirit gruen, seeing it is euident, that all men cannot haue a like vnderstanding of the scriptures. But yet this I affirme, that there is no true christian man, to whom so small a portion of the spirit is giuen, but that he may gather a iudge out of the holie scriptures, such things as be necessarie to saluation, so as he neglect not to be conuertant in the reading of them both daie and night. Which thing Chrysostome vpon the preface to the epistle vnto the Romans hath plainlie declared, when he saith; This thing cometh not by ignorance, but because they will not haue this holie mans writings continually in their hands. Further do those things, which we knowe (if we knowe any thing) come vnto vs by the goodnesse and preguance of our wit; but because we being alwaies thoughtlie affected to that man, we neuer cease reading of him. For they which loue, do knowe more than all other, the doings of them whom they loue, as being careful of them. Therefore (saith he a little after) if ye also will apply your minds, and traucell in the diligent reading herof, it shall not be needefull to require anie other thing of you. True it is saieing of Christ; Seeke, and ye shall find; knocke, and it shall be opened vnto you. And there is no doubt, but that Chrysostome spake these words to all men; for he spake them in a sermon to the people. And marke well what he affirmeth; namely, that if they would but diligentlie reade saint Pauls epistles, they should not neede of anie other teacher.

6 The second note, and sure token, by which we may thoughtlie search out the truth of the holie scriptures, is the verie scriptures themselves. For it is requisite, that we should determine that pece of scripture which is hard and darkie, by another part which is more plaine and easie. Christ hath giuen vnto his church, the old testament; the authoritie whereof let the Marcionites, the Marcionites, and such other pestilent heresies first thereat neuer so much) is most stable and sure; inasmuch as by it, the old christians also haue iudgeth of the new testament. It is written in the 17. of the Acts, that the Ephesians hauing heard Paule, repaired to the

whether all men haue the spirit of Christ.

Rom. 8, 9.

Euery one may gather out of the scriptures as much as is necessary to saluation.

Chrysost.

A simili.

March 7, 7.

The word is a sure token to find the truth of the scriptures.

We must iudgeth of an obscure place by a more clere place.

The old testament proueth the new.

Acts 17, 11.

Scriptures, to see whether things were as Paule had declared, or otherwise. And Augustine De doctrina christiana, teaching what manner of man a preacher should be, willeth him to conferre the places of the scripture together, and death not send him to search out the opinions of the fathers, or to seek out the determinations of the church, or the canons, or the traditions of men.

7 To the two arbiters, which I have declared to be the faithful interpreters of the holie scriptures, we willingly joine the firme consent and authoritie of the catholike church: yet not in such sort, that (as our aduersaries inuolunt to please) the iudgement of the scriptures should depend thereon. For it is not lawfull, either for a council, or for the church, to interpret the scriptures, as if they were god vnto them. For that were to haue dominion ouer the faith of good men. Therefore when they interpret the word of God, it is by the way to please, that they haue expounded such things, according to the consent and propozition of other places of the scripture. Wherefore the most dangerous error of the antiquities must be refused with great circumspection, which presume to saie, that it is the church, which hath giuen authoritie to the books of God, where it is far other wise. For what fouer christians, or authoritie hath happened vnto the church, all that hath come from the word of God. It is detestable to heare, that the holie scriptures are words of God, should purchase their credit of men, which otherwise are but liers. Yet neuertheless such things they imagine and deuse, that when they be found to be deceiued in manie places of the sacraments, and other points of doctrine, far otherwise than Gods word both requireth, they will maintaine, that it is lawfull for them to do: because the church (saie they) which hath brought credit and authoritie to the word of God, may change & alter therein, what fouer shall come god vnto him. Wherefore, that which they ground vpon, must by all manner of means be refuted.

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Let vs not be brought to thinke, that the holie scriptures haue gotten their credit and authoritie by the church. And yet I saye not this much, as though I belised or contemned the dignitie of the church. For I attribute vnto it these godlie functions about the word of God: The first is that I grant the both, as it were a witness, to preserve the holie bookes; but it cannot be gathered thereby, that it is lawfull for the church, either to alter or pervert any thing in the holie scriptures. Experience teacheth vs, that both private and public euidences are committed to registers & notaries, to be safely kept and preserved: and yet no man in his right mind will saie, that it is lawfull for them to change any thing in

them. Neither may we thinke, that the power of those registers can be greater, than their booke which appointed them to be put in record. And here it shall not be vnpossible, if we consider of the difference betwixt the word of God, as it was revealed vnto the prophets at the first, & that which was preached afterward, or published in writing; wherein we shall only see the difference in the time, and not in the strength and authoritie. For we grant that the word written was of more antiquitie, than that which was afterward put in writing; and that alwell both the one as the other was bestowed vpon the church: but yet (as we said before) it was not lawfull for the church by any means to iuxta alter the same. Secondly, we doubt not, but that the churches part is, to preach and set forth the word of God committed vnto it: wherein it is likened to a crier, who not withstanding he proclaime the statutes of a prince or magistrate, yet is he not either of more, or of equal authoritie to them. But all his labour is faithfull to proclaime all things, euen as he receiued them from the princes and magistrates. For if he should so do, he might be counted a traitour. Wherefore, it behoueth the ministers of the church, that they should and inuolunt nothing more than to be founde faithful.

8 Wherfore, we also acknowledge it to be the function of the church, that seeing it is indubitable with the holie ghost, it should describe & discern the true and proper books of the heauenlie word, from them that be not canonical. Which office doubtlesse is not to beare a higher authoritie than the scriptures, as many do foolishly deeme. For thus they saie. Forasmuch as the church hath accepted and allowed some scriptures, and hath refused other some to be no scriptures; therefore it hath authoritie to determine of them as it listeth. But this is a verie heauie kind of argument. We will grant, in verie deede, that the ancient church had such an abundance of the spirit, as thereby they easily knew, which of those that were presented vnto them, were the true & proper words of God: and these as canons and rules of Gods word, they differed by a spiritual understanding from the other books, called Apocrypha, which being once done it was not lawfull for the church to make tolle interpretation it would: but both the spirit of Christ must be hardened vnto, and also the consent of all the places of scripture, must be diligently considered. The verie which thing we lie deale to be done.

When a kings letters are brought to a citie, a countie, or province, the lieutenants and gouernours of those places, by verie true and iustall skill, knowe well enough whether the letters, which be deliuered in the name of the king, be true or counterfeit.

The word of god first revealed, & then written.

The duty of the church is to preach & publish a faithful word.

Augline.

Faith is power in the holie ghost, and the ministers work together by him.

Terrillan. Irenaeus.

counterfeit: but when they shall perceive them that they be neither fained, nor decaied, it is not lawfull to alter, transfigure, and iuxta their alter their owne will. Euen so must we thinke of the church. For it is not one a faithful witness, but also a true keeper of Gods booke: and yet it is not lawfull for the church, to appoint any thing in them, otherwise than God himselfe hath prescribed. There be a great many that can iudge, which be the right words of Antioche, and of Plato, and which be not; who neuertheless are not straight way to be thought comparable to either of them in learning. And amongst vs christians, euery one can easily espie the difference betwixt God and the deuil, and yet must we not be compared with God, and much lesse be thought to crell him. Euen so the church must not for this cause preferre his credit or authoritie above the scriptures.

9 But they alledge, that Augline saith; I would not beleue the gospell, unless the authoritie of the church should moue me. But that place of Augline hath this latine word *Commendat*; that is to saie, To moue with the help of another thing, and not simple To moue of it selfe. For vnbondred it is the holie ghost which poweth in faith to the hearers of Gods word. And the ministers of the church, being his instruments, are rather to be said to moue together by him, than absolutely by themselves. The same Augline againe Paulus, in the 28. booke and second chapter writeth, that the heretikes called Manichei, should aswell beleue that the first chapter of Matthew was written by him, as he beleued that the epistle called the foundation of their religion was written by Manicheus; because it was so preferred among the elders of their religion; and so came from hand to hand at that time. And therefore it must on this sort be vnderstood, that the church no more is to beleue the gospell, because it faithfully keepeth the holie scriptures, preacheth them, and discerneth them from other writings.

The same father, in his first booke of confessions, the fourth & fifth chapters, giueth plainlie witness, that God himselfe doubtles giueth authoritie to the holie scriptures. Terrillan & Irenaeus standing in dispute with the heretikes, did therefore send them vnto the apostolike churches; because they allowed not full and whole of the scriptures: wherefore they would that they should vnderstand the sense and meaning of them, by such churches as were certeinly knowne to be apostolike. For moete it was, that such churches should be continual witnesses and preservers of the bookes of God. And yet did they not by this meanes affirme, that the authoritie of the church is to be preferred above the scriptures.

10 But our aduersaries saie, that they are led by a common rule haunted by the Logicians; namely, That thing is to be iudged the more so, a rule in for the which another thing is so. Wherevpon they gather this reason; If the scripture haue authoritie, by iudgement of the church, then it followeth, that there is a more authoritie in the church than in the scripture. But they consider not, how that sentence of the Logicians taketh place onely in such causes, as are called small; but that in efficient causes it is not firme. For although this inferior world of ours, be warmed by means of the sunne and planets: it followeth not, that the sunne and planets be therefore more hot (than the things which they haue warmed). Likewise surfectors, and interperate men are warmed by reason of wine; but we cannot conclude thereby, that wine is more intemperate than they. And the Logicians teach, that the foresaid rule is then firme and true in efficient causes, when they be brought whole and perfect, not when they be mangled and imperfect. Which point doubtles is small obserued by our aduersaries in this argument. For the church is no efficient cause of that authoritie and credit, which the scriptures haue with the faithful. For if it were so, it might easily persuade the Turkes & Infidels to beleue the scriptures; and the Jewes to imbrace the new testament. And how true this is, the thing it selfe testifieth.

11 Furthermore, these men should be demanded, What church it is, to whom they appoint so great an iudgement and authoritie ouer the scriptures? If they will answer, that they attribute the same vnto bishops; neither do they vnderstand what the holie scriptures do containe; and commonly their life is such, as it is not lawfull to eate and drinke with them. And seeing they are perceived to be such sensuall men, who will allow them to be the chiefe iudges of spiritual things? But if our aduersaries had rather die from them, to the goodly fathers of euery age, to leave the truth of the scriptures; I denie not, but that true iudgement hath manie times bene found among them; and yet not alwaies. For they dilagre manie times among themselves: they change, they make retractions, and diuers times some one contenteth and disputeth against another. I knowe, they will saie at the last, that we must haue recourse to the generall of the councils, as though they neuer erred.

The generall council of Ariminum, made all together for the Arians. The second council of Ephesus, favoured the heretike of Eueyches. The council of Chalcedon to erre, as it intulke Leo bishop of Rome, to be the vniuersall bishop of Christ his church. But the holie man, which was

Simili.

of the fathers.

4. place art. 10.

1. look part art. 10.

In these aduersaries, no high credit, for the content of the church.

It is not the church that giueth authoritie to the word.

Look part art. 1. and chap. 6. art. 11.

Three functions of the church as bear the word of god.

1. Similitude. The church as a witness preferreth the holie bookes.

was not present there, hearing of it, did bitterly  
renewed his penitence. And in a council,  
which Cyprian held, a great error was commit-  
ted, when it was there decreed, that heretics bap-  
tized out of the faith of the catholic church, if they  
returned onto it, should be baptized again. Also  
the synod of Constance did wickedly comprehend,  
that the halfe communion should be ministered to  
the laic people: and manie other errors commit-  
ted by general councils might be alleged. For  
since they be but men, which betwixt manie mat-  
ters propounded in general councils, they interme-  
dle much carnall and humane sense: and therefore  
we must not subscribe to the opinion of them, be-  
cause it shall appeare, that the same both were  
well agree with the scriptures. Had not Peter  
erred, unless that Paul had opened his eyes? **W**herefore, if to great an apostle was not free  
from falling into error, what shall we thinke of  
other miserable and fraile men, whom thou se-  
est often to be turned to & fro into manie muns  
and affections?

Let all things therefore, without any further delay, be reduced and brought home to a just examination of the scriptures; and so shall we wage uncertain matters by certain, and doubtful by those things which be of all doubt. For even as the word of God is sure, and continually so; so many ordinances are ever doubtful, wavering, and inconsistent. These things must not be so confused, as though we would that godly brethren should have no audience in godly assemblies: or as though we sought altogether to take away the authority from fathers and councils: we speak not these things to any such purpose; but we cōt to attribute to euerie one his iust commendation, so that there be not attributed unto men, that which is meete for God onely. And let that fauour of Paule to the Galathians be alwaies founded in our eares, that if an

angel from heaven shall shew vs of anie other  
Gospel, than is contained in the holie scriptures,  
let him be cursed. And thus much shall suffice  
on this behalfe, to declare by that notes a marks the  
truth of the holie scriptures may be perceived.

1<sup>st</sup> Paule let us reason, by that means we  
certainly may obtaine to ourselues that power of  
understanding the word of God, which we haue  
before. As touching the first interpreters, which  
we say to be the holie Ghost; the meaning haue  
accesse vnto him by prayer. And therefore Dauid  
prayed on this wise: Open thou mine eyes,  
O Lord, that I may see the wonderful things of  
thy law. And againe; Teach me thy iustificati-  
ons. Giue me vnderstanding, & I shall diligently  
search thy commandments. And thou shalt  
furnish me of the fruits saings there be in the 119.  
psalme. Further, Paule praech in his epistles,  
that we become spirituall vnderstanding, and the

ries of discretion to know the will of God, might be givest to those holy men, to whom he wrote. But as touching the other means, whereby we may perceive of the holy scriptures (the word of God 3 mean) we must use no small industry, whereby we may be able to confer places to those places, and by those which we must place to image of them which be most obscure. And herof it came, that Paule warned his scholar Timothee, that he should be diligent in reading. And he himself, when he laie bound at Rome, desired that Troas might be sent unto him, with his booke & parchments, which he had left behind him.

1. Tim. 13.  
 2. Tim. 4.3

These things we may gather, that they  
 why in the interpreting of the holie scriptures  
 do fall into error, may impute it to the infirmities;  
 for that they have not bene earnest enough in  
 prayer, nor yet bene sufficient studie about them.  
 Neither ought any to be discouraged from this  
 excellent exercise, because of the plaine & homely  
 phrase of the holie scriptures. For as often as  
 within a simple stile, is found a precious stone;  
 and out of soyle chaffe, is shakten out most profit-  
 table coze; so out of the plaine and unpolished  
 speech of the holie scriptures, is brought to light  
 the most sincere and manifest knowledge of the  
 truth. But above all things take heed, that thou  
 applyest not to the reading of the scriptures, if thy  
 mind be hardened with a peributic opinion.  
 As also avoid all affectations, that the coming be  
 wholie to learne, and not (as is the way of hereticks)  
 violently to draine them to thine opinion.

*An exhortation to the reading  
of the scriptures.*

13 Wherefore the church releaseth that is brought  
into vs by God, and which is ever ready at hand, is  
the holie scriptures : which we must haue al-  
waies ready about vs, as our herbe of comfort.  
For, if ignorance and blindness be our defaults,  
these lightes, by which it may be taken off. If  
we be disquieted with manie troubles and vexa-  
tions of the minde ; or else, if our confidence be  
ouercharged with the heauie burden of our sin-  
nes, there we shall meete with milke and speale re-  
medies. If the lache and care of the tyme temporal  
things molest vs, and do not vterlyle ouerpresse  
vs, there we may find sounnd and sure consolati-  
on. If we find sometimes in turbe and perplexi-  
tie, not knowing whether to turne our selues, we  
shall no where better than there, find gods and  
faithfull counsell. If we be tempted, and put in  
danger of saluation, as oftentimes it happeneth ;  
we haue there a most strong and inuincible bul-  
warte. And therefore, out of that poake, and no  
where else, do our latter Dauid take most fine  
and sweetlye sonnes ; where thusly he smote the  
head of Goliath, and ouerthrew the Satan which tempted  
him

*Scriptures.*

Psalm 119. 18  
14, & 15.

him in the desert. Wherefore David the king, not without cause, sang, that he considered the marvellous things of the lawe, that is, of the holie scriptures, and laid up the word of God in his hart, that he might not offend him. He confessed that to be his comfort in time of trouble, in that the word of God did quicken him.

the fountaines of our fauour, where euerie one  
is walled to byrthe franke and free, wherby our  
intelleable thyng may be laked, & the exceeding  
desire of obtaining felicity is satisfied. Here the  
flowe-house of God most thoughtly fraughted  
with abundance of all good thynges is opened  
and laded, whereto it free for all folke to pro-  
ceede for their want in necessite. Here the boord is  
surrounded with all kind of deinties; where the  
wifedom of God hath mixed for his most trust-  
thyng, wherewith euerie one may most liberal-  
ly refecth hymselfe. It is offered unto all com-  
mers a new pleasant garden and paradise, thus  
cureth hys Aduous and Salomon: therefore, let  
vs gather therin profitable thyngs; and not perni-  
cious. It is rather follothe the best, than the  
spores, suching therout most fruites; and not  
beerie poyson. We are accustomed with in-  
credible desire, to followe our yeale and diligencie  
to scrue buyes fast forth by the labour of our  
hande, wherby we lerne nothing elsse but of

than men; whereat we waste not nothing; <sup>1</sup> but  
 use the means to maintain bodily health, <sup>2</sup> or  
 the way to augment our substance, <sup>3</sup> or precepts  
 to govern the common-weale, <sup>4</sup> or else rules of  
 husbandrie, and other occupations, <sup>5</sup> or else  
 influence of pleasures; how much more requi-  
 sit were it for vs, to apply all our hart and mind  
 to the studie of diuine doctrine? <sup>6</sup> For therein we  
 heare not the wilfulness of man, but haue God  
 himselfe speaking before vs, to whom if we giue  
 eare; we shall conceiue a singular iote, we shall  
 chafe atuaie penfull cogitations, and be lighte-  
 ned with most sweet comfort; we shall be streng-  
 thened beyond the condition of man, nothing  
 shall be thought hard and laborious vnto vs; we  
 shall thinke the yoke of the Law and his crosse  
 to be easie things, and we shall offer our selues  
 to be most ready to suffer any thing for his  
 name. And being thus instructed with hea-  
 uenly cleuence, we shall talke vnto wiser men, not  
 like censurable men; but as if our speech proceeded  
 from God himselfe.

Part. I.

of Peter Martyr.

Cap. 6.

Pag.45.

how much the words of God differ from the words of men. **Woe** (3 laie) they shall by earnest and faithfully reading feele, that the scourge of feare and shame, is sometime by the merite of **God** redoubled vnto them in their hart: they shall feele themselves effectually perswaded, to die to death, and liue to life: at the length they shall feele themselves shaken with the horror: of their finnes, and voluptuous life which they led; whereas before time they thought themselves happye therein: they shall thinke they are heaped before their eyes, the whole wickednesse of their fleshly life, through the bitter lull wherof they beeing in heauie languish of mind, there shall arise a great toyme, and plentifull shouers of teares. For: while as the words of the scripture are earnestly read, and depuelly considered, they do not lightly put the mind-but with sharpe pikes they doe pierce the bottome of the hart, passing as it were a pining from thence the lofty fountaine of sinne and wickednesse; planting in the stead thereof peace of conscience, and spirituall gladnesse. Lastly they shall feele themselves to be kindled with the most pleasant and wonderfull loue of Gods fauour and goodnesse. Therefore they being clerely changed, and become new men, shall be constrained to saie: How sweet are thy words become vnto my iawes! they were like hony vnto my mouth.

But those men, which either will not read  
Sons booke at all, or else read them with con-  
tempt, disdain, or lothsomeſſe, whereby they  
are nothing the better for the word of God, but  
are fill led aſſoe with benefits of their ſtone hea-  
rt, are whole depriued of this comfort: that the  
which nothing can be found moe godlie, or moze  
profitable to ſaluation. Of which wickedneſſe  
and impletie, God by his prophet Eſay the eight  
chapter ſaith ſharpele accuſe Iſrael, ſaieing ;  
I haue written vnto them the mightie thinges  
of my law, but they haue counted them as a ſtrange  
thing. Tralle thoſe diſobey are greaſie dege-  
nerate, which account that voice, whereſovert  
their father gentle calleth them to goodnes and  
happye ſtate, to be but a ſtrange voice: and con-  
trariſtie imbrace that which is more ſtrange, in  
ſteede of their fathers naturall ſpeech. Wherein  
they then in the perpetrie of the beſtie, which will  
reſuſe the aduociferous ſentiment, to creepe vpon the  
lothſome and vntoſome ſmell. Wherefore it is  
no maruail, if they were rotten in the puerle of  
twooble pleaſures, if they be intowrable burnt  
with diſſolute and ſuſanall thoughts, if they  
deſpaire in aduertities; & finally, if they perſiſt  
on curſie ſide in their finnes and contaminated  
life. To conclude, we may ſaye of the ſcriptures  
(though not to propriety) as Demothennes once  
ſaid of monie: Without that, nothing can be  
done as it ſhould be.

Plal. 119,30

Dec. 8, 1944

15 Theop

Out of the  
preface vnto  
on the first  
epistle to the  
Coryn-  
thians.  
2. Pet. 3, 16.  
2. Pet. 3, 16.  
to lipe the  
difficillie  
places of the  
scrip-  
ture.

15 They which are more busie against vs, than they ought to be, are wont alwaies to saie, that there be manie darke places in the scriptures; and that Peter gaue testimonie of Pauls epistles, and that they were hard to be vnderstood: and by this reason they laboꝝ to draue the simpler sort from the reading of scriptures. Wee therefore to answer this, doo saie, that those hard places, which Peter mentioneth, may become easie inough by studie and continual search: especially, if we con- sider those places with others, in which the verie same matters, although after a much plainer sort, are intreated of. And if perhaps some places be so hard, as they cannot be reached vnto; wee must thinke, that such are not much necessarie vnto our saluation. For of the holie Ghost is not without care of our saluation, as of set purpose he would that to be hid from vs, which we ought to knowe: it is rather, the difficultie of vnder- standing of the scriptures, is oftentimes verie profitable vnto the faithfull. For by that meane, a more honest indewour is stirred vp in them, the desire of vnderstanding is increast, and they become more seruent in prayer, wherein they labour earnestlie with God, that he will giue them grace to knowe that, which as yet is hidden from them. Forsooke, by such meane they are become willing to aske the aduise of others, better learned than themselves: whereby the haughtines of mind, which perchaps might arise, is suppressed; humilitie and mutual loue among the members of Christ is restored.

Out of the  
preface In  
Rom.  
1. Cor. 13  
Rom. 4, 13.

Chrysost.

2. Timothee.

For either dooth the difficultie of the scriptures, which sometimes happeneth, harme vnto arie, except such as be peruerse men. Chrysostome (as we touched before) in his preface to the epistle to the Romans taught, that this darkness is mollified by often & diligent reading; and so mollified, as he dare speake it, that we of our selues, with- out arie manie, may vnderstand whatsoeuer is taught in them, so that we meditate our selues therein both day and night. For 3 my selfe (saith he) did not attaine to this skill, by the sharpenes of mine owne wit, but by earnest indewour. For euery the dullest wit, by diligent labour, doo con- quer hard and obscure things. And he bringeth a verie apt similitude. The thoughtes & meanings of a man are most secret; yet oftentimes are the thoughtes and meanings of our frend, whom we carnestlie loue, and with whom we are alwaies conuersant, perceiued of vs by a becke of noo, without a signe of words or speeches, which he vttereth. Euen so (saith he) it cometh to passe in the epistles of Paule, so that a man loue them, and be daile occupied in them. He that askech, shall receive; he that seeketh shall find; and he that knocketh, it shall be opened vnto him. This he saie to the common people, exhorting them to the studie of the scriptures.

16 But there be some others wont also to tangle, that the holie scriptures, for their doubt- fulnes and obscuretie, may be called glasses, and as it were riddles; and therefore would conclude, that they are in no wise sufficient for our saluati- on, but that we must refer our selues to the iudge- ment of fathers and counsels. For the principles of rules (they saie) whereby our life is directed, must be most plaine and euident vnto vs. But these men are already answered, that in such things as are incident to saluation, the scriptures want no plainnesse nor perspicuitie; and those things, which in one place are somewhat darke- ly intreated of, are plainlie taught in another. And who vnderstandeth not, that the apostle in that place speaketh not absolutely, but by a compari- son: What a grosse kind of reasoning is this? Those things, which be taught in the holie scrip- tures, and in the sacraments, be glasses and riddles of diuine things; if they be compared to the knowledge that we shall haue in the life to come: therefore simple, and of themselves they be so obscure, as they are not sufficient for our saluati- on. But those things, which we now beleue, are not so euident vnto mans reason, as that they can be known by causes: though in the life to come all things shall be perfectly knowen vnto vs, that we shall be able to reduce all things to their owne causes, and from cause to cause, till we come to the highest. And what can the fathers themselves, or the counsels teach be more, than they themselves learned in the holie scriptures? For whatsoeuer they adde vnto: and about these, must be rejected as mans deuise.

17 Those words, which we haue in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, the third chapter, doo fitly serue to the expounding of this matter: But we behold, as in a mirror, the glorie of the Lord with open face, and are changed into the same image from glorie to glorie, as by the spirit of the Lord. For the apostle in these words, laeth together two kinds of knowledges, which we haue of heauenlie things; and compareth the one with that, which was vnder the laue; and the other with that, which we expect in the life to come. And in the first comparison he saith, that we knowe ledge vnder the laue was secret and hidden, and was signified by the baile, which Moyses caſt our his face, when he spake to the people. And against this obscure knowledges, he opposeth the know- ledge, which we haue after Christs coming, wherein thou beholdest heauenlie things with open face, the baile being put auaie. Not least thou shouldst thinke, that our knowledges is yet per- fect, he vseth this participle, *καὶ ὡς ἐν ὁρατοῖς*, that is, Beholding through a glasse. For the fruition of the things themselves is reserved, till we come vnto the eternal rest; whereby we be changed, & transformed euen daie into the image of God,

In things  
necesse  
to saluation  
the scrip-  
tures are  
not ambig-  
uous.

A grosse  
kind of rea-  
soning.

\*

ver. 18.

Two maner  
of compari-  
sons of our  
knowledges.

In 1. Cor.  
3. ver. 7.  
What the  
holie scrip-  
tures should  
be read of  
all men.

enem from lesser to greater glorie. Augustine handleth this place verie properly in his 15. book *De triuinis*, the third chapter. Wee must not take offence (saith he) that God hath so instructed vs in the knowledge of him, as it were through a glasse, and in darke sayings; because to our nature hath required it. For we be framed in such sort, as we are led vnto the knowledge of such- es by their effects, and are trained by similitudes vnto certaine truths.

18 So more are they to be heard, which should perſuade, that the holie scriptures should be taken from late men; because the mysteries which are in them, ought not to be committed to lay persons. For that is as much (saie they) as to caſt holie things vnto dogs. But the people of Christ must not be counted as dogs. For they that haue beleue, be baptised; and be partakers of the sacra- ments. They haue the spirit of God, and therefore must not be defrauded of his word. And although within the whole flocke of Christians, there may be found some, which be contemners, and perhaps some blasphemers and mockers; shall therefore the greatest number of the faith- full be depeyued of the commoditie of the scrip- tures for their fakes? No verelie. Which thing is euidentlie proved by the example of the apos- tles, which were not ignorant, that among such a number, as came to the hearing of their ser- uice, there were many present oftentimes, which like vnto dogs, or swine, contemned and trod vnto their feete the doctrine that was set forth vnto them. And yet did they not for these mens fakes, withdraue their sermons from the people. Yea, & Christ verie often preached to the people, when the Scribes & Pharisees stood by, whom he knewe verie well to haue committed sin against the holie Ghost; yet did he not for their cause cease from doing his office. Euen so at this day, because some blasphemers and despisers cannot be let from the vse of the holie scriptures, but that in a manner the whole flocke of Christians must receive damage thereby, therefore it is better to licence them vnto all men one with another.

The sitting  
of heretics  
must not  
thinke the  
reading of the  
scrip-  
tures.

But they saie, that many heretics be spiong by in their daies, which should be an occasion to forbid this thing. But they that so saie, should consider, that before Augustines time, there were both Arrians, and Manichies; yea and that while he himselfe liued, the heresie of the Pelagi- ans and Donatists, and manie other pestiferous sects were spred abroad; and yet neuertheless he gaue counsell to read the scriptures, as appea- reth by his epistle *Ad Volusianum*, and in his ser- mon of fasting: where he proueth, that among the faithfull sort, the reading of Gods word, euen in the time of feasts & banquetes, ought to be as an exercise, in stead of plaies & games. And all the fathers, in a manner besides, doo manie times ex-

hort the people of Christ vnto this studie. And it is a verie slender reason, that good things should be quite taken auaie, because they are abused of some. For then the Eucharist it selfe should be taken auaie, because (as Paule testifieth) manie abuse the same to their owne destruction. To conclude, what discomforts soeuer they ob- tect, God knoweth them better than they; who not onlie permitted the laue, but also the pro- phets to be common among the people; yea, & that the same should be deliuered vnto strange nations to be read. The Church of the Quene of Candace read the prophet in his chariot, when Philip stood by him. What I beseech you, wilt they be wisser than God? For whatsoeuer is necessa- ry to saluation, as we haue often saide, is plaine and easie in the scriptures. Wherefore, in that the scriptures were predestinate to our glorie, and that from the beginning, we must giue infinite thanks vnto God, which so timelie thought vpon our saluation.

Acts. 8, 38.

Out of the  
preface vnto  
on the 3. booke  
of Iob.

Of the dilu-  
sion of the  
holie scrip-  
tures.

19 Forsooke, some doubt the holie scrip- tures into four parts; and some booke, as well in the old testament, as in the new, they ascribe vnto lawes, some vnto histories, some vnto prophesies, and some vnto wisdomes. But it is not lawfull so to diuide the holie booke one from another; seeing that in Exodus, Leuiticus, Num- bers, and Deuteronomium, wherein they ap- point lawes to be contained, are found almost as manie histories as lawes. Forsooke, in the booke which they haue assigned to the prophets, are oftentimes taught and plainlie expounded lawes of vpright liuing; neither can we proper- lie separate the booke of Salomon, and others like (which they would haue proper vnto wis- dome) from lawes or prophesies. For in them are manie sentences, which pertaine to the in- struction of a good life, and without doubt haue the nature of lawes. Again, seeing that in these very manie secret mysteries are opened vnto the church by inspiration of the spirit, doubtles the attentive readers of them may marke therein oracles of things to come; but yet so neuerthe- lesse, as well nere in euery booke, they be let forth vnto vs disperſible; and yet the holie booke was not seuered one from another by such bounds or limits.

I would rather thinke, as hath seemed good vnto the learned sort, that whatsoeuer is con- tained in the holie scriptures, should be referred vnto two chiefe points: 3 I meane the laue, and the goſpell. For euerywhere, either Gods com- mandements to liue well are let forth vnto vs; or else when we are found to floure from them, either of weaknesse, or of some certaine mali- ciousnes, the goſpell is shewed, whereby through Christ we are pardoned of our trespasses, and are promised the power and strength of the holie spirit,

All things  
in the scrip-  
tures refer-  
red vnto  
two pointes  
all points.



spirit, to restore vs againe to the image of Christ, which we had lost. These two things may be seen in all the booke of Moses, in the histories, in the prophets, and booke of wisdom, and throughout the whole testament, old and new. Surely they be not separated one from another by booke and leaves; but by that waie, which we haue now declared. And thus much is said of the matter of the holie scripture in generall.

¶ The first reading of the holie scripture, Iake the title of the first sermons, which are added at the end of this booke.

Of Historie.

20 Let vs now declare somewhat of the historical scriptures. An historie (as Quintilian besterth it, in the second booke, and fourth chapter of his institutions) is a declaration of a thing that hath bene done. From whom Augustine hath not much varie; saying, that Historie is the declaration of aue thing done, either by God or by man; comprehending within the compasse of this definition, as well prophane histories, as those of the Bible. Whobert, all narrations of things done, are not of one sort. For some are called Chonicles, or Annales, shewing the successe of things from yeare to yeare, and time to time; but others are properlie called histories. Whobert we cannot well do this, vnlesse we distinguish these two one from the other. Cicero in his second booke *De oratore*, when he touched these matters, toucheth on this wise: The Grekes themselves wrote so in the beginning, as our Cario, Pictor, and Pilo did. For historie was nothing else, but a gathering together of things done from yeare to yeare: and for the preservation of such things in publicke memorie, the chief yeate did put euery yeare in writing, what euery was done worth the registering within that yeare; and to continue from the original of the Romane state, euen vnto Publius Murius, who bare the same office. Which being done, he not onlie did publish it abroad, but also did let it forth in a table at home, that the people might haue the perfect knowledge thereof. And, and manie of them (saith he) which are counted the chief historiographers at this date, followe much of their trade; who without any curiosities or eloquence, leaue the monuments of times, persons, places and things, euen simple as they were done. Wherefore as Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acuilas, and manie other among the Grekes, whi were our Cario, Pictor, and Pilo among vs, who haue small regard to let forth their matter with good words; and so it may be vnderstood what they saie, they account beuities a speciall paye of speaking.

And a little after, it followeth thus; The name

of things done, requireth order of time to be obserued, & will also haue the description of countreies. For in matters which be great and worthy of memorie, we first looke what counsell was taken; secondly the acts that were done; and lastlie, what end and successe came thereof. And in countreies is signified what the writer alloweth; and in the acts is declared, not onlie what was done and said, but also in what manner they were executed, &c. By the things we may perceiue what is the nature of Annales, or of histories. And it seemeth we may affirme, that the narrations of the holie scriptures be rather like the histories, than Annales. For not onlie acts are there let forth, as they were done, but also the vertue causes, counsels, and meanes are thewcd. Also the operations, admonitions, and reprehensions are as oftentimes let forth with some arguments. All which rather belong vnto histories, than vnto bare Chonicles.

21 But time we haue heard the opinion of Cicero, let vs see also, what Aulus Gellius saith, within his first booke, and fifth chapter touching on this sort. Some do thinke that a historie differeth from a Chonicle in this, that whereas both of them are a declaration of things that be done, yet that a historie is properlie of such things, as the writer himselfe is present at the execution of those things, which he treateth of, &c. This distinction he himselfe doth not followe, and that for some certaine cause. Which distinction neuertheless serueth the Grammarian vber; and after him Idorus, in his first booke of Etymologies: which is a marvell because he is not only against Tullie, who saith; that An historie is a gathering of things done from yeare to yeare; but also contrary to Virgil, whose verse is in the first of *Aeneides*: And ift please you to heare the Chronicles of our labours. Wherein he declareth, that Chonicles also belong to such things, as the writer was present at.

But I will speake againe of Gellius. He reporteth that there were others, which touch histories to be either the exposition or demonstration of things that haue bene done; and they be Annales or Chonicles, when the acts of manie yeeres are after ward compiled, an order of euery yeare being kept. According to which judgement, the historie of the scriptures cannot be named among Chonicles: seeing in the declaration of any things done in them, the countre of yeeres manie times is not obserued. Afterward the same Gellius, according to the mind of Semprouius Aelilio addeh this much; But the difference betwene those which would leaue Chonicles behind them, and others which indureth of discourse of the two; the acts of the Romans was this: In their Chonicles they onlie shewed what daies were done euery yeare, but the histories not onlie

onlie shewed what was done, but also how, by what order, deuise, and counsell the same was executed. And a little after, the same Aelilio in the same booke; Chonicles can neither moue the more courageous suit to defend the Common weale, nor yet the more cowardlie to do amisse. Wherefore, since by the knowledge of the scripture, men be admonished and stirred by to the right worshiping of God, to repentance of the sinne, to put their whole confidence in God; and finally, to take in hand all offices which appertaine to good life and conuersion, they rather containe historie than chonicle. I haue vberd manie words touching this matter, but I trust not without some fruit.

22 But it must not be thought, that historie was devised by man, seeing God himselfe is the author thereof; who would, that the forefathers should declare vnto their children and posteritie, the marvellous things that he did in Egypt, in the red sea, and in the wilderness; yea, and he was (as we read in Exodus) that the waare against Abimelech, & the victorie which the Israelites had of him, should be recorded in writing; but this kind of writing began before Moses. For euen he maketh mention, alittle of a booke of the waers of the Moabites, as also of an other booke of iust men. The prophets also oftentimes mingled histories with their propheties. I omit Dauid who manie times garnished his psalmes, which be song, with histories of the scriptures. I passe over our euangelists in the new testament, and the Acts written by Luke, wherein are large and most profitable histories. Whiche holies if God be author, as we must beleeue he is, euen God himselfe shall counte the author of historie. And this is not vnderstanding for him, seeing historie is an excellent thing: for as Cicero writeth in his booke *De oratore*, it is a testimonie of times, a light of the truth, the life of memorie, the master of life, and the messenger of antiquities, &c.

Verie singular are these commendations, and not fit for euery historie; but for such onlie, wherein those rules are obserued, which this author hath in the same place let downe; that is to wit, that there be no false thing told; that there be no busshanes in telling the truth; that there be giuen no suspicion of fauour or hatred. Wherein, although the Latine Historiographers were better than the Grekes; which (as Quintilian saith) were in these matters almost as lewd as the poets; yet Augustine in his 13. epistle to the Memorus a bishop, giuing no small praise to historie, among other liberal disciplines, and writing of the truth faith; that he could not perceiue how those stoies, which are compiled by men, can be so well able to keep the truth: seeing that writers are constrained to giue credit vnto

men, and attentions to gather rumours and reports of the multitude; who neuertheless are to be excused, if they keepe the course that is required in a historie, and to write nothing of affection or of purpose to beguile men. But there is nothing more true than the histories reuealed and written by the inspiration of God, as these histories of ours be.

23 Besides the commoditie of the truth, the knowledge whereof without doubt most excellent, we obtaine other commodities also, and those not small, by the reading of histories. By them we may gather great and abundant scope and matter of most profitable arguments. For (as Quintilian saith) histories and examples be indugements and testimonies. And the life of examples is of two sorts at the least; one is that we should imitate and be like: also that we should allow and commend those things which we perceiue haue bene done by excellent men. We knowe out of the diuine historie, that Abraham was a holie man, and in the fauour of God; and that he was a keeper of hospitalitie: whereof we may gather, that hospitalitie is a vertue good vertue, and is acceptable to God: and so we may conclude of the contrary; that such things as godly men haue egiuesed, we also are to take heed of. For when we consider of Dauid, that might two times haue killed Saule his chiefe enemy, and yet would not, we may gather thereby, that private persons (although they may) yet must not reuenge their owne proper injuries. The other use of examples is this, that out of manie things seuerallie told, we vnderstanding them to be alike, may gather thereby some profitable rule, to applie them to things generallie. As by the storie of the Sodomites, we note that intolerable sinns were grievously punished: we knowe that for the same cause the whole tribe of Benjamin was almost extinguisht: we read, that for incest, Ruben the eldest sonne of Iacob was put besides the inheritance: that for committing of adulterie, Dauid suffered the indignation of the Lord; that for fornication, Amnon and Absolon were destroyed: that Troie (as the Chonicles report) was subuerted for angrie. Thus by the marking of these things seuerallie told, we saie it is manifest, that all vniuallit and wanton lusts of men, are surelie punished by the hand of God. To which proposition, if we adde the next to that, that now also in these daies, throughout all christendome, there reigneth the like incest, abominations, and wanton life, we may make a certaine conclusion, that most bitter punishments hang ouer our age for these horrible sinnes.

24 But yet in this kind of argument we must take verie great heed of a fault which might easily arise: and that is commeth two kinde, first,

The histories of the scriptures most true.

The knowledge whereof without doubt most excellent, we obtaine other commodities also, and those not small, by the reading of histories.

One manner of use of examples.

Gen. 18. 2.

1 Sam. 24. 7. 1 Sam. 26. 7.

Out of the perfect vber on the 1. booke of Samuel, pag. 1. Gen. 19.

Iudg. 19. 20. Gen. 49. 4.

2 Sa. 13. 29. 2 Sam. 19. 9.





med, which make much ado about the losse of manie bookes, they as they in the meane time have not perused ouer those, which be now extant of the holie scriptures. And 3 am certeinlie persuaded, that it tendeth to the profit of the elect, that there haue so manie miscreants. Also there be certein monuments extant of ecclesiasticall writers, not verie whole, but as it were fragments of them; by the taste whereof wee may knowe, that the rest which be lost were not of such value, as the losse of them should be much lamented.

A kinge or prince as touching his own minde

Socrates or Pythagoras wrote nothing themselves

Plato in his dialogue Phædrus reproveth, that a Demoon, who (as 3 take it) was a wise man, came to Thamus king of Egypt, & offered him foure of his deuises, namely, number, geometrie, letters, and when he came to the commendation of letters, he declared that they were a great helpe to memory, and a singular furtherance to wisdome. The king examining his sayings, some part he allowed, and some he did not. And when he had considered of letters, he pronounced the contrarie of them: for letters (saith he) helpe not the memory, as thou bearest me in hand; but they rather confound the same. For when men haue once put in writing those things which they haue heard, or found out, they are no longer careful to ponder them in their mind, and to repeat them often to themselves: and if letters were not, they would often meditate those things which are found out and knowe, and would be baulke more and more ripe in them. Further, as touching the increase of wisdome, men will hereafter (saith he) despise their teachers, by turning themselves vnto written bookes; which being often read, do tell but one tale. This was the opinion of a king of Egypt; which in verie deed, 3 allow not. For 3 affirme, that books are of singular great profit, for else God would not haue bestowed the scriptures vpon men; yet that king seemed to see somewhat. For if there be not a mean betwixt reading of bookes, they may do hurt. This said of Socrates and Pythagoras, that they wrote nothing themselves; but that their scholars after them let forth some bookes in their names. No nor our Sauour Christ did not leave behind him any writing of his owne sayings; but his apostles did register his sermons, acts, and miracles. And as it is not said in the bible, that Salomon wrote these things, but that he spoke and disputed. Therefore it should seeme, that those things which be extant, and written in his name, were received from his mouth: which may well be perceived by the booke of the Iouernes. The cause why so manie of his sayings haue bene omitted, peradventure is; for that they which wrote the wordes from his mouth, did not thoughtlie marke all things. Besides this, so manie were the critics of the

Hebrewes, as it is a marvell that these scriptures, which we haue, were preserved; and these by Elders were reuised and amended. Therefore we must well and thankfullie vse them, as a heauenlie and diuine gift. And 3 am out of doubt, that the apostles gaue more epistles into the churches, than we haue in these daies. And 3 am thoughtlie persuaded, that those which are lost, be lost by the appointment of God. And Paul, and his epistles and stile, loke the preface vpon the epistle to the Romans.

The seventh Chapter.

Whether yong and incontinent men, and finallie anie other sort are to be excluded from hearing of the word of God.

**I** should seeme that Aristotle may say: for iust cause be blamed, when he would exclude a yong man from hearing of morall philosophy: for this he sayth; he will heare in vain, & without fruit, because he hath not experience: and that although he haue his right reason, yet is he overcome with lusts and affections, and to overcome, as he cannot do those things that he would: and therefore (he saith) that as his reason is overcome, so is this learning vnderstood of him overcome, & that since he is not able to produce the same into act, his laboꝝ in hearing will be fruitlesse. Wholoeit hercof is gathered an argument of the contrarie, to wit; that they by this facultie are verie greatly holpen, which do suffer their affections to be ruled by reason. Againie, it belongeth to those that be perfect men, to subdue the affections of their mind to reason: and yong and incontinent men, which haue most need of amendment, are not iudged meet for these things. When be plucked away from hearing, there will be no kind of men left, vnto whom these things will bring any commoditie. Wherevpon Aristotle shall haue auid to bid, but that this will become superfluous. Eufratus answereth, that there be some men, and those not a few, which are lead onlie by custome to become good; but they cannot proceed therein by an order and waie prescribed, seeing they are destitute of inflexible rules, which when they haue afterward procured to themselves by this doctrine, they are most of all established in iust and honest actions, not being now any more led by customs, but thoughtlie persuaded by a full assurance of their mind: and there be some, which of a certein natural inclination do lie from wickednes, and desire goodness; but howe those things do differ one from another, by what names they may,

of

That incontinent men may receive fruit by hearing of god doctrine.

That yong men may be profitable hearers.

A priefe of godward the first king of england.

of the good things, which without doubt are manifest, followe the better, they are ignorant by themselves: neither is there any doubt, but that they which be so framed, may thereby obtaine great helpes. And therefore we are not to thinke that the incontinent, and they which be subiect to their affections, shall (as we haue heard of Aristotle) be altogether vnpotestible hearers: for vntill they be whole without sense, they, when these things are set before them, will at the leastwise knowe, whether they are brought by their lusts, and will perceiue how far off they are now distant from the right course: & it cannot possibly be, but that some manner of waie they will be stirred by vnto better things; wherevpon they may by little and little both be healed and reape communitie; as we read that it happened at Athens to the most desperate yong man Polemon, when he had heard Xenocrates dispute manie things of temperance. Wherefore these things which are here spoken, must not be vnderstood without exception. For sometime there be yong men so framed by nature, and so amended onlie by discipline and education, that euen by this kind of learning they are able to profit much, as touching outward iustice and ciuill conseruation, which 3 thinke dooth most take place in them, which being instructed from their youth in the christian faith, do embrace godlines from their hart. And this, by a most manifest example did Edward the first king of England, I testifie, who withy out doubt being a yong man, was euen in his first age most prompt to the exercise of all vertue. The verie which thing also will happen to you, if ye followe the doctrine of the gospell with that indeuour which you haue begun. Wherefore Aristotle ment not to exclude all yong men vntill fullie; but this he did me regard, to put away the objections which might hurt the wiser things, or estimation of this facultie. And this he did, leaui if thou shalt see yong men trained vp in learning to become at any time nothing the better, thou shouldst ascribe that vnto the fault of this facultie, as though it were of no estimation, and serued to no vse: wherefore he laeth the fault in the want of age, because it is destitute of experience, and is troubled with perturbations of the mind. These, he saith, be the impediments, for which the proceedings of doctrine and appoynted fruits of the same haue no good successe. And neither was Aristotle alone of this mind, but Pindarus also, who saith; *καὶ πόρῳ οὐ γὰρ ἀνέστητο φῶς*, that is, Foresight wits or yong heads want experience: and Homer, *ἀνὰ πόδες νῆρῳ ἀποσάλας*, that is to saie, For yong folke are alwaies rash & vnstaid. Wherevnto Horace, pponouneth thus of a yong man, that,

Tenth vnto vice, like waxe is soon applyd,

And fierce to those that warning them do chide. And how wanton they committie care, & kindle in their affections, the Comedie giueth a most euident testimonie. Also the historians do declare, how Cicero was deceived in Octavianus; and how little, Aristotle himselfe could bring to passe towards the reformation of manners in Alexander of Macedonia, who being at times inflamed with exceeding great ambition, did most insolentlie beare himself in prosperous fortune, most foolishlie desired to be a god, and so gaue himselfe to wine, as being drunk he flue his most louing friends, and at the desire of an harlot brought the most noble, populous, & large citie Persepolis, which was the head citie of the kingdome, in such sort as it was vtterlie extinct. The like things both Plato in his dialog Gorgias speake, when he said, that There be two passages, wherby god studies do floure out of our mindes; namely Oblivion, and Incontinencie; for by Oblivion is taken away the skill, and experience which are gathered in the memory; and by the other, to wit Incontinencie, it comes to passe, that we giue no credit to those that admonish vs. But yong men doe loone forget those things that they haue once or twice seene and had experience of: wherefore they hardly get to themselves generall sentences and rules. For we cannot obtaine those, but by long and continual obseruation, which yong men cannot gather by a short time of their life, neither do they willingly giue credit to those that admonish them, because they are carried away by the blind swaie of their affections.

2 And saie not vnto me that yong men do protest, and haue in their mouth, and do heape in memory speciall and honest sentences of philosophy: for although they speake manie things trulie, yet do they not thinke as they speake; and sometime they perceiue & are moued vnto those things that be vttered, not much better than Iacobs do vnderstand mens wordes, which they are wont to prattle & yea & drunken and in temperate men do oftentimes tangle and tell a faire tale, where neuertheless, either they iudge the contrarie, or else they cannot tell what they speake: and hereafter, their speech is not according to their mind, but they haue one thing in their mind, and another in their hart: which is then most of all perceived, when they get libertie, & haue a full freedom of their choice. When albeit they were first modest & chaste, they becom their mind that lurked, and their nature that laie hidden. Who was a more commendable prince than Nero himselfe, in the first yere (of his reigne) while he was yet gouerned by the direction of Seneca? & who was there greater hope than of Commodus, who as he was of an excellent wit from his youth, so afterward he became a

How yong men behaue themselves in hearing of doctrine.

C.ii.

mon

monstrous craft: And do we not remember lo- as in the holic historie, which gouerned himselfe rightline in the beginning of this dominion, so long as he gouerned by the counsels of Iohada the faithfull high priest: whose authoritie when he as- terward beliesed, he became straitwaie corrupt, and by the libertie which he claimed to himselfe made manifest the shameful desires of his minde. But yet for all these reasons were neuer our foyes fathers lead, nor at this date are wise men lead: but that they bring their children, when they be come to young mens state, vnto philosophers to be instructed by their learning and wisdom. They send them also vnto lawyers, as they may be- uerstand those things which be iust and honest. And all this we learne out of Platos Arioms, and out of the philosophers liues, and we also obserue the custome of our times. Whiche was therefore so done in old time, and is also done at this date: for those youths which Aristotle here writeth of, haue not that sense, as though young men by this philosophie shall receiue no profit: but because they are not able to proceed so well forward as they can iudge in their mind what is here, so forth- ly to direct their actions according to vertue, and to proceed vnto themselves good and honest haunts of the mind: since these things require a mind fully perfected and trulle assenting there- vnto. And in perceiving of other faculties, it is enough if the iust be applied, which whosoener shall haue it but dull and blockish, shall not become full.

But in this our philosophic two things are to be performed; one, that the precepts should be vnderstood; the other, that they be put in practise. As touching that first, there is no let, but that young and intemperate men, which lue dissolu- te, may attaine vnto. For if they be able any thing prompt and witty, they will easilie vnderstand those things which be taught; but to expresse the precepts of this facultie in this life, they will not be brought, partly because they want experience, as Aristotle saith; and partly for that they are car- ried away with euill affections. Perhaps thou wilt demand what manner of experience it is, that we require of them which should be fit hearers? I will shew it by examples; namely, by abstin- ence to overcome lusts. Isp ballant and tempe- rate actions, if they be often practised, men at the length become ballant and temperate; so as without any graffe, yea rather with singular pleasure they exercise themselves in the duties belonging to these vertues. And to conclude, we must vnderstand, that there are two kinds of ends of this art; one that we vnderstand what is spoken; the other and that the chief & principall, that what we haue learned, we should performe: of which latter end, since Aristotle saith, that as well young as incontinent doe faile, therefore be

pronounced this kind of hearers to be unfit, if they be compared with others, which haue not subdued their affections & motions of their mind to the rule of reason. For these may not onlie vnderstand what is said, but are able also to iudge rightlie thereof: which as it is manifest, this phi- losopher did most respect, since all his whole rea- son leaneth to this principle, that young and in- continent men cannot rightlie iudge of these things. Also let vs distinguishingly markind, that some be found, and some be altogether incurable, and that there be others in a meane betwixen both; and they that be found, we thinke haue no need of these doctrines, since they be sanctified and lue perfectlie. The incurable and intemperate, and they which haue bitterlie giuen themselves to fil- thy pleasures, shall not be holpen, vntill they haue laid auaie this mind: but they which be in the meane, shall take great fruit hereby. Trulle this distinction is well to be liked; so neuertheless, as there be added thereto, as touching them whose recouerie is belaid of, that they must ne- uer be despaired of, but that good counsels and holcome admonitions may at one time or other doe them good. For as the power of physike is not onlie to maintain the health which is got- ten, and to finish that which is begun; but also to heale those that be destitute thereof: so admoni- tions and good doctrines, which be the medicines of the mind, haue power not onlie to retaine good habits, and to make perfect the vertues begun; but also to reduce to the health of mind those men which haue quite lost the same, especially if we passe not the bounds of ciuill iustice and outward conseruation.

4. Now remaينه, that we passe not ouer a ne- cessarie necessitie disputation, the same is, how it cometh to passe, that since Aristotle saith, that young and incontinent men are no fit hearers, he did not also reckon them which be inuolued with such a constitution, temperature, or nature, as they cannot be made better, and are altogether vnapt to receive vertues. And that such there be, Galen writeth in sundry places, and especially in the booke wherein he treateth of the mutuall consequence of the manners of the mind and tem- perature of the bodie, where he saith, that they which thinke that all men haue a mind apt vnto vertues; or on the other side, that there be none at all, doe measure mankind but by the one bal- le, neither haue they knowlege and perceiue the whole nature of man. For all men (saith he) are not by the complexion of their bodie bozne en- mities of vertue, neither do all men lue and de- sire the same by the power of their owne nature. Afterward he remoneth this sentence of defini- on of this by a certaine obiectio; for that we lue some so well allowed and praised for their ex- cellent vertues, and contrariwise others to be con- demned

The time: of men di- stinguished.

That men in punishing and rewarding, either men distinguish, or not whether things be done by nature or by industrie.

denmed and dispaised, because they be corrup- ted and infected with vices. Neither is it meet, that for those things which be naturallie within vs, we should either be commended or disap- sed. Yea, and the one sort, where a Common locale is well gouerned, are punished; and the other sort haue rewards giuen them. Here- vnto he saith, that this is the naturall iudge- ment of men, to allow, succour, helpe, & praise those things which be good, profitable and com- elie; howsoener they come, whether of nature, or of industrie; and those things which be euill, damnable, a full of shame, they dispaise, helpe vncom, and take away (so much as in them lieth) not regarding the cause from which they pro- ceed: which be indouerment to declare plainlie by examples. We kill spiders, aspes, and ad- ders; neither doe we first deliberate with our felices whether venom be naturallie planted in those things, or whether they got the same by their owne indouerment and will. Also we do loue & worship God, not weighing with our felices whether he hath attained to his owne goodnes by indouerment and his owne proper will; or whether the same haue bene graffed in him by na- ture from euersliding.

We might also adde, that beautiful bodies are had in admiration of all men, & are celebra- ted with singular praise, although that beautie hath come by nature: and gifts frellie giuen (as the Diuines speake) ought to be praised. And besides, this he seemeth to asseme, that will men are benighted and dispaised; and con- trariwise god men are allowed and praised; al- though it be not known for a certaintie, whether that naughtinesse or godlienes came to them by industrie, or by nature; or by any other means. And in this respect he blamed the Stoicks, for that they iudged that all men were by nature made apt vnto vertue; wherevnto though by nature and strength they be inclined, yet by the ill example of other men, by peruerse opi- nions, and by the talke and conseruation of cor- rupt men, they are reuelued from the same. But if it should be granted them, what I beseech you could they alledge concerning those first men; such as they cannot denie, but that now & then yea oftentimes there haue bene in the world: When as sundrie and certaine times ap- pointed they deemed that the world hath perished, either by the ouerflowing of waters, or by the con- suming of all things with fire; and that againe it hath bene reuelued. Whom I saie will they asseme to haue corrupted either with ill ex- amples, or ill doctrine, or with pleasures found out, or with corrupt intentions, these first men brought forth againe into light: & certaintie this reason is of force against the Stoicks. But against the Peripateticks and others, which thinke

Against the Stoicks which saie that men by nature are made vnto better, but are corrupted by other mens exam- ples.

Galeno opia- tion of that matter.

An obiectio- on that ver- tues and vi- ces are not in men by nature.

that the world neuer began, they vse in verie bad another kind of argument; & that is; that the case there be certaine brethren which are begotten of the selfe-same parents, which vse the selfe-same meate, lue all vnder one schole- maister, and haue no conseruation with stran- gers; who (I beseech you) shall be assigned the author, that some be of corrupt and lewd ma- ners, and that others do continuallie shew an honest & chaste disposition: And if we will grant that; shall for the most part happeneth, we will asseme, that there be verie few to chulden, yea in a finer none at all, that of nature haue a dis- position inclined to vertue; as those which must continuallie be stirred by thereto by theats chastisements, and admonitions of schole- maisters. For immediatlie, euen in their first age, either they be to fearefull, or else more bold than is meet, insatiable, sluggish, wanton, frow- angrie, and eniuous. Therefore it is a mar- uell how the Stoicks can therein offer their opinion, namelie, that All men are by nature apt to re- ceive vertue.

4. And no lesse likelie things to be true, do they thinke they speake, which haue asseme, that Spunkind is so badone abate, that it can- not proceed in the swift course to vertue, by rea- son of the pleasure that riseth vnto it. For they which lo saie, that Posidonius notable re- spondeth, who asseme, that we from our first conception haue certaine sparks, which kinde- us by vnto vices; wherefore it comes to passe, that we cannot beare of our felices, but that we be inwardlie vicious; when as notwithstanding we may prouide that such ill feed and vici- ous sparks shall not breake forth into open vice- hednesse, and increase so far as they can be no more restrained. And finally, by the iudgment of these men, the euill is far greater and more greivous, that we in our felices doe beare about vs, than that which by outward contagion is procured. And as they grant, that a wicked custom, when it happens, maketh vs wicked; and that a good deale worse than we were before by nature. But as touching the power wherewith by we vnderstand, this they teach: first, that it may be, that by schoolmaisters, or by wise men, or by vnderstanding men, we may perceive true or false opinions: but the shapenes of wit, softnes- nesse, blockishnesse, and such like, which belong to the vnderstanding, we obtaine according to the qualitie of the temperature, which lue in our mothers wombe do take, euent of the substance wherof we are begotten; thereto afterward do come manie and maruellous increases, all well by means of the meate, which do hieue god or euill; vices, as of the qualities of the aire, and sundrie chances that do happen. And there- he citeth Aristotle, who treating of the parts of

Against the Stoicks which saie that men by nature are made vnto better, but are corrupted by other mens exam- ples.

What na- ture and endow- is able to do vnto men and vices.

Young mens faults must be no cause to keepe them from hearing holcome doctrine.

That kind of experience is requi- sit of them that should be meet hear- ers.

Two ends of them that be hearers of good doctrine.

living creatures, saith that men do also followe the completion of their mother. And in the first booke of the hystorie that he wryteth of living creatures, he affirmeth, that the propotion of the instrumental parts are made correspondent to the maners of the mind, and that therefore those parts being well conserved, manie things as touching the maners and inward affections may be thowm by them that are skillfull in the art of physiognomie. These be the arguments for the which Aristotle in his first booke of Ethics may seeme not to have spoken circumspetive; that those which in nature are pcorreated *Allegro* that is, with an ill temperature of the bodie, he said would not become fit hearers of this doctrine. Whobeyt we will offer this manner defend him, that although the greater part of men, yea in a manner all of vs come into the world infected with the sparks of vices and lusts, yone unto sickness and wickedness; yet that these things are not so strong and firme, but that either they may be utterly overcome, or at the least wisely qualified and mitigated; whereby either men, as touching mo:all vertues and outward conversation, may become excellent; or at the least wisely be lesse molested with these euill affections. And because while they lacke experience of things of the mind, as in young men it happeneth; and that with the violence of a disturbed mind, some are plucked auaie, and are subiect to incontinencie; it is impossible they should be adorned with vertues, and performe in deed those things which in this facultie they haue heard: therefore I saie did Aristotle pronounce, that young and incontinent men would not become meete hearers.

But in so much as men of ripe age may profit much, although by the violence of ill humors and by nature they be stirred vp unto vices; therefore doth not the philosopher remoue them from the number of those that should be hearers: for that which is wanting to nature, we may supply by our diligence and studie, so as provocations and ill motions may be restrained and kept under. Neither to the obtaining of vertues is it required, that we should altogether put off those ingrafted euils; onely it is required vs, that (as much as in vs lieth) we should inuencure our felices to the weakening of them: which if by diligence and exercise we shall performe, the possession of vertues shall not be hindered; wisely because we are neuer able to challenge, vnlesse there come an experience of things which is necessarie, and vnlesse there be a helpe of the weaknes of reason, therewith incontinent men are troubled; therefore doth Aristotle in a manner releaue those hearers, and thought that of these there should be no mention made. And he himselfe vnto that which Galen

obiected, would haue answered somewhat otherwise, as touching praise and dispraise. For he would haue said, that the louers of vertues are therefore praised, not because they are led thereunto by the force of nature; but because they haue striven against the ill inclination thereof, and in that fight haue had an excellent victorie; and on the other side, that the wicked are dispraised, because they being overcome and made weak by the power of naturall violence, are thereby dyane to suffer shameful things.

Neither was Galen against this opinion, though at the first sight he may seeme to mislike the same. For in his little booke which treateth of the knowling & curing the affects of the mind, he testifieth, that so man ought to be discoraged from the inuencure of making himselfe better; yea, although he were these foure yeres of age. And moreover he saith, that if anie man certeinly knowe, that he could neuer obtaine wisdom; yet should he at the least inuencure this, to wit, that he haue not a mind utterly deformed, as the bodie of Theristes was to be cured, although otherwise it were most ill fauored. But and if it happen, that we be not able with excellent and most wise men to occupy the first places; yet this neuertheless must we inuencure, that we may be receiued into the second, third, or fourth places. And he aduise vs by what means and by what reason this may be done; saing, that by reason, and by earnest exercise whosoever will, may obtaine it. And to encourage mens minds, he saith; Thou labourst verie much to become a Grammarian, and refusedst no paines to become an excellent Orator; art thou then dost thou not suffer thy selfe to be made a good man? Then in the same booke he comparcth this diligence of obtaining a good life, with the industrie which husbandmen vset about plants. I grant indeed (saith he) that a husbandman cannot by his labour and industrie change a byamble, and take auaie his nature, or to make it beare fruit; but yet vines within their owne nature are ordained to beare fruits; if they be neglected, if they be left onely to the government and fertilitye of the soyle, they will beare either tooke fruit, or in a manner none at all: even so good wits, though they be otherwise capable of good maners, if they shall want their tith, do none become either wicked or foolish. But although that in young men this exercise of moderating their affections from their tender age, may seeme a difficult thing; yet in proceesse of time the paines will be lessened: for by these laudable exercises, reason will be more confirmed, which being made strong, it will be better able of the inferior powers of the mind.

And from these things doth not Plutarch disagree, who wryting of the increase of good maners

why vertues are to be praised, and vices to be dispraised.

We must inuencure to become better although we cannot attaine to perfection.

Plutarch opinion of this mat.

what difficult is.

An objection of Plutarch that vertues cannot be taught.

ners doth also confesse, that there is lesse in our minds a certein infinite & vnreplicable naughtines, which neuertheless by exercise thereunto may be increased, and by some forsaking of it be diminished. And the same Plutarch treating of the education of children saith; There are three things required to the making of a man perfect, nature, discipline, and exercise. What thou must understand by nature, it hath bene alreadye described; a temperature (I saie) of the bodie, and a naturall inclination. And there needs no labour to expound what is exercise; the doubt onely seemes to be as touching discipline. Therefore we saie, that the same is a certein facultie, which applyeth the actions and choise of men vnto reason, and thus it togeth by doctrine, corrections, admonitions, and (when need shall require) by punishments. And whatsoever of these things anie man wanteth, he cannot be made perfect as touching ciuill maners and vertues. Vnto this his doctrine he comparcth husbandrie, vnto the good exercise wherof is required a fertile soile, capable, a painefull and conuenient husbanding of the ground; lastlie, god and profitable seed; and if anie of these three things be wanting, we faile of the fruits that we looke for. Vnto nature answereth the soile, vnto discipline the tith, and the seed vnto exercise. And if the drops of water by a continuall fall doe make stones hollowe; if iron & brasse, be they neuer so hard, be twine with fire; so are bodies by sloth and sluggishnes made feeble, and feeble bodies by holisme diet a iust exercise brought to an incredible strength. A barren land well husbanded is not utterly without fruit, and a fertile soile neglected wretched wild, and bringeth forth thornes and weeds both hurtfull and vnprofitable. Also the most fierce wild beasts, by many labors and industrie are made tame: yea and the beasts, which in their owne nature may be mild and tractable, if they be let alone, be to become wild, as we see it cometh to passe in hoxles and bules.

But what shall I saie more? Did not the two whelpes committing both of one dam and fire, which I ycurgus brought forth into the open assembly of the Lacedemonians declare by their running vnto things most contrarie, what the diuerstie of education is able to doe? But what shall we say vnto Plato in his Protagoras, who seemeth there to asseure that vertues cannot be taught? For Pericles (saith he) and other excellent men, although they caused their children to be instructed in learning musicke, and such like good arts, wherein their children did greatly profit, yet did they not make them to be aduised with vertues, which vnderstande we must beleue, that they would haue better most, if they could haue obtained the same by learning; & industrie. Whereupon it seemes to be p:uoc, that there be some

of nature so enclined from vertues, as they are not able to attaine vnto them; and that others shall labour in vaine, when they inuencure to traine them vp to vertue. Whobeyt, this also doth nothing at all weaken those things which we determine, because either their parents laboured not so much as they should in bringing of them up, or else if they did vse sufficient diligence, and that the nature of the children, by reason of the temperature of their bodie was not giuent to vertues, yet did they by their labors and industrie bring forth what to passe. For although, if they should be compared with the christ, perfect, & most absolute citizens, they might seeme to be vterly destitute of vertue; yet neuertheless being compared with rude and savage men, which are altogether trained by without discipline, they might be counted euill, gentle, and aduanced with some few of vertues. Wherefore we conclude, that inuencure, discipline, and studie are not altogether in vaine, euen as touching them which by naturall inclination be enclined vnto vertues.

6. Now let vs see how those things, which Aristotle hath said, doe agree or disagree with the holic scriptures. Among and incontinent men in the holic scriptures are not excepted; neither be anie remoued from hearing the word of God, in this respect, that they be as yet disquieted and overcome with troubles of the mind; neither for this cause, that they want experience, and the vse of things. Thou must see that Publicans, and barlots, and also theues were admitted by Christ vnto his discipline; and that not onely young men, but young children were called. And we might alleage manie out of histories, which before time hauing liued shamefull and most wickedly, were straightwaie so reformed and amended by the doctrine of Christ, as afterward they not onely attained to a singular innocencie of life; but also with an incredible fortitude did suffer themselves to be put to death with great toiments, least they should violate the decrees of our faith, and the goodlines which they had attained vnto, when as there was both belueuance and great rewards offered them, if they would haue forsaken their determination. And we see, that not onely men haue fallen into this kind of conflict; but we are not ignorant that women being otherwise well weake, yea boies & girls haue with great courage endured these things.

Neither let anie man saie, that those which sinne against the holic Christ take no profit at all by the word of God, and that it may therefore seeme that they should be distant from hearing of the same. We grant indeed, that they which to sin, do heare the word of God in vaine; whobeyt, since those can by no vniuall means be

Now these things are said with the holic scriptures.

Matt. 23. 17. and 19. 17. Matt. 19. 14.

Whither sinners are said to be reformed from bearing the word of God.

Lam. 1. 17.  
1. Cor. 1. 18.

Excommunicate persons are not excluded from hearing the word of God.  
Wherein the word of God, and the philosophers differ.

known from others, they are not excluded. God verie well knoweth who they be which are wrapped in this kind of sinne, but men seeing they know not, who are by nature fallen into so great a wickedness, may not remove them from the holie doctrine. It is requisite (no doubt) that those which are sinners against the holie Ghost, be not such as fall by ignorance, or infirmitie, but that they be such as are led thereunto by a hatred of the truth to strive against the same, for that willinglie and wittinglie they oppose themselves against the truth, resist it, and to the uttermost of their power hinder the course thereof; which neither the holie will knowe to be the truth. How are men able to understand this thing, seeing they cannot attaine to the secrettes of anie mans mind and will? Wherefore those which be thus ill affected, doe heare the word of God without fruit; although they be not excluded from the hearing thereof; even for this cause, that they cannot be perceived: howbeit, that which they heare, doth increase their greater condemnation. For of such force is the word of God, as either it sweeth the hearers, or becomes a curse to destruction unto them. And so great hath both the church sake, that it directly not avoide anie from the word of God; it admitteth thereunto even those which be excommunicate, and them which do not yet beleve, whom otherwise it directh both from the sacraments and from publicke prayers. Perhaps thou wilt demand: How cometh this difference betwene the word of God, and the doctrine of the philosophers? Whereof assuredlie it cometh, that mens sciencings, although they be famous and commendable; yet are they not indurc with that strength and power, as they be able to change or correct impossible and corrupt minds. But the power and strength of the word of God, to call men unto God, is incredible. Not as though evn those things which the philosophers also taught; as yet in writing, be without their strength. For we be nie not that most anie common saying, wherein it is said, that Whatsoever is true, of what avayt soever it was spoken, proceedeth from the holie Ghost. But those things, which be spoken by the motion of the holie Ghost, cannot be altogether void of some effect, although it be of much lesse effect than the dehementie, wherein the holie Scriptures are furnished. Who will denie that the common sort of stones are adorned with their owne strength and proper power, and the same not burisoffable to our life, although they may not be compared with the strength of precious stones?

unto which the holie scriptures must not be impared.

But I returne to the matter. I find onlie one kind of men, unto whom the holie doctrine must not be impared; and they be such as deride and openlie slander the doctrine of Christ. For be

commended his apostles, that they should not commit the heauenlie doctrine to dogs & hogs; which in verie deed must be understood of contempt and outward derision; that is, when with flanders and contumelies they raile upon true godlines. Which if they do scetrelle to themselves, so that they will heare quietly, and will suffer themselves to be admonished and taught, they must not be put backe from hearing the same. Neither must publike preaching be left off for their sakes, which are open scoffers, railers, & reprochfull persons, when such cannot be driven awaie, because perhaps they be over mightie; left for one or two mens causes the whole people should be defrauded of the food of their soules. For so therefore that onlie these are to be removed from the holie doctrine, from whence other men, of what condition soever they be, must not be forbidden; naye rather they must be exhorted to come verie often thereunto. Those things, which I have spoken, belong to the usual and received ordinance of the church, since I knowe that the spirit hath sometime forbidden the apostles, and may now restrain some, that they preach not in some places to those, to whom otherwise they had determined to preach; which because it is a worke of God, not of men; therefore it trusteth not to this purpose.

### The eight Chapter.

Of Lots, whereby Gods counsell was asked: and first of Vrim and Thumim; which were so called, of charitie and perfection.



AN olde expoyter of the scriptures, called Kimhi, upon the twentieth chapter of the booke of Judges, verie the 26, noted manie things, not impossible for the understanding of other places of the scripture by questions and oacles. He saith, That it was the manner among the Hebrewes, to aske questions of God: and he that would demand anie thing, touching either publike or weightie matters, he came to the priests, who being appalled with his Ephod garment, stood before the arke of the Lord. And upon his Ephod were set twelue precious stones, wherein the names of the twelue tribes were ingrauen, together with the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and also all the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. It behooved him that asked a question, to turne his face towards the priest; and his speech should neither be so loud, as he might plainlie

out of the booke of Judges, 20. 27. the manner of giuing out oracles by vrim and thumim.

Look 3n Judg. 1. 1.

1 Sam. 1. 13

In 1 Sam. 10. per 19.

Saul was chosen be lots, the cause of losing.

Num. 16. 1.

Num. 27. 15

be heard; nor yet so lowe, as if he had onlie praised with his inward cogitations; but even in such wise, as Anna praised in the first booke of Samuel, where it is said, that She onlie moued hir lips, & said nothing that might be heard. After this, the oacle was shewed to the priest in this manner. By the power of the holie Ghost, certaine letters appeared forth, as thined upon the breast, wherein the priest did read the oacle of will of God. And this was that Vrim and Thumim, which is spoken of. These be the words of Kimhi. But what credit should be giuen unto him, I knowe not. For it might be, that the spirit of God gaue out his pleasure by the mouth of the priest, with out those letters.

2 Concerning lots, we haue an example in the first of Samuel, the 10. verie; for there Samuel telleth that all the people should stand by tribes. He himselfe should pronounce nothing, least the thing should seeme to be done by his owne appointment: therefore God pronounced Saule to be king, doubtlesse not though his owne merit, but for the people sake, least they should strive among themselves for the choosing of him. The matter was permitted unto lots, to the intent that dissension might be auoided. For if Samuel had chosen the king upon his owne liking, they might haue thought him to be led by fauour & affection. Again, if the voices of the people should haue taken place, no doubt but euery one would haue favoured his owne tribe: and being so manie tribes as there were, they would haue agreed all vpon one man. And whereas Saule was of the least tribe, of lowest degree, & of base parentage; if he should haue bene chosen by anie other means, the matter might haue bene greatlie troubled of all sorts. Core, Dathan, Abiram, and others of their felowes, stirred by sedition against Moses and Aaron; because they supposed them to haue abused the principallitie and priestshood by fraud and collusion.

Summe waies were the lots in old time. Kimhi thinketh, that all the people stood before the Lord; for in deliberation and counsell of great matters, it behooved the magistrature or prince to stand before the high priest. So we see in the booke of Iudith, that when Iofia was appointed to be captain of the people, he stood before Eleazar, and the priest used to make answere through Vrim and Thumim. So doth Kimhi thinke that Samuel stood before the high priest, and received the oacle of Vrim and Thumim; that is to saie, by those letters which were ingrauen in the precious stones of the Ephod. He saith moreover, that the arke perhaps was brought thither: howbeit these things be vncertaine. For there is here no mention made, either of the priest, or yet of the arke. Rab Shelomo thinketh, that such was the manner of lots, as that the names of euery of the

tribes were written in severall scrolls; which being throwne into a pot, were afterward drawn by the chiefe priest. It maketh for Kimhi, that there is no mention made of lots. Shelomo followeth the common opinion, which is, by lots the priestshood was appointed; by lots Ionathas were found out; and by lots Matthias was taken into the apostleship; as we read in the first of the Acts. Wherefore seeing lots were in such sort used, commonlie among the Iewes, it should appeare that Shelomo did not thinke amisse, in saying that Saule was chosen by lots.

And whereas Kimhi saith, that the high priest, the arke of the Lord, and the Ephod were present; me thinketh it is not agreeable to truth; for the arke at that time was in Kiriaharam. And if so be that the Ephod were there, yet it followeth not of necessity, that therefore the arke was also there; for we may see how often those things were a lumner. For when Dauid fled to Ceila, he had Abiah the priest to put on the Ephod, and yet the arke was not carried with him in that flight. The same thing was afterward done in Seiege, when as yet the arke was present with him. But thou wilt saie that in the text, lots are not named: I grant; but yet there is another word there of the same signification. For *Lachad* significth, To get, to laie hold on, and to attaine by coniecture.

3 But what lots those were I knowe not; for (as I said) there were manie kinds of lots. Cicero in his booke *De diuinatione* saith, that *Uerem* one *Numerus Sufficiens* had cut in funder a flint stone, the lots made in an ole leape out; & that at the same time an Olive tree bid sweate honie; and that therefore a little cypress was made of the same tree, into which the lots were cast: these were called *Premetina* lots, which were verie famous in times past. In *Plautus* we read of lots made of firre and poplar trees, which were cast into a vessel of water; and according as thier lot arose, first or last from the bottom, so the matter was decreed. *Paulianus* saith, that lots were wont to be done out of a pot made of claye; and that one *Crepion*, in the diuision that was made of *Peloponnesus*, to handle the matter that the field of *Milena* might fall out to his share, he corrupted the priest *Temenus*; for he drew others lots by the sun, but *Crepions* by the ster; and therefore *Crepions* lots being longer, before they were made wet, he obtained the field of *Milena*. *Darius* the king of *Peria*, in *dean* of lots, used the weighing of a boole. And some haue observed the first arising of the sun.

Look 1n Judg. 20. 8. Spake the words of lots as among the Iewes. 1. Sam. 30. 4. 1. Par. 23. 6. 1. Sam. 14. 4. 1. Sam. 1. 7. Acts. 1. 26.

1. Sam. 30. 4.

many kinds of lots.

what is to be lots. To a life lots is nothing else, but to do something, though which we may come by the knowledge of a thing that we know not.

There kinds of lots. But all kinds of lots may be reduced to these lots. For either we doubt to whom a thing should be adjudged, as in the division that is made of fields and possessions; or doubt what is to be done; and such be called consulting lots: or else we would faine know, what should come to passe; and this is called divination by lots.

Upon what principle lots depend. For, to say that they be ordered by fortune; that were a vaine thing: by duels, that is superstitious; by heaven, and the stars; that is plaine ridiculous: wherefore they are ruled by God. For (as faith)

Pro.16.33. Salomon) Lots are put into the bolome, but they are tempered by the Lord. And Augustine upon the 30. psalme sheweth, that lots are nothing else but a signifying of Gods will, when man standeth in doubt. And digressing from hence, he faith, that predetermination and grace may be called lots; because they depend not upon our merits, but upon the mercies of God. For with God, predetermination is eternal and certaine, though it seeme to come to passe by lots. And to Honoratus he faith, that in a great perfection, all ministers ought not to sit alone; nor yet all abandon themselves unto perill; but those must be retained, which shall be sufficient for the present use; and the rest to be sent awaie, that they may be reserved till a better season. But here what manner of choosing shall be had? Those must be retained (saith he) whom thou shalt thinke to be the more profitable, and better for the people which remaine. But if all shall be alike, and all shall fate, that they would rare and die; thou shalt he the matter must be committed unto lots. And in his booke De doctrina christiana, he faith, if there happen to meet with thee two poore men, whose need presentlie is alike, and thou hast not then wherewith to helpe them both; but one thou canst helpe, there is no better waie than to deale by lots.

4. But we must beware, that we come not to the trial of lots to unadvisedly. For we must first see other meanes and gifts of God; name-ly, the spirit, the word, reason, and discretion; and not to deale by lots, except when necessitie shall require. And it is to be counted necessitie, whensoever any thing happeneth, that may tend to the glorie of God, and to the edifying of his church, which thou canst not reach unto by means withoute: or if thou canst, yet not without incurring of enue and suspicion: and so be they then divide betweene them the inheritances. And the Romans, in times past, used to decide controuersies by casting of lots. Secondly,

we must beware, that nothing be done rashly: for we must come unto lots with great reuerence and religion. Thirdly, we must avoid superstition. Fourthly, there must be no fraud nor deceit. Fifthly, about lots we must not use the gospell, or word of God. But because we cannot easilie beware of all these things, Ierom upon the prophet Ionas, denieth that it is lawfull in any wise to use lots. Doubteit, there be some which consider his meaning to be onlie of superstitious lots: but he plainelie condemneth all, and faith, that whatsoever is read in the holie scriptures as touching lots, must not be diuine to an example; and yet the opinion of Augustine was otherwise, (as I said before). And there is no danger wher we should come to tempt God; for it is he that ordereth the lots. But thou wilt saie, The Israelites had an oracle and Caph, therefore what need had they of lots? And doest they had so; and so had they Samuel for their prophet, who willed them in the name of God to cast lots.

Reda upon the Acts faith, that The election of Matthias into the apostleship by lots, must not be laid hold on for an example. For he faith, that as yet they had not receiued the holie ghost; which when they had receiued, they vied no more lots in the choosing of beacons. Nevertheless, I doubt not, but that both lots of election were appoynted, and holie alike. And although they had not as yet receiued the gifts of the holie Ghost, yet in their hearts they had him. For heere take they lots in hand, till they had first tried all other ordinate meanes; for they saue that there were two men of equal goodlines, iudgement, and worthines, wher by no danger might insue vpon the choice of anye of them. But in ap- pointing of beacons, there was no need of lots; seuen were brought forth, and they did choose them all. But it is to be that some part onlie of that number should haue bene chosen, I doubt not, but they might haue chosen them by lots. But this in the example of Samuel must be followed: they, while lots were casting, praised the Lord, And Samuel faith, that the people stood before the Lord, that is, they reuerentlie expected what the Lord would appoynt. And we must note, that in the text it is written: They still asked the Lord, when as yet they had not found Saule. He saie, (hill): for they had first asked the Lord by way of lots, but were rebuffed of Samuel, both to the intent they might repent, and that they might stand deuoutlie before the Lord: which to do accordingly, they asked the Lord by prayer. But when they sought whether Saule was come, they tried not that by lots: for how could they haue found him out by lots, who was hidden among the cartages? But at the prayer of Samuel, God shewed where he was. And here is to be noted

the wonderfull faith of Samuel, who knowing a miracle, that God had appoynted Saule to be king, yet doubted not to commit the matter by lots. An other perhaps would haue said; It shall not be so, perhaps the lots will fall out otherwise, and so will exclude this man.

Of fore speaking or foretelling; called Omen. Ionathas, in the first booke of Samuel the 14. chapter, verse the 19, desired to haue a signe of token to be shewed him of the Lord; and the Hebrewes interpret this vsage of token to be on this sort. If they had said; Let vs come vnto you, that would haue bene a signe of mind, both valiant and ready to fight: but contrariwise, if they had said; Come ye vnto vs, that would haue bene a signe, that they were already discouraged, and faint hearted. And Ben Gerson saith, that The beginning of persecutions comes from conquerours. Doubteit this is onlie a coniecture: for sometime it happeneth otherwise. But this is no new kind of understanding the will of God. For so in the booke of Genesis, Eleazar the seruant of Abraham made this to be his signe; The maid which shall faie to me; Drink thou, and afterwards I will giue thy camels to drinke: the same is she, whom the Lord hath assigned to be the wife of my masters sonne. The Philistines also decreed with themselves, that if the carke should be carried by wild and vntrained cattle, directlie to the Jewes, they would take that as a signe of euill sent by God: but if it happened otherwise, they would impute it but to fortune and chance. And this is to alie a signe, euen that a mans faith may be confirmed. But what faith do I meanes? For the faith of Moses late, or the truth of the prophets; for that hath bene sufficientlie confirmed before: but there is sometime a certaine particular faith of some thing not expected in the word of God; and therein confirmation by signes is often requisite. This we he happened in the birth of Gedeon; for he doubted not, but that God would deliuer his people from their enemies; but he knew not that he himselfe should be the deliuerer: wherefore he was to be confirmed by miracle. That Melchias would come, all men were sufficientlie perswaded; but that Marie the virgin should be his mother, that God had no speciallie promised: hereupon a signe was requisite to be had; Behold Elizabeth thy cousin hath in hir old age conceived. Wherefore miracles are otherwise of force to confirme the faith, be in general or particular. And none ought to thinke, that Ionathas did tempt God, in ap- pointing such a signe vnto himselfe. For to tempt God, is to make a trial of his power, willedome,

Reda. 16. The example of lots in Agathie as must not be followed.

Gen. 24. 16.

Gen. 24. 16.

1 Sam. 6. 9.

what manner of faith is to be confirmed by signes.

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and will; and that, when there is no necessitie of the case. Wherein the offense is double; first, because faith is wanting: secondly, for that it is done curiously; when as neither necessitie, nor any profit doth require.

Augustine in his booke of confessions, the 36. chapter, hath these words; When signes (saith he) are craued, not for saluation sake; but to make a passe of trial, God is tempted. And in his booke De vera religione, the 38. chapter, he faith, that There was no cause, why Christ should call him selfe downe hedlong from the pinnacle of the temple, except for trial sake, which had ben to tempt God. But it fared not thus with Ionathas; for first, he wanted not faith; secondly, he was led through necessitie, and great profit; name-ly, that he might vnderstand the will of God: he beleued that all those things were ruled by his mightie power, and that the tongues reek of vngodlike men were stirred by to please by him. And therefore it followeth, that The Philistines voice was heard, as an oracle of God. For the government of God is not restrained to the elect onlie; but the affections, falings, and doings euen of wicked men, are directed by him, to serue his glorie. Doubtes the Aegyptians were naughtie people; yet God willed their goodwill towards the Jewes, at their departure out of Aegypt; so as they were content to lend them both garments, plate, and iewels, as well gold as silver. God turned the hart of Absolom, that he should not barren vnto the most craftie counsell of Achitophel. God stirred by Roboam, that he should not hearken vnto the counsell of the wife and sage men. For (as Salomon faith) The bares of kings are in the hand of God. To conclude, all our affections, thoughts, and speeches are directed by his power: wherein, if Ionathas had not perswaded himselfe, how could he haue sought to take a signe at the mouthes of wicked men? Certain-ly others knowe not to what end God wold direct the falings and doings of men: Ionathas did vnderstand it by the inspiration of God.

6. This is not that kind of diuination, which the scripture forbiddeth, when it is commaunded; Let there be no soothsayers among you. Ierom faith, that the word (diuination) in the holie scripture, is alwaies taken in the worse part. For whereas men be ouer greedy to knowe things to come, therefore manie games and illusions are mingled betwixt them. But seeing that things to come do depend vpon certeine and necessarie causes; therefore they appertaine not vnto that kind of diuination which is forbidden. For the eclipse of the moone and sunne; and the tractation, oppositions; and meeting together of stars is knowne to learned men, how they shall be manie pierce to come, by reason of the certintie of causes going before. Also things that common-

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after chap. 8. art. 117. 1102 and part. 1. 4. art. 12.

Exod. 13. 36. 1 Sam. 17. 14. 1 Kin. 21. 15. 1 Sam. 17. 14. 1 Kin. 21. 15. 1 Sam. 17. 14.

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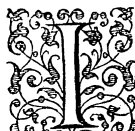
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# The ninth Chapter.

Of Miracles; and what power they be of to establish faith and doctrine.



**I**n miracles two things are specialle to be considered; first, what miracles are; and secondly, how much, and in what sort it is lawful to aske them. As touching the first, the Hebrew word is *Pala*, or *Nipha*: from whence are derived the nouns *Niphlaoh*, or *Nipheah*. By which words are noted Things secret from others, by reason of their wondrousness and excellency: Separated (I mean) and wonderful. The *Crete* ans call it *Doxias*, of this verbe *Doxale*; which is, To marvell. The Latins call them *Miracula*, that is Miracles; because they are worthy of admiration. They call them also *Prodigia*, *Mentis*, or *Portenta*; that is Things prodigious, monstrous, or that are feldome seene: to let vs understand, that by these things God ment to shew, that some that should come to passe, or be done, above hope, or expectation, contrary to the common order of things. Wherefore, seeing that miracles are done beyond the nature of things, they cause admiration. And certeinly, there are verie many miracles, which are made famous by wryters: as the temple of Diana in Ephesus; the tombe of Artemisia Quene of Caria; the huge image of the sunne at Rhodes; the walls of Babylon, a great manie other such things. Wherefore Augustine in his 16. chapter against the epistle to the Manichees, wrote verie wisely; I call a miracle whatsoever appereth to be hard & vnusall, above the hope or reach of the wonderer. Out of which words may be gathered a certeine large description of miracles. And since it is said, that a miracle appereth; they may iustly be charged, which feigne fraudulent fantation, & will haue it to be a miracle, which cannot be confirmed by the holie scriptures; and seeing it appereth not, or is fene, it might not to be called a miracle.

2 After this general and large description, let vs adde, that of miracles some be true, and some be false: and false miracles are said to be those, which either be not that, which they appere to be; or if they be, yet are they not done by any supernaturall power, but by the power of nature, although it be secret. And this may the angels, either good or bad, doo by the manner of waies. For sometime they apply the powers of nature, which are thoughtle knowen, vnto some man

1. By applying of matter with the cause efficient.

Augustine.

2. By stirring up of blood and humors.

3. By the fashioning of aire bodies.

4. By definition of true miracles.

The matter. The forme. The efficient cause. The end.

ter or substance: by which joining together of matter with causes efficient, effects do followe; and that in a manner vpon the sudden, whereat the beholders cannot but wonder. The diuels knowe, that of things putrified, are ingendered frogs, toadmes, and some sort of serpents; so that heate in certeine degrees be adde thereto. Wherefore seeing it is not hard for them to compile these things together, they do so sometimes, to the intent they may deceiue men. And by this means Augustine thought (as he hath written in his third booke *De trinitate*) that the forceers of Pharo did the same thing which Moses did. Whereouer, the stirring up of spirits, of humors, & blood in men, doo verie much annoy the bodies of men; whereby the horrible figures, images, & likenesses of things, which be kept in them, are moued before the phantasie & imagination, and in such order, as the trouble of the spirit doth knit them; whereof arse liuidre & manifold signes or visions: which thing we see otherwise in phrenzthe folke. And the matter may be brought to such a passe, as the shapen and images, which are kept within, may be reuoked to the outward senses, whereby they that suffer such things, doth thinke that he seeth and feeleth those things, which are conuerfant in his imagination or phantasie; when as in verie deed there is no such thing outwardly done.

Wholbeit, these kind of miracles may be rather counted among the number of illusions, than of miracles. Also it cometh to passe, that these spirits by their power, do fashion certeine bodies; sometimes of the aire, or other elements, so as they may seme altogether like vnto mens bodies, and vnder them they appere to whom sooner it liketh them. So came they sometimes vnto Abraham, Lot, and other of the fathers. These things (if we speake properly and plainelie) are not verie miracles, but in our reason and iudgement there is no let but they may be so called; yea and communike iuglers are said to doo miracles, when as neuertheles they play onlie by the nimbleness of the hands; or else when by a certeine power of naturall things, they present wonders to the beholders eyes.

3 But of true miracles this is the definition: A miracle is a wozke hard and not vsuall, done by the power of God, above the power of anie creature; and wrought, to the end it may cause the beholders to wonder, and to confirme faith towards the wozd of God. Wherefore the matter of miracles, is wozkes; the forme, is hardness and vnusallwntedness; the efficient cause is the power of God, which passeth nature create; and the end of them is both admiration, and also confirmation of faith. And that we might not doubt of the cause efficient, I thinke it best to adde, that that power of God, which goeth wo-

lie beyond the power and strength of nature, must sometime be vnderstood of Gods alone wozking; and sometime of that which he doth by angels, or by men: and that in such manner, as shall be afterward declared. Herein shall I will to the saying of Augustine in the place before alleaged against the epistle of Manicheus, the 26. chapter. Spiraacles would not moue, vntil they were wonderfull, and wonderfull things they would not be, if they were things accustomed. Wherefore, as they saie, that of admiration spang philosophic, which Plato thought to be the rainebowe, and therefore the daughter of wonder: euen so we may beleue, that faith, which cometh of the wozd of God, although it do not utterlie spring of miracles, yet may we beleue that it is confirmed by them. And therefore Augustine in his 12. booke of confessions, the 21. chapter faith; Ignorance is the mother of wondering at signes, which admiration is an entrance of faith vnto the children of Adam, which hath forgotten this, 2d. Loyd. By this sentence be teacheth, that men hauing forgotten God, had an entrance and waie vnto faith by the wondering at miracles.

And trulie so it is. For we knowe not the will of God: but he (as he is good) hath opened the same to his prophets and apostles; and that they might more profitably declare it vnto vs, he gaue them the gift of his will. But because he knew that mortall men are strangers & aduersaries to his wozd, he granted the power to doo miracles; to the intent that these things, which he would haue his messengers to speke profitably, might be the easier beleued. That the confirming of faith cometh by miracles, Marke vnto us, which faith in the end of his gospell; And they went out preaching euerie where the gospell; and the Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the word with signes that followed. And hereby it appereth, how meete a confirmation this is, in that the promises of God depend on other thing, than of his will and power. And the signes of miracles which we now speake of, do giue a sufficient testimonie of his power, because they do so far excee the order of nature; and they make vs assured of his will; for they are the wozd, through the inuocation of his name, and by his grace and spirit.

Wherefore Augustine in the place above alleaged, against the epistle of Manicheus, writeth, that miracles vnto authority to the wozd of God; for he, when he did these, seemeth to haue giuen as it were an earnest-penite of his promises. Neither must we passe over these wozkes, which Augustine hath in the 24. treatise vpon Iohn; that Spiraacles consist not in the greatnes of wozkes. For otherwise it is a greater wozke, to gouerne this vnstable composition of the world, than to refoze vnto a

Augustine.

faith cometh not of miracles, but is confirmed by them.

Mar. 16.

Spiraacles stand not of the greatnes of wozkes.

Things contingent are foretold onlie of God.

Two principles of superstitious divination.

Look in it. Mar. 20. 31.

Ind. 36. when it may be iudged to be iustly to imitate Iohnathan.

lic change, may be foretold by probable signes: as a disease or death may be perceived by a physician. But things contingent, which are called *vnpropheticus*, and which waie equally as true one waie as another, are not foretold but of God onlie. For he alone knoweth to what end and purpose euery thing tendeth: wherefore they that profess such skill do commit sacrilege. As for such deuises do the diuel teach the heathen people: as to obserue matters, by the entrails of beasts, by the singing, looking, & feeding of birds. Wherefore they were charmers, soothsayers, and obseruers of such things. Whereouer, they had among them from the same schoolmaster, butning vpon decaimes, lots, prophesies, and oracles. Cicero in his booke of diuination, redueth all these to two sorts. For some he saith are naturall, and some artificiall: and that those be artificiall, when as knowledge is gathered by the marking and obseruing of certeine things, as in entrails, and soothsayers, and such like: but that naturall be those, which happen as vnto soothsayers, furious persons, and dreamers. All these things are taught, because that part which belongeth onlie vnto God, is ascribed onlie vnto men. But to come againe to the matter. This part of diuination, which Iohnathan followed, is called in Latine *Omen*, which (as Festus thinketh) is as it were *Oremen*. For it is a certeine foretelling, which stippeth out of a mans mouth with some furie. So the Romans, when they were minded to fite, and leaue their citie; and that the standard-bearer had fired their banner in the market place, and had said; Here will it be best for vs, that speech was taken for a signe of good luck, and a foretelling of that, which should be intended. So did Iohnathan by the Philistines wozds, which they spake vnto him, gather; that God would giue him the victorie, and deliuer them into his hands. And certeinly the Chynes in using this meane were to be condemned; but Iohnathan not so; for he was stirred the rebute by God, but so were not they. So Gedeon followed a foretelling, when he fought against the Madianites. But we must followe neither Iohnathan, nor Gedeon; vntil we knowe for a certeinly, that we be moued with the same spirit that they were. For if we will by the reasons and arts of men, foretell things contingent, or that may happen afterward; we shall iustly and iustly be blamed. For examples be agreeable with the common lawe, they should promoue vs to followe them; but if they be not, we must rather wonder at them, than followe them. This caution must be vsed in examples.



blind man the sight which he wanteth.

4 These things being declared, it resteth, that we divide miracles into their parts by fit distributions. Some of them are wonderfull, even for the thing it selfe that is done; for that they appeare to be so great & strange things, as the like cannot be found in the nature of things.

Such was the raising of the summe in the time of Iosiah; and the turning of the shadowe thereof in the time of Ezechias; the conception and chibirth of a Virgin; the food of Spanna in the wilderness; and such like. But some are miracles, not in respect of the nature and greatnesse of the thing which is done, but by reason of the waie and means that is used in the working of them:

as was the clouds & raine of Helias; the budding of the flowers and fruit in the rod of Aaron; the thunder of Samuel; the converting of water into wine; and other like. For such may become naturall, but yet they were then miracles, because of the manner whereby they were done: that is, not by naturall causes, but by the will and commandment of the righteous.

There is an other division of miracles: by cause some of them do moule our admiration; as do the lightnings and thunders upon mount Sinai; the turning of the suns shadowe in the time of Ezechias; the transfiguration of the Lord upon the mount. And some (besides the wonder of them) do bring a present commoditie vnto men; as when by Aarons rod, which was giuen out of the rocke; when Spanna reke downe from heauen; & when the sicke were healed by the Lord and his apostles. Some times miracles being punishment and harme to those that offend, as when Ananias and Zaphyra died at the words of Peter; when Elymas the conuincer was stricken blind by Paule; and when by him others were deliuered vnto saluati

to be tormented. Hereto also miracles are diuided, that some of them are obtained by prayer. For so did Elias and Elizeus; namely by prayer they restored their dead to life; Moses, by making intercession for Pharaon, deliuered him from frogs and diuers other plagues. And other miracles are wrought by commandment and authoritie: Iosiah commanded the summe to raise his counte; the Lord Iesus commanded the winds; and Peter said vnto the lame man, In the name of Iesus Christ rise vp and walke.

And there be some other miracles done, and yet neither by prayer nor by commandment; but come of their owne accord, the righteous themselves being otherwise occupied: such as when the shadowe of Peter, as he walked, did heale the sicke; and when the handkerchers that came from Paule cured sicke folke.

As also, Augline in his 83. booke of questions diuidenth miracles; to wit, that some are

done by publicke iustice: that is, by the stable and firme will of God, which is counted in the world as a publicke lawe. By it God would, that his ministers; that is, prophets and apostles, in preaching, should worke miracles. As for other miracles be done by the signes of this iustice; as when the wiched, in the name of God, and of Iesus Christ, do worke anie miracle; which is not giuen, but in respect of the honor and recurrence of the name of God which they vse: not that God, of nature, or anie things created, are desirous to pleasure them. Euen like as when one hath pinnile conueied aboue a publicke scale of weighing, and by means thereof extorteth manie things, either from countrie men, or from citizens; which things are not giuen, but to the scale, which they acknowledge to be the princes or magnificats: euen so be, which followed not Christ, yet did he in his name cast out diuels.

Wherfore, those are accounted miracles, which are done by a certaine priuate contract, whereby soeuerers do bind themselves to the diuell; and the diuell to them: but these are done neither by publicke iustice, nor yet by the signes thereof; but onelie of a certaine priuate compact. Whoboeit, we must note, that the miracles of the third sort, are not firme, nor yet yet certeinlike come to passe. For we read in the 19. of the Actes, that the children of Secua would haue cast forth diuels in the name of Iesus, whom Paule preached: but the diuell said to them; Iesus indeed I knowe; & Paule I knowe, but what ye be I cannot tell. which hauing spoken, he set vpon them. And as touching the third kind, the act of Cyprian, which he did before his consecration, confirmeth my saying. For he attempted to bewitch a godlie maid to incline to vniuersall lech; which at the length the diuell vnto him that he could not yet to passe for him.

6 But we must note, that these miracles, which are done through a priuate contract, are not verie miracles; but do belong vnto that kind which I mentioned before the definition. For, although sometimes they be verie that which they seeme to be, yet are they not miracles indeed. For who doubteth, but that it was verie fire which consumed the cattell of Iob; and a verie fozme of wine, which by spouting downe his houses destroyed his children? And Augline affirmeth, that those serpents, which the soeuerers of Egypte brought forth, were not illusions, but verie serpents. For the diuine reprobeth, that when they came to the third miracle, the wise men said; This is the finger of God: & further, that now their cunning failed them, & that they could no longer do those things, which Moles did by the power of God. This wandles is a token, that they wrought not before by illusions, and that the soeuerers

An other partition of miracles.

A similitude.

Mark. 9.

Act. 19. 13.

Cyprian.

Why be not verie miracles which the diuell doth.

all that time contented with Moles in verie things, and not in illusions. But some will saie; It is to be, so that things wrought by the diuel a the force, be sometimes euen as they seeme to be; wherfore is it written to the Ezechianians, of antichrist; that by him verie manie should be deceived through his false signes and wonders: Hereto also we must answer, that there may be a lie; in saing that a thing done is a miracle, whereas it is not, and not in the thing done, when it is as it appeareth. And Augline, answering; Signes and wonders are called lies, either because they will appeare to be, and yet be not; or else because they lead men into lies: for antichrist, by such signes, will seeke nothing else but to deceive, and draw men to believe false things. And this is no new or strange thing, that a cause should take either his name or propriety of his effect. But that things come to be, and are not, may two manner of waies be taken: either when among true things some counterfeit are mingled; or else because they be set forth for miracles, when they are no miracles.

7 Another doubt there is to be resolved; namely, that the power of God, which paffeth nature, vnto either angles or men, as well good as euill, do work miracles. Whereto I answer, that it vnto them as certein instruments; & sometime doth miracles at their beere, prayers, and fute, without anie outward labour of theirs: & sometime he will haue them to put to their worke or ministerie. For Moles did strike the sea, and the rocke with his rod; Christ touched the lepers, and annointed the eyes of the blind. But it must be vnderstood, that there be two kinds of instruments. Some are so prepared, as although they be not the chiefe efficient causes; yet are they a great meanes and furtherance to bring the thing to effect: as iron to cut hard things, and medicines to heale a disease; when as neuertheless they are but instruments of the workmen. But God vnto other kind of instruments in the doing of miracles, which in their owne nature, haue no strength to bring to effect. For what force had the rod of Moles, to diuide the sea? What force had the shadowe of Peter, to heale the sicke? Cerelie nothing, if thou haue respect to the nature of them. Wherfore the instruments, which God vnto in these miracles, do of their owne nature, either bring no helpe at all vnto them; or sometimes rather they let them: as the beholding of the bafen ferpet; the salt of Elizeus; the water of Elias, which he poured on the burnt offering; & the claie which Christ put to the eyes of the blind.

Wherfore, when miracles are done by instruments of the blind, which do nothing helpe, yea rather do let; the power and might of God is much more set forth. And Christ also, to the

intent he might teach vs, that naturall power doth nothing further herein, saw vnto his mother at the marriage; Woman, wherhaile I to Iohn, doo with thee? For that he ment hereby to be puelle the authoritie of his mother, but that it might appeare, that the nature, which he had taken of hir, was not of it selfe able to make him worke miracles. Wherfore seeing God vnto both men and angles, god and bad, so to do miracles; and that those things are sometime benefites and sometime punishments, whereby men are either punished or holpen; we need not make anie doubt, whether God do punish by his god angels, or no. For it is euident enough, that by angels, Sodoni was deliuered; by an angel the fall of Senacherib was slaine; and that Dauid sawe the angel, which was minister of the plague against Iheral.

8 But Augline vpon the 78. psalme, doubteth whether God hath by euill angels done miracles, whereby men haue immediate receiued some benefit: and he saith, that he hath not read it in the holie scriptures. So more trulie haue I; vnto we might saie, that if I profited Paule, to be tormented by the angel of falsan: & that he therfore deliuered some vnto saluati, to the intent their foules might be saued in the daie of iudgement. Whoboeit Auglines questi

on, that he not respect vnto this; but to knowe whether paine & euident god turns, such as be the gifts of healing, prophesying, tongues, giuing of food, setting at libertie, and such like, are miraculouly bestowed vpon men from God, by the diu

ty of his angels. Whereto I thinke (as Augline doth) that the scriptures no where testifie anie such thing. And yet is it euident, that as well the godlie men as the vngodlie be tempted, punished, and molested by euill angels; whereto it after a sundrie fashion, for as Augline saith in the same place; there be after a sort two flockes of men; to wit, the wiched and the god: the god are the flocke of God, euen as the wiched are the flocke of the diuell. Wherfore against the wiched, as against his owne, he dealeth more at libertie: he disquieteth them, he deliueheth more at

treatheth them ill, as in his owne right: and yet can he not denie the perscript measure appointed him by God. But against the flocke of Christ, he dare do nothing, more than God himselfe sometime for diuers purposes doth giue him leaue; as we may perceiue by Iob. Where whole God suffereth the godlie to be grieuoully afflicted by the diuell, to the end his grace should be more famoully extened towards them.

But when Augline expoundeth the wordes of the psalme, he doubteth whether the plagues of the Egyptians were brought in by a god angel, or by the diuell: and at length he theteth, that the plague and destruction of the first borne

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may be ascribed to the ministration of the diuell, and that all the other plagues must be attributed to good angels: whereby as well the raising of the wake of Crobus, as of the plaine, may stand as they be. But as touching that plague of the first borne, it is written in Exodus under the name of God; In that night I will passe through Egypt, and will smite, &c. By these words, that destruction comes to be attributed either to God, or to a good angel, and not unto the diuell. Whoburth that doth not much moue me: for although it were done by the ministration of the diuell, yet the punishment must be ascribed vnto God. For Job, when he was bereft of all his goods and children, yet he said; The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken away. And that which was erected by the diuell he said was done by God. But some obiect, that if we shall ascribe the things vnto the diuell, then may he seeme to haue fought against himselfe. For soverers, by the diuels helps, do withstand Moses, when as they did the same things that he did. But if to be the plagues were sent against the Egyptians by cull an gels, and yet the soverers withstood the same; then shall seeme to resist faith: neither could the soverers haue trule faith, that their power failed them, and haue testified that it was the finger of God which wrought.

But in my iudgement, these things haue no god ground: because the things done by the soverers, were done by the power of the diuell, which vnto him is naturall. For thereby he is able to apply the seeds of things, and the working causes to the matter prepared; and, as touching the sight of men, to worke marvellous things. But these things, whereunto God afflicted the Egyptians, were done by his owne most mightie power, through the instrument of the diuell: wherefore it is no marvell, if the soverers failed, and perceived the most excellent power of the finger of God. But the booke of Ecclesiastes, the 18. chapter, seemeth wholy to ascribe these plagues vnto God, where he saith; While all things were in quiet silence, & the night was in the midst of his course, &c. And in the 17. chapter it is written, that the Egyptians, being among those plagues, especially when they were oppressed with darknes, were so disquieted with horrible variations of mind, and verie terrible sights, as if most angrie and discomfortable ghosts had bene continuall conuersant before their eyes, and about their phantasie; which undoubtedly might be done by the sending of euill angels, as the plaine doth mention. Also their hart was hardened, and their mind was obstinately bent euery daie more and more against the 3. Articles; and that seemeth to haue pertained to the sending downe of euill angels. Wherefore these two places might be casily made to agree, by ascri-

bing the plagues, which are spoken of in Exodus, to good angels; and the terrible sights and hardening of the hart, to the sending of the euill angels vpon them; whereof the plaine now alledged maketh mention.

9 But saying that God (as it hath bene shewed) vnto the working of miracles, both euill and good angels, and men; godlike men ought not therefore to be agraued, because this power is not oftentimes giuen vnto them. For they are not for this cause of anie worse condition than others, to whom the working of miracles is granted. For the Lord said vnto his disciples, when they returned from their ambassage; Reioice not in this, that spirits are subiected vnto you; but rather reioice, because your names be written in heauen. Some there be so desirous of the things, as to worke signes, they feare not to be the helpe euen of the diuell; and erreth themselves vnder this pretence, that God himselfe, about the working of signes, vnto faith; in following of whom they saie that God doth well: for are they from confounding themselves guilty of offense. Further, they saie that Paule deliuered certaine to be viced of the diuell; and that therefore they also may be his ministration.

But that manner of men (I beseech you) bee these, which would haue it lawfull for them to do as much as is lawfull for God; God is the author of all creatures, wherefore it is no marvell if he vse them all: but it is prescribed vnto vs by the lawe of God, that we should not do it. And to imitate God, is commended vnto vs, so long as we be not contrarie commanded by his lawe; otherwise he himselfe will reuenge his owne iniuries. But who will saie, that it is lawfull for private men to do that which God doth? God vnto his owne sacrifice the braut prepared vnto Baal, and the diuell dedicated vnto the same guilt; shall curie one of vs therefore eate things dedicated vnto idoles? The rule of the life is the word of God; wherefore to imitate him we must not be led, except so much as the lawe doth permit. We haue made the same lawe, not for himselfe, but for men, to the intent that they should make their life agreeable vnto it. Wherefore it was lawfull for him to require of Abraham the sacrificing of his sonne, which is not lawfull for anie of vs to require of our friend. Paule and other apostles had euill spirits subiect vnto them, and by them it was sometime lawfull vnto them to punish the guiltie for the furtherance of their saluation: wherefore they, to whom such a gift is not granted, ought to abstaine from exercising the same.

10 Now then the vice of the power of euill spirits is of two sorts: The one is with authority, and that belongeth theie vnto God; also it belongeth vnto the apittles and pollic men of the primitive

The power of the power of miracles maketh not men either better or worse.

In obedi-  
ence of  
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In obedi-  
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The inco-  
herence of  
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and school-  
men.

It is not  
lawfull in  
all things  
to imitate  
God.

Gen. 12. 1.

1. Cor. 5. 5.

primitive church: but the other consisteth of compast and obedience, which is vnto the fobbed vnto men. For what fellowship can there be between light & darknes, betwene God and Beelhal? For which cause the soverers, and who- soeuer giuent vnto them, cannot be excu- sed: naie rather they are by the lawe condemn- ed to be guilty of superstition & idolatrie. Nei- ther is it to be thought, that God hath forbidden these things, but for verie iust causes, and those not vnpossible vnto vs: for doubtles he poun- ded that we should not be deceived, and that we should not by such waies run headlong into de- struction: for thereto at the length teacheth felow- ships with faith. For the diuell is a liar, and the father of lies; & he is also a murderer, euen from the beginning, as Christ hath taught. Where- fore let this be a sure saing; which also the Scholemen, in the second booke of sentences, dis- tinction the eight, and among them specialite Thomas, yea & the ancient fathers, confirme, that if to be was alie anie thing which goeth beyond the power of man, we must aske it of God onlie: which thing they that do not, do fall away as ruminators from the faith, worshipping creatures in stead of God. I would to God both the old fathers and the Scholemen had re- mained constant in it; who afterward forget- ting themselves, I knowe not how, haue con- sented vnto the imutation of saints, and haue instituted a sort of crosseys or conuersers to the carcases and relics of dead men.

These being inuaded with no peculiar gift of miracles, do with most graueous comminati- ons, as much as in them lieth, impericillie ad- uerte diuels: believing of the faines, which are al- ready dead, to come out euill spirits from such as be possessed. But these spirits, if they depart at anie time, according as they be commanded; yet they do it not against their will, but do with- some obedience to establish idolatrie: it is no less liking vnto them to possess foules, than to possess bodies. Augustine in his tenth booke De ciuitate Dei, the 11. chapter sheweth, that Pur- phryane vnto Anubentes, that certaine soverers were so accustomed to terrific diuels with threatnings, as they saie, that if they would not do those things which they were commanded, they would strike heauen & earth together, and all to rattle them. Who saeth not here the subtilties of the diuell, that faimeth him- selfe to be afraid of falsity and ridiculous con- trarieties: But about these things we haue bene ouer long.

11 It is god for vs now to returne to the ex- mination of the last part of our definition; where- in it was said, that miracles are done for the con- firmation of faith. And it may seeme not a little to make against this clause, that we ought not

lightlie to gite credit vnto miracles, because they may giue an occasion of erring. And there- hence is beried no sure kind of argument, but verie dangerous; and this is proued by many places. First, the Lord saith in the 23. of Mat- thew, that false prophets in the latter daies shall be so deceiue men by working of signes and mira- cles, that it were possible, the very cleit himselfe be deceiued: which sentence Paule to the the- salonians handled more at large. Also we haue out of the booke of Exodus, that we should not giue credit vnto signes. For the soverers of Pharaao did for a space the same things that Mo- ses did. In Deuteronomie also it is comman- ded, that we must not beleue a prophet, though he worke signes, if he desire the people to idolat- rize. The soverers making miracles may be wrought as well for the defending of false doctrine, as for the true; they must not be iudged meere to con- firme our faith. Sen, and Augustine in the 16. chapter De ciuitate Dei wrote; 3. Angels require sacrifices to be done vnto them, and do worke signes; and contrariwise, if others shall testife that we must sacrifice vnto God onlie, and yet those worke no miracles, we must beleue these, and not the other. The same Augustine against Paulus, as touching the Manichees saith; Pa- ule worke no signes, whereby we should beleue you; yea and if ye did, yet should we not beleue you. Wherefore we must vnderstand that miracles in verie deed are not sufficient to confirme faith. For it becometh about all things, to make triall of that doctrine, which is brought; and that by the testimonie of the holie scriptures: wherevnto if it agree, we must beleue it euen without signes. But if miracles be added, the beleuers are still confirmed the more: and they which haue not as yet beleued, are at the least, wile made the more attentive, and the waie to be- lieue is prepared for them.

12 Miracles also are after a sort like vnto sa- craments; for both of them are added as certaine scales vnto piousnes. And euen as miracles pro- fit not, vnto those that haue a respect had vnto the doctrine; so likewise the sacraments bring no commoditie, but much hurt, vnto those that receive with a pure faith. Both of them serue to confirme faith, but none of both is sufficient by themselves. They doubtles are blessed, and to be praised in deed, which beleue vnto the helpe of miracles: for Blessed are they (saith our Lord) which haue not seene, and yet do beleue. And yet for all that, the confirmation by signes must not be despised. Now thou wilt say perhaps, whe- ther they are so profitable to confirme faith, whe- dyng the Lord in Matthew the ninth and 11. chap- ters, and in many other places, charge that they should not be published? Hence causes there were. He would first haue his doctrine to be preached,

ver. 14.

1. Thes. 9.

Deut. 13. 1.

Miracles  
alone are  
not enough  
to confirme  
faith.

Doctrine  
agreeing with  
the scriptures  
must be be-  
lieued vnto  
our faith.

Miracles  
haue some  
resemblance  
of sacra-  
ments.

John 10. 9.

Math. 9. 28.

Exodus. 12.

Whether  
god sent  
the plagues  
of Egypt  
by ill an-  
gels, or by  
good.

The diuel  
by his own  
power  
can worke  
strange  
things.

ver. 15.

ver. 14.



by the  
Lords  
foze  
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lished.

preached, afterward miracles to followe. But if he had permitted unto some, whom he healed, straitwaie to publish abroad that which he had done; then should not doctrine haue bene soe neede with that spreading abroad of the miracle, seeing they were not as yet instructed in goodlines. He did this also, least he might seeme to be held with a vaine desire of wondrous glorie: therefore he would by his owne example shew his aloofe from the same. Moreover, none knew better than himselfe, what they were whom he healed; and he would not suffer euerie one to publish and pearch his miracles: therefore he fo: bad diuers, that they should not do so.

verfe. 15.

Further, he sawe that it would come to passe, that the wauering and inconstant multitude would not beleue by a bare and slender fame of his miracles, to beleue the true & sincere faith; but would rather beece unto him wondrous honours & aduancement, which he himselfe sought not fo: . And this is verified in the first of Iohn, where it is written, that The people, because they had receiued of him the loaves, would haue made him a king. I ascribe, he would not stirre up against himselfe the rage and enue of the high priests, of the scribes and pharisees, more than the state of the time would suffer. Therefore in the ninth of Luke, when in the transfiguration, he had shewed to his apostles a demonstration of his glorie, he commanded them not at that time to publish abroad that which they had seene. Euen he also (when by asking what men thought concerning him, he had wrought fro Peter the true confession, wherein he affirmed him to be the sonne of God) charged that they should not tell any other, that Iesus was Messiah. As for they were not then so well established, as if they should haue spread abroad such things, they had bene able by apt testimonies to confirme the same in disputing: and so he thought meete, that they should tarry, till they were more fully instructed. he would not that the truth should be whollic put to silence, but yet he chose a fit time fo: opening of the same. Therefore it is not thereby rightlic gathered, that miracles are of no force to confirme faith, because Christ sometime fo: bad, that they should be published: seeing that commandment of the Lord had respect onlie to the choosing of better occasions, and not unto perpetual silence.

whether  
faith be  
for or fal  
lowe mirac  
les.  
verfe. 18.  
Mark. 5. 5.

12 I ascribe, there is another thing, which seemeth to hinder that part of the definition. For it seemeth, that faith cannot be confirmed by miracles, seeing they require faith, & will haue it to go before them. For in Matthew the 13. chapter it is written, that Christ, because of the incredulitie of his owne citizens, wrought in a manner no miracles: & Marke addeth, that he could not. Therefore it should seeme, that it must rather be said,

that miracles are appointed and established by faith; seeing if faith be not present, as the evangelists do saie, miracles cannot be done. I ascribe, that they which by prayers will obtaine miracles, must after an accustomed and iust manner be indued with faith: for those prayers are counted vaine, which leane not vpon faith. But if a miracle be giuen, nothing letteth, but that faith which is begun, may be stirred up and confirmed. Moreover, this must we be assured of, that there is no let with God, but that he may giue miracles vnto the unbelieuers; yea, he hath often times giuen them. Undoubtedlie Pharaoh and the Aegyptians were unbelieuers; and yet notwithstanding, that there were verie many miracles done vnto them by Moyses: Christ likewise then shew the miracle of his resurrection, when all men in a manner despaired of his doctrine and truth: wherefore nothing letteth, but that faith may be confirmed by miracles.

And fo: that cause, as we haue said, they which by prayers labour to obtaine signes, do labour in vaine, unless they haue beleued. For prayers without faith, are of no value with God: and this Christ hath manifestlic taught in the 17. chapter of Mathew. For when his disciples could not heale the lunaticke child; he cause them of being demanded, he said that it happened by reason of their incredulitie: whose answer may misselic declareth, what we must iudge to be the excoffits or conuersers, which in euery to aske awaie diuels at the sepulchers of the saints, and at their relics. All things be there done fauourlic. The dead are called vpon without faith; and the diuell maketh balliance vnto idolaters; for naming to haue faith to the end that damnable wo: shipings may be still continued: which is therefore manifest, because those excoffits bring most vnpur, doo all things there without faith. Origin vpon the 17. chapter of Mathew writeth verie well against this abuse: If at any time (saith he) it behooueth vs to helpe these men, let vs not talke with the spirit, by aduising or commanding, as though he heard vs; but let vs onlie perseuer in giuing our selues to prayers and fastings. These words spake he euen then, when the inuocation of the dead, and wo: shipping of relics were not vied in the church. What would be at this time saie, if he should see the mannes of our age? But to returne to the cheefe point of the doubt, I iudge that faith goeth before miracles; as touching those which obtaine them by prayers, but not as concerning them which stand by, and haue not yet beleued the preaching which they haue heard.

14 But let vs be by what meanes miracles may sometimes be done by wicked men. For there be some, which shall faie in the latter time; Haue wee not cast forth diuels in thy name? Mat. 23. 21.

1. Luke in 1.  
King. 16.  
4. verfe 30.  
6. doo often  
times gi  
ueth mira  
cles vnto  
unbelieu  
ers.

verfe. 21.

Against  
those men  
done at the  
sepulchers  
of the saints,  
2. Luke part  
4. chap. 10.  
act. 6.  
The diuell  
balliance  
vnto ido  
latres.

Origins  
opinion of  
credulit.

Mat. 23. 21.

Haue

This kinde  
of faith.

1. Luke in  
the 1. Cap.  
12. verfe 9.

with wha  
t faith thos  
be indued  
by whom  
God doo  
miracles.

Miracles  
are not al  
waies done  
at the pray  
ers of euil  
men.  
Chrysost.

verfe. 20.

1. Cor. 13. 2.

Ibidem 12.  
8. and 9.

Haue we not prophesied, &c? Unto whom shall be answered? Verlie I saie vnto you, I knowe you not. This is undoubtedly in touching of miracles (as it seemeth credible) vied prayers, but yet being destitute of faith were neither iustified, nor belonged to the kingdome of God. Therefore it seemeth to be no lone argument, that prayers poured out without faith are not heard. But we must note, that ill men, which by prayers haue obtained miracles, were not vterlic without faith; for we find, that there be three kinds of faith; The first is a faith that consisteth of the opinion and persuasion of man, whereby those things that be written in the holic scriptures are beleued to be no lesse true, than are the histories of Liues, Suetonius, and those things which are now written of the newe flames; and this kind of faith, in respect of manie things, is common both vnto Turkes and Jewes. There is another faith, whereby we being inspired from heauen, do liuelic and effectuallic cleaue to the promise of Gods mercie; and vpon this faith both our iustification consisteth. Finally, the third faith is called the faith of miracles, whereby we are neither changed, nor made one haire the better. For it is a mouing of the spirit of God, whereby men are stirred by to desire miracles, although beleuing, that it is the will of God, that those should be done; & that the thing required should haue successe. Therefore while they cleaue vnto this faith, sometime they obtaine their request. Which I therefore speake, because they do not alwaies so, neither are they alwaies lightened with that inspiration.

But if thou wilt demand, how this kind of faith can be proued, let Chrysostome answer, vnto vpon the 17 chapter of Mathew maketh mention thereof. There Christ saith, If ye haue faith as the graine of mustard seed, ye shall saie vnto this mountaine; Throwe thy selfe into the sea, and it shall do so. In expounding of these words this father saith; Whereas these things be not done in the church at this daie, shall we therefore saie that Christians be without faith? God forbid that we should iudge fo: ill of the people of God. Faith iustifying is now, but that which is called the faith of miracles, hath alreadie created. This kind of faith is shewed by the words of the apostle, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, where he saith, Though

ledge by the same spirit, to another the power of healing by the same spirit, to another the gift of faith by the same spirit, &c. Faith in this place cannot be vnderstood the same, whereby we be iustified, for that is not reioined among the gifts which are pluriellic distributed vnto some, but is common vnto all true Christians. As also as I thinke it apperch by that means they which be not as yet iustified, might sometimes by their prayers obtaine miracles; namely, because they are not destitute of euery kind of faith.

15 How reth it to see, whether it be lawfull fo: godlie men to desire miracles of God. These are wont to be alledged, fo: the reasons which may seeme to be against it. First that God, in that matter shall be tempted; and that doth the laboe of God vterlic forbid. Yea, and our fauour with this answer reponed the diuell; Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And the vthernes are expressely blamed, because they tempted God in the desert. The same of God also, when the Pharisees said; Master we will see a signe of thee, said; This froward and adulterous generation requeth a signe, but there shall be no signe giuen them, &c. And Achaas of righte a wicked king, pretended a shew of righte conscience, saying, that he would not tempt God; and therefore deferred the asking of a signe. Unto the question I answer, that after a sort it is lawfull to desire a signe, and after a sort it is not lawfull. The first part of the sentence is thus proued; when godlie men desire as touching any vnaccustomed vocati- on, to be made more assured of the will of God, and are afraid lest peraduenture they should be deceived, (so as concerning it, they haue nothing fo: a certentie in the holic scriptures; for neither men nor angels must in those things be verie lone beleued, seeing euil angels do manie times transfigure themselves into angles of light;) I saie when men are in this perplexitie, the will being readie bent, praeberie desirous to obete the commandment of God, godlie men cannot be accused either of tempting of God, or of rashnes, if so be they be fire to be confirmed by some signe. For whoe euer in those cases desireth such things, as God hath bene accustomed to offer, he doth not as a idle.

As man is ignorant, but that to Achaas was offered a signe, to the intent he might be assured of the promises offered him by Elias; therefore to desire those things, which God himselfe sometime giueth and frellie offereth, ought not to be forbidden as vnlawfull: whereof there is no want of examples. Moes being in the wilderness, wheneuer he had need of the helpe of God, he oftentimes obtained miracles fo:

whether it  
be lawfull  
for godlie  
men to aske  
miracles.  
2. Luke 31  
Gen. 14 at  
the end.  
2. Luke part  
2. epistle 4.  
Ar. 148. 34  
1. Cor. 13. 22.  
Mather 4. 7.  
Mat. 19. 5.  
1. Peter 1. 4.  
Esaie 7. 12.

Exod. 13  
and 17. &c.

fo: the people of God. And to confirme the doctrine of truth, both Helias and Helizeus desired of God, that life might be restored unto the children of their hosts. And to the same end Christ said; But that ye may knowe that the sonne of man hath power to forgive sinnes, he turned to the man sicke of the palfie, and said; Rise, take vp thy bed and walke. *Therefore of godlie men miracles are desired, and that iustly, to the intent that either they may be brought out of doubt, as touching their vocation; or that a great and vident necessitie may be leuened; or else that a testimonie may be giuen of sound doctrine. And whensoever they desire miracles vnto these ends, they desire them not of anie creatures, but of God onlie; and in asking they vse a measure. For they declare, that they will; or desire nothing, but that which is agreeable to the will of God.*

Math.9. 6.

For what causes godlie men desire mira- cles.

Cautions in the asking of miracles.

When it shall not be lawfull to aske mira- cles.

Luk.16. 26

Nam.11. 10

Plinie.

Luke.23. 8.

17 How must we confute those things which seemed to make against vs. They which craue miracles after that manner and forme which we haue described, undoubtedly do not tempt God; for as much as to tempt God is nothing else, but of an unbelieuing heart and rashnesse to seake for experiments of his will and power: which vice certainly, is in the booke scriptures iustlie and iustly reprehended. *Wherefore, the Lord Jesus Christ did not without iust cause repell the diuill, when he would haue perswaded him to thowse himselfe downe headlong from the temple, whereby he might be made the more assured of the fauour of God toward him; whereas the reason of man might manifestlie perceiue another waie of coming downe. And againe, the same sonne of God did not vniuersally reprehend the Zelotes, as a froward and adulterous generation; vnto whom he therefore denied a signe, because they had already seene berie manie, and yet they sought at them all, and in such sort mocked Christ, and because they desired not anie miracle, but one from heauen; as though they would not alone haue desired signes from heauen. Alas, wherefore their purpose tended to no other end, but to alienate the people from the Lord, although he had wrought wonderfull miracles. But as touching Achaz, the wicked king, and his refusing of the signe offered; I need not much to traueil. For he being called by the prophet, seined himselfe most faithleslie to beleue, as though he needed no miracle at all, when as neuertheles he was altogether incredulous. Which thing is plainlie shewed in the second booke of Kings; for he sent vnto Tiglathphalazar the king of the Assyrians to deliuer him from the siege: so far off was he from putting confidence in the Lord. And when as God, being not ignorant of his dis-ease, offered him the remedie of a miracle, and put it vnto his choise; yet he through hypocrisie refused. If Achaz had trulie beleued God, he would not haue refused to obey, seeing obedience is reckoned among the direct fruits of faith.*

Let vs (I beseech you) compare with this vngodlie king the most godlie prince Ezechias his sonne, who dealt not in this sort. For he, to be the more assured of recouering his health, verie modestlie required a signe; vnto whose choise, when Elsie had put, whether he would haue the shadowe of the sunne to be set forwarde, or to be turned backward; he toke his choise as he thought good; neither did he frowardlie like his father, refuse the miracle offered him by God. But touched Achaz to his insidelitie iointed by pueritie, for he considering that miracles are for two causes refused; either for that a man can-  
penile

penile beleueth in God, and hath no need of the helpe of miracles; or else for that he bitterlie contemneth God, and passeth nothing at all for this helpe, he minded to hide the latter disease, whereof he was sicke; namely, the contempt of God: and made as though he had the vertue, that is to saie, a principall faith, whereof in deed he was altogether destitute; as though he durst not tempt God. But seeing God most thoughtlie knoweth the hearts and reines, he by the prophet punished him, according to his delatours. What other thing is it to refuse a miracle offered by God, but to reiect that which should helpe our spirituall infirmities: And euen as he that being well-nere starued with hunger, would forsake his sustenance, is worthy to be accursed; so was he to be reprobued, which reiect- ed a medicine offered him by God, seeing God knoweth far better than our selues, what euerie one of vs needeth. This is not sufficient concerning those things, which in the beginning of this question seemed altogether to forbid the asking of miracles.

I knowe indeed there be some, which thinke that miracles ought not in anie wise to be asked, but onlie that they should not be refused, when God offereth them. And they suppose that Augulline maketh with them, who in the fourth booke of the concordance, or content of the euangelists; and in the 63. question by on Genesis, may seme to affirme this thing. But if a man obserue, that verie manie godlie & righteous men haue so done, & especially our Gedeon: they answere, that they were moued by the spirit of God to desire miracles; & therefore it was all one, as if God had freely offered miracles vnto them, and they with obedience had receiued those which were offered. But these things ought nothing to trouble vs; because Augulline in the places alledged, doth not flatlie and absolutely forbid the desiring of miracles; but rather he demandeth either in respect of tempting God, or else for some other naughtie cause. And in the 63. question by on Genesis, he saith, that When this is not rightlie done, it belongeth to the tempting of God. Let vs rather heare what he saith in the tenth booke of confessions, the 35. chapter. In religion also it is a tempting of God, when signes and miracles are desired for making of a tri- all: which thing I also a little before haue charged to be avoided. For I will easilie grant, that holie men required miracles, not by the insinuation of the flesh, or of some reason; for then had their prayers bene vaine and to no purpose, seeing as Paul saith, (I thinke) it is needfull that the spirit should proue for vs with vncertaine groanings. But now I thinke there hath bene sufficientlie spoken of the questions pro-

pounded.  
19 But what the difference is betwene signes and wonders, it cannot easilie be declared. Origin thinketh, that those onlie are to be called signes, which though they be wonderfull of themselves, yet they shew some other thing to come. But wonders are those, which do onlie plucke men into admiration, because they be done after an vncustomed manner, and against the power and order of nature. But he also confesseth, that this distinction is not obserued in the holie scriptures. And trulie also the miracles whosoener they were that Paul shewed, were signes, whereby the truth of his preaching was approued. The verie which thing we must affirme, as touching the wonderfull workes of Christ, and of the prophets. But the scriptures of the new testament, where in oftentimes there is mention made of the signes and wonders which Christ and his apostles did, haue imitated the phrase of the old testament. For there a man shall often find Orish and hisperim iointed together. Neither do I thinke, that there is anie difference betwene the wordes; except it be in degree and quantity: yet am I not ignorant, but that there may be signes of Orish, which haue in them no admiration at all. Such be accents, letters, points, speeches, and other like, the which we doubt not, but are signes, and yet they proceed either from art, or from nature. But the diuine oracles (to the intent they might signifie, that certeine workes of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles did not onlie shew some thing besides that which was sought, but also that they stirred by a kind of acknowledgment & wondering haue oftentimes iointed these wordes together. This undoubtedly is my opinion, of what I amie thing that I sae. I may still hold, vnles an other man will shew me a better.  
20 But seeing it is written, That the spirit distributeth to euerie one as he will; we learne thereby, that no time must be prescribed vnto it: for he disposeth these things when he will, and how he will. Whereby their argument is dissolued, which saie, that in Marke it is written, These signes shall followe them that beleuee; they shall cast out diuels, they shall speake with new tonges, they shall take auaie serpents, &c. Wherefore, seeing these signes be not done in this, it followeth that faith is not in the church of these daies. But they be deceived. For these things are not absolute and without exception; but in some respect the tokens of faith, belonging to that primitive church, faith, untill the gospel were made more manifest. For miracles were as trumpets and opencriers whereby the gospel was commended. For a multitude even as the laue of Moles procured to it selfe ruce, credit.

In Rom. 15. Verse 18. The difference betwene signes and wonders, is that signes are those which shew some other thing to come. Wonders are those which do onlie plucke men into admiration, because they be done after an vncustomed manner, and against the power and order of nature. But he also confesseth, that this distinction is not obserued in the holie scriptures. And trulie also the miracles whosoener they were that Paul shewed, were signes, whereby the truth of his preaching was approued. The verie which thing we must affirme, as touching the wonderfull workes of Christ, and of the prophets. But the scriptures of the new testament, where in oftentimes there is mention made of the signes and wonders which Christ and his apostles did, haue imitated the phrase of the old testament. For there a man shall often find Orish and hisperim iointed together. Neither do I thinke, that there is anie difference betwene the wordes; except it be in degree and quantity: yet am I not ignorant, but that there may be signes of Orish, which haue in them no admiration at all. Such be accents, letters, points, speeches, and other like, the which we doubt not, but are signes, and yet they proceed either from art, or from nature. But the diuine oracles (to the intent they might signifie, that certeine workes of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles did not onlie shew some thing besides that which was sought, but also that they stirred by a kind of acknowledgment & wondering haue oftentimes iointed these wordes together. This undoubtedly is my opinion, of what I amie thing that I sae. I may still hold, vnles an other man will shew me a better.  
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Mark.16.17

apocryphes in the psalms

signes of the church of these daies

signes of the church of these daies

signes of the church of these daies

The ppo-  
sition of mi-  
racles in  
Scripture  
referred  
not to all times.

By not gi-  
ving of gra-  
ces to all  
alike, they  
are lesse  
contemned,  
and charite  
the more ex-  
ercised.

In 1 Sam.  
28. At night  
end.  
2. Luke In 1.  
Cap. 11. 2.

It was not  
whole Sa-  
muel in  
bodie and  
soule.

1. Kin. 17. 12.  
2. Kin. 4. 34.

credit, through the manifold miracles shewed upon mount Sina, and in the wilderness, which afterward ceased, when they were come to the land of promise: so in like manner, miracles are now also taken away, since the gospell is spred throughout the world. And therefore the promise which Christ would have to be written in the gospell of Marke, belonged not to all times; whereof it is not our part either to com-  
plaine, or find any fault; because that we heare that the holie ghost distributedly to euerie one, as he will; who neuertheless for great considerations him mouing, doth not impart to all men gifts and graces alike. For if they should happen to all alike, they would come into out of estimation, whereas God hath determined to make hope of them. Forouer, he would that charite should growe and increase, which is then exercised, when one man doth helpe an other; which thing would not haue taken place, if all men had bene indued with like gifts.

## The tenth Chapter.

Of appeerings of diuels; of their an-  
swers, and sundrie illusions.

**H**ere I may not passe ouer certaine obscure places, which we find in the historie of Samuel. But that they may be the better understood, I will in the expounding of them followe this order. First to inquire who it was that appeared at the call of the witch; secondly, if it shall manifestly fall out, that it was the diuell, whether he can so appeare, and knowe things to come; lastlie, if he can do this, whether it be lawfull to aske counsell of him.

Who was that which appeared at the call of the witch? As concerning this first question, it is of necessity, that either the same was Samuel; or the diuell: but if we affirme that it was Samuel, then will it be doubtfull, whether he came whole both in bodie and soule; or in his bodie alone, or else in his soule alone. If he came whole in bodie and soule, then must it needs be, that he rose from the dead. But this being an excellent great miracle, cannot be attributed either to the witch, or to the diuell; yea and there be some, which do not attribute that, not to God. But those peticent opinions are easilie confuted by the verie historie of the holie scriptures. For we reade of this in the old testament, which were reioyced from death to life; one by Elias, another by Elizeus

being yet alive, and the third by the bones of Elizeus, when he was dead. In the new testament we reade of the cheefe ruler of the synagoge his daughter, of the twinesome sonne, of Lazarus, Eutyches, and Dorcas. Wherefore if we denie that Samuel returned into life, we do not therefore denie, that God could not bring it to passe. For Christ powred the resurrection; and saith, that God is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing: and Paule in the 15. of the first epistle to the Corinthians, by manie reasons of purpose confirmeth the resurrection of the dead; and in the epistle to the Hebrewes he reckoneth it among the grounds of our religion. It is an article of our faith; and undoubtedly, neither the Turks nor Jewes denie, that the dead shall rise againe. But the Mountainists, Originists, and such other furies, which denie the resurrection, are plainlie confuted out of Iob, out of the psalms, out of Elsie, out of Daniel, and euerie where out of the new testament. We do not (I saie) denie that it was done, because it could not be done; but because such miracles, whereas they ought to be testimonies of the truth, would here be testimonies of lies, and magicall witcheries; and because it is not libelle, that God would permit it. For so notable a thing may not be attributed unto the power of the diuell, because to be able to raise the dead, belongeth onlie vnto God. But Apollonius Tyaneus raised a maid. Iudas too it is written in his life; howbeit the same in verie deed was but a phantasma, and not a thing done; and that is also to be affirmed as touching Simon Magus. And now that it was the carcase of Samuel, it is not libelle. Neither do anye of the interpreters, sauing onlie Bogenis, saie that it was so. And undoubtedly a dead carcase is of it selfe senselesse, and void of life: neither could it haue answered any thing, vnlesse the diuell had put on the same. But the diuell could do these things euen without a dead carcase; for he might haue taken vpon him the forme and figure thereof.

2. Wherefore let vs see, whether it were the soule of Samuel, or the diuell. For the interpreters seeme to write diuersely of that matter. Some say that it could not be his soule, because they thinke that the soules of men remaine after death. But these be ticked, mad, and dotting opinions. For out of all doubt, the soules of the goodie are extant, and do liue before God. For so God himselfe saith, I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Christ addeth thereunto, he is not the GOD of the dead, but of the liuing. And Christ saith to the thebes: To daie thou shalt be with me in paradise. Certeinlie, To daie, had bene

Phil. 90.  
1. Pet. 3. 4.

Phil. 1. 23.

Luke. 16. 22.

Luke. 11. 30.

Apoc. 7. 14.  
and 14. 4.

Acts. 7. 59.

ver. 59.

1. Cor. 15. 3.

1. Cor. 15. 3.

Luke. 23. 43.

benie a verie long time, if he had commanded him to wait till the general resurrection. But a thousand yeeres (saie they) with the Lord are but as one daie. I grant; howbeit that auerberbe *Habe* (To daie) is not alwaies to be understood after that sort. Yea, and Augustine in his epistle to Dardanus, understanding that auerberbe properly, saith; that The bodie of Christ was that daie in the sepulchre, and his soule in heaue; and that therefore of necessity the thebes was present with the Godhead of Christ in paradise. For he granteth not, that either the soule of the bodie of the Lord could be in sundrie places at one time. And Paule saith to the Philippians; I desire to be loosed from hence: I saith not, And to sleepe, and to be extinguished; but To be with Christ. And it had bene better to haue continued liuing, than to haue departed into slaye; for here we acknowledge and praise the Lord.

Forouer, we reade that Lazarus was caried into selicitie, and the rich glutton was cast into hell. And to that other rich man, which decreed with himselfe to enlarge his barnes, (and to laie by for manie yeeres to come) it is saie;

Thou fool, this night shall they take thy soule from thee. Also Chrylostome in his second homilie of Lazarus, The soules of men (saith he) are not taken away at one manner of estate: for some depart hence vnto paine, and others being garded with angels, are taken up into heauen. In the Apocalypse, the soules of the dead receive long garments, they stand before the throne, and followe the lambe where-soeuer he goeth. When Secuen was dying, he said, Lord Iesus receive my spirit. If the soule should haue died vntill, why do he rather commend that than his bodie? doubtlesse it cannot be found in anye place, that the goodie commended their bodies vnto the Lord. And in the second to the Corinthians the 5. chap. For we knowe, that if the carthlie mansion of this our tabernacle be dissolved, we haue a building giuen of God; euen an house not made with hands, but eternall in the heauens. These wordes are not to be understood of our state after the resurrection (for there we shall be clothed with our bodies alike) and therefore they are ment of the state betwixt our departure hence and the resurrection. Therefore soules do remaine after this life. And in the same epistle

Paule saith; Whether in the bodie, or out of the bodie, I knowe not, &c. Which proueth, that the soule may be seuered from the bodie. For he putteth a possibilitie both of the one waie & the other. In this place therefore the question is not, as touching the bodie, but as touching the soule of Samuel.

3. But the controuerisie is, whether this were

Samuel; or the diuell; or about which matter, not onlie the Rabbins, but also the christian fathers haue disagreed among themselves. Yea and among the latter writers Burgenis thinkeeth one waie, and Lyra another. Iustinus Martyr against Triphon saith, that It was Samuel. In which place he hath certeine things which may not well be granted. For he saith, that all soules before Christ, euen of the goodie, were after a sort vnder the power of the diuell; so that he might bring them backe when he would. But Christ saith, that Lazarus was in the bosome of Abraham, and not in the power of the diuell. What that (thou wilt saie) is a parable. I grant it; yet is it drawne from things like to be true, and which might be. Yea and Terullian to accounte that narration to be done inward, as he thinkeeth that Lazarus was Iohn Baptist, and the rich glutton was Herod; and that Christ would forebare their names. In the 46. ver. of Ecclesiasticus is set forth the praise of Samuel; where among other things it is saie, that he prophesied after that he was dead, and foresaweth to the hing the daie of his death.

Contrariwise Terullian in his booke *De a-* Terullian. *nima*, both manie things most wisely to be marked. For he calleth the arts of magicie, a second idolatrie. For euen as in the former the diuell sainteth himselfe to be God; so in the latter he sainteth himselfe to be an angel, or a dead man, & seeketh both waies to be worshipped. And it is no maruell, if he beall the outward ries of men, when as he before occupied the ries of the mind. For so (saith he) did the robs of Pharaos foreracers seeme to be serpents, but pett after death salthard was deuoured by of the truth. And whereas the Symonians say that they can with their incantations call vnto the dead vnto life, that was onlie a more imagination and a moche. And euen to the diuell in this place mocked both the witch and Saule, and decreed both the ries of the one, and the cares of the other. In Lybia (saith he) there be Nalomon, which lie at the tombs of their parents, and in Europe French men, which lie watching at the sepulchers of mightie men, to the intent they may receive oracles fro them after they are dead: but he saith that in those things there is no certeinie of foundnes; and that they be onlie vain lies and phantasies. Origin

Origin teacheth nothing purposeful of this matter; and yet in the historie of Balsam he saith, that god spirites do not obeie magicall incantations. Contrariwise Ambrose upon Luke, in the first booke and first chapter saith, that Samuel prophesied euen when he was dead. But without doubt he alloweth vnto that place of the 46. chapter of Ecclesiasticus. As touching Chrylostome and Ierom I will speake after.

The opinion  
of the  
fathers and  
first of Ju-  
stinus.

Luke. 16. 22.

1. Cor. 15. 3.

Exod. 7. 18.  
The robs  
of Pharaos  
serpents.

Origin.

Ambrose  
hild that  
was Sa-  
muel.

ward.

ward.

Augustine did not alwaies toyte of this thing after one manner. In the second booke to Simplicianus the third question, he saith, that both may be defended; yet as touching the first opinion he seemeth to doubt, how Saule being a man now reiectid by God, could talke with Samuel being a prophet and holie man. But he answereth, that this is no new thing; for in Job, the euill spirits talked with God himselfe.

Job. 1. 6.

1 Kings. 22.

The diuell

can doe things

not thine

against the

goblie.

Job. 1. 12.

and 1. 6.

1 Luke. 22. 31.

Matth. 4. 9.

Num. 22. 32.

A rule.

1 Kim. 6. 23.

1 Kim. 7. 25.

1 Sam. 6. 11.

lie fore-shewed what would come to passe; namely, that Saule with his forces should be slaine, and that the boie of Israel should be overthowne. But he answereth, that this also is no new or wonderfull thing; for the diuels confessed Christ to be the sonne of God. And in the Acts of the apostles, they gave a verie good testimony of Pauls doctrine. Euen to in this place, God voucheth the seruice of the diuell to the intent he might terrifie Saule; that he, which had taken counsell of euill spirits, might be afflicted with an euill answer. But he addeth; how might Saule be with Samuel; a wicked man with an holie prophet. Such he saith is the subtiltie of the diuell, alwaies to mingle some truth with falshood. For alluredlie (saith he) there is great distance of place betweene the filthy soules and the reprobate. And this he proueth out of the historie of the rich man and Lazarus.

This I make mention of, forasmuch as I see, that they which affirme the bodie of Christ to be in euerie place, haue no reason to so saie. For if that were true, then the soules of the goodlie should be in euerie place also. For Christ saith; Whereouer I am, there also my minister shall be. And by this means there should be no differences betweene soules; for all should be in all places. But they saie, that Ierom writeth thus against Vigilantius. For Vigilantius denied, that we should call vpon dead men; for they are in the bosome of Abraham, and doe not wander about their sepulchres and ashes. Then are they not (saith Ierom) in euill stinking prison, but in a pleasant and large coulodie, like certeine fathers of the order of Senators. But (saith he) They followe the Lambe whereouer he goeth; now the Lambe is euerie where.

Further (saith he) shall we grant this vnto theuels, that they can wander vpon and downe throughout the whole world; and shall we denie the same vnto the blessed soules of goodlie men? Here Ierom (by his god leaue may it be spoken) is somewhat out of the waie, and yet he hath not spoken of that, whereof these men did meane. He erreth, in saying that the soules of dead men are conuerfant about their sepulchres, and that they are to be invocated; yet doth he not saie, that they be euerie where. He compareth them with spirits, which he saith do wander euerie where; that is, they be sometimes here, and sometimes there. But if they were euery where, they could not wander here and there, and change places; and therefore Ierom saith, that neither the lambe, nor the soules departed, nor diuels be in euerie place; but that they in such sort wander at large, as they may be whereouer they list. These things I haue touched by the waie. But Augustine answereth,

1. Sa. 28. 19.

The diuell

sometime

speaketh

true things.

Mark. 1. 24.

Act. 16. 17.

A great di-

stance of

places betw-

een blis-

sed soules

and lost

soules.

Luk. 16. 26.

John. 12. 28.

of whi-

quitte.

Jerom a-

gainst vol-

gulantius.

Apoc. 14. 4.

1. Sa. 28. 19.

Augustine

booke De

mirabilibus

scripturis.

v. 10.

The dead

knowe not

what is

done in

this

life.

1. Ro. 9. 1.

1. X. 12.

1. 23.

reth, that that saying of Samuel may be understood of the generall state of death, and not of the equalitie of happines. In the latter end he addeth; that whereas there be but these two waies onlie, the former may not be admitted, vntill it be proued to be possible, that foules departed, may by magicall charmes be called againe, and beare the proposition of menis bodies. And therefore of necessitie the other waie remaineth; namely, that it was done by the counsell and will of God. But by the powder of incantation that could not be done; and yet by the purpose and commandement of God, it might be brought to passe. And to this opinion I willingly agree. For if God will, I see not that should hinder it.

In the first question to Dulcinius, he hath in a manner the same that he hath to Simplicianus. But in the questions of the old and new testament, (if that be Augustines booke) which I speake, because of the censure and iudgement of Erasmus, who hath separated that booke from the works of Augustine, he accometh it detestable for aie man to thinke, that it was Samuel whom the witch raised by; for it was onlie a delusion and an imagination. For the diuell did this to bying himselfe vnto honour, and to persuade men, that the soules of the dead be in his power, and that they shall not escape from his hands after death. But if the historie be well vnderstood, we shall not find aie thing at all to proue, that it was Samuel; but that Saule indeed, when he had heard the description of his apparel, and the fashion of his bodie, thought that it had bene so; that the scripture applied it selfe to his mind and opinion: that Saule fell downe and was shipped, and thereby the diuell had that which he sought for; that Saule would neuer haue suffered it, but that he said Saule should be with him the next day, because he was wicked, and should perishe euersling. But what shall we answer as touching Ionathas, who was well knowne to be a iust man? Wherefore this answer of Augustine seemeth to be feble. In his second booke De doctrina christianis, the 25. chapter, he saith, It was an image raised by by sacrifice. In another booke De mirabilibus sacra scripturis, (if the same be Augustines booke) he likewise denieth that it was Samuel indeed.

Also in his little booke De cura pro mortuis agenda, he hath manie excellent things; but in the end he concludeth, that it seemeth vnto him, the soules of those which are departed, be ignorant what is done in this life. For whereas they oftentimes appere, and present themselves to liuing men, sometimes washing, and sometimes sleeping; that may be done by angels, either good or bad. And he saith that we our selues doe

oftentimes present our selues to our friends in our sleepe, when as we our selues thinke nothing thereof. And that he himselfe being in Milian, expounded a hard place of Cicero to his scholler Eulogius being aplace in Aphrica. And vpon the Acts of the apostles, he saith, that Saule being come nere vnto Damasclus, God foretold vnto Ananias, that Saule in a dreame had sent him put his hands vpon him, and cure his eyes; and yet Ananias himselfe did not persent the same. In like manner he saith, that at Milian, when a certeine citizen was dead, there came a creditor, to whom he had some time bene indebted, and demanded his monie; and when the some due to the creditor, to be satisfied by his father which he liued, but yet having no quittance or discharge to shew, his father after wards shewed him in his sleepe, in what place the acquaintance was laid. This thing Augustine thinketh, not to be done by his father being dead, but by some angel. For if it be that the dead might be present in our fantasies, they would not (saith he) forsake vs in this sort; especially (saith he) my mother Monica, who in her life time could neuer be with out me, would not now being dead thus leave me. Wherefore he concludeth at the length, that they knowe nothing of our doings, more than it shall please God himselfe to reueale vnto them; or else that angels or soules departing hence, that shew vnto them; which notwithstanding (saith he) shew not vnto them all things, but onlie such things as God shall permit them.

But yet he saith, that may be that God sometimes extraordinarie sheweth some man as gaine into this life. For he saith, that in the siege of the citie of Nola, Felix the bishop of Nola being dead, was by manie men seene defending the citie; as by Paul being taken vnto the third heauen, might be among the angels; so may foules likewise extraordinarily retorne againe vnto men; and that euen so Moyses and Elias were seene vpon the mount to which Christ. But if thou wilt say that Elias then liued, yet it is manifest that Moyses was dead. This is therein the opinion of Augustine. In which place he by the waie toucheth in a manner the same things as concerning Samuel, which he did vnto Simplicianus; namely, that it may be, that God either by an extraordinary meane sheweth againe the soules of the dead vnto their sepulchres; or else that it pleaseth him to haue these things done by angels. But he neuer saith that foules are in manie places at one time.

6 Chylosom (so far as I knowe) hath written nothing expellie of Samuel; but yet in his 29. homilie vpon Matthew, he saith, that It must in no wise be believed, that the soules of dead men be conuerfant vpon the earth. The

A place in

Cicero re-

sounded by

Augustine

in his first

Act. 9. 12.

A credan-

at by 2. 10. 10.

A dead his

they appere

red alius.

Mat. 17. 3.

Chylos.

rich man (saith he) desired that Lazarus might be sent backe; but he obtained it not. Whereunto 30. by what meanes then could the witch obtaine this concerning Samuel? For the consolation was alike on both sides. The foules (saith Chrysostome) be in a certaine place waiting for the iudgement; neither can they remove themselves from thence. And in his second homilie of Lazarus; If the diuell (saith he) haue no power ouer them that be alive, how can he haue anie power ouer the foules of them that be dead? And in the fourth homilie he saith, If it should be so, there would be a great gap open for the diuell to beguile and deceive. For vnder that shew, he would returne, and teach errors. Wherebeit that sameth not to be of anie force; for so Caldo also, when he raised by the dead, and called backe Elias and Moses, might seeme to haue opened a way into errors. For vnder that shew also the diuell might infiltrate himselfe, and deceive men. But it seemeth, that Chrysostome restraineth this vnto secret things, and vnto the state of dead men. Certainly, they whom Christ and his apostles raised, neuer taught what was done in the other life.

They that take hold of dyables run into deceit. Ierom.

They (saith Chrysostome) that laie hold of dyables, run into deceit. The same thing (saith he) would come to passe, if vnder this colour of the dead, it should be lawful to aske counsel of diuels. Ierom hath nothing of this matter; but that vpon the seventh chapter of Elias he saith, that Spanie thought Saule to haue had received a signe out of the earth, and from the depth of hell, when it seemed that Samuel did rise up. This he saith, is the opinion of others, not his. Further he saith, that it seemed to be Samuel; but yet that it was not he. And vpon the 12. of Ieremie he witteth thus: God heareth them not in the time of necessitie & distress, because they also would not heare the voice of the Lord. And this did Saule also suffer; for when he was being sore afraid of the Philistines armie, was not warrthy to reue the word of the Lord, he turned himselfe to the witch, to the intent he might learne that of soles, which by earnest prayer and teares he should haue obtained of the Lord. By which words we learne, that although the Lord would not fauourable heare vs; yet we must not leaue praying, neither must we run to diuels, who cannot helpe the witchers of them, but must craue the helpe of the Lord. But by these words be definet not, whether the diuell by himselfe, or by the soule of Samuel brought againe, answered to the questions of inchantment. Ilya thinketh that it was verie Samuel; which he gathered partly by the text it selfe, and partly by that place of Ecclesiasticus. And

as when Balaam haue raised the diuell, God intermedd his owne selfe: even so when this witch called vnto hir an euill spirit, God sent Samuel. And by this meanes (saith he) we do not confirme, but we do quite ouerthrowe magicall arts.

Wherebeit all these arguments be weak. First, because Ecclesiasticus is not of the canonical scriptures; secondly, it might be called Samuel; because it seemed to be Samuel. Now by this meanes art magike might haue gotten authority. For albeit thou wilt saie, that Samuel obeyed not the charmes; yet he might seeme to haue obeyed them; but inturie (he saith) had bene done vnto Samuel, if the diuell had suborned himselfe vnder his person. But this maketh no matter; for the diuell doth oftentimes put on the person of God: and the prophets of the diuell behaue themselves as if they were the apostles and prophets of God. Paulus Burgensis thinketh, by reason of that place in Burgensis. Ecclesiasticus, that the spirit of Samuel was not brought; but his carcase onlie, and yet that in anie wise it was Samuel: for thus it is written in Ecclesiasticus, And when he was fallen allecpe: but the diuell he saith doth not sleepe. And he saith also that he complained, because the woman had troubled him, seeing his bodie was now at rest: but neither is this word of anie great impotence. For first it seemeth not credible, that a mangled and rotten carcase could be brought into that place. Secondly, if it had bene so, Saule himselfe might haue seene the same. Galatinus

Galatinus.

thinketh that it was the verie spirit of Samuel. But in that he suffered himselfe to be worshipped, he saith, that either it was a ciuill kind of worship onlie; or else that Saule worshipped God himselfe. Wherebeit, these also are but weak and vaine arguments. For if Saule would haue worshipped God, why doth he it then at the last, when he heard that Samuel was come? And as touching the ciuill worshiping, Saule was a king, and so much as he had no superiour magistrature, he could ciuill worship no man. But he addeh, that such a like thing was done vnder Ochoias the king. For when he had sent a messenger, to aske counsel of Achisbub, the god of Acaron; God withdrew it by Elias his prophet, & gave answere (and one of the captains of Ochoias fell botome and worshipped Elias.) Wherebeit this similitude is altogether unlike; for Elias was then liuing, and was seene of the messengers.

7 But to shew at the last, what mine opinion is, I am moued by these reasons to thinke, that it was but an imagination. First, seeing God would not giue answere vnto Saule, neither by prophets, nor by priests, nor by dyables;

Peter Martyr concludes that it was but an imagination. Deu. 18. 11.

it is not credible, that he would answere him by the dead, and especially seeing he expressedly forbidden that by the lawe. Further, it must needs be done, either by the will of God, or by the power of art. By the will of God it could not be done, because he forbade it: neither by the power of art; for witches haue no power ouer the goblin. Wherefore, Samuel must haue come, either willingly, or constrained; willingly he could not, for then he should haue consented vnto witchcraft: and to saie that he came against his will, that were not fit. I knowe, these reasons are not so strong, that they can persuade an obtinate man. But yet if we consider what belongeth vnto God, and what should reuoke vs from ciuill arts, they be effectual enough. In the decretals, the 26. question, in the chapter, Nec minus, it is written; that It was onlie a shew and a phantasia. These words be of Iddorus, but in the end Augustine is added.

### Whether the diuell can appeare, and knowe things to come, and giue answers.

Demons be spirits good or euill.

Whereof demons take their name.

The spirit of the diuell denies that there be demons.

Whether there be demons.

8 Now we must see, whether the diuell can appeare, and giue answers. Where hath bene always a great question as touching Demons not onlie among the Christians; but also among the Christians. They take their name of knowledge, as though they were named *diuines*, that is, skillfull; wherevpon excellent men haue bene called *Demoni*. And we read, that this difference was put betwene Plato and Aristotle, that the one was *Agg*, that is, *Diuine* and the other *Agg*, that is, *Skillfull*. The words be to be taken on both parts; for it signifieth spirits both ciuill and god. And God himselfe is sometime by the Christians called *Demoni*. There haue bene some, which thought that there were no such spirits at all. For the Peripateticks thought, that betwene the intelligencies (which diuine about the spheres) & our soules, there is yet no subsistence indoe with reason; and that whatsoever may be knowen of these things, we knowe it onlie by effects. For by the continuall and ordinarie motion of the spheres, we vnderstand that there be spirits, which do gouerne them; and that there is a providence. Wherebeit the marvellous things which are reported of Demons or spirits, cannot procure vs a knowledge of them. For that which doth not happen commonlie & publickly; but is shewed sometime by this man, and sometime by that, cannot be knowne but by supposition; for those things be true which are reported. But seeing it should be an impudent

part to denie those things, which by so manie historiographers and credible authours are put in writing, they haue found an other thist. For they saie, that there may be other causes; and in deed they inuent manie, whereby common nature may seeme to be auercome, & that wonderfull & incredible things may be brought to passe; & that the power and strength of things is secret and unknowne to the common sort, and is vnderstand of such onlie as be learned and inuoluntary. For (saie they) the rude and ignorant man will maruell at the loadstone, that so senseless and dead a thing should draw iron vnto it, and will crie out that it is done by art magike.

The power of the Load stone.

Further they saie, that man is the chiefest among vincible things; and that he, by a certaine power and indubitable propertie, bringeth marvellous things to passe. Such as that of Vespasian, who with his spittle heales a blind man; and by touching of a lame man with his foot, restored his lim. They adde further, that such is the power of mans phantasia, that it oftentimes shaketh and maketh to tremble the whole body, and channgeth it either vnto cold or vnto heate; as it cometh to passe commonlie in feare and anger. And Auicenna saith, if a man walke aloft vpon a beame, he doth castle fall; because his phantasia is greatly moued; and because he verelie thinketh with himselfe that he shall fall, and therefore releyth and falleth downe. Neither do such phantasies moue onely our owne bodies, but the bodies of others also. For so do women forcerers infect those, whom they do fasten behold with fixed eyes. Wherefore (saie they) seeing these things may be done by natural reasons, there is no need of spirits. But they adde, that all the things which we do be happen strange and wonderfull, may be referred to the celestiall bodies. For they saie, that God & the intelligencies may bring these things to passe; yet not without some meane, but by the beaueitie of spheres and stars; & therefore no need of Demons or spirits. Whereby they grant, that there be some things which cannot be done by natural reason, as, to raise the dead to life, and many mo such like things. But yet if you vsee those things also, they will say that they be false wonders deuised by men. Plato in his booke *De Republica* saith, that it is lawfull for men to make a lie for publick commonities sake.

Vespasian by a certain power healed both a blind man and a lame. The power of the phantasia.

The power of the celestiall bodies.

Plato held that for publicke commonities sake, it is lawfull to make a lie.

There be others who referre these things vnto the humors of mans bodie, and especially vnto melancholie. For Aristotle in his 320. blames the 30. section faith, that the Sicyls, and the excellent Emperours and famous philosophers were melancholicke; and that there were some, which being affected with that humore

The power of melancholie.

spake

Some spirits  
in manie  
things ap-  
pear on the  
face.

Some think  
that souls  
become de-  
mons.  
xaxoxol-  
uoxe.  
xaxoxol-  
uoxe.

Some would  
that de-  
mons are  
onlie in  
this life.

The opini-  
on of Tris-  
megistus.

Aphrody-  
sius.

A simil-  
tudo.

spake suddenlie manie languages, which they had neuer learned; and that they afterward being healed by physicians, left off speaking in that manner. Thus much for their part. But so much as they see, that by the most learned men, there is mention made of spirits; and that they cannot deny it without blushing: while they would confesse somewhat, they are diu-  
der into two sundrie sects. For they which thinke that mans soule is immortall, do saie that those which die after they haue liued well, and honestly, are made *xaxoxol-uoxe*; but eu-  
ill and wicked liuers become *xaxoxol-uoxe*, and so perpetuallie remaine. For seeing they cannot now looke contrarie actions, it must needs be, that those habits which they carried with them, should indure for euer. But they which would haue the soule to be mortall, do allow of spirits, but onlie in this life. So that they which applye all their senses, as much as in them lieth, to understanding, be *xaxoxol-uoxe*, and good spirits; but they which turne under-  
standing into sensuality, be *xaxoxol-uoxe*, and disturbe all things. So the former opinion doth affirme, that one kind passeth into ano-  
ther; which seemes no more possible to be brought to passe, than that a man should be changed into a wolfe. But if there be aerie cer-  
teine nature of spirits, no doubt the same must be firme and stedfast. But if the latter opinion were true: then man, because he is mutable, might be sometimes a spirit, and sometimes an angel. But these men would haue angels and spirits to be nothing else, but mens affec-  
tions.

Mercurius Trismegistus (as Augustine saith in his eight booke *De uitate Dei*, the 2. chapter) denieth that there be indeede anie spirits at all. For he saith, that God made gods & Intel-  
ligences separated from all matter; by which the spheres of the world are moued: further, that men also did make to themselves gods. Aclepius answereth; I thinke thou speakest of  
images. And so I do (saith Mercurius) but I mean: such images as be so applied to certaine  
aspects of the stars, that they can speake, and heale men, and assue with sickness, and worke  
miracles, and which be indured with mind, sense, and spirit. Alexander Aphrodysius saith, that  
there is a certaine diuine power spread through the whole world, which can worke all things;  
but that it is requisite the same should be wis-  
selye aduised to particular effects. For euen as  
we see it cometh to passe in the sunne, that al-  
though the heate thereof be the general life of  
all things; yet out of it being diuulge applyed,  
there are brought forth diuers and sundrie  
things; (so out of the vine it bringeth forth  
grapes, and out of the tree, apples:) so it that

power, which is so spread vniuersallie, be fitted  
vnto by wise men through herbs and stones,  
there do folowe marvellous effects. And thus  
much hitherto, as touching those, which vter-  
lie denie, that there is anie certaine nature of  
Demons or spirits.

¶ The Platonists grant, that spirits be cer-  
teine substances betweene gods and men; and  
that of them some be earthie, some waterie, some  
aerie, some fierie, and some starrie: and to eu-  
erie one of the spheres severallie, there be attri-  
buted severall spirits: as some be of Saturne,  
some of Iupiter, and some of the Sunne. And  
they were led thus to saie, chiefly by this rea-  
son: That betwene two extremes, there must  
of necessitie be placed a meane: that bea-  
uientie bodies are eternall and incorruptible;  
but ours are mortall and fraile: and therefore  
betwene both must be the bodies of spirits, as  
certaine meane things, which may somewhat  
communicate with both the extremes. For  
they, notwithstanding that, in time, they be e-  
ternall, yet are stirred with affects and moti-  
ons. And further, that as there be birds in the  
aerie, and fishes in the water; euen so in the  
highest region of the aerie, and in the fire, there  
be spirits. And least we should thinke them al-  
together idle, parallel they are twins of men,  
and partie rulers of provinces: that they both  
bring mens prayers vnto God, and also carrie  
the benefits of God vnto men: that of long they  
be called *Speare-gods*, of some *Patience-spi-  
rits*, and of other some *house-gods*. Apuleius  
not the least among the Platonists denieth spi-  
rits on this wise. He saith that by nature, they  
are liuing creatures; by wit, reasonable; by  
body, aerie; by time, eternall; and by mind,  
passiue: so that they be affected euen as men  
be. Whereby, all they do not seeme to agree in  
this, that the bodies of spirits are eternall. For  
Plutarch touching of the *ages*, saith it was repo-  
ted, that Pan the great god once died. But the  
diuines & fathers of sound religion do affirme,  
that there be spirits; and not onlie those by  
whom the celestiall spheres are diuised into  
but others also. And some of them saie, that  
they haue no bodies, proper I meane, and of  
their owne, whereunto they be so ioined, as they  
can quicken them: and yet they may ioine  
vnto themselves bodies, which be none of their  
owne.

¶ So all these men do confesse, that won-  
derfull things are done by spirits. The Epicu-  
reticks, by celestiall bodies; the Platonists, by  
bodies proper vnto spirits; and our diuines by  
spirits, sometime taking bodies to them, and  
sometimes without bodies. These three opini-  
ons confesse that there be magicians. But the  
first understand by magicians, god and wise  
men,

men, which little can applye things that they  
vnto things that laster; such as are philo-  
sophers and physicians. The Platonists do not al-  
ways take the name of magicians in euill  
part; but such as haue familiaritie with spirits.  
And christians, and the true professors, under-  
stand them onlie to be magicians, which haue  
made anie league with devils, and conspire  
with them against God. For there be some spi-  
rits good, and some bad; so some fell at the be-  
ginning, & some remained as they were: which  
thing Homer seemeth to signifie in Ate, and  
others in Ophiomachus. And it may be, that these  
things came vnto them by tradition from the  
fathers, although darkened with shadows and  
fables. Wherefore we affirme out of the bolle  
scriptures, that there be spirits: and a few pla-  
ces of the scriptures I will rehearse. For it  
would be infinite and troublesome to recite all.

A proofoe  
of spirits by  
the scrip-  
tures.

The diuell vexed Iob, overthrew his houses,  
and destroyed his cattell and seruants. In the  
hijoye of Achab, a leuie spirit was in the  
mouths of the prophets. Satan put into the  
heart to number the people. And David him-  
selfe in the psalme saith; that God plagued the  
Egyptians by euill spirits. In the prophet Za-  
charie, I saw a man stand to let Iesus the priest, that  
the people might not returne out of captiuitie.  
God forbid that sacrifices to be done vnto de-  
uils: which he would not forgiue, if there were  
no diuels at all. Satan tempted Christ; he  
plucketh the god seed out of mens hearts, & had  
bought the daughter of Abraham for manie  
pennes. The diuell payed Christ that he might  
goe into the herd of swine. Christ at the latter  
daie shall faile vnto the vngodly; & ye curled  
into euersliding fire, prepared for the diuell and  
his angels: by which words the diuels are most  
plainly distinguished from men. Iude the apos-  
tle saith, that Michael strove against the diuell  
for the bodye of Moses. And Iames saith, that  
the diuels beleue and tremble. Christ saith,  
that He sawe satan falling downe from hea-  
uen, and that he had not fall in the truth.

¶ If god spirits also I will onlie speake a  
word. They be the ministers of God. For as it  
is written to the Galathians: The lawe was  
giuen by the ministrallion of angels. And as it is  
written to the Ephesians; In the found  
of a trumpet, and voice of an archangel, the dead  
bodies shall arise. And Christ saith, that God will  
send his angels, to gather together his elect, from  
the four quarters of the earth. And therefore  
be rightlie and truly affirme that there be  
spirits.

¶ But now we must confute those reasons,  
which are wont to be allegged by others. These  
things (saie they) may be done by natural cau-  
ses. I grant indeed, that natural causes are of

teniments great and secret; and do bying ma-  
nie wonderfull things to passe. But these ef-  
fects, which we speake of; as images to speake  
and giue answers, and to utter the distinct voi-  
ces of men; also to foretell things to come, and  
those not common, but hidden and secret mat-  
ters; an ignorant man to haue suddenlie lear-  
ned arts & sciences; and to be to speake Greeke,  
Hebrew, and the Syriack tongue, and to recite the  
sentences of philosophers and poets, which ne-  
uer learned those tongues, nor euer handled poe-  
tics; or philosophers; a man to walke moult;  
so fire things that are a farre off; to put out a  
torch far distant from them; an ore of an affe to  
speake like a man: these things I saie do far  
exceed all force of nature. The magicians also,  
which worke these things, do ioine therewith  
all prayers, incantations, conjurings & con-  
mandements: wherein certeinlie, there is no  
natural power of working at all. Whereunto  
they adde their lines, characters, and circles;  
which things be within the compass of quanti-  
ty. But quantites be neuer reckoned of the  
philosophers among things that worke. The  
temperature of mans bodye (I grant) hath  
great force, but yet not so great; and besides  
it must needs worke by touching. Imaginati-  
on can do much. True it is; but euerie one in  
his owne bodye. Whereby not a man, no not in  
his owne proper bodye, how stronglie soeuer  
he imagine, can worke all things. For: if a  
man haue a withered arme, and so sleepe, as the  
pores cannot haue their passage; let him be  
as great imagination as he will, he shall not  
cure the same.

¶ As for bewitching, it is not so great a mar-  
uell; for in old women the humors are corrup-  
ted, and being diuulge into the eyes, do easilie  
infest, especiallye children and infants, whose  
bodies be so yeere of soare. But there be  
other things, which go beyond all power of be-  
witchings; as that was, when Christ fell Ioseph  
thousand men with fire flames; when Iosua  
commanded the sunne to stand still, (whereas  
Aristotle in his eight booke of physics, and in  
his treatise *De celo & mundo* saith, that globe  
intelligencies which moue the spheres, cannot  
cease at anie time from their worke; and that  
they should moue the spheres more slowlie, if  
but one star more should be added thereto);  
when Eliae called backe the sunne; when at  
the death of Christ, the sunne suffered an e-  
clipse, the moon being then in opposition. And  
which thing Dionysius writeth in an epistle vnto  
to Apollonians, and saith, that he had confide-  
rately beheld the same, while he was in Ac-  
gypt; and that it is extant in the historie of  
Phlegon & Apollonius. Whereunto adde, that the  
shadowe of Peter healed the sicke; & that Elias  
Act. 5, 15. that

The opini-  
on of the  
Platonists.

Job. 1, & 2.  
1. kin. 22, 23.

1. Para. 31, 1  
Psal. 78, 49.  
Zachar. 3, 1.

Leuit. 17, 7.

Marth. 4, 1.  
and 13, 19.

Luk. 13, 16.

Marth. 8, 31.

Mat. 25, 41.

Iude. 9.

Iam. 2, 19.

Luk. 10, 18.

Of good  
spirits.

Galat. 3, 19.

The. 4, 16.

Mat. 24, 31.

A confuta-  
tion of con-  
tract opini-  
ons of the  
Epicure-  
sikes.

The summe  
of all these  
opinions.

Mat. 24, 32

Iosua. 10, 13

Esaie 38, 8.

Luk. 23, 44.

Act. 5, 15.



1.Kin.17, 1. shut by the heavens, so that it did not raine for the space of thre yeeres and an halfe.  
 12 But humors in mans bodie can do much. 3 grant. But yet Christ saith, The works which I doo, no man can doo: and he must fomer be leaved than all the foet of Peripateticks. Others saie, that these things are onlie terrifications, devised by pudent men to containe the people in their dutie. But we do knowe, that nothing in the scriptures is feigned, or devised, for they be the pillars and fure foundation of the truth. And whereas they saie, that the soules of men do passe and be changed into spirits; that was sufficientlie confuted before, when the same was objected. Trismegistus saith, that Open do make unto themselves gods; namele, images made and applied unto certene aspects of the beaust, that they can speake, and give out oracles. But a foolishly thing it is to thinke, that men can make themselves gods; and yet if they can, why do they submit a humble themselves unto them: why do they worship them, whom they themselves made? for it is a ridiculous thing, to imagine that the cause of anie thing is inferior to the effect thereof. *Elsie* 44, 13. This doth Elsie verie well deride and taunt; A man (saith he) taketh a peece of wood, & with the one parte warmeth himselfe, and bikketh him bread; and with the other part, he frameth himselfe a god. But they can speake and give out oracles. *saie* rather David saith much more trulie; They haue eies, and see not; they haue eares, and heare not; they haue mouthes, and yet speake not. And if they be able to make gods, why do they not rather make themselves to be gods? for doubtles, they shuld be much better abused, if they would make gods of their owne selues, than to make them of stones and stocks. further, if they be gods, why do they not defend themselves? for those bods were a god while a go throlwen downe, and abolished. And although other tols are brought in by the naughty practise of the papists; yet shall those also by the helpe of God be one daie taken quite awaie: but if they were gods, yea, they would surely defend themselves. *Aphroditeus* saith, that There is a certene generall power, which by the properties of things (such as be herbes, stones, and metals) must be byatone unto verie particular thing. 3 admit it be so; yet no such thing can be brought to passe upon the sudden: for the works of nature haue their time & course. But Christ upon the sudden turned water into wine; & upon the sudden restored the blind and lame.  
 13 And the Platonists grant, that there be spirits; but they saie that they haue bodies either waterie, or aerie, or fireie. These things

doubtles they speake; whobey they speake such things as will not agree one withy another. for if the bodies of spirits be elementarie, how cometh it to passe, that they be eternall? for the elements haue both cold and heate, qualities both active and passive, and sometime they strine one withy another, and sometime they perly. Others reason after this sort; forso much as there be extremities, we must also grant that there is a meane; but heaven is eternal, and mens bodies are fraile and mortall; wherefore of necessitie, something must be put betwene these two, that may be partaker of both. This is no necessarie argument. for if we grant, that certene minds there be void of bodies; such as are the angels, and those intelligences, which dwelle the celestiall spheres; & further, that the soules of our bodies are the other extreme. Of other meane things there is no need. But they saie, that as fishes be in the sea, and soules in the aire; so there must be spirits couerlant in the fier. This is of no necessitie. for living creatures are not made for the elements; but the elements for living creatures: and living creatures were made for; mans sake. How what be can there come unto man by those living creatures, which abide in the fier?  
 Whobey, if these men will vge further, concerning the upper region of the aire, we will not deny, but that there be spirits there. for so Paule to the Chethians saith, After the prince that ruleth in the aire: and afterward in the same epistle; We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities & powers of this aire. *Allo* Chrylollom in his 1. homilie upon the first epistle to the thessalonians saith; that the whole aire is full of spirits. But let us consider of the bodies of these spirits; for they can be no aerie bodies, seeing the aire is a bodie of one kind. for euerie part of the aire is aire; and there can be no reason giuen, why one part thereof shoulde be a spirit more than another; and by that meanes the whole vniuersall aire shoulde be one continued bodie of spirits. Moreover, the bodie of a living creature must be instrumentall, and haue bones, sinewes, parts, and severall members; but these things cannot be made of the aire. Furthermore, a bodie must haue fashions & formes; which things cannot so much as be imagined in the aire. But there be (you will saie) fashions, and distinct formes in the clouds. 3 grant it; but they confit not of aie onele, or alone. And yet this argument is not firme; for spirits may take unto them the bodies of other things. Wherefore some do rather argue on this sort; Spirits haue bodies, either celestiall, or elementarie: if celestiall, then their moving must be

be round or circle-wise; as the moving of the heavens is; if elementarie, they must of necessitie followe the motion of that element, whereof they had their bodies.  
 14 But to let these things passe. The scriptures do not make Demons to haue bodies, but to be spirits onlie. How spirits & bodies, by an Antithesis are put as contraries. for euen as a spirit is no bodie, so likewise a bodie is no spirit. And Christ saith; A spirit hath no flesh nor bones. And that Demons be spirits, is proued by infinit testimonies of the scriptures. In the histoy of Achab, thus the diuell speaketh; I will be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of Achab. And Christ callt out an vnclene spirit; the vnclene spirit wandered through diuelt and desert places; afterward he toke to himselfe seuen other spirits, worse than himselfe. *saie* verily (will you saie) these spirits are but onlie certene impulsions of the minds, such as be the spirits of wisdom, and the spirits of knowledge; yea in worse deed they be substantie. for Christ saith that they behold the face of his father: and he shall pronounce at the later date; Go ye cursed into euertlasting fire, prepared for the diuell and his angels. Wherefore, seeing the holie scriptures do call Demons, by the name of spirits; 3 see no cause why anie shoulde attribute bodies unto them. But 3 speake not here of bodies, which are assumed and are come unto them; but of such as be proper to them, and of their owne.  
 3 knowe there be other men, somewhat sharpe witied indoe, which saie, that Demons be spirits in comparison of vs; euen as on the other side, angels in comparison of God, may be saide to haue bodies: and after this manner they saie; that Angelline affirmeth Demons to haue bodies. And they saie also, that Barnard was of the same opinion, both in his treatise to Eugenius, and also upon the Canticles; whobey, there be some, which interpret Barnard to speake of bodies assumed. But seeing the holie scriptures (as 3 said) do call Demons, spirits; 3 see no cause why we shoulde imagine them to haue bodies. for in the scriptures we see, that there are foure kinds of spirits. First in verie deed, God himselfe is a spirit; for he hath no need of a bodie, either for his being, or for his doing of anie manner of thing. The next be angels, as well god as bad; neither doubtles they haue need of bodies, as touching their owne proper actions; but to communicate in actions with vs, they haue need of bodies; for as we read in the epistle to the Hebrewes, They are admitting spirits. The third sort are the spirits of men, which doubtles that they might haue their being, haue no need of bodies; for they haue their being, and do liue, euen when they are se-

parated from their bodies: yet about their owne proper actions, as to haue sense, or to growe, they cannot be without bodies. The last be the spirits of brute beastes, which neither can haue their being, nor do anie thing without bodies. Why this distinction we see, that there is no need at all for Demons to haue bodies; for euen without them, both they may haue their being, and also may exercise their owne actions. for they loue, they desire, they vnderstand euen without bodies.  
 15 How we must see that they can do. Their power is of two sorts, one in vnderstanding; of another in working. But we will see what is to be attributed vnto them in both kinds. That spirits do knowe manie things, we haue no doubt; for after the opinion of Lactantius, Tertullian, Capella, and Plato in his booke intituled Cratylus, they be called Demones, quasi deique, a sciendo, that is, of knowing. But peradventure you will demand, whether they also knowe things to come; for the which things chiefe their counsell is demanded. 3 answer, that things to come are not alwayes knowne after one manner. If first things to come, are not knowne as things present, but of God onlie; for he knoweth his compasse comprehendeth all the differences of times. for (as Paule faith) All things are naked, & laid before his eies. Others do not pefectlie see the effects of things, but by reasons they gather of things to come; and that manie waies. for first they see the causes of things, and by them gather of the effects, which shall afterward followe. But of causes some are necessarie, and some not necessarie; of necessarie are such as be contained in the mathematikes, and in the opposition of continuation of the heauenlie spheres. So do men, which be skilfull in the stars, foretell manie yeres before hand, what time eclipses shall happen afterward. Other causes sometime are not necessarie; of certine; for their effects may be hindered, and such are those, which are called things seldom happening, or things that may happen this waie or that waie. So the mariner pronounceth of the tempest, and the physician of the pulse.  
 16 Then if there be such knowledge granted unto man, much rather must the same be granted vnto spirits. for they are not let by the humors and lumps of the flesh, as men be; besides this, continuance and experience is a furtherance vnto them. for if that old men do see manie more things than yong men do, then it is credible that spirits, which liue for euer, do knowe better manie things; and if they haue bodies proper and of their owne (as some thinke) they haue such as are nimble and ready, to find them in a breue short space they can sic to and fro them, out

Aphroditeus.

John. 2, 8.

March. 1, 5.

of the platonists.

Chrysol.

four kinds of spirits.

1.

2.

3.

Heb. 1, 14.

How the spirits knowe things to come.

How old age of spirits.

The nimbleness of spirits.

out



ouer all places of the world, and make relation what is done euer where. And for that cause Terullian calleth them, *filent Spirits*. When they do these things, they may seeme to be prophets; because they foretold such things as are afterward declared vnto vs in writing. And

Augustine. *Augustine De ciuitate Dei* saith, that they foretold these things, that they might be accounted for prophets. And in his booke *De genesi ad litteram*, he recterly an hystorie of a certaine man, who (as he saith) would take meate at no mans hand, but at the hands of a certaine pease; and that whereas the pease dwelled far off, about the space of foure mile from him, he was wont to tell before hand: Now is he coming out of his house, now is he outward in the towne, now is he in the tauerne, now is he come to the field, now is he at the doore. What Augustine denieth that this kind of foretelling is propheticke: for if a troope of soldiers should come from some place, & the watchman from the top of a towne seeing them coming, should declare that within such space they would be there; he saith that he neuertheless cannot seeme to be a prophet. Agreoue our spirits may foretell those things which God commandeth them to do; as oftentimes it happeneth: for God doth oftentimes command them to waite and destitoe countries. And (as David saith) He destroyed Egypt by euill angels.

2i simili-  
tude.

Spirits  
may foretell  
things com-  
manded  
them by  
God.

Psal.78. 49.  
1.Sam.28.  
uerse. 19.

Spirits of  
the aire.

They see the  
scriptures  
of the pro-  
phets.

Eph.3. 10.

An other reason is, for that they be placed in the aire, and from that region, as out of a watch towne, they perceiue the influences and euents of things much more easilie than we can. Besides this also, they see the scriptures of the prophets, and what ouer is done in the church: and although otherwiſe they knowe many things, yet are they much better learned, both by meanes of the scriptures, and also so: because they see what is done in the church. Wherefore Paule vnto the Ephesians saith, That the hidden myſterie of Christ is made manifest vnto principalities and powers in the heauenly places. And whereas Hermes Trismegistus foretold vnto Alcibiades, that there would be a fall and desolation of idoles, and lamented the same; Augustine saith in his booke *De ciuitate Dei*, that he might vnderstand that by the predictions of the holie prophets. Many times also do they knowe, for that they be present at the counsels of God, and are called to execute his commandments. For so, when God was taking counsell to decreie

Achab, the diuell stood by, and promised, that he would be a lieng spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of Achab: and a certaine other spirit obtained of God, to torment & trouble Iob. And if is no inward; for the diuell is the iniur of God to do execution. Holdeth, when they are thus called to the counsels of God, they see what he hath appointed to do. Oftentimes also, by effects, they gather the causes of things; as if they see a man lue well and goodly, they suspect that he is a chosen of God; for god begets the fruits and effects of election: in this manner, if they see a man to frame himselfe well vnto religion, and to kneele deuoutlie, they thinke he prayeth, although they cannot descende into his mind.

17 But although they can by so many waies and meanes knowe things to come, yet are they oftentimes deceived; and that for many causes: first because God can let the causes of things, though they be neuer to certifie of necessity. When the children were call into the burning furnace, it was certaine that they should be burned; but God did miraculously put himselfe betweene them and their destruction, and did hinder the cause: but this could not the diuell foretell. For God sometime preferueth those that he is, and sometime he leaueh them, so that they die, and so doth it oftentimes come to passe in things that may happen, either this waie, or that waie. For although the experience of spirits be verie great, yet is it not so great, but that they maie be deceived. Vn doubtedlie the nimblenes of spirits is verie great, so that they can easilie perceiue and report what is done in regions verie farre distant one from another: but yet oftentimes God reuoketh his purposed decrees. And if perhaps God command the diuell to waite and destitoe some region, and the people in the meane time do repent; if the diuell foretell that the destruction shall come upon them, it must needs be that he maketh a lie: for oftentimes when men begin to repent from their hart, God forgetteth all his threatnings. These spirits doublet do so: and knowe the predictions of the prophets: but yet they purpoe, which God doth reueale by his prophets, may sometimes be mitigated or changed. Elsie prophesied that Ezechias should die; but yet when he humbled himselfe, and earnestly repented, and his life was prolonged for 15. yeeres: but that this should come to passe, the diuell could neuer haue suspected. Wherefore they may be deceived, partly because they knowe not the will of God, and partly also because they cannot throughly looke into our minds. But the god angels are not deceived, because they referre all things to the will of God.

1.Kin.22. 33

Iob.2.6. 7

They gather  
the causes  
of the effects.

why the  
spirits are  
oftentimes  
deceived.  
God can let  
the causes,  
how cer-  
taine fore-  
they be.

God reuoketh  
his decreed  
purposes.

Eph.3. 10.

Eph.3. 10.

Eph.3. 10.

Eph.3. 10.

The diuell  
deceiued by  
ambition.

The diuell  
double  
meaning.

The know-  
ledge that  
the diuell  
had of  
Christ.

March.4. 3.

1.Cor.2. 8.

Luke.22. 3.

Besides this also, the diuell is oftentimes deceived through ambition: for he will seeme to be ignorant of nothing; & therefore he doubteth not to foretold those things which are far beyond his reach. For which cause he mingletli therewith colagable decrees & willes, that whatsoever should happen, he might seeme to haue spoken the truth. For he is a craftie and double dealing fellowe, as apperach by these two azales of his; I saie that thou Accidies the Romans conquer may. Again, Caelus being past ouer Halis flood, shall bring great riches vnto naught. Rightly therefore said Elsie in the 41. chapter; Let them tell vs what shall happen, & we will saie that they be gods: not as though they tell not the truth sometimes, but because they are oftentimes deceived. Wherefore this doth Elsie saie; Let them answere vs certainly, and truelie, and alwaies, and without error, what shall come to passe; and we will account them for gods. But howe soeuer the diuell may be deceived, if this be apperach in Christ our saviour, Augustine in the ninth booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the 21. chapter saith, That the diuell knew and false many things to be wondered at in Christ, but he knew not with that holisome and quickening light, wherewith reasonable spirits are cleared; but onlie, by certeine experiments and temporall signes: as yet did he know him far better than men did. For he false better and more merelie, than any sight of man can discern, how much the acts of Christ did surpass the power of nature. And yet that knowledge in the diuell did God reuelie and darken, when it pleased him. And therefore the diuell doubted not to tempt Christ, which certeinly he would not haue done, if he had knowen Christ indeed. For that knowledge depended vpon certein temporall signes, which oftentimes may trouble a man. Wherefore Paule saith, If they had knowen the Lord of glorie, they would neuer haue crucified him.

But these words (you will saie) were spoken of Pilate, and of the chief priests. But that maketh no matter; for they were the organs and instruments of the diuell. And Iohn saith, That the diuell put into Iudas hart to betray Christ. But what did let him you will say, that he might not perceiue the Godhead of Christ; I will tell you. Euen many things, which in Christ seemed to be but poore, abiect and vile. For he suspected, that he, which suffered such infamous things, could not be God and so it was but a suspicion, and not a knowledge. But wherefore then did he persecute Christ vnto death? He could be did not think, that his kingdom should be that meanes haue a fall: yet on the other side; when he saie that his tyrannie ought to decline, & that his ouerthrow was at hand, he thought

to meent it in time; and for that cause he sent those meanes vnto Pilate wife, because he now suspected that it was Christ. I might shew by other examples, how the diuell is wont to be deceived; but I thought this one to be sufficient for our purpose at this time. And he knoweth natural things reditio inward, but he knoweth God will sometimes blind him, and turne him awaie. For though he be sublimed and rebellious, yet is he in the hand and power of God. Agreoue, he is many times let, though through fear, enuie, malice, and pride. And we haue experience in our owne selues, how much reason is wont to be obscured by such troublesome affections. Hereinto may be added the attractions of torments, and the sharpenes of punishments (wherewith he is vered); wherefore the angels are lesse deceived, because they see all things vnto a quiet mind.

18 But you will demand, whether they see the thoughts and cogitations of men: Here they see that influence, are wont to make a double distinction. First, we vnderstand the mind to be, as it sheweth it selfe by signes, and by some mouing & gesture of the body; so diuels can see the minds of men. For they which be in an anger, are hot; they which are afraid, are cold and pale: And Augustine saith, that All the cogitations of the mind haue some impressions in the body: by them the diuell can make his conjecture, what we cast in our mind. Now our eyes are not so sharp sighted that they can see these things: yet the same Augustine in his booke of retractions, doth after a sort moderate this sentence; and denieth that any impressions arise in the body by quiet cogitations. But if we vnderstand the verie mind, as it is of it selfe, the diuell cannot reach so far, as that he can vnderstand what we desire or thinke. But you will saie; Seeing mans vnderstanding dependeth of phantasies and forms, cannot the diuell perceiue them? Yes verelie; but whether our vnderstanding be occupied in them, that he cannot see, much lesse can he see what the will doth determine of them. For the will doth not followe those forms & figures, but it followeth the vnderstanding. Now if we will aske counsel of the holie scriptures, they auerue most plainelie, that the diuell cannot knowe mans cogitations. For they call God, The knower of hearts; and saie, that He alone is the searcher of the harts & reines. And they adde that None knoweth the secrets of man, but the spirit of man that is within him; and that The spirit searcheth our euen the deepe myſteries of God, seeing onlie God and man can see mans hart, the diuell must needs be excluded.

And Salomon in the second booke of Chronicles, the first chap. in those solemne prayers, which he made after the finishing of the temple, prayeth

Mat. 27. 19.  
2i. de diuina  
of diuina  
will.

The diuell  
through his  
owne malice  
and pride.

whether they  
see the cogita-  
tions of  
men.

Psal. 11.

1.Cor.2. 11.

which

heth thus unto God; Thou onlie O Lord knowest the thoughts of mans heart. As if he had said, I am man, no angels, nor any other thing created. And Ieremie; Puerile (saith he) and very deepe is the hart of man: who is able to search the bottom thereof? And of the person of God he saith, I am God, which searcheth the heart and reins. Further, God will not twinge together with the diuell, so that the diuell also should be able to see the cogitations and minds of men. And this is thought of some to be done through the merite of God. For if he could looke into the secret counsels of our hearts, he would tempt vs much more vehemently. The author of the booke De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis affirmeth for certaintie, that the diuell cannot knowe the thoughts of men. And Ierom upon the ninth chapter of Matthew expounding these wordes; And Iesus perceiving their thoughts; by this (saith he) it is evident enough, that Christ is God; seeing he can reach even into the hearts of men. Xp signs therefore, and outward tokens the diuell maie geffe what he cast in our minds; but to what end and purpose, and what he think, he cannot for: certaintie understand. And out of doubt if he knewe force of the faith; constancie of holie men, he would never tempt them, lest he should be shamefully rejected, as it fell out in Iob.

19 Touching the knowledge which the diuell hath, we have spoken sufficientlie. Nowe we must see by what meanes he is able to declare those things, which he saith will come to passe; & there be divers waies thereof. For he hath oracles; fore-speakings, dreams, superstitions, working by circles and pikes in the earth, divinations on the water, necromancie, lots, satisfactions by birds & beasts, and a number which like. And these things he sheweth unto men for no other end, but to obtaine of them some offering & service. Which thing Seneca not understanding, in the fourth booke of his naturall questions testifieth at certaine things, which seeme to serve for our purpose. For he saith, that Amongst the Egyptians there was a custome, that when they which were the obsequies [of the comming] of haile, had yccured by fine cloud, that haile was ready to fall upon their vines, they should diligently waite the people of the same: now they fled neither to clothe nor cover, but to sacrifice. For they which were of some wealth, killed either a collicke, or a white lambe: & those of the poorer sort which had neither cocke nor lambe, used violence on themselves, & with a very sharp pointed knife let themselves blood out of the thumbs; as though foolishly (saith Seneca) that filie little blood could reach unto the clouds. These are his wordes; but (as I saie) he understood not the ambition of euill spirits.

20 Nowe we must consider of the power of

spirits, as touching those lawes, which seeme to be above nature. Some test at all this matter, and thinke that nothing at all can be done either by magicians or by spirits. And of this mind is Plinie in the thirte booke of his naturall historie, and the first chapter: for he saith, that It is found by most evident reasons, that all magicke is vaine, and hath neither any certaintie nor powerance. For he sheweth that Nero being a prince, as he gaue himselfe to the studie of singing and ruling of chariots; so he was desirous of art magicke, and that he wanted neither but no power, nor instructio. For that Tyndaris the king of Armenia, receiued his kingdom from him, and by his commandment brought there leaened magicians out of the east; that Nero also as he was very diligent suffered himselfe to be instructed, but that at the length all came to nothing. And this also may be said of Iulian the apostata; for after that he had begun to giue himselfe unto magicians, all things began to fall to ruine. If these to great princes, and as it were rulers of the world, could bring nothing to passe; what may we geffe of other men? And yet the diuels must needs haue obeyed those two men most of all; for they were the most malicious enemies of christian religion. But howe soeuer it be, there is no doubt but the diuels can do manie things; hotobut, while they would do nothing for Nero and Iulians sake, God onlie knoweth. For he will not haue the diuell to do more, than he himselfe permitte; and willety him to do; for the strength of spirits, and their power of working, dependeth no lesse vpon God, than doth their knowledge.

21 But that magicians can do much, it may be proued out of Gods lawe. For in the 42. chapter of Exodus, the 20. of Leuiticus, & in the 8. of Deuteronomie, it is commanded that The magicians, soothsayers, and withers should be punished with extreme death. The same thing also is decreed by mans lawe. For there is a cōstat in the twelue tables, that none should charme other mens fruits. Whereof Plinie likewise maketh mention; and so doth Seneca in his booke of naturall questions. These lawes are not made but of things that be, and do vniuall come to passe. In the code De malefici & mathematici, there be many lawes extant concerning this thing; and especiallie the lawe of Constantius; who without doubt was selouie in the empire with Iulianus, & peraduenture his naughty neice; for it is certaine that Iulian attributed much to such follies; was touched in those lawes, where in it is thus decreed; If anie magician shall repaire to another mans house, let him be burned; he that brought him thither, let him be banished into the plands; let them be striken with the sword, let them be cast into the wild beastes;

they being such as will disturbe mankind. In the decrees, cant. 26. qu. 5. beginning Nihil aliud agitur, among the Ctranagantes, there is a speciall title of exorcisers: to manie lawes should neuer have bene made, unless it had bene known for certaintie, that magicians and withers are able to do somewhat. And David in the 58. psalme, saith, that The poison of hemis is like the poison of a serpent, and as if the venom of a deafe adder stopping his ear, which refuseth to heare the voice of the indanther or charmer, charme he neuer lo wiselie. David by these wordes commendeth not inchantment; but yet undoubtedly he sheweth, that there is a certaine power of inchanting.

In the 13. of Deuteronomie; If anie prophet shall doe signes and wonders, and would lead thee awaie to strange gods: thou shalt not spare him, thy hand shall be vpon him. And in the 24. chapter of Matthew; There shall come false prophets, and false chrits, and shall giue out figures, to turne, if it were possible, the elect into error. And Paul saith in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, that The comming of antichrist shall be in power, in signes, and in leng wonders. Also the histories, as well those as yfopane, doe teach vs this thing. In the historie of Iob, the diuell brought downe fire from heauen, and destroyed the herds of cattell. He raised by the winns, and shoke the foure corners of the house, and crushed Iobs children in peeces. In the gossell we read, that manie were taken with diuels, whome downe on the ground, tomented, and cast into the fire. Other diuels, when they were manie, and yet possessed but one man, said that They were a legion, and obtained leaue to be sent into a heard of swine, which they droue headlong into the sea. In the histories of the Egyptians we read, that the image of fortune spake at two severall times; first that it was well; or rightlie set up; and secondly that it was ill withoughipped; that Tuccia the vestall virgin, to cleare hir selfe from suspicion of whoredome, carried water in a sieve; that Claudia, for the same cause, when the ship (wherein she carried called Bona dea was carried) stracke so fast in the sands, that by any strength of man it could not be moved, the with hir girle onlie remoued and drew it to the shore: that a serpent slough Aesculapius euen unto Rome. And Plinie saith, that the olive garden of Vettius Marcellus started over the high waie; & that growling came did oftentimes by art magick sit from one place to another. Aetius Nauis did cut a whele stone in sunder with a barbones razor. What needeth manie wordes; If there an infinit thing to shew all that might be of this matter. And to saie that all these things are but fables, especiallie seeing some such things appeare unto vs

out of the holie scriptures) it should be too impudent to part. 22 What to the intent we may keepe some method, we will thus distinguish this power. Those things which seeme to be done, he either done indeed; or else they are but feigned by illusion. In those things which be done in verie deed, as they seeme to be; there are those things attributed unto spirits. First, that they can gather together the principles & beginnings of things, out of which they knowe something may be made; and then can compound one with an other, and some together things that were, with things that suffer: further, that they can make & vniuall some things; lastly, that they can put on bodies, & in them be familiarly conversant with men. First, that they do gather together the principles of things, and apply them unto a matter; as Augustine testifieth, both in his booke De ciuitate Dei, and also in his third booke De trinitate, the seventh and eight chapters. By this meanes they knowe things of great wonder and admiration; and yet we see onlie the effects; for the waie and meanes whereby they are done, we cannot perceive. But those miracles, which be done by God, or by good men, in the name of Christ, haue no need of anie such labour. So verelie, nor yet those things which be done by euill men, in the name and power of Christ, need anie such meanes: onlie the diuell feareth those waies. And yet, euen in those things he can do nothing, in more than God giueth him leaue: for he cannot do all things at his owne libertie.

To make this matter plaine, Augustine (mee thinketh) doth vs an apt similitude; & sic se that euill and wicked men, and such as are condermed to twinge in the mines, haue the vse of fire and hammers; and yet not to the end they should mar them, but that they might apply them to some vse: euen so, the diuell cannot do so much as he would, but so much as God giueth him libertie to do. The selfe same must we thinke concerning that power, whereby the diuell diueth and moueth anie thing. For he might be suffered to haue his owne will, he would disturbe the whole earth & the heauens. And therefore those those magicians of Pharao, when they had brought forth frogs, and had turned the water into blood; yet afterward they failed in bringing forth lice. But that it was so hard a thing to make lice, but because God did hinder them; and therefore they were constrained to crie out; This is the finger of God. Those men were called magicians, and therefore they used such kind of meanes. But Moses needed no such meanes, although he brought to passe much greater and more marrellous things; for he was no magician; altho that Plinie the perpetual auer of Chritian religion thought him to be. For in

By what meanes the spirits can giue ane liues.

Augustine De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis, vers. 4.

That art magicke is vaine and vncertaine.

vers. 5.

Deut. 13.

vers. 34.

2 Thes. 1.

Iob. 1. and 2.

Mar. 5. 28.

31. and 32.

Mat. 17. 15.

That magicians can do manie things, it is proued by the scriptures. Exodus. 18. Genes. 26. and 27. Deut. 18. 10.

The power of spirits is distinguished.

They gather the principles of things, and apply them to a matter.

They can do no more than God giueth leaue.

A similitude.

Exod. 8. 7. and 19.

soliman auerit of Chritian religion.



Exo.19, 16.

Act.1, 10.

An obsec-  
tion.  
2. Thell. 1, 9.

Ibid. c. 11.

The wicked  
are wish-  
ed to be de-  
stroyed.

2. Cor. 5, 5.

John the  
angels and  
spirits do  
eat.

clouds, and the aire: to a spirit peaceth through all things. When the laue was giuen vpon Sina, there were seuerall lightnings, smokes, vapours, and fires: also, the land was shaken with earthquakes. When Christ ascended into heauen, the angels accompanied him: for they both offered themselves to be seene, and spake also vnto the disciples; Yee men of Galile, why stand ye gazing vp vnto heauen? Therefore it were an impudent part to saie, that all these things were onlie imaginations, and deceitings of the mind. And, and the Peripateticks did neuer so saie, that these are onlie vaine images, and faired theues in mans imagination. They rather inuented other reasons; namely, [that they be] humors, secret powers of nature, and celestiall bodies. Why then (thou wilt alledge) doth Paule saie to the Thessalonians, that Antichrist shall come in power, in wonders, and signes of lying? For: if they be true things, how cometh it to passe then, that they be signes of lying? I answer, that they may be called lies, either of the cause; for the diuell being author of them, is a liar: or else of the effect, for he shall make them, to the end he may deceiue men. And assuredly, the wicked are wisheth to be deceiued and mocked. For euen as Paule saith, Because they receiued not the loue of the truth, God shall deli- uer them from delusions. Euen so in the apostles time, men were deliuered to satan. But some- times these things be done, to shew the mightie power of God, for seeing the power of the diuell is so great; it is requisite that the power of God, whereby he is honored and ruled, should be much greater. But it is our part to giue God continu- all thanks, by whose onlie benefit we are de- ferred from the diuell. Therefore these bodies, which the diuell do apply vnto themselves, be airc. For: euen as water is congealed into yce, and sometimes hardeneth till it become chaffinall: euen so the airc, whereby things do cloth themselves, is thickened, so that it becometh a visible body; but if it may seeme, that the airc alone is not suf- ficient, they can also mingle some vapour of wa- ter therewith, whereof colours may be had. For this we see to be done in the rainbowes, as saith Virgil; *1. The aenebowe downe did come with sil- uer wings of dropping flowers.* *2. Whose face a thousand iunior heues against the sunne deuoures.* 27 There is no need at all to attribute vnto di- uels and angels those vitall parts; namely, the lungs, hart, and liuer: for they do not therefore put on bodies, to the end they may quicken them, but onely that they may be seene, and therefore they vse them as instruments. But thou wilt saie that they do eat, and that Christ, when he was ri- sen from death, did eat with his disciples. Assu- ringe in this 24 epistle. *Ad Deo grem, quesi.*

saith, that In Christ that eating was of no neede sitte, but of power, and he vseth this similitude. For in one sort (saith he) both the earth sucke vp waters, and in another sort the sunne beames; the earth of necessity, but the sunne by a certaine strength and power: euen so (saith he) the bodies raised by from death, if they could not take meate, they should not be perfectlie happy. I gaue alie, if they should haue need of it, they should be imperfect: heerefore in that Christ did eat, it was not of necessity, but of power; and he did eat with his disciples, least they should haue thought that their eies were deceiued: and so we saie, that the angels also and spirits do eat. *1. Hee but (thou wilt saie) euen this is a deceit, when as they will seeme to be men, being no men. I answer, God spirits do not deceiue, for they come not to proue themselves to be men, but to declare the commandments of God.* \* Also a lie is alwayes ioined with a mind to deceiue: but in the end, they sufficientlie shew themselves by some token, to be angels; for they banish awaie, and suddenly transfigure them- selves out of sight. Wherefore, they instruct men two manner of waies, first, in that they shew the commandments of God; secondlie, because they declare their owne nature. And this we knowe was done by those angels which were first of Gedeon and Manah. But euill spirits first do teach false things, and then lead vs from God; forasmuch, they will also seeme to be ter- rible, and of far greater power, than they be in- deed, and promise that they will either giue or do manie things; neither do they onely change themselves into men, but also into angels of light. And thus haue we spoken sufficientlie of these three parties concerning the power of spirits.] 28 Now fourthlie there remaineth to speake of the illusion of the senses. And the senses may be deceiued many waies; first by a certaine simi- blence, and deterritie, which we see to be done of them, vpon two commonlie call jugglers. For they first shew the means that one thing seemes to be an other thing, and that without any helpe of spirits. Secondlie, they deceiue also by using of certaine natural things, as metals, or perfumes, whereby it is brought to pass, that a parlour may seeme to be filled ouer with serpents, or that men seeme to haue bogs beames, or allies beades. Of these waies or means of illusions we do not speake now in this place. But the diuell, to be- guile the senses, sometime vseth things con- sisting in nature; namely, to mingle colours or forms, and to alter the quantites of things: for so things do seeme far otherwise than they be. Otherwhile he putteth some bodye vpon him, and so fettereth himselfe before mens eies. Other- while he darkeneth the meane, so that a thing may seeme greater than it is: as he putteth a cloud

State,  
A lie is al-  
wayes ioi-  
ned with a  
mind to de-  
ceiue.

Ibid. 6.

1. Cor. 14

Epist. 1. 2.

The diuell  
speaketh to be  
guile by  
things con-  
sisting in  
nature.

A simili-  
tud.

Gen. 19, 11.

1. King. 6, 18.

The laith  
images be-  
fore the  
sense of  
phantasie.

By the po-  
wer of the  
phantasie  
a man may  
thinke he  
seeth that  
which he  
seeth not.

The diuell  
can call  
things back  
from the  
memory to  
be sente.

The differ-  
ence in  
this matter  
betweene  
the good  
angels and  
the bad.

1 Sam. 8,  
13 and 14.

cloud or mist betwene, that it may not be seene at all. And such a like thing that seemeth to be, which Plato mentioneth of Gyges, and Virgil of Aeneas. Sometime he altereth the instrument of the senses, casting ouer the eies bloumie hu- mors, that all things may seeme bloumie. So in sick men, when cholere aboundeth in the tong, all things seeme bitter. Sometime he dasheth the sight, and stricken men with such blindness, that they cannot see one whit; as once he did by the Sodomites, when they would haue broken perforce into the house of Lot. So Elizeus blind- ed the aduersaries host, when he led the same into Samaria. Also he can beguile the senses after another sort; which that we may vnderstand, we must know that of those things, whereby by sense are con- ceived, there are three certaine images, and doe come vnto the senses, afterward are receiued vnto the common sense; then after that, vnto the phan- tasy; last of all vnto the memory; and there are preferred: and that they be imprinted and gra- uen in cuerie of these parts, as it were in waie. Wherefore when these images are called backe from the memory vnto the phantasie, or vnto the senses; they beare backe with them the verie same scales, and do so strangle euen a more affection, that those things seeme euen now to be sensible perceived, and to be present. For so great may the power of the phantasie be, (as A- ristotle teacheth in his booke *De sensu et vigilia*) that those things which be far off, a man may thinke that he doth most certeinlie see and touch them. These things doe sometime happen vnto men that be awake; as for example, vnto men possessed, and vnto the franticke; and sometimes also vnto men that be asleepe. Wherefore that which is done by natural meanes, the same also may be done by the diuell. For he can call backe the images of things from the memory vnto the phantasie, or vnto the sense, and so de- ceive the eies of men. And this thing not onlie can the euill spirits do, but also the good angels. For it is likelie, that they do ingraue in the phantasies of the prophets those things which God would reueale. But betwene the good angels and the bad there is much difference. For when as anie thing is imprinted by god angels, the light of nature is confirmed: but if it be done by euill spirits, it is troubled and confounded. The difference is par- tie in the end, a partie in the things themselves. For as touching the end, a good angel will right- ly instruct men, and propoundeth things that be pure and incorrupt; but euill angels do not teach but deceiue, and doe laie before vs counterfeyt, vniure, and corrupt things. These things we see happened in the liues of Saul. For the diuell by his art called backe the iudges from the me-

more to the phantasie and sense; so that the feeble witth thought the saue Samuel himselfe; 3. Saule thought that he had heard him speake. For that action was not natural, neither was it directed either by temerity or by chance. For there was no reason at all why Samuel, rather than anie o- ther man, should fall into the imagination of that witth. he must needs be his crafts-master, or verie cunning that framed these things in his phantasie and senses. And vnderstandeth, there is no need to be so- lely thought, that these be brought in by the di- uell; or by an angell fresh and new forms, for they vse such as be present. While we sleepe, we fall into dreames; which sometime the good an- gels, sometime the bad do soine and couple one with another, that something may be signified by them. They cannot bring to passe by any po- uer, that he which is borne blind should become of colours, or he which is borne deaf should become of sounds: for there be no such images in their minds. But it may be doubted, that when the spirits do late these images before vs, whether we be constrained of necessity to thinke vpon them or no. Those that be awake, are not constrained thereto; for the exercise of the mind dependeth on the will, and that cannot be compelled. Wherefore the safest waie is, conti- nually to exercise our senses either in the holie scriptures, or in praiers; neither is there any- thing better, than to reuiewe the mind daily from humane affairs vnto diuine things; that wheneuer the diuel approacheth vnto vs, he may (as Ierom saith) find vs alwayes occupied. 29 With illusions, old women speciallie can do verie much. Such as are Cnidia in Horace, and Cratidia in Iouenal. Of the Creteans they were called Empusa; Lamiæ, Mormolyce, 5. Striges. Of the Lamiæ Iameth Duris, in his second booke of the matters of Lybia; he saith that La- mia was an exceeding faire woman, and the concubine of Iupiter; which thing Iuno taking verie greeuouly, both killed the same, which Iupiter bad by her, and also diffused her in most shamefull guise: now this being not able to abide or beare so great an iniurie, first began to be furious; and secondlie to kill other mens children also. Further he saith, that there be of those kind of women in the guise of the Lamie in Lybia, and that those which haue suffered hypochondria, sticking fast in the quick-lanes, are fourthly taken, and deuoured by them. Ieremie in the fourth chapter of his lamenta- tions saith, that the Lamiæ disfigured their heads, for they haue verie faire heads. Albeit in the Hebrew it is written Liliim, about which toom the Rabbins do verie much triffe. Of the Empusa, Lamiæ, and Mormolyce, Philostratus writeth in the life of Apollonius Tyanus; for he,

Why bying  
in no new  
forms.

Whether we  
be compell-  
ed to thinke  
of the forme  
brought in.

Of Lamiæ  
Empusa  
and such  
like.

saith,

Exo. 19, 16.

Act. 1, 10.

An obit-  
tion.  
2. Theff. 4, 9.

1bidem.  
act. 11.

The wicked  
are worthy  
to be de-  
stroyed.

2. Cor. 5, 5.

How the  
angels and  
spirits do  
exit.  
Luce 24, 45.

clouds, and the aire: to a spirit perfectly through all things. When the lawe was given upon Sina, there were certain lightnings, smokes, vapours, and fires: also the land was shaken with earthquakes. When Christ ascended into heauen, the angels accompanied him: for they both offered themselves to be seene, and spake also vnto the disciples: Yee men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing vp vnto heauen? Therefore it was an impudent part to saie, that all these things were onlie imaginations, and deceivings of the mind. And, the Peripateticks did neuer so saie, that these are onlie vaine images, and fained theues in mans imagination. They rather inuented other reasons; namely, [that they be] humors, secret powers of nature, and celestiall bodies. Why then (thou wilt allege) doth Paule saie to the Thessalonians, that Antichrist shall come in power, in wonders, and signes of lying? For if they be true things, how cometh it to passe then, that they be signes of lying? I answer, that they may be called lies, either of the cause [for] the diuell being author of them, is a liar: or else of the effect, for he shall make them, to the end he may deceiue men. And assuredly, the wicked are worthy to be deceiued and mocked. For euen as Paule saith, Because they receiued not the love of the truth, God shall deli- uer them from delusions. Euen so in the apostles time, men were deliuered to satan. But some- times these things be done, to shew the mightie power of God, for seeing the power of the diuell is so great; it is requisite that the power of God, whereby he is bidden and ruled, should be much greater. But it is our part to giue God continu- all thanks, by whose onlie benefit we are de- fended from the diuell. Therefore these bodies, which the spirits do apply vnto themselves, be airc. For: euen as water is congealed into yce, and sometime hardeneth till it become chaffinall: euen so the airc, whereby with spirits do cloth the mel- lues, is thickened, so that it becometh a visible body; but if it may seme, that the airc alone is not suf- ficient, they can also mingle some vapour or wa- ter withall, whereof some be bane. For this we see to be done in the rainbowe, as faith Virgil:  
The same we doe we did come wish-  
ser ming of dropping showers,  
W hope face a thousand iunior heues  
against the somnes deuours.

27 Where no need at all to attribute vnto di- uels and angels those vntall parts; namely, the lungs, hart, and liver: for they do not therefore put on bodies, to the end they may quit them, but onlie that they may be seene, and therefore they be them as instruments. But thou wilt saie that they do cate, and that Christ, when he was risen from death, did cate with his disciples. Augu- stine in his 94 epistle *Ad Deo gratias*, quæst. 1.

saith, that In Christ that raising was of no neede sitte, but of power, and he vbleth this similitude. For in one sort (saith he) both the earth sucke by waters, and in another sort the sunne beames; the earth of necessitie, but the sunne by a certaine strength and power: euen so (saith he) the bodies raised by from death, if they could not take meate, they should not be perfectlie happie. I gaue also, if they should haue need of it, they should be imperfect: wherefore in that Christ did cate, it was not of necessitie, but of power; and he did cate with his disciples, least they should haue thought that their cies were deceiued: and so we saie, that the angels also and spirits do cate.

And thou (thou wilt saie) euen this is a conceit, when as they will seme to be men, being no men. I answer, God spirits do not deceiue, for they come not to proue themselves to be men, but to declare the commandments of God.

\* John a lie is alwaies ioined with a mind to deceiue: but in the end, they sufficientlie shew themselves by some token, to be angels; for they banish auaice, and suddenlie worshippinge shewes out of sight. Wherefore, they instruct men two manner of waies, first, in that they shew the commandments of Gods celestiall, because they declare their owne nature. And this we knowe was done by those angels which were sent of Gedeon and Manoah. But euill spirits first do teach false things, and do leade vs from God; secondly, they will also seme to be ter- rible, and of far greater power, than they be in- deed, and promise that they will either giue or do manie things: neither do they onlie change themselves into men, but also into angels of light. And thus haue we spoken sufficientlie of these thyre partiall concerning the power of spirits.]

28 Now fourthly there remaineth to speake of the illusion of the senses. And the senses may be deceiued many waies, first by a certaine im- blens and dertertie, which we see to be done of them, whome we commonlie call jugglers. For they find the meane that one thing seems to be an other thing, and that without any helpe of spirits. Secondlie, they deceiue also by using of certaine natural things, as metals or perfumes, whereby it is brought to passe, that a parlour may seme to be flowred ouer with serpents, or that rum seme to haue bogs beanes, or asses beades. Of these waies or meane of illusions we do not speake now in this place. But the diuell, to be- guile the senses, sometime vbleth things con- sisting in nature; namely, to mingle colours or forms, and to alter the quantites of things: for so things do seme far otherwise than they be. Whereby he putteth some bodye vpon him, and so tetheth himselfe before mens eyes. Where- while he bareth the meane, so that a thing may seme greater than it is: or else he putteth a cloud

of state.  
It is in ab-  
solutis in-  
duis with a  
mind to de-  
ceiue.

Id. 6.

1. Cor. 14

Epist. 26.  
sile the out-  
ward senses

The diuell  
sleth to be-  
guile by  
things con-  
sisting in  
nature.

A simili-  
tude.

Gen. 19, 11.

1. King. 6, 18.

He laith  
images be-  
fore the  
sense of  
phantasie.

By the po-  
wer of this  
phantasie a  
man may  
thinke he  
seeth that  
which he  
seeth not.

The diuell  
can call  
things back  
from the  
sensible to  
the sense.

The differ-  
ence in  
this matter  
betweene  
the good  
angels and  
the bad.

1 Sam. 28,  
13 and 14.

cloud or mist becometh, that it may not be seene at all. And such a like thing that seemeth to be, which Plato mentioneth of Gyges, and Virgil of Aeneas. Sometime he altereth the instrument of the senses, casting ouer the eyes blouise hu- mors, that all things may seme blouise. So in sick men, when choler aboundeth in the tong, all things seme bitter. Sometime he daleyeth the sight, and striketh men with such blindness, that they cannot see one whit; as once he did by the Sodomites, when they would haue broken perforce into the house of Lot. So Eliuize bliv- ded the auertaries host, when he led the same into Samaria.

Also he can beguile the senses after another sort; which that we may vnderstand, we must know that of those things, which by sense are con- ceived, there arise certaine images, and do come vnto the senses, afterward are receiued vnto the common sense; then after that, vnto the phan- tasy; last of all vnto the memoie; and there are preferred; and that they be imprinted and gra- uen in euery of these parts, as it were in waie. Wherefore when these images are called backe from the memoie vnto the phantasie, or vnto the senses; they beare backe with them the verie same scales, and do so strangle the sence a moie affection, that those things seme euen now to be sensible perceived, and to be present. For so great may the power of the phantasie be, (as A- ristotle teacheth in his booke *De sensu et cogita-*) that those things which be far off, a man may thinke that he doth most certenlie see and touch them. These things do sometime happen vnto men. These things do sometime happen vnto men possessed, and vnto the frantic; and sometimes also vnto men that be aleepe. Wherefore that which is done by natural meane, the same al- so may be done by the diuell. For he can call backe the images of things from the memoie vnto the phantasie, or vnto the sense, and so de- ceive the eyes of men.

And this thing not onlie can the euill spirits do, but also the good angels. For it is like- like, that they did ingraue in the phantasies of the prophets, those things which God would reuele. But betwene the good angels and the bad there is some difference. For when as anie thing is imprinted by good angels, the light of nature is confirmed; but if it be done by euill spirits, it is troubled and confounded. The difference is per- tie in the end, a partie in the things themselves. For as touching the end, a good angel will right- ly instruct men, and propose such things that be pure and incorrupt; but euill angels do not teach but deceiue, and do laie before vs counterfeits, vniure, and corrupt things. These things we see happened in the sickness of Saule. For the diuell by his art called backe the iudgments from the me-

more to the phantasie and senses; so that the feeble witly thought the saw Samuel himselfe; & Saule thought that he had heard him speake. For that action was not naturall, neither was it directed either by temerity or by chance. For there was no reason at all whie Samuel, rather than anie o- ther man, should fall into the imagination of that witly. He must needs be his crafts-master, or be- lieue cunning that frame those things in his phantasie and senses.

And vnbondulith, there is no need whie we should thinke, that these be brought in by the di- uell; or by an angell freely and new forms, for they be of such as be present. While we sleepe, we in new forme fall into dreames; which sometime the good an- gels, sometime the bad do ioine and couple one with another, that something may be signified by them. They cannot be brought to passe by any po- uer, that he which is borne blind should become of colours, or he which is borne deaf should become of sounds; for there be no such iudgments in their minds. But it may be doubted, that when the spirits do late these images before vs, whether they be constrained of necessitie to thinke upon them or no. Those that be awake, are not constrained therewith; for the exercise of the mind dependeth on the will, and that cannot be compelled. Wherefore the latest wale is, conti- nually to exercise our selues either in the holie scriptures, or in praies; neither is there aue- thing better, than to reuolue the mind daily from humane affairs vnto diuine things; that wheneuer the diuell approacheth vnto vs, he may (as Ierom saith) find vs alwaies occupied.

29 With illusions, old women speciall can do verie much. Such as are Caudia in Horace, and Cratida in Iouenal. Of the Cretians they were called Empusa, Lamia, Mormolyce, Striges. Of the Lamiæ witly Duri, in his second booke of the matters of Lybia; he saith that La- mia was an exceeding faire woman, and the concubine of Iupiter; which thing Iuno taking verie groundlie, she both killed the sonne, which Iupiter had by her, and also disfigured him in most shameful guile: now this being not able to abide or beare so great an iniurie, first began to be furious; and secondlie to kill other mens children also. Further he saith, that there be of those kinde of women in the gulfes of the sanble fen in Lybia, and that those which haue suffered shipwacke, sticking fast in the quick-sands, are forthwith taken, and deuoured by them.

Ieremie in the fourth chapter of his lamenta- tions saith, that the Lamiæ deuoured their breasts, for they haue verie faire breasts. Albeit in the Hebrew it is written Lili, about which to the Rabbinus do verie much triflie. Of the Empusa, Lamia, and Mormolyce, Philostratus writeth in the life of Apollonius Tyanicus; for he

Why by-  
ing in new  
forme.

Whether we  
be compell-  
ed to thinke  
of the forme  
brought in.

Of Lamiæ  
Empusa  
and such  
kinds.

saith,

faith, that whereas a certaine young man was al-  
lured to marriage by a woman (as the fained)  
both verie faire and rich, and who alreadie so bur-  
ned in the love of hir, that he would in anie wise  
take hire to his wife; Apollonius being invited to  
the wedding supper, bid forthwith understand  
the deceit, and said: This is one of those Empu-  
las, which manie men take to be the Lamie and  
Mormolyce, and so constrained hire to confesse  
what she was, and forthwith all that gorgeous-  
nes of gold and silver banished into coles. So as  
all such, as well men as women, doe exceedingly  
follow the fleshly lusts. Wherefore the Sayre is so  
called of Sati, that is to saie, of the pitie mem-  
bers. And Incubi and Succubi, and Ephialtes of  
Insiliendo. Although with the physicians Ephial-  
tes is a disease, proceeding of the cruetie of  
the stomach, and the troubling of the head,  
whereby men thinke themselves to be pressed  
with an intolerable burthen, and to be in a ma-  
ner dooked, and therefore the Grecians call it  
στυγία, και στυγία, that is, A choking spi-  
rit [and use, the mare] but of the disease we do  
not now speake.

Of the Incubi and Succubi, Augustine writ-  
eth manie things in his 8. booke De ciuitate  
dei. There were certaine nations which fetched  
their original from them. Also the poets write  
of their gods, that they were wanton, and such  
as sometime used the companie of men. And

women might, and men succubers, to the in-  
tent they might allure these spirits unto them,  
whereunto to amoint themselves all ouer with  
some ointment, which had the propertie to bring  
in a dead slape; afterwarde, they would laie  
themselves downe vpon their bed, where they  
slept to somnle, that they could not be awakend,  
neither with the piching of pinnies, nor yet with  
fires. In the meane time, while they thus slept,  
the diuels set before them manie pleasant ban-  
quets, dances, and all kind of voluptuous plea-  
sures. And seeing the power of spirits is so great,  
as I haue before described; there is no let, but  
that they may sometimes take up men, and ca-  
rie them into groues, and there let such fights be-  
fore them. For Simon Magus could flic in the  
aire, but at the prayer of Peter, he suddenly fell  
downe from aloft. And the Cardinall De Tur-  
re Cremana, in the decrees, 26. question 5. in the  
Chapter Episcopi saith, that both may be done.

Simon Magus.

him before, that he had eaten, yet the miserable  
wretch died then for hunger. And these spirits are  
moued not onlie vnto fleshly lust, but also vnto  
crueltie; for they come into houses in the liues  
of cats and dogs, and do either kill, or else be-  
come children, and therefore Horace saith; Or  
else he plucketh a lue child out of the bellie of  
the Lamia, when she hath dined. The diuell there-  
fore takes such beguile men, either when they be in  
a sound slape; or else he can put some bodie vpon  
him, and so bying these things to passe: howbeit  
they cannot, but onlie so much as God per-  
mitteth, who sometimes permitte children to be  
slaine for some grieuous sin of the parents.  
Some are brought into that crueltie, that they  
kill children, because they thinke that their foules  
shall passe into spirits, and that they shall be sub-  
iect vnto them. So we reade in the Commenta-  
ries of Clement, that Simon Magus killed men,  
and vnto their foules as his seruants. Sometime  
diuels shew themselves like giants, or as some  
mightie warriors; and it is no maruell, for they  
can fashion themselves bodies of the aire, and so  
beguile men senses. They can raise by tempests  
and destruye all things: and this do we reade to  
be done in the historie of Job. And in the Apoca-  
lypse, power is giuen vnto the spirits, to breake  
come and trees; but afterward, they be restrai-  
ned, that they should not hurt.

It is reported that certaine people called La-  
pones in Norwaie, haue great familiaritie with  
spirits, and that whereas they haue their houses  
tied vpon their beards, if they loose one, there  
will follow a great tempest vnto the sea; if an-  
other, the waues will arise yet more vehemently;  
if they vnto the third, it will fare as heauen and  
earth should go together, as an vndoubted  
shipwracke both foloweth. Augustine in his 18.  
booke De ciuitate dei, the ninth chapter, when he  
had rehearsed that fable, he saith he had bin once  
a controuersie betwene Pallas and Neptune,  
which of them should giue name vnto the cite of  
Athens, and that when the men were on Ne-  
ptune side, and the women with their Pallas, and  
that the women had overcome the men by one  
voice, Neptune being angry, caused the waues  
to arise, and by one a great part of the territiue  
of Athens. This (I saie) when Augustine had re-  
corded, he added, that the diuell might do the same,  
and that sometime he can raise up the stormes,  
and sometime repress them. If I would re-  
cord up all that might be spoken hereof, it should  
be infinite, let it be sufficient that I haue thus  
shortly touched the generall things themselves.

Whether it be lawfull to aske counsell  
of the Diuell, and to vse  
his helpe.

30 Now must we consider of that, which we  
let

1 Cor. 5.

Matt. 17, 18.

Ad. 16, 18.

10 by it is

not lawfull

to use the

helpe of

diuels.

Sam. 28, 19.

Ad. 16, 18.

10 by it is

not lawfull

to use the

helpe of

diuels.

Excellence

in p church.

20 by it is

not lawfull

to use the

helpe of

diuels.

Excellence

in p church.

20 by it is

not lawfull

to use the

helpe of

diuels.

Excellence

in p church.

20 by it is

not lawfull

to use the

helpe of

diuels.

let downe in the third place; namely, whether it  
be lawfull to aske counsell of ill spirits, or to vse  
their helpe. First indeed it seemeth to be lawfull;  
for God vouch the labour of diuels: why then  
should it not be lawfull for vs: And Paule be-  
lieued men vnto fathan; and therefore it is law-  
full for vs also to vse the ministerie of spirits.  
Here we must make a distinction. For we vse  
spirits either by autopsie, or commandement,  
as when we command them anie thing in the  
name of God: or else by acquaintance, fellow-  
ship, couenant, obedience, or payers. God be-  
areth rule ouer the diuels, and Christ and the apo-  
stles commanded that they should gouern of the  
bodies possessed; but to require of aie anie  
thing of them vpon anie couenant, or bargain,  
that is not lawfull; for it is idolatry. And the di-  
uell seeketh nothing more, than to lead vs from  
God, to the worshipping of him. Here vnto also  
tendeth cruell ceremonies, and sacrifices: by  
this meanes men fall from God vnto the diuell.  
Further, they which do these things, do sinne  
against themselves; for we neuer read that the  
end of these artes was god: whereof we touched  
Saul may be an example and instruction vnto  
vs. The diuell indeed feigneth himselfe to be  
compelled, and to be bound by little stones or  
rings: howbeit the same compulsion is onelie a  
voluntarie and deceitfull compulsion: he feig-  
neth, as though he would call out another spi-  
rit; but it is nothing. For the ill spirits do but  
dallie one with another to deceiue men. More of  
vs knoweth our doings to a man, whom  
we knowe to be full of fraud and treachery. So the  
diuell is not onelie a liar, but euen the father  
of lyes.

Truly indeed it is, that there were certaine ex-  
orcismes, or adurations in the church, wherof Ier-  
nias, Terullian, Augustine, and Eusebius make  
mention: but these were speciall gifts for that  
age; & buried but for a time: now they be taken a-  
waie. But thou wilt saie: The heathens had con-  
secrations, as Salomon wrote exorcismes. I knowe  
that Iosephus in his eight booke of antiquities  
writeth, that Salomon did so, to drive away ill  
spirits, and to maintaine the health of man. He  
describeth also the meanes wherby those things  
might be done; namely, that vnder the bread  
part of a ring, there was a little oile, and that the  
same being applyed to the nostrils of a man pos-  
sessed, the ill spirit was forthwith expelled. But  
herewith be waight, that Salomon vnto alre-  
taine payers and holie names; and that one E-  
leazar being a man skillfull in these things, made  
demonstration of his cunning before Vespasi-  
an, and his sonnes Titus and Domitian; and at  
the commandement of Vespasian wrought so,  
that a spirit at his conuincing forth of a man,  
ouerthrew a baken fill of water, which was there

set for the purpose: and he saith, that he sawe all  
these things. In verie deed I dare not write the  
historie, but yet I thinke god to answer one of  
these two waies: either that God would for a  
time bestowe such a benefit vnto the Israelites,  
(which notwithstanding we haue not read); or els  
that Salomon did these things when he was now  
departed from the true God, and had begun to  
worship the gods of the Gentiles. That such exor-  
cismes indeed were vntill the apostles time, it ap-  
pareth by that historie of the children of Secus, Ad. 19, 13.

Whether exorcismes must not be used, but on-  
lie by them which are sure, that they be induced  
with that grace: But yet there be certaine, which  
haue the name without the grace: these do vse  
inuocations by names, merits, and reliks of  
saints. For this doth the diuell seeke, our to in-  
tangle the people with superstition. Indeed the  
diuels seeme as though they were delited with  
outward things, as herbes, little stones, and per-  
fumes; but they are not so delighted withall, as  
liuing creatures are with the desire of meate; &  
but as it were with certaine fals; & sacraments.  
Wherefore they come quicke when they be cal-  
led, least they should not seeme to stand to their  
covenants. They will altogether imitate God:  
for little stones & wotes haue no power at all to  
allure diuels. Wherefore euen as God fogeth not  
names vnto vs as aie power of the sacra-  
ments, but onelie for his couenant and promise  
saie: so the diuell will seeme to deale with these  
that be his, to the intent he may shew himselfe  
to be present with them; not for the worthines  
of the things offered by them, but onelie in re-  
spect of his promise and couenant. And verti-  
cifiable both he mocke simple and foolish men;  
for they which boast that they haue spirits which  
do loue them, when they are afterward called  
into iudgment, and condemned vnto death, can-  
not by them be deliuered from the extremities of  
crecition. Sometimes indeed they are ready to  
obey them, that are their owne: but that is in  
foule and withoute things; namely, in adules-  
tices, thefts, & murders: they neuer die them by  
vnto god. For they be fathans, that is false,  
the aduersaries of God. They will haue coue-  
nants and promises to be made, which cannot  
otherwise be than against God.

21 But the Scholmen stand in doubt, whether  
it be lawfull to vse iudgment to take awaye  
mischiefs; and in general, they answer, that it  
is not lawfull. But yet they saie, that if we can  
perceiue that those covenants consist in fetters,  
or wotes, or little stones, and we can finde those  
things, it is lawfull to take them awaye & breake  
them: for otherwise they saie that one inchant-  
ment must not be taken awaye with another.  
For We must not doe euill, that good may come Rom. 3, 8.

thercof.



thereof. And thus it is not lawfull we haue declared before. Also Elias in the eighth chap. said, that We must not aske questions of the faith, but must rather returne unto the lawe and testimony. And Chyist saith that No man can serue two masters. And Paule saith; There is no agreement betwene light & darknes, betwene God and Belial. Elias saith; that We must not seeke Belzebub the god of Acoron, seeing there is a God in Israel. Besides this, the ciuill lawes, the canons and counsels, haue with much force and sharpe wordes forbidden these things. And Apuleius, when he was summoned to appear, because he was reported to be a seccretor, so pleaded his cause, as he vtterly denie that he was a seccretor; so otherwise he might not haue defended himselfe. Augustine in his booke *De diuinatione demonum*, the eighth chapter saith; That The ciuill spiritis neuer durst denie the God of Israel to be the true God, or Chyist to be the soune of God: but contrariwise Chyist, the prophetes and apostles denie that to be gods; and that we must by all means be aware of them. Therefore (saith) he; whome part shall we hearken vnto, to those which cannot denie God to be the true God, or rather to God which tooke us to be from them? Therefore seeing both the holie scriptures, and goodlie lawes, & also the euents themselves doe vtterly forbid and condemne all kind of inchantments; we must iudge that it is not lawfull for a christian man.

32 *Kall of all the will note, that the true God*  
*is wont to chafe against false gods. Therefore im-*  
*mediate upon the birth of Christ, all the oracles*  
*of the gods were put to silence, which before were*  
*of great fame and renowne. For when the light*  
*it selfe, which is Christ, was come into the world,*  
*darknes should needs vanishe alone. And Plu-*  
*tarke, being otherwise a verie learned writer,*  
*in seeking a cause why the oracles ceased in his*  
*time, hearing denselie manye things; yet specu-*  
*lately nothing to the purpose. First he saith, that*  
*he thought that the Demons of spirits, which*  
*came out oracles, were untroubled of long li-*  
*ve; yet mortal notwithstanding; and that men*  
*repented (as he saith) that the great god Pan was*  
*dead. Therefore he saith, that seeing the D-*  
*mons be now dead by reason of age, there are*  
*none to give or utter out oracles any more. He*  
*addeth moreover, that there were others, which*  
*thought that those pysses and divines, by their*  
*answers were given, were inspired with cele-*  
*stiall exhalations, which came forth of the canes*  
*and pites; and that seeing those exhalations coul-*  
*not be perpetual, they ceased at the last; and*  
*that prophesie finished together with them. He*  
*addeth moreover, that by others, the selfe things*  
*were attributed to the situation of dases, which*  
*being passed from thence, had also wane as*

way these oracles with them. He sheweth also  
certeine other things like vnto these, but he pre-  
beth no reason, whie all the oracles ceased at one  
uerie time, and so ceased, as that no one of them  
remained.

¶ If the exhalations be not perpetual in one place, while do they not breake out in another place? And the figurations of stars being varied away, even the faine doo to returne againe to their place: which if they doe returne, whye do the same oables returne also? Is it to be that the Demons, as they affirme, doe sit at the length, while do not one succedd another? Where is there another cause of this event, which Plutarch could not per-perceive; namely, that all contrarie powers are binde by Christ, and therefore they all ceased at his coming. And thus were Iupiter, Apollo, Diana, and Aesculapius put to silence. Which thing the prophets foretold long before; and which we see also at this daie to come to passe in those countries, which imbrace the gospell; where not onlie idolatries, but also innovations & signed miracles doe straight-waie cease.

*The eleventh Chapter.*

Of a good intent, zeale, prescription, and  
custome; all which the superstitious sort  
are ioynt to alledge against the word.



As touching the signification of the word intent, it signifieth a motion of the mind, whereby we incline into an end by some means; as if a man intend to win by liberal expence; or by flattery to attain; for such is the nature of them as are knit together, that by one there is a way by medicines and potions by flumes, reading, and some. Wherefore intent is the propriety thereof is to the mind. And seeing the thing that it desireth, be the thing that it; it doth neither mind before knowledge, the power of intelligence or the same percuteth both the which further they into, and be will. Therefore, intent, first, is unto a mark, by those created into it. As this be the

of a good intent. In Job. 7. 37. Luke In Sam. 6. 6 and in the booke De voti be sought at will pag. 277 & 255.

A definite-  
of intent

*Of a good intent.*

Judg. 8, 24

A good in-  
tent and a  
ruill inter-  
look. In  
Rom. 1, 2  
and 3, 8.

Rom. 3,

To a good  
incentive is  
quired, and  
both the  
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good.

August

August 1991

23 limits  
tude.

**Faith in the inter-**

Faith  
 not be  
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 there  
 counce

shall two of them, is an act of the power that will  
leth. The difference is taken of the obiect, that is,  
of the end, and of those things which are ordained  
unto it. As in the historic of Judges, Gedons  
intent was a motion of his will, to keepe in re-  
membrance, by an ephod which he had made, the  
victorie which he obtained. Therefore in his will  
he comprehended both together, as well the end  
as the meane.

Intent is divided, into a good intent, and an ill intent : and to a good intent this is chiefe requirement, that the end it selfe should be a iust and good thing: yet is not this sufficient. For if one should feare, to the intent he would giue almes he doubtles should purpose a good thing: but because the means is naught, therefore the intent cannot be accounted good: but if the end be both iust and good, then shall also the intent be iust. Wherefore that the intent may be good, it becometh both the end and the means to be honest and iust. Howbeit, certeine things are of their owne nature to euill, as we can neuer see them rightlie. Such are that, pericurie, auaricie, and other like: so that the apostles rule must alwayes be firme; that We must neuer doe euill, to the intent that good may come thereof. Wherefore an intent is iust two manner of waies: to wit, either by the naughtiness of the end, or else of the means. But the intent can neuer be good, vntill both the end, and the means be good. Thus far the philosophers (I schale) diuine agree with vs. Now let vs see how they differ from vs.

2 The philosophers thinke, that the rightnes  
of the end means, depthen of mans reason,  
of so naturall vnderstanding; as though that  
shoud suffice, to knowe the difference betwixt  
things iust and vniust. But this we denie, and in  
its place we require faith, and the word of God,  
as five rules: which Augusine in manie places te-  
stifieth, and especially in his treatise vpon the  
11. psalme, where he saith; Account not thy  
iudges god before faith, (we thinke) for  
nothing else, but great strength and battie speed  
of the iudges: and he which maketh such haste,  
runneth headlong into destruction. Therefore  
a god intent maketh a god action, but faith wis-  
dometh that intent: so that when we purpose  
any worke, we must take heed that our hart haue re-  
gard vnto faith, wherby it may direct our in-  
tentions. The whole diuinitie will easily grant, that  
faith conuenieth the intent, and maketh it god.  
But we differ from them in this respect: first,  
because we affirme that faith dependeth  
vpon the word of God: but they will haue it  
depend both vpon the fathers and counsels, which  
may in no wise be granted them; forasmuch  
as faith must be constant, a altogether void of error,  
whiche two things are not found in the fathers  
and counsels, for they speake one contrarie  
vnto another.

3 But because they perceived, that their labours are not without absurditie, they addes; So that in the beginning of the worke it selfe, there be some thinking of God, and of his glorie, in such sort, that the thing purposed be directed unto him. But no man doubteth, that it is needfull to haue a good beginning of those things, which we doe. But afterward, if faith accompanye not those things, which we haue well begun; and we, while we are working, do not respect God and his glorie, we shall run headlong into sinne; which ought not to haue bene discerned. Further, if we should worke, as he ought to doe, and as the lawe requireth; yet should we fall as Christ fall; be vnprofitable seruants: so far off is it, that we should attribute vnto our selues any merits. Therefore, while we giue ouer to thinke vpon the honour and glorie of God, we fall not: there are liue fals to be discerned; but we must rather crave pardon for them, being in their owne nature they be sinnes, although because of Christ they are not imputed as death vnto the beleeuers. And to let a good intent be folliued vnto

Our work  
by a good  
intent can  
not be in-  
effective

34 The world cannot be made good by an handful of small intestine.

II, Deut. 6,  
Mat. 22

Christ Luk. 17

941F



A good in-  
tent must  
be joined with  
faith and  
action.  
Math.6.33.

our woeks, but yet such as is adorned with faith, and let vs performe the same, not in habit, but in act.

Math.6.

Wherefore the Lord in the gospel of Matthew the first chapter, saith, The light of thy bodie is thine eie, and if thine eie be halfe, all thy bodie shall be light: but if the light thine eie be become darkness, how great shall the darkness then be? These things both Augustine in his second booke of questions upon the fourths, quest. 15, and against Julian in the fourth booke, the 20. chapter, Iudge to be vnderstand of a good intent. And in like manner twelfth he in his tenth Come, the second canon, where he treateth upon this saying, Let vs not doe righteousness before men, to the intent we may be scene of them. The intent (saith he) must alwaies be had unto the glorie of God, but the desire to haue it knowne vnto men, must be laid apart, fauing so far as it may appere to appeare to Gods boe. And thither tenderly that which was said of Christ; that A good tree cannot bring forth euill fruit, nor an euill tree good fruit, for the tree be tokeneth the intent. So as those things being true, which we haue said, the act of Gedcon done of a good intent, being faulty did not gouerne the same, cannot be excused.

Math.7.18.

Of zeale  
In Rom.  
10. berke 1.  
Math. 23.1  
both state  
both figure

4. But not to declare what is zeale, let vs first consider the etimologie therof. The word *Zeale*, that is, zeale, is a Greake word, deuised *αὐτο* *αἰσ*, which significth To loue, but yet vehementlie, so that after loue, followeth admiration; & after admiration, imitation, and a griefe; if we may not enioie the thing we loue, or else if others be admitted into our companie: and this is the proper signification of the word. Wherefore we may thus define it, Zeale is an affection, which auerily in that part of the mind, which lusteth, or desireth, after which, by reason of the vehemencie, there followeth admiration, as well because of the concurrence of other things, as for want of the thing that it desireth. But the nature of zeale is not one sort, for there is one zeale that is good, and another that is bad. Of the good Paule spake, when he said, I am zealous ouer you with a godly zealousie, for I haue betrothed you to one man, to present you a chaste virgin to Christ. And in the first to the Corinthians, Desire you then the best gifts, &c. And of himselfe, as the scripture of ten teacheth, hath a most perfect zeale towards vs, although affections cannot properly be attributed vnto him. But of naughty zeale, Paule vnto the Galatians thus speaketh, The false apostles are zealous ouer them, that they may glorie in their flesh, and to lead them from Christ vnto the bondage of the lawe: and in many other places there is mention made of it.

Gal.4.17.

But the cause why this zeale is either good or bad doth come, may thus be assigned: the manner is

alike in this affection, as it is in others. Wherefore, euen as boldnes, lust, and anger be either good or bad, according as they keepe, or exceed the bounds prescribed by wisdom, so both it come to passe in zeale. But it must be vnderstood, that according to morall doctrine, & yndence conueniently by natural vie or discipline. But the same in vertue bad, as it hath respect in this place, can not be gathered but out of the holie scriptures, through the inspiration of the holy Ghost. Wherefore it shall then be good zeale, when through faith it is buyled by a iust and godlie knowledge; and it is euill, if it be not restrained by such a knowledge: euen as a ship, when the maister is present, is preferred; but he being absent, it sinketh. Therefore Paule vnto the Romans spake vertue wisely, for when as he condemned the zeale of the Iewes, he declared the same to be void of knowledge, and by one word noted that to be a vice, peruerse and a dangerous vice, which otherwise might haue bin an excellent vertue.

The cause  
of a good  
and of an  
euill zeale.

A simili-  
tude.

Rom.10.1.

The effects  
of a good  
and of an  
euill zeale.

Num.3.7.

Philip.3.6.

Iohn.16.1.

Iohn.18.10.

1.Sam.16.1.

In Rom.10.  
deale 1.

The simi-  
litudes of  
our time.  
The fact of  
daanman  
he Syrian  
verie ill re-  
ficed.

And as there is a great difference betwene good and euill zeale, so the effects which proceed from the one and the other, are of exceeding great diuersitie. With a good zeale was Christ kindled, when he purged the temple of vires and sellers, by overthrowing their tables and chairs. With the same zeale Phineas being led, he thrust them both through the bodies, which committed most shamefull whoredome. On the other part, what effects proceed of a naughty zeale, we may perceiue by Paule, who for zeales sake persecuted the church of Christ. And in Iohn it is written, The time will come, when they shall thinke they doe Gods good seruice, which afflict the faithfull people of Christ. Also, Peter kindled with an moderate zeale, gae out his sword to strike those which laid hands vpon Christ. There is yet another difference betwene the zeales, for euill zeale breedeth hatred; but good zeale doth most of all tone with charitie. For although Samuel was shipped God with vertue good zeale, yet he morned too long a time for Saule. And there is nothing more an enemie vnto naughty zeale, than is charitie; euen as selfe-love is diuicible enemy vnto a good zeale. They also are contrary wile affections, which either be to blackish, as they be not stirred up with anie indour of good things, or else to corrupt, as they feare not to boast of their finnes and wickednes.

5. Wherefore the Nicodemites of our time are to be wondered at, which object the historie of Elizeus and of Naaman the Syrian, to proue that it is lawfull for them, so that they thinke well in their heart, to be present at vngodlike superstitions. For Naaman the Syrian, although he were newly converted, yet he was understood to be faine; and so for that he had not as yet professed so well as to depart from his commodities,

King.5.18

VICES and  
vertues are  
occupied as  
about one &  
the same  
matter.

A simili-  
tude.

A good in-  
tent is not  
sufficient to  
make the  
woed good.

Errors in  
matters of  
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Signall  
wooks pre-  
paratorie.

Goodlie  
wooks are  
continues  
a let to  
saluation.

be desired of the prophet that he would praye for him: which declared that he Iudged such a sinne to haue need of pardon. Wherefore we conclude, that that zeale of the Iewes, whereof the apostle gieth a testimonie, was in vertue bad. And although it haue a shew of vertue, yet is it far from it. For as it is plaine by morall philosophie, that vertues & vices are one and the same, as touching the things whereabout they be occupied, but in forme do much differ: as fortitude and feare, temperance and intemperance, iusticie and iniusticie. For one and the selfe same affects, when they are by right reason vnderstood, are mediocritie, and when through vice they either want or exceed, differ not in matter, although the habits or qualities which are occupied about them, are much differing. And that which the philosophers speake of vertues, and of viciety, we ought also to transfer vnto the holie Ghost, and faith giuen vnto the scriptures.

And although in a good and euill zeale the affect be one and the same; yet is the difference most great, when it is gouerned by true knowledge, and faith, and when it is gouerned of it selfe, and without true knowledge. As the water of the sea, and raine water, although they agree together in matter of moisture; yet are they sundryed by deep manie properties and differences. These things haue I therefore alleaged, to confute those, which oftentimes defend wicked aze; for that they are done of a good mind and purpose, or (as they saie) intent: as though euerie zeale were sufficient to make the woed good. Whose opinion (if it were true) might easily erre the Iewes, in that they killed Christ, & afflicted his apostles. For they believed, that by this means they desired the laues of God, and ceremonies of their fathers. But the apostle saith otherwise, when he attributed vnto them a zeale, but yet a zeale binde with error.

But when error lighteth in matters of faith, it is deadly sinne. Wherefore let them well aduise themselves what to saie, which so stoutly defend woeks preparatorie. Doubtlesse their meaning is nothing else, but that men, although be woeked vnto which they absolutely woeld not good woeks; yet by reason of a certaine bright purpose and zeale of congruities, they deserve grace. Such woeks, following as they want true knowledge, which is faith, it followeth, that they be such a zeale as the apostle speaketh of. Weeden not, but that God sometimes vseth such our wicked woeks, to bring vs at length by them to iustificatioun: but that we our selues through them do deserve iustificatioun, it is far from the truth. Saie rather, it oftentimes cometh to passe, that such woeks are a great let to saluation. For the philosophers and Ioharites being drunken and glutted with those woelke

woeks, were ouermuch puffed vp; and for that they were inuoluntarie belied in themselves, they belied themselves in those woeks; and therein induced they to ascend vnto the true degrees of righteousness. Wherefore we are admonished by the doctrine of Paule, that we should not straitwaie giue place vnto zeale. We must first trie and diligetlie examine it: for oftentimes vnder the goodlie shew thereof, lieth hidden verie great impetie; as it is manifest in the Iewes, which due Christ, and persecuted the apostles.

6. The Apostle gieth a rule, whereby we may be able to trie and examine our zeale, and that rule is this; to see whether we will be subiect vnto God, whether we can abide that all things should be attributed vnto God, and claime nothing vnto our selues, as the true knowledge of God requirith. There be a great manie in our daies, which as it were by a certaine zeale, labour to defend worshiping of images, pilgrimages, and other such superstitious aze; vnto whom, if a man manifestlie declare, that those things are repugnant to the woed of God, they will not be subiect vnto it, but straitwaie flee to the custome of their elders, and to the helps of humane traditions. There be some also, which are moued vnto a zeale to defend sole life of the ministers of the church: vnto whom if a man do shew, that the bed of matrimony ought to be vnderdell in all men, as it is said vnto the Hebrewes, & Iohn. 1. Cor. 7.

Wistful to the Corinthians; it is better to marrie than to burne; They which cannot lue continent, let them marrie; Let euerie man haue his owne wife, and euerie wife her owne husband, to avoid fornication) they will not be subiect to this knowledge of the laues of God, but do bring vnto the fathers, counsels, and humane inuencions. Whereby is plaine, howe we are to iudge of this zeale of men. Doubtlesse, it is a vertue euill zeale, and onlie leaueh vnto selfeloue, and giueth it selfe vnto his owne things, and nothing regardeth the things that pertaine vnto God. Such are the Sponks, which perferre their institutions, rules, and woeks before all other things which are commonlie done of Christians, and much delight in contemning all others, in respect of themselves.

With this blind zeale are the miserable people euerie where infected, whom the pastors and preachers ought to succour and helpe, in discouering their want of knowledge, & letting before them the true knowledge of the scriptures, and that of a singular affection, a true christian mercie, whereby they ought throughlie to be touched in to great iustificatioun of churches, which of no man can be sufficientie lamented. It were needfull to haue Ieremie to bewaile the calamities of the church. And from this merke we should

We must  
not freight  
vnto our  
place vnto  
zeale.

A rule to  
trie zeale.

Hebr. 3. 1. Cor. 7.

should go forward unto prayers, as Paule saith he did : and in imploring the aid of God, we ought to record before God, that which Paule hath written : They have zeale, but not according to knowledge. *The verie which thing our Saviour did upon the crosse, when he prayed ; Father forgive them, for they knowe not what they doe.* *Further, seeing we delight in the good more rall wayes of men not yet regenerate, and are soze that they are not done as they ought to be done, we may thus gather :* If these men displease God, and are condemned, which yet of a good intent (as they speake) do these lo honest things, when yet notwithstanding they be void of true knowledge ; that shall at the length become of us, which being inured with knowledge, live shamefully ; yea even against our owne conscience : They can pretend a zeale, but we wretches, what excuse shall we make, seeing we profite the gospell :

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Of Prescription and Custome.

7 We gather out of the historie of the Iu-

ges, that the right of prescription is no new thing, but hath bene planted in the hearts of men by God himselfe : and so that cause it was found out, I will declare in few words. It may be, that a man unwittingly possesse the goods of another man : as for example. There is an heire, which succeedeth him that is dead, among his goods he findeth some things, that were wrongfullie held of him, or kept in pawnne, while he liveth ; which he not knowing of, possesseth all those things with a safe conscience : and thus ignorantlie & unwittingly he holdeth other mens goods in stead of his owne. What then : Shall the heire neuer take the just possession thereof : If the right owner neuer make claime to his owne, ought the ignorant to defraud the heire for ever, that he should never possesse it againe as his owne : Doubtles, if the owner do neuer demand againe that thing, it must be ascribed to his owne fault, sluggishnes, and negligence. Wherefore in detraction of such faultines, in the favour of god dealing, and lastlie for publike quietnes sake, the lawe of prescription hath bene devised. This lawe vnto Iephia vs against the Ammonites ; We haue possessed this land (saith he) three hundred yeeres ; wherefore dost thou then disquiet and trouble vs : Unless there should be some certene time prescribed, within which space, and not beyond, things may be claime againe, the titles of all things would be uncertaine : which is exceedinglie repugnant to the affaires of men ; wherefore this inconvenience is prevented by the right of prescription. And it is defined in the digests, *De offi capionibus*, lawe the thirti; that it is a claime of deminution through the continuance of possession, during the time appointed by the lawe. The definition is plaine and manifest. But at this date they make a difference betwene prescription, and that which they call *Prescriptio*, when as neuertheless in the digests, among the old lawiers, there was put no difference. These (so far as I remember) began first to be separated in the time of Antoninus Pius : as *Prescriptio* takes place in things moveable, and prescription in things immoveable. But thus much by the waye.

But in the historie of the Judges it is to be noted, that Iephia did wisely place his arguments : for he vied not prescription in the first place, but before all things be objected the lawe of armes ; afterward the gift of the true God ; and the cause being thus confirmed, at the last he vied the right of prescription, because a continuance of possession only not by it selfe and alone prescribe, but it hath need of a good title, and of a good conscience. A good title is, that the thing be by heretic and lawfullie come by. For that which hath gotten any thing by theft or robbery, although he have long enjoyed the same ; yet he may not claime

claime it by prescription : but if the title be good, the dealing plaine, and a continuance of time had withall, the prescription is firme and good. If we have gotten any thing, either by bargain, or by free gift, or by inheritance, or by other like means, the title is good. But besides, there must be good dealing, whereby we may to stiffe in our consciences, that no mans right is injured, and that we knowe there is nothing that by iust means should be lost. Wherefore Iephia had a good title to wit, the lawe of armes, and the gift of God. He possessed it also by good dealing, for he was not guilty either of fraud or of robbery, and therefore he verie well vied the lawe of prescription.

But the time of prescription in things immoveable, is by our ciuill lawes, the space of thye peares ; but in things immoveable, ten or twentie peares, if ignorance be not the cause thereof. For if the owner shall knowe the thing to be his, which another man possesseth, and yet so long holdeth this peace, he can not afterward demand it againe, and the lawe seemeth iustlie to punish such negligence. But if the owner shall not knowe of his interest, the time is deferred, namelie to thirti; or forty peares ; and this is done, when there is no ignorance in the case, and that one possesseth for himselfe, and not for another, otherwise it is no prescription. Whobest, this we must consider by the wise, that the ecclesiasticall rules touching prescription, do differ from the ciuill lawes. For they (as we haue said) appoint thirti; peares, although the possessor haue not dealt well ; for they decree, that fraud shall be no let vnto prescription. But as we reade in the first *De regulis iuris*, in the chapter Possessor : A possessor, which holdeth by ill dealing, prescribeth not by length of time. For we must haue respect to the word of God, and consider with that conscience a man possesseth any thing.

8 Now I thinke it fit to speake somewhat of custome, yet briefly, because the same hath some affinity with prescription. And because our adversaries make much aduantage about that, and would betherie opposse vs with customs, the same ought to be agreeable vnto reason, and be lawfullie prescribed, as we haue it in the *Errata* of *De consuet.* the last chapter. The ciuill lawes assigne vnto custome the space of ten or twentie peares, and the canons thirti; or forty peares ; but most firme is that custome, whose beginning is time out of mind. And it ought to be taken for a sure rule, that whatsoeuer is repugnant to the word of God, doth by no means prescribe. And therefore, whereas the Papists do please, that the Communion hath bin giuen to the laitie vnder one kinde, by the space of four hundred or five hundred peares, seeing that is manifestlie a

gainst the word of God, they cannot proue that it is prescribed by custome ; for such a thing is not as I may saie, prescriptible. For the verie which cause, they cannot alledge a custome prescribed, as touching the sole life of ministers. For euen at the first it was enforced by violence, and it is against the word of God. And yet Hostiensis saith, that the power of custome is so great, as it constraineth priests to sole life : In the distict. 23. in the chapter *Placuit*. Whobest, as the ciuill lawes decree, that custome which concordeth with their nature of publike right, is a naughtie custome. But that which I haue affirmed, hath foundation in the word of God. For when Christ said to the Pharisees, *Ye hypocrites, why do ye make breake the commandments of God for your traditions sake ?* for God saith, Honor thy father and thy mother ; yea saye I, Whoso shall faile to his father or mother ; By the gift that is offered by me, &c. They might haue prescribed vnto him custome, but that was not lawfull in a thing quite contrarie to the word of God.

9 There was a custome in the region of Tauris, to kill such as were strangers and ghesis. Among the Persians, the custome was neuer to deliberate vpon graue and weightie matters in counsell, but in feasts and banquets. The Sauronates had a custome among their cups, that while they were drinking, they sold their thoughts. These customes not, seeing it appeareth manifestlie, that they are naught and vicious : but that custome prescribeth, which is neither against the word of God, nor the lawe of nature, nor yet the common lawe. For the right of custome cometh of the approbation, and still consent of the people. For otherwise, why are we bound vnto lawes, but because they were made, the people consenting and allowing of them. And this is onlie the difference betwene custome and lawe, that there is a secret consent in the one, and an open consent in the other : wherefore such customs cannot be reuoked without danger. Aristotle in his *Politicks* admonished, that men which haue learned to do things with the left hand, should not be constrained to use the right ; so that in things indifferent, and of no great importance, custome must be retained.

There is an old pouerbe, *Qui non vult, non facit*, Lawe and countrie. For euery ciuill hath certain custums of his owne, which cannot easily be changed ; but yet (as I said) when they impugne the word of God, or nature, or common lawe, they do not prescribe, for then they be not customes, but brauile cruelties. It is well set forth in the digests, *De legibus & senatus consultis*, In the lawe *De quibus* : A custome without reason is of no force. And in the decrees, distict. the eight, in the chapter *Variae*, Augustine saith ; When truth is tried out, let custome giue place.

The most firme custome for prescription. As custome can prescribe against the lawe of God.

What is required vnto the lawe of prescription.

What is the difference betwene custome and lawe. Aristotle.

Augustine.

Cyprian.

Gala. 2. 14.

what doth establish custome.

what is custome.

secret meetings.

Ambose being C. requires one who choise his place.

An Ambrose who the cause of custome.

place : let no man be so bold as to prefer custome before reason and truth. And in the next canon Christ said ; I am the waie, the truth, and the life : he said not, I am custome. Cyprian in his epistle against the Aquarians faith ; Let all custome, though newer so ancient, give place unto truth. For otherwise Peter, when he was reprehended by Paul in the epistle to the Galatians, might have pleaded custome, but he rather assented, that custome should give place unto the truth. Cyprian in the same epistle against the Aquarians faith, that Custome without truth is but odours of error ; and the more it is retained, the more gracious it is. Wherefore let the Papists cease to brag of their customes, which be full both of error and vngodlihoods.

10 Wherefore, for establishing of a custome, it is not sufficient that some thing be done of some men, so that it be often done ; unless it be so done, that it be received into a life and an ordinance to be observed. For there be many things done either unadvisedly, or of necessity ; and yet we would not have them to be done into a custome. In the bigles *De iure et alia praxi*, lawes the first and last. Admit I go through the field once, thence, or thence ; because the high waie perhaps is full : in that I sometimes passe two and fro through the grounds, so I thence get a right of lordship or service therein : so verie ; neither was it my purpose to passe through the field to any such end, but I was compelled thereto of necessity. In the decrees, distinction the first, in the chapter *Consecratio*, custome is said to be a certaine right instituted by manners ; which is certain for a lawe, where lawe it selfe faileth. It is requisite, that this should be a lawe, and made for manners : especially in the first times of the church, when tyants persecuted chistian religion ; y that godlie men, through feare, were driven from house to house, & constrained to assemble together in houses and secret places by night. But if we would now in these daies worship God after that manner, the church being settled ; both we should seeme verie ridiculous and intollerable. For they did not so, to the intent they might drawe it into a custome, or that it should be an ordinance for others to followe.

Ambrose, when he was a noince yet in the faith, was chosen bishop of Milan ; so was Nestorius of Constantinople ; and perhaps others : yet it is not lawfull for vs now to followe the same custome, and to choise a bishop, who neither hath bene consecrated in the holie mysteries, nor yet hath bene baptised ; howbeit they did so they did it in daie, but yet compelled of necessity ; because they had not other men both of learning and credit, whom they might oppose against the Arians. So is that custome confused, which they are wont to bring out of the historie of Eusebius,

for communicating under one kind : namely, that Serapion sent his boie, and bad him smelt the bread in toine. And so I might expound that place other wise ; but it shall suffice for this time to saie, that it was not so done then, to the intent a custome should be drawne thereof for others to followe. Wherefore custome is not made by examples, but by the assent, approbation, and ordinance of the people : otherwise there are in many places drunkenness, and riots by night ; but seeing these things are not allowed of the people, as ordinances to be kept, they have not the force of custome.

11 And that the matter may the better be understood, I will bring a definition of custome, which I found in Hostiensis, in the title *De consuetudine* : It is an vie (saith he) agreeable to reason, and allowed by a generall ordinance of them that vie it, whose beginning is time out of mind ; or else, which is by a iust time prescribed and confirmed, so that it be by no contrarie act interrupted, but allowed by a contradiuicte iudgement. And this both Hostiensis thinketh to be a perfect definition. But whereas he saith, that that vie ought to be agreeing with reason ; that is not enough : but this ought first to be prescribed, that it must be agreeable to the word of God, for that is to be accounted for the cheifest reason ; and afterward let it be allowed by the institution of the people : for it is not sufficient, if something be done either rashly, or of necessity, or for some other cause ; but it must also be allowed by the assent and institution of the people, and that the beginning thereof be time out of mind, and that it be prescribed by a iust and determinate time in the lawe, being not interrupted by any contrarie act.

\* For if a iudge or prince shall giue iudgment against custome, then custome is broken. As it also cometh to passe in prescription, when a man is cast out of his possession, or when a matter is called into tute of lawe, & the iudicium, prescription is broken. Also the allowing of contradiuicte iudgement must be had, (that is that when one part altogether the custome, and the other part denieth it) if sentence be giuen on the behalfe of custome, custome is confirmed. But all these things (as I said before) must be reduced to the rule of Gods word. While this seemeth now meet to be added, which is in the Extrauagants *De consuetudine*, chapter 1. that a custome cannot be suffered, if it be burdensome unto the church. Also Augustine complained that in his time, there were such a number of new rites and ceremonies sprung up, that the church was grievously burdened, and that the state of christians at that time was nothing at all more tollerable, than in old time the state of the Iewes. The same exception too we also take against our curiaries,

Custome is not made by examples, but by the assent, approbation, and ordinance of the people.

Another definition of custome. Hostiensis.

\* That is, when one part altogether the custome, and the other denieth it, if sentence be giuen on the behalfe of custome, the same custome is confirmed.

Note.

A custome burdensome unto the church must be rejected.

In Rom. 3. 21. 1. 1. Rom. 1. 1.

And thus the Gospel.

\* What doctrine is old, and what is new.

the popple is in us, but that it hath no resemblance of the scriptures.

Mat. 24. 16. 1. Cor. 11. 24.

The reason why newness in religion must be avoided.

uerities, that the church should not be overburdened. This is their owne lawe ; why do they not acknowledge their owne words ?

12 Paule disputing in the third chapter of the epistle to the Romanes of the righteousness of the lawe, added, that the same hath testimonie both of the lawe and of the prophets : which he therefore saith, because that the doctrine, which he set forth, might seeme to be new and latelie sprung up. But in the Gospel, newness must speciallie be shunned, and therefore he testifieth in euery place, that the Gospel is ancient, and was ordained of God from the beginning. And at the beginning of the epistle, he wote, that God promised the same by his prophets in the holie scriptures. And at this daie, the controuersie between vs & our aduersaries is, as touching doctrine ; while they asseme, that we bring in new things, and that themselves doe cleaue fast to the ancient doctrine. But we learne of the Apostle, how this controuersie may be determined. \* Alured that, that doctrine is old and ancient, which hath testimonie from the lawe and the prophets, that is, of the holie scriptures : but that shall be vnderstood now, thereof there is no mention in them. They erre the Apostle, where onlie one man doth communicate for others that do stand by. This hath no testimonie in all the holie scriptures.

We asseme, that the supper of the Lord ought to be common vnto the faithful ; which is most manifestlie shewed by the institution thereof, as we haue it in the Gospels, & in Paule. These men deliuer vnto the laitie the sacrament of Christs bodie, halfe maimed and vperfect. This doubtles, they not onlie haue not out of the holie scriptures, but plainlie against the scriptures. They mainteine inuocations of the dead, which they are not able to confirme by the scriptures ; They diue the cleargie from matrimoine ; They defend purgatorie ; They retein images ; They vie strange tongues in the diuine seruice, choise of meates and garments, shawings, anointings, and an infinite number of such like things they obtrude vpon vs, as necessarie to the worship of God, and that altogether without testimonie of the scriptures. Let them learne out of Paule, which minister to teach the righteousness that cometh by Christ, saith, that It hath testimonie of the lawe and the prophets, and not that it was devised by himselfe. But the doctrine of these men aduanceth impetite : for they bring in the inuentions of men, in stead of necessarie worship of God ; which hauing no testimonie out of the scriptures, must of necessity be new.

And the reason why it becometh in religion to be without newnes, is ; for that God commaundeth in Exodermone, that none should either adde to, or take awaye any thing from his cu-

stomes and commandments. And Plato himselfe in his lawes and common-wales forbiddeth, that nothing should be made new in things which belonged vnto religion. So doubt, but the lawes of men may be altered, because the foume of a common-wale is sometimes altered. Neither do those lawes which serue for a kingdome, serue also for the gouernement of a Signiorie : & a Common-wale of the vulgar people. Wherefore, seeing lawe-makers are but men, they cannot perceiue all things that should be done. And manie chanes do happen euery among, for the which it becometh both to amend and change lawes. And as in arts, something hapeth in euery age for the more perfecting of the art : so lawes likewise now and then, by success of times are amended, and reduced to a better foume. But none of these things takes place in the lawes of God. For as touching the Church, the alterch not her foume. It is alwaies one manner of common-wale, and nothing is hidden from the vnderstanding of God the author of the lawes ; he seeth all things, neither is his knowledg augmented by the successe of time. Wherefore there is no cause why men should attempt to alter any thing in his word.

The old word gouernment of the church altereth not the foume.

## The twelfe Chapter.

Of sundrie things attributed vnto God, and the holie Trinitie ; where his god-head is proued to be in the Sonne and in the holie Ghost.

The nature of God is infinite, so as it cannot be comprehended vnder one title to know him by ; wherefore his name is verie large : yet nevertheless, by effects and works are gathered his singular properties, whereby we may vnderstand all the diuine nature and power, that seeing we cannot comprehend the whole, we may at the leastwise come vnto the knowledge of him by parts. If there were any to rube and be foolish, as he knoweth not the nature of a double suferant, he would saie that the same contenteth in it, prince, goate, tetter, shillings, crownes, nobles, roials, and lastlie, the sum of twentie shillings. By these parts and small portions, vnder which we exceed blackly, he might vnderstand how much a double suferant is worth. Euen so men, after a sort, do perceiue the nature and infinite substance of God by these parts and titles to know him by, not that

This finite word was of strange and foren coines, and could not be englished properly.

Part. I. The Common places Cap. 12. Names attributed

In 1. Sam. 29. whereof Moys is called Iehoua.

ye hat the word spirit significth.

As woule to find quier names, but in God onlie.

Names derived from Gods substance.

Names referred unto his properties.

there be anie parts in God, but becaufe that we onlie by such effects & parts may gather of his power & infinit greatness. Divers are manifeste are the titles, whereby he is knowne: as when he is called Iustitull, Mercifull, Constant, Just, God, The God of Sabaoth, and such like.

And that this may be the better understood, Iehoua is called Iehoua of Ista, that is, To be: and that name agreeth propriety unto God. For God is so an essence & being, as the same floweth from him unto all other things. Whatsoever things are, doe depend of him, neither can they be without his power & helpe. As likewise, they haue also promises of him, both to be, and to be performed. Therefore that name of Iehoua is propriety attributed unto God: of the similitude of which word, Iupiter being desirous to be reputed for a God, commanded himselfe to be called Ioue. The Rabbins saie, that those letters, wherof that word consisteth, are spiritual. And undoubtedlie, God is a spirit; and a spirit first significth things that be without bodies, or that haue light bodies, as vapours and exhalations, the which in them are light and thin, but yet they are of exceeding great strength. For by them, earthquakes are stirred by, the huge seas are troubled, the stormes of wind are blowne abroad. Therefore that word began afterward to be applied to the soule of man, to angels, and to God himselfe: for those things, which otherwise seeme but slender, doe bring great things to passe. Others saie, that those letters, wherof the word Iehoua is written, be resting letters: and that is verie agreeable unto God, for: seeing we doe all aske for rest and felicitie, there is no waie to find the same, but in God onlie; thus much hijserto of the word Iehoua significth the chiefe being: whereupon Plato had that his πω, or essence. And that this may be the moze manifest: some of the names of God are derived from his substance, and other from some propriety. Substantiall names be Iehoua & Ehi: that word significth, I will be. For there is no creature that may saie; I will be. For if God dooing backe his power, all things doe straitly tonse perishe. God doubtlesse may trulie saie so, becaufe he cannot faile nor forsake himselfe.

Other names are referred to some propriety of God: as El unto might, Cadocel unto holines, Schaddai unto sufficiency; howbeit these things in God be no accidents, but onlie as we comprehend them in our cogitations. For whereas God is infinite, and we cannot wholie comprehend him; yet by certein tokens and effects we doe in some part understand of him: thereof are those names, which signific some propriety of God. The Jewes being led of a certeine superstition, pronounced

not that holie name Tetragrammaton, but in the place thereof they put Adonai, or Elohim; and so thinke that they worship the name of God moze puritie and reuerentlie: but God requirith no such kind of worship. And hereby it cometh to passe, that in translating of the holie scriptures, the Grecians for Iehoua haue made Lord: as, in stead of Iehoua lieth, they haue said; The Lord lieth. And whereas in the new testament Christ is so oftentimes called Lord, his Godhead is nothing at all excluded by that word, as some unwise men doe babble, but is rather established. Undoubtedly Thomas joined both together; My Lord (John 10. 28. he) and my God.

Finally, God, to the intent that the knowledge of him might not be forgotten, hath accustomed to put men in mind of those benefits, which he hath bestowed vpon them; and would that those should be as certein words expressing unto his nature and goodness. And he beginneth alwaies the rehearsal at his latter benefits; and of them he claimeth to himselfe titles or names attributed vnto him, vnder which he may both be called vpon, and acknowledged. For euen at the beginning, God was called vpon, as he which had made heauen and earth; afterward, as he that was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; after that, as the deliuerer out of Egypt; then a deliuerer out of the captiuitie of Babylon: but lastlie, as the father of our Lord Iesus Christ. Of the omnipotence of God, looke Peter Martyr in his Treatise, Of both natures in Christ, set fourth as Tygure, 1563. pag. 4.

The words which be in the second booke of Samuel, the tenth chapter, verse the 23. name, Ieh, the gods name that he might reuerentlie vnto himselfe a people: are a sharpe cosse vnto the Hebrews, which will not acknowledge these persons in the diuine nature. Som, becaufe it is said, Gods, refer it to the opinion of men. Such is that saying of Paule; There be manie gods; and manie lords. For neither can they admit or allow of a multitude of gods. But forso much as the intreating here is of a singular or particular fact, this place must in anie wise be understood of the true God. Kimhi thinketh, that David said, Gods, for honor sake; euens as men also, to speake the moze pleasinglie and ciuillie, doe oftentimes vse the plural number, in stead of the singular. But if it be so, what new religion entered straitwaie into David? Wherby doe straitwaie adde; Thou Lord, in the singular number: for we must heape vpon God all the honours that we can. Whers had rather refer this saying vnto Moles and Aaron, who were sent to deliuer the people out of Egypt: but this cannot be; for in the booke of Chronicles,

In Iudg. 4. verse 1.

In 1. Sam. 27. verse 13. Looke In Gen. 18. at the beginning.

In 2. Sam. 22. verse 1. In 1. Cor. 8. 5.

1. Chron. 17. verse 11. The Trinitie.

Exod. 3. 12. Iehoua God is said to come.

Exod. 3. 12.

Exo. 14. 14. Iudic. 25.

Exod. 33. 3.

1. Cor. 10. 4. and 9.

Against the Ariens.

Christe diuinitie is prouoed.

all these things are spoken of God himselfe by name. For so David speaketh; Thou comest to redeeme dy people. Therefore we shall much moze rightlie and trulie understand the three persons in one diuine nature; namely, the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost; which being three persons, yet are they true by vnder one substance. This opinion is first found, and established, whether the Hebrews write or no.

But those words, which be added; And might doe great things for you: some woulde by Apotrophe, or conuersion of speech, refer them to the Jewes, which me thinke is not probable. For David talked not of these things with the people, but secretlie with God. Wherefore I had rather thus to understand them of God himselfe, and to ascribe these marvellous things to one God in three persons. For God came to deliuer his people, when he sent Moles & Aaron vnto them: for when he appointed Moles to that mesage, he added withall; And I will be with thee. God doubtlesse is in euery place at all times; but then he is said to come, when he doth some great or new thing. And so he was said to be among the Jewes, when he smote the Egyptians and their first borne. Again, when Pharaos followers the Jewes going south of Egypt, and that they began to murmur, thinking that they should encounter then haue perished, Moles on this wise comforted them: God shall fight for you, and ye shall be still: yet the Egyptians themselves also did perceive the same. For they said; Let vs flee awaie, for God himselfe dooth fight for them. And afterward, when the people had worshipped the golden calfe, and that God was angrie, he would not go forth with them, yet Moles intreated him to go on with them. Therefore to deliuer the people, there came both the Father, and the Sonne, & the holie Ghost. And although those words were common vnto the three persons, yet are they severall and particularly ascribed to the Sonne. And therefore Paule saith vnto the Corinthians, that that rocke, from whence the water did flowe, was Christ; And let vs not tempt Christ (saith he) as some tempted him in the desert. By which words of Paule, we manifestly gather; that the Jewes murmured against Christ. Which being so, the Ariens may be verie well confuted by that place. For if it were Christ, as doubtlesse it was, (which came to redeeme the people) how can David saie; There is no other God as thou art, if the Sonne be either a creature, or inferior to the father: For although this argument bind not the Jewes, who receiue not Paule; yet both it bind the Ariens, which cannot refuse Paule.

4 But the testimonies, whereby we proue the diuinitie of Christ, are taken as well out of the old, as out of the new testament. Mar-

thew saith; that We must baptise in the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holie Ghost: In which words he sheweth, that there is three persons coequal one with another. And we read in Iohn; This is life euertlasting, to knowe thee, Iohn; the onlie true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent. Further might Christ be called the first and principall God, or else eternal life, which he were God. Wher the high priest had demanded of Christ with admiration, whether he were the sonne of the liuing God: The Lord answered him; Thou hast said. And which he hearing, rent his garments, and understood that he affirmed himselfe to be God. Furthermore, very firme is that saying; And God was the word: especially seeing it is added a little after; And the word was made flesh. Where thou findest the subtle argument of the Ariens taketh no place, whereby they affirme, that Christ no doubt was called God, but yet that he was not so made: whereas Iohn saith most plainlie; that The word was God, and was made flesh. Further we read in the same Iohn; That no man had seen God at anie time, but the sonnewhich is in the bosome of the father, he hath declared him. In which place thou hearest, that the son of God is exempted from the common condition of men. It is said by the same Iohn; All things are made by him. Upon which place Augustine dooth verie well infer; that the sonne of God was not made: vnto it he had bene made, then all things that were made, had not bene created by him; at the least he had bene created by another thing.

Thomas, when he had seene the gasses where the nails entered, the open wound of Christ his side, he spake forth alowd; My Lord & my God. Also Christ paired to his father saying; Glorifie me, O Father, with the glorie, which I had with thee, before the world was made: which saying might not stand, unless that Christ had the diuine nature; for his humane nature was not before the world was made. Also the 120. said; All things that my father hath, are mine; and the father hath the diuine nature, it is by none called in question; and so of necessitie the sonne is not without the same. Besides, Christ testified; I saith; All things that my father dooth, I doo: but the action of them both, being all one, the natures of them must needs be one and the same. He said to the Jewes; Before that Abraham was, I am; which cannot otherwise be referred but to his diuine nature; and no lesse do these sayings proue; I am the resurrection and the life. Again, As the father hath life in himselfe, so he hath granted to the sonne to haue life in himselfe. Wherby it is proued, that the sonne is equal to the father. And the same Iohn wrote in his first epistle, the first chapter; And we are in him that

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And least we should thinke it lawfull to build temples unto martyrs, let vs heare Augustine, who denieth that we build temples unto martyrs: we build them (saith he) unto God, although they be called The memories of martyrs: and out of Augustine himselfe is this forme of reasoning gathered. Neither did the apostle but once enite saie; that We are the temples of the holie Ghost; but he hath the verie same thing in the first chapter of the same epistle, where it is written; And doe ye not knowe that your bodies are the temples of the holie Ghost? *1. Cor. 6. 19.* Furthermore the power of creating, which is proper vnto God, is ascribed vnto the holie Ghost; seeing Dauid hath written; By the word of the Lord were the heauens made, & all the powers of him by the spirit of his mouth. And againe; *Ps. 104. 30.* Send forth thy spirit, and they shall be created, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth. And in Matthew it is said of the bodie of Christ, which should be brought forth in the virgin wombe; That which is borne in him, is the holie Ghost. Again; The holie Ghost hath come vpon thee, and the power of the most high shall overshadow thee. Seeing then the holie Ghost hath the power of creating, (as it hath bene declared) without doubt he is God.

In the same epistle to the Corinthians it is said; that he searcheth the bottomes of Gods secrets: it seemeth that the apostle maketh this kind of argument. The things which be of man, no man knoweth, but the spirit of man which is in him: euen so the things that be of God, none knoweth but the spirit of God. And so he will haue it, that euen as the spirit of man is vnto man; so the spirit of God is towards God. And no man is ignorant, but that the spirit of man belongeth vnto the nature of man; whereby it is certaine, that the spirit of God is of his diuine nature. Basil against Eunomius vseth another reason, which cometh in a manner to the selfesame; he saith, that the holie Ghost is the spirit both of the Father and of the Sonne, and therefore of the verie same nature that they be. For it is written in the epistle to the Hebrewes; And if we thinke in him, which raised vp Iesus fro death, do abide in you, he that raised vp Christ shall also raise vs; your mortall bodies. This place declareth, that the holie Ghost hath belong vnto the father, who in the same epistle is shewed to be long also vnto the sonne, when as it is thus brisfe it is said; He that hath not the spirit of Christ, the same is not his. But in the epistle to the Galatians, both together is expresse in these wordes; And because yee be children, therefore hath God sent ye the spirit of his sonne into your hearts, whereby ye are Abbs father. Therefore, seeing the holie Ghost is the spirit, aduocet of the father as of the sonne, he is whole partaker of

their nature.

Spoken in the Acts of the apostles, the first chapter, Peter said to Ananias; How darrest thou lye vnto the holie Ghost? Thou diddest not lye vnto men, but vnto God. Now in this place, he most manifestly calleth the holie Ghost God. Augustine in his booke *De trinitate*, 4. c. 1. c. 2. c. 3. c. 4. c. 5. c. 6. c. 7. c. 8. c. 9. c. 10. c. 11. c. 12. c. 13. c. 14. c. 15. c. 16. c. 17. c. 18. c. 19. c. 20. c. 21. c. 22. c. 23. c. 24. c. 25. c. 26. c. 27. c. 28. c. 29. c. 30. c. 31. c. 32. c. 33. c. 34. c. 35. c. 36. c. 37. c. 38. c. 39. c. 40. c. 41. c. 42. c. 43. c. 44. c. 45. c. 46. c. 47. c. 48. c. 49. c. 50. c. 51. c. 52. c. 53. c. 54. c. 55. c. 56. c. 57. c. 58. c. 59. c. 60. c. 61. c. 62. c. 63. c. 64. c. 65. c. 66. c. 67. c. 68. c. 69. c. 70. c. 71. c. 72. c. 73. c. 74. c. 75. c. 76. c. 77. c. 78. c. 79. c. 80. c. 81. c. 82. c. 83. c. 84. c. 85. c. 86. c. 87. c. 88. c. 89. c. 90. c. 91. c. 92. c. 93. c. 94. c. 95. c. 96. c. 97. c. 98. c. 99. c. 100. c. 101. c. 102. c. 103. c. 104. c. 105. c. 106. c. 107. c. 108. c. 109. c. 110. c. 111. c. 112. c. 113. c. 114. c. 115. c. 116. c. 117. c. 118. c. 119. c. 120. c. 121. c. 122. c. 123. c. 124. c. 125. c. 126. c. 127. c. 128. c. 129. c. 130. c. 131. c. 132. c. 133. c. 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1. Cor. 6, 18. They shall be vnto me a people, and I will be vnto them a God, is all one, as to saie; I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And when it is said; They be one, there is signified both a distinction of persons, and an unitie of substance. For; vntlesse there were some distinction, it should haue bin said; he is one.

Chet. 2.  
reason.  
verbe 57.

12 Also, they alleadge the song of the three children, wherein, when all creatures are stirred vnto the praises of God, the Sonne & the holie Ghost are not mentioned; whereby it is plaime, that they be not reckoned among creatures. Neither maist thou saie, that this song is a part of the Apocrypha, because this part of Daniel is wanting in the Chaldee edition: for thou shalt see the verie same to be due euerie where in the Psalmes of David, wherein is the same stirring by offerings vnto diuine praises. Iohn in his

1. Iohn. 5, 6.  
Chet. 22.  
reason.  
Chet. 23.  
reason.  
Gencl. 1, 2.

first epistle saith; The spirit is truth: and this cannot be written of a creature, being truehly spirit and principall, and dependeth not of another. They are wont to alleadge the beginning of the booke of Genesis, where it is said; The spirit of the Lord moued vpon the face of the waters. In which place they affirme, that there is mention made of three persons, namelic, of the father, which created, of the Sonne, by whom all things were made (as when it is said, In the beginning, it is all one, as to saie, By the beginning,) and of the holie Ghost. I knowe that the hebreue expostors interpret far otherwise of these wordes; but I haue onlie taken vpon me to shew those places, by which the fathers gathered the Godhead of the holie Ghost. Wherevnto adde, that Paule in his epistles seldom maketh mention of the father and the sonne, but he also speaketh of the holie ghost, either expresse, or by adding of somewhat pertaining to him. And Basil further, that it was a custome receiued in the whole church, to adde in the end of the Psalmes, that which we now vs; Glorie be to thy Father, to the Sonne, and to the holie Ghost, wherein the three persons are made equal the one to the other.

Chet. 26.  
reason.

13 The Synod of Nice set forth a creed, in which we saie; I beleue in the holie Ghost. What is verie manifest, that we must not repose our confidence in anye thing that is created. And because in those dates the contention was not much sprung by of the holie Ghost, there was nothing else added: but afterwards, when diuers and furze heretics grew vp as touching him, then in the Council of Constantinople, which was the second among the foure principall, manie things were added to make this article plaine. For; we grant, that We beleue in the holie Ghost, both the Lord & giuer of life. For the particle Lord; they make him equall vnto Christ, who in the scriptures is com-

monlie called Lord, which epitheton to addition, they would therefore be expressed, because the Arians affirmed, that Christ was altogether a creature, but yet the noblest (they said) which next vnto God was the chiefe. And they said, that the holie ghost was yet lesse than the sonne, and euen his minister. Wherefore the Synod in place of Minister, put the title of Lord. The giuer of life; for they saie that it is written in Iohn, that not onlie the father both giue life, but that the sonne also can quicken whom soeuer he will; and so least the holie ghost might seeme to be excluded from this proprietie, they added that particle. And that his Godhead might be the more manifest, it was added, that He together with the father and the sonne is worshipped and glorified.

Chet. 27.  
reason.

14 Further, Athanasius hath in his creed; God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the holie Ghost. And to proue this thing, no lesse is the saying of Iust taken for an argument which they grant as proper to the holie Ghost. For when Christ hath breathed vpon his disciples, he saith; Receiue ye the holie Ghost, and whose finnes ye remit, they be remitted vnto them; and whose finnes ye retaine, they be retained. Whereby it appereth, that this power is yelued to the holie Ghost, and is proper vnto God. And this, euen the Scribes themselves testified, who hearing Christ saie to the man sick of the palsey; Thy finnes be forgiven thee, cried out that he spake blasphemie, in that he durst take vpon him the office of God. Furthermore, the holie scriptures do call this self-same spirit, both A sanctifier and giuer of light, which faculties are mete to be attributed vnto God onlie. In Exodus, the fourth chapter, it is said vnto Moses (when he detracted the time of being his meslage, because he had an impediment in his speech) Who hath giuen a mouth vnto mee? Or who maketh the dumbe or deafe, the blind & seeing? Haue not I the Lord? Wherefore I will be in thy mouth. By which place it is shewed, that it is the worke of almightie God, to speake in his ministers, to open their mouths, & to make them reade of speech. But Christ, when he speaketh of this matter, saith; It is not you that I speake, but the spirit of your father: whereby it seemes to be proued, that the holie Ghost is God, seeing he praye one and the self-same action both in.

Mat. 10, 20.

Augustine in his epistle to Valentinus saith, Augustine. that he doth wonder how it can be, that Christ, whose members we are, is beloued to be God; and that the holie Ghost, whose temple we be, should be denied to be God; seeing the excellencie of the Godhead is more proued in the latter condition, than in the first. The reasons which we haue brought, do in part proue of necessity, and

what manner of nature  
long haue  
bin alleaged.

and doe plainlie shew, that the holie Ghost is God. Others indeed be not altogether of such efficacy, but being ioined with other things, doe confirme the minds of the faithfull in this truth; neither is there anye of them, which the fathers haue not some where vsed. Where might also be added other arguments of this sort, but with these we will hold our selues contented.

what may  
be objected  
against this  
doctrin.

15 Now remaineth to consider, what is wont to be objected against this doctrine. Some saie; The holie Ghost praish for vs, and that with sighings vnspokeable. Now can he then bee God, seeing it is not mete for God, to humble himselfe after the manner of supplicants: Some answere and saie; That the sonne doth make intercession for vs, who neuertheless is God, and that therefore to praie, is not frange from the nature of God; holobut, that is inferiour to the father, and therefor might be a sater vnto him. But the holie Ghost hath not taken vpon him the nature of anye creature, vnto which person. Wherefore the reason that must be ad towards him, and towards Christ, is far differing and unlike; and therefore we will answere, that the spirit praich, and maketh request for vs, as it is written in the epistle to the Romanes, because it dwyneth vs toward to do those things; and it is therefore said to sigh, by cause it maketh vs to sigh. Neither is this phrase strange from the scriptures, but it is verie often vsed. For God saith vnto Abraham, when he would haue sacrificed his sonne; Now haue I knowne that thou fearest God. What but doubtles was knowne before vnto the diuine maiestie, and was commanded. For the hartes and cogitations of men are not hidden from him. Now, I haue knowne, in that place, is as much to saie, as, I haue caused to knowe. That this phrase is so to be understood, the Apostle testifieth to the Galathians, when he saith; And seeing ye be children, therefore God hath sent the spirit of his son into your hartes, crying Abba father. In which word he seemeth to affirme, that the holie Ghost himselfe both crieth vnto God. But to the Romanes, the same Apostle both make it verie plain; For ye haue not receiued the spirit of bondage, to feare anie more, but ye haue receiued the spirit of adoption of children, whereby we crye Abba father: in which place it appereth most plainlie, that it is we which crye, the holie Ghost stirring and dawning be forward thereto.

God is said  
to doo those  
things  
which he  
causeth vs  
to doo.

Gen. 22, 12.

Galath. 4, 6.

16 Further they demand, that If the spirit proceed from the father, and also from the sonne, what is the cause why he is not called a sonne, seeing he hath not beginning of himselfe? We answere; Because that in diuine and secret things, we followe both the doctrine and

why the  
holie Ghost  
is not said  
to be the son.

maner of speech of the holie scriptures. Seeing then that the scripture hath in no place said, that the holie Ghost either is begotten, or is the sonne, why should we attempt thus to saie; as the doubles vnto godlie men this answere should suffice. It must be added iniquit; that this saying out of the holie Ghost, is called a proceeding, therefore we must call it so. And albeit that betweene the Crede and a Latin church, there was a long contention, whether the holie Ghost proceeded from the sonne, yet was it not of anye great importance, vnlesse it had bin aggrauated with the spirit of ambition. For after the time that the Grecians began to contend in the Church for primacie, they entrie toke in all part the opinions of the Latins. But the disention was taken vp in the Council of Florence, where it was manifest, that the Latins meant no other thing, but that the holie Ghost had his proceeding of issuing out, as well from the father as from the sonne. The which thing it may be found, as we haue said, that in the holie scriptures it is called a proceeding, we are not to be blamed. The sonne is said to send the holie Ghost, for when he breathed vpon the Apostles, he saith; Receiue ye the holie Ghost. Againe he saith; He shall receiue of mine. And manie the fathers, before the Council of Florence wrote, that the holie Ghost is deriued as well from the father as the sonne. Augustine against the heretic Maximinus, and else Epiphanius in Anacortus confesteth, that the holie Ghost proceedeth both from that, is, from the father and the sonne.

the holie  
Ghost  
is not  
said  
to be  
the son.

17 Albeit that betweene proceeding and generation it is hard to put a difference, and that Augustine in the place now alleaged, granteth, that he that percerueth not the difference; yet he saith, that this he knewe; namelic, that whatsoeuer thing grows, doth also proceed: but he saith not on the other side, that whatsoeuer things proceed, are also things which grow. The holie Ghost cannot properly expresse the difference. Wherefore the holie Ghost is not said, either to be begotten, or vnbegotten, least by saying vnbegotten, we might haue to affirme him to be the father; or by affirming him to be begotten, we might seeme to call him the sonne. Thus we haue manie of Augustine in his third tome, at the beginning of the small questions gathered out of the booke De trinitate. Adde withall, that if the holie Ghost should be said to be begotten, then in the trinitie we should appoint two sonnes, & two fathers. For, seeing the holie Ghost is as well of the father, as of the sonne, he should haue them both to be his fathers, if it might be said that he is begotten of them; yea, and if the matter be well considered, he might (I saie) be called

A difference  
betweene  
generating  
and proceeding.

The holie  
Ghost  
is not  
said  
to be  
the son.

the holie  
Ghost  
is not  
said  
to be  
the son.



Since the Sonne is called the onlie begotten, it may not be said that the holie Ghost is begotten.

John. 1, 14. John. 3, 16. John. 4, 9.

Christ as touching his humane nature is called the first begotten. Rom. 8, 29.

Ich Epiphanius in the Synod of Nice, and after that they called the holie Ghost God.

Erasmus Helvic.

called both the sonne and sonnes sonne of one and the selfe-same father. For in affirming him to be begotten of the father, he should be called his sonne; but in as much as it should be said, that he is borne of the sonne, he should be nephew unto the father: which things be absurd, and wholo strange from the scriptures. And further, to saie that the holie Ghost is begotten, the words of the scripture are against it, which were often said about the sonne, The onlie begotten: whereof it folloiweth, that the holie Ghost is not begotten.

In the first chapter of Iohn, it is said; We sawe the glorie thereof, as the glorie of the onlie begotten of the father. And in the third chapter of the same gospell; So God loued the world, as he gaue his onlie begotten sonne. And the same Iohn in his epistle; In this the loue of God towards vs appeared, that he gaue his onlie begotten sonne, And Christ as touching his humane nature, hath bene accustomed in the scripture to be called, not The onlie begotten of God, but The first borne among manie brethren: as it appeareth in the epistle to the Romans. Howbeit doubtles as touching his diuine nature he hath no brethren. There be some which say, that in the Synod of Nice, the holie Ghost was not in expresse words called God; but that onlie the Godhead of the sonne was cryed out. Unto which obiection Epiphanius answereth, that in the Synod of Nice the controuersie was as touching the sonne onlie. For Arius at the first contended onlie against this point. And Councils for the most part define not other things, but such as are called in question: yet neuertheless, if a man did gentle examine the matter, he shall see that those things be there defined, which do plainlie inough declare the diuine nature of the holie Ghost. For it is there said; We beleue in the holie Ghost: and it is not lawfull for one to put his confidence in a creature. Moreover, that which was done in the Synod of Nice, was performed in the Synod of Constantinople.

18 Also they obiect, that among the fathers there were some, and especially of the more ancient of them, which were slacke in their writings, to expresse in plaine words the holie Ghost to be God. Among whom Erasmus reckneth Hilarie, who was thought to be the first among the Latins that wrote against the Arians. This father, in his booke *De trinitate*, neuer by expresse words called the holie Ghost God. Unto this obiection we answereth, that the most ancient fathers, in teaching diuine things vnder a singular modestie, and did imitate the holie scriptures so much as they could: and although they said not in expresse words, that the holie Ghost is God; yet in the meane time they

wrote those things, which manifestly proue his Godhead. And further it appeareth, that they of let purpose disputed against them, which denied the Godhead of the holie Ghost, and equallitie of the three diuine persons: as we see by the strict that was about the word *Homouion*; a Unitate, or like substance, from which manie of the Catholics at the beginning did refrain themselves, because it seemed to be but new, and that it was not had in the holie scriptures: & yet the neuertheless did imbrace and most willingly admit the thing signified. Whereby we see not about these things, but grant first and chiefe ly what is in the holie scriptures: and then whatsoever is necessarilie and manifestlie deriued out of them. Next vnto those ancientest sort of fathers did Basil, and diuers others succede, which by all means both testifie and defend the holie Ghost to be God.

19 Others cauil, because it is written; that None knoweth the Father but the Sonne, and on the other side; None the Sonne, but the Father: in which places they saie, that there is no mention of the holie Ghost; and therefore it seemeth vnto them, that he knoweth neither the Father, nor yet the Sonne, & that for the same cause he is not God. To these also we answer, that when the knowing of the Father, and of the Sonne is attributed to two persons, the holie Ghost must not be excluded: (saing he is said to be the spirit aduoc of the father as of the Sonne: therefore that which is belonging to both, is also common vnto him. And if they demand a plaine testimony hereof out of the scriptures, we will bring forth one out of the first epistle to the Corinths, where it is written; The things of man none knoweth, but the spirit of man, which is within him: and euen for those things which be of God, none knoweth but the spirit of God. Also it is written in the gospell; Blessed art thou Simon the sonne of Iona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed these things vnto thee, but the spirit of my father, which is in heaven. By these testimonies it is manifest, that the holie Ghost doth not only knowe God, but both also reueale & make him to be known vnto others.

But this erro, whereby some intend to rebuke the holie Ghost with an ignorance of heauenlie things, toke beginning from Origen, who affirmed a certaine degree to be among the natures of intelligencies, so as he thought that the father knoweth himselfe onlie; & he said that the Sonne did not knowe the father; and that the holie Ghost knew not the Sonne; and he would moreover, that the angels perceiue not the holie Ghost, and lastlie that men see not the angels. And that this order is set on him by him, Epiphanius belieweth out of the booke, as he testifi-

A Unitate, or like substance.

Mat. 11, 27.

whether the bolie Ghost knowe the father and the Sonne.

1 Cor. 13, 11.

Mat. 16, 17.

The bolie Ghost both knoweth the father and the Sonne, and also reuealeth him.

Origens erro.

Epiphanius.

The booke of Rufinus.

Rufinus.

Ierom.

testified, *modis uariis* in which booke neuertheless, so far as hitherto I remember, I haue not read the matter plainlie in such sort described. Which is no marvell; for that booke which Rufinus translated, hath manie things imperfect. For he plucked out those things, which he thought tended most vnto error, least the readers should be too much offended, whereby afterwards there arose a great discorde betwene him and Ierom.

20 There were some which affirmed, that saing the holie Ghost is said to be sent, in like manner as the Sonne is said to be sent; he should haue taken vpon him, euen as Christ did, some diuine nature into the unitie of person: which reason of theirs is not necessarie. We grant, that sometimes he toke vpon him either a boie, or fire, or some, by which he declared his presence; howbeit, these he toke but for a time: neither was he made one person with the two natures, as we grant it to haue come to passe in Christ. Albeit there haue bin most impudent heretikes, as Manes, of whom the Manicheis were named; as Iuere Montanus, Basilides, and such other pestilent men, which published themselves to be the holie Ghost, whome Christ had promised. But in vaine were these things deuised by them; for the Acts of the Apostles do sufficientlie declare, that the promise of Christ was performed within a few daies after his ascension.

21 But it must be considered, that the scripture spaketh of God after the manner of men, for the affect of remembrance declareth the goodness of God: for they which be mindful of their friends in danger, do for the most part releeue them. Howbeit, to remember, accepteth not property with God, saing it nothei a certaine forgetfulness that went before; which to ascribe vnto God, were an vnjust thing. But of knowings we see there be three kinds, the which are distinguished one from another, according to the difference of time. For if a thing present be found out, to one which then beholdeth, it is called a certaine beholding; and this knowledge is the rote of all the other, and more sure than the rest. Further, if it haue respect vnto things that be past, it is called memory. If vnto things to come, it is foresight; which thirde for the most part, springeth from the second. For they which haue experience of manie things, and remember much, are wont by a certaine wisdom achieved, to haue great iudgement of things to come. Of these kinds of knowledge, none is trulie attributed vnto God, but the first, seeing all things are present with him: and euen as his nature, so his actions are by no means comprehended within the course of time. But yet it is said in the scriptures, that either he remem-

bered, or that he forgetteth; because oftentimes those effects are attributed vnto him, which they are wont to do that forget: or remember anie thing. But memory requireth a knowledge that is past. We shall find that the scripture hath said, that Noah was iust and perfect in his generations. When then he was minded to save him, and had made him safe in the arke, he seemed to attend for him: and when he had tarried so long that yet in the arke, and was not deliuered from thence (if I shall speake after the manner of men) God seemed in a manner to forget him. And againe, when he deliuereth him, he is said to remember.

22 So, when it is said, that God towared angrie, it is not to be understood, as though God were troubled with affects; for that belongeth vnto men: but according to the common and received exposition of these places, we understand it, that God behaue himselfe like vnto men that be angrie. After the selfe-same manner it is sometimes written, that he repented him: wherefore God, either to repent, or to be angrie, is nothing else, but that he doth those things, which men repenting, or being angrie, are wont to do. For the one sort do either after or vnto all that euer they had done before; and the other reuenge themselves of such wrongs as haue bin done vnto them. Ambrose in his booke of Noah and the arke, the fourth chapter, speaketh otherwise of the anger of God. For neither (saith he) doth God thinke as men do, as though he should be of a new mind; neither is he angrie, as though he were mutable. But these things are therefore bludied, to the intent that the bitterness of our sins may be expressed, which hath deuoured the length of our life, that to much, and to faste for the fault increased, as euen God (which naturallie is not moued, either with anger, hatred, or anie other passion) may seeme to be prouoked vnto wrath.

And rightlie is there mention made of anger, before that punishment is rehearsed; for men vse first to be angrie, before they reuenge. And anger (if we may beleue Aristotle in his *Rhetorics*) is nothing else, but a desire of reuengement, because of contempt. For they that perceiue themselves to be despised and contemned, do straightwaie thinke vpon reuenge, and do continuallie meditate how they may, by means of some punishment, requite either the iniurie, or contumelie that is done.

23 But yet peradventure some man will doubt, whether God, when he repented him, were in anie respect changed. All the godlie in a manner thow one moue confesse, that God cannot be changed one iota, because that would be a certaine signe, both of imperfection, and also of inconsistency: but they saie, that this was said in the scriptures, that either he remem-

Gen. 8, 2.

Gen. 8, 1.

In Job. 1, 1.

uerie 15, and 18.

whom the most bitter stand God to be angrie and to repent.

Ambrose.

God doth not to repent, as he is any waie changed. After the 15. chapter, act. 1.

rieticke, which happeneth herein, must not be ascribed to God himselfe, but vnto vs. For example sake. If one will saie, that God out of all doubt caused to fauour the Chananites, against the children of Israel, whom he before so feared to strengthen, as he would haue them to oppress the Iewes: & againe, that he afterward created the Iephunes, whom before it feared that he would haue to be kept vnder by the Chananites; certeinly no man can denie, but that these things be true. Whom shall we therefore defend, that the will of God is without alteration. & as were out of Ieremie the 18. chapter, that withoute it there appeareth a plaine diuersitie to be in the effects, whereas God notwithstanding both alwaies retaine one manner of will. For thus it is there written in his name; So I come as I shall speake against a kingdom or nation, to deliuite it, yea it out, and ouerthrowe it, if they shall repent, I also will repent. And contrariwise, when I shall speake good of a kingdom or people, to let them vp and plant them; and that nation or kingdom shall do euill in my sight, I also will repent of the good which I ment to do vnto them. These words shew, that God is not variable in these kind of promises and threatnings; for he speaketh not absolute and simple, but vpon condition. But the fulfilling, or making void of the conditions, is looked for in vs; wherefore the change must not be attributed vnto him, but vnto vs.

But if thou wilt aske me, whether God hath known and decreed before what shall come to passe, as touching these conditions; I will grant he hath; for euen at the first beginning, he not onely knew what the euents of things would be, altho aldecayed what should be. But seeing the secretines of his will, touching these things, is not opened vnto vs in the holie scriptures; therefore we must followe that rule, which is giuen by Ieremie, euen as we haue receiued before. This rule, the Nimuis, and also to Ezechias the king had respect vnto, euen before the same was published. For although that destruction was denounced to them in the name of God, yet they escaped from it; by reason of the repentance and prayers, which they in the meane time vsed. Neither is there any cause why we should suspect that God doth lie in any thing, when he threatneth or promitteth those things which do not afterward come to passe. For as touching Ezechias death was withoute doubt he had taken hold of him, by reason of naturall causes, commonlie called the second causes; wherefore the sentence being pronounced according to those causes, he might not be accused of a lie. Also the Nimuis (if God had done by them as their sinnes deserved) there

had bene no other way both them but destruction. And God commanded Ionas to preach vnto them, according to their deserts. Furthermore a lie, which in talke hath a supposition of condition iouined therewith, cannot be blamed in such sort, as it may be in arguments which be absolute and without exception: seeing the euent dependeth of the performing of violating of the condition.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

Of the creation of all things; wherein is intreated of angels, of men, of the essence of the soule, of the image of God, and of diuerse other things.

**I** Would thinke that vnder the name of heauen and earth, Moyses therewith that the foundation of ground of all things, aswell of the heauens, as of the elements was made, and that this matter is signified by the names of things already said. For seeing it cannot be knowne otherwise, but by the forme and perfection, it is met that that also should be named and specified. Wherefore this whole heape is signified by the name of heauen and earth; wherein also come the other three elements, fire, aire, & water. The shewes vs of the uttermost things, by which he will also haue vs to knowe the things that are betweene both. But how far these things at the first were out of square and order it is to be desired, when of the earth it is said, it was without form, & wast. Wherefore this rude heape was brought forth, being as yet stiffe of matter void of order, the which belonged aswell to the upper things, as to the lower. And so perhaps, as the more noble had the uppermost place; so to the lesse noble was assigned the nethermost; for this cause, the name of creation is vertie fit for the first and vnderlie heape. For those things forme onlie to be made of nothing, and other things are said to be made and fashioned. And yet this difference is not obserued in all things; for some things are called created, which are said to be deriued from some former matter. Two things doubtes men haue bene accustomed to attribute vnto creation, both that it should be of a sudden and that it require no matter to be before hand.

2 Thus the world was not rashly made, neither is it coeternall with the maker of creation. Spanie of the ancient philosophers assigned the two; humanitie of things vnto rashnes and chance;

chance; seeing diuers of them in the stead of beginnings, named discords and debate, of else such little small bodies, as smaller cannot be. Aristotle attributed eternitie vnto that, where-by he maketh God, not to be the working cause of the world; but onelic attributed vnto him the cause of the end: of if he do, he taketh from him the power of working according to his will; and thinketh that the world followeth him, as a shadow doth the bodie, or as the light doth the sunne. Which the Peripatetikes will seeme to do so; diuine honour sake, least they should be aduised to ascribe anie lacke of power of alteration in God. But these things hurt not vs at all; for we affirme not, that God is boane, or apt to suffer any thing; but we ascribe vnto him the charest power to do. And although God in his eternitie, minded to make the world, it followeth not therefore, that when he did make it, there was in him any alteration of his purpose or will. Again, let vs beware of the error of them in old time, which thought that there was an eternall and vnerat Chaos, or confused heape, extant before; and that God did onelic picke out those things, which were there mingled together. But we saie, that the same heape was made the first daie. Some there be which demand, that seeing God could haue brought forth the world long before, why he did it so late: This is an arrogant and malepert question, wherein mans curiositie cannot be satisfied; but by beating downe the folle thereof. For if I should grant this, that the world was made before, at any certeine instant of time, that thou couldest imagine; yet thou mightest still complaine, that the same was but laticke made, if thou refer the cogitation to the eternitie of God; so as we must be in deale after a golic manner, and not with this malepert and rash curiositie.

### Of Angels and their creation.

3 But verelie it seemes to be a maruell, why the creation of Angels is so kept in silence, as there is no mention thereof in all the old testament; in the old testament (I saie) because in the new testament it is spoken of. In the first mentio of the Colossians, there is plaine mentio of their creation. There be some, which bring two places of the old testament, namely: Where maketh his Angels spirits. And in another place, when he said, And they be made. Without the se places do not firmelie persuade it. It should be rather said, that they are comprehended vnder the name of heauen, seeing it is generallie receiued, that the heauens are turned about by them. The first reason is, be-

cause if their creation had bene first described, it might haue seemed, that God vsed their labour in the bringing forth of other things. But to the intent we should attribute vnto God the whole power of creation, therefore did Moyses keep it in silence; least perhaps we might suspect our felices to be their workmanship. And euen as our redemption is onelic attributed vnto Christ the sonne of God, and not to the Angels; so was it meet to be as touching our creation. The second reason; because of the promise of men vnto idolatrie; for if they haue worshipped heauen, stars, four-footed beastes, serpents, and birds; what would they haue done, if Moyses had described that spiritual creature in his colours; and had said, that they were made to do vs seruice, to be presidents ouer countries, and to be at hand with euery man: That would not men haue done? They would haue run a madding to the worshipping of them. The first mention of them was at paradiis vnder the swood of the cherubims. Alas in Abrahams time, when there was present an exceeding strong deluener. For euen then are dangers permitted by God, when most strong remedies are also vied by him. And as touching this superstitious worshipping of Angels, Paule speaketh in the second to the Colossians.

4 Rabbi Solomoh saith that the names of Angels are secret; so as they, euen themselves, do not knowe their owne names: yea, and he adde, that they haue not names of their owne, but that onlie surnames are appointed them of those things, vnto which they are sent to take charge of. Wherevnto the epistle to the Hebrewes assenteth, when it calleth them Administrators of the holie scriptures. An Angel was sent vnto Eliae, and because he put vnto his lips a burning cole, he was called Seraphim, Seraphim, of the Hebrew verbe Seraph, which significth To burne. So of Raphael we may say, that he which cured Tobias was so called; as who should saie; He was the medicine of God. And Gabriel, by the same reason is called The strength of God. Also the word Peli, which the Angel attributed to himselfe in the 1. of Judges, significth Wonderful; for he came, to the intent he might do a miracle. And finally it was verie wonderful, to bring out a flame out of a rock, which consumed the sacrifice. And it may be, that the Angel would not open his name; because men in those daies were prone vnto idolatrie; and perhaps, when they had heard the name of the Angel, they would haue bene induced to worshipping it, more than right religion requireth. But Cherubims be Angels, whose name is deriued of a figure. Aben-ezra saith, Cherubim

Iere. 18. 7. The alteration in the effects, not in God.

Ionas. 3. 4. Eliae. 38. 1.

soberly not when he threatneth things which come not to passe.

Is curious inquired error.

In Gen. 1. 1. what is signified vnder the name of heauen and earth.

Gen. 1. 2.

The difference betwixt creature and creature man king and creating.

Coloss. 1. 16.

Psalm. 104. 4.

Psalm. 33. 9.

The heauens are turned about by Angels.

Gen. 3. 24. Gen. 18. 2.

Col. 2. 13.

In Iudg. 13. 17.

Angels take their names of the things which they do.

Heb. 7. 14.

Isaie. 6. 6. Tobit. 1. 16.

Judg. 13. 18.

In Gen. 1. 2.

at the end.

pp. ii.

that *Kenof* significth a forme or figure, be it either of man, or of brute beasts, it maketh no matter which, seeing either of both is so called. Angels have these names, because they appear unto men, in figure or forme of a living creature, as it appeareth in the tenth of Ezechiel. Wherethink, that the name is compounded of the Hebrew letter *z*, which is a mark of similitude; and of *Ken*, which in the Chaldee speech significth boies, or young men, because Angels appeared in the fourme of men, and that of young men. And to that similitude those in the tabernacle were made, having wings put to them. Wherupon Dionysius, and other folowd; when they saie, that they are signified by the fillnes of knowledge, seeing a man, whose figure they beare, differeth in understanding and knowledge from brute beasts.

Wherefore Cherub is a certaine figure given, and detokeneth unto vs The messengers of God, which with great celeritie do all those things which God commandeth. He useth them, and useth as it were upon the winds, which are generated by those Angels, because by those things, that which God would, is brought to passe. Also, the Cherubims made Mercurie with wings, and attributed wings unto the winds. The Angels likewise are often times put with wings. As Ezechiel, the Cherubims are made strong unto him. Ezechiel & Daniel sawe Angels strong unto them. These things declare, that the ministerie of Angels is exceeding swift. In the 104. Psalm; Who maketh his Angels spirits. We must not here imagine with the Scribes, as though the Angels were but a bare service of no substance, severed from matter. They are not onlie moued with the mouing that brute creatures haue, but they understand, they feele, and they instrue vs. An Angel came vnto the virgin Marie, and vnto Zacharie. Their Angels (as it is in the Gospel) do alwaies behold the face of their heauenly father. Vnto the Hebrewes they are called Administrators of spirits. For in alle, they gouerne kingdoms and principes.

It followeth, that I speake somewhat of the visions of Angels. For an Angel appeared vnto Manoah; and oftentimes in other places, as the scriptures declare, Angels haue bin seen of men. But it may be demanded, how they did appeare, whether with anie bodie, or onlie in phantasie; and if with a bodie, whether with their owne bodie; or with a strange bodie; and whether the bodie were taken for a time, or for euer? Of these things, that The minds, that is, the Intelligencies are so framed, that certaine of them haue celestially bodies, and some

haue fire bodies, some arie, some watrie, and some earthie bodies, and some they affirme to be dark spirits, which do continually dwell in darkenes and mist. Of these things Marcellus Ficinus hath gathered manie things, in his tenth booke *De legibus*, and in his Argument of *Epimachus*. The Peripatetikes affirme, that there be certaine Intelligencies, which guide and turne about the celestiall circles, neither make they mention of anie other. Also the scholasticke viues haue decreed, that those minds and Intelligencies are altogether spiritual, and that they haue no bodies. And they were led thus to thinke, by reason that these Intelligencies must needs excell the soules of men, whose perfect facultie consisteth in understanding. Wherefore (as they thinke) it is more, that in this booke, the Intelligencies should much exceed them; and that this cometh to passe, because those heauenly minds haue no need of images or of senses, the which being so, it should be superfluous for them to haue bodies.

But among the fathers, some haue affirmed far otherwise. Origin in his booke *τὸν ἀρχαῖον* Origin, (as Ierom hath noted in his epistle *Ad Pammachium de erroribus Iohannis Hierosolymitanis*) saith, that those spirituall soules, so often as they descend, do fall, and are thrust into bodies, but yet not immediate into the vilest bodies, but first into farric bodies, then into fire and arie, as terward into watric, and last of all into humane and earthie bodies; and if then also they bebaue not themselves well, they become diuels. And further, that if they will yet then repent, they may come againe by the selfe-faine degrees vnto their former state. And this he saith, who should vnderstand by that labor, vpon which Iacob saw the Angels ascending and descending. Vnto Ierom, to make the matter more plaine, giueth a similitude. If a tribune (saith he) do not rightly execute his office, he is put from that degree, and is made a principall secretarie; afterward a senator, a captain ouer two hundred, a ruler ouer fewer, a constable of a towne, afterward a man at armes, and after that, a soldier of the meanest degree. And although a tribune were once a common soldier, yet of a tribune he is not made a poynt soldier, but a principall secretarie. Whereby, these things be abrid, and waye to be laughed at. And certeinly herein Origin speaketh more like a Platonist, than a Christian. That which he first affirmeth; namely, that soules are thrust into bodies, as vnto punishments, is manifestly false; forasmuch as God hath ioined the bodie to the soule, for a helpe, not for a punishment. Neither doth he well, to put the diuell into anie hope of saluation in time to come, seeing Christ hath taught the contrarie, saying; Go ye cursed into eternall

The Peripatetikes.

The schoolic viues.

The fathers.

Gen. 28. 12.

Ierom.

Against Origines opin.

mif of thys thing boies as vnto punishments.

Mat. 25. 41.

fire,

fire, prepared for the diuell and his angels. Peter can see in that place vnderstand eternall, to be onlie a long space of time. For Christ most plaine expounded his meaning, when he saith; Their worme shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched. Neither did he truly affirme, that the soules first falled before they came into bodies; seeing Paule witnesseth of Iacob and Esau, that before they were borne, and had don neither good nor euill, it was said; Iacob haue I loued, and Esau haue I hated: the greater shall I loue the lesser. Vpon this cause therefore is this opinion of Origin rejected by all men.

Augustine in manie places seemeth to attribute bodies vnto Angels, and nameth in his second booke *De trinitate*, the seventh chapter: & in the third booke, the first chapter. Which the scholemen perceiuing, excused him, saying, that he spake not there after his owne iudgement, but according to the iudgment of others. Which thing I also might allow, for so much as I see, that that father in his eight booke and 16. chapter *De ciuitate Dei*, (after the opinion of Apuleius Madaurensis and Porphyrius) defineth, that Angels be in kind, sensible creatures; in soule, passiuely; in mind, reasonable; in bodie arie; in time, eternall. Doubtles herein he followeth the doctrine of the Platonists; but in the places before alleaged, he seemeth to speake altogether of himselfe. Ipea and Barnard also, vpon the song of the three children (as it appeareth) is of the same opinion. Wherefore the scholemen be compelled to deuile an other shift, and they saie; that Angels if they be compared with men, are spirits; but if with God they haue bodies, because they are destitute of the single and pure nature of God. Terullian *De carne Christi* affirmeth, that Angels haue bodies; but that is the lesse maruell in him; for he attributeth a bodie euen to God himselfe. But he saith, whatsoeuer is; for he saith, which he learned and rude man, which thinke, that whatsoeuer is not a bodie, is nothing. But the scholemen saie, that Angels in bodie bee are spirits; but that when they come vnto men, they take vpon them arie bodies, which they thicken and make more grosse, whereby they can both be sene, touched, and perceried, beyond the nature of arie. There be some also, which saie, that some earthie or watery thing is mixed with them; but in no wise will grant the same to be anie perfect mixture, least they should be compelled there to appoint a generation. There haue bene also altho thought, that Angels take vpon them dead carcasses; but this to the more part seemeth an vnknowly thing, to be thought of the holie Angels.

Whether it be comend. for An.

8 Here will some man saie, that it is an absurd thing to charge the celestially Angels with

feigning and lying; as they to feigne themselves to be men, and yet are none indeed. Ipea and this seemeth to weaken the argument of Christ, which he uses after his resurrection, to declare that he had a verie bodie indeed; Feele (saith he) and see: for a spirit hath no flesh and bones, as ye see me haue. For the apostles, being diuined, thought that they had sene a spirit; and therefore to bring them out of doubt, Christ had them to handle and feele his bodie. But the apostles might haue said; That which we feele is a phantasie, it seemeth indeed to be flesh, but perhaps it is not: for Angels also seeme to haue bodies, and to be touched & felt, whereas yet they haue no bodies indeed. Also this opinion may weaken the argument of the fathers against Marcion, as touching the flesh of Christ. For he did eate (saie they) he drank, he was hungry, he slept, he did sweate, and he sighes; and therefore had a true and humane bodie. Vnto these things might be answered, that the selfe-faine things haue happened vnto Angels, whereas notwithstanding they had no bodies. I answer; that which they first saie, that it is absurd to charge the Angels with lies; they should vnderstand that euerie thing, howeuer it be feigned, is not straightwaie a lie. Christ appeared vnto his disciples as a stranger, and yet belied not; euen he was sene vnto Marie in likeness of a gardener, yet he lied not: so the Angels, although they appeared to be men, when they were no men, yet were they no liars. For they came not of purpose to proue themselves men, but onlie that they might conuerse and haue communication with men.

To the argument of Christ, as touching his owne bodie, thus I answer: first, the apostles thought that it had bene a ghost, which appeared; and therefore Christ, to reuell that, saith; Handle and see, for a spirit hath neither flesh nor bones. Wherupon he saith, I will be perceried; that the same, which was present, was a verie true and perfect bodie, not a vaine phantasie. But thou wilt saie; It was a true bodie indeed, but yet taken for a time, and such a bodie as Angels sometime are wont to put on. But how could it be put on, that it was the same bodie which laye before in the sepulchre? Herein the authoritie of Christ, and of the scriptures must be of force: for the scriptures teach plainely enough, that Christ should die, and afterward rise againe the third daie; but nothing can rise againe, except that which fell before; as Terullian both verie learnedly write. And this did the scholemen perceiue; wherupon Thomas Aquinas saith, that vnlesse something else can be added, this is no god argument. The same may be answered vnto the reasons of the fathers against Marcion. Inderd manie of the actions

surely thing that is feigned is not a lie, John. 1. 20. The same while they seemeth to be men lied not.

Terullian Thomas Aquinas.

What man-  
ner of busi-  
ness the  
Angels  
take upon  
them.

Gen. 3. 1.  
Num. 22. 18.

Zach. 1. 19.  
Augustine.

John 2. 2.

What busi-  
ness subtile  
wile as con-  
founding  
substantia-  
tion.

actions before alleged, may be fit for Angels, or bodies assumed: but yet not all. For, to be borne and nourished, to die and to feele, happen neither unto Angels, nor yet unto bodies assumed. But the scripture doth most plainly testify, that Christ was borne, that he forsooth, that he was hungry, that he suffered death, and that he was borne true man. But of these things more at large hereafter.

Here be manie other things in the whole Discourse, as touching these matters: but because they are not so profitable, I will omit them, and will demand this; Whether Angels may take verie bodies upon them, and those naturall, which were bodies before, and may live them at their libertie, as the devil did put on the serpent, and thereby deceived Eve? An Angel also spake in Balaamsasse, wherefore there cannot an Angel after the same manner possesse a humane bodie, and speake therein? Doubtles it is written in the prophet Zacharie; The Angel of the Lord, which spake in mee.

Therefore it appeareth, that Angels may vie the bodies of men and beasts. Augustine in his first booke *De veritate*, the first chapter saith, that this is a hard question, whether Angels may assume bodies to their owne proper uses, and change them into divers formes; as we use to don garments, or as we use to turne into verie nature, as we read that Christ did, when he turned water into wine: this he saith is not impossible to be done. For thus he saith; I confesse it pertaineth the strength of my capacite, whether that Angels, retaining the spiritual quality of their owne bodie, may in tooching more secretly by it, take to them from thing of the more grosse inferior elements, which being framed fit to themselves, may alter and turne the same, as it were a garment, into all bodilie formes or shapies; yea, even into the true things themselves, as true water was turned into true wine by the Lord: or else, when they can transforme their owne proper bodie into what they will, being applied to that thing which they go about to doe. But whether of the be true, it belongeth not to the present question. But I saie, that if there were verie bodies of Angels, then was Christs argument firme. And I will more willingly grant unto this, than to saie as some doe, that Angels be deceived the senses of men. For after this manner they will strive against vs, when we saie that in the Eucharist remaineth bread, which is both flesh and touched; as they may answer, that indeed it seemeth bread, but yet it is none: even as Angels seemed to be men, when as yet they were no men. True I denie not, that sometimes the senses may be deceived; but yet I affirme, that there be two kinds of those things

which are perceived by the sense. For some things are common unto manie senses, and of such others are proper unto some one sense alone. As for figure, quantitie, and number, are perceived of manie senses: & doubtles in such things the senses may be deceived. As Carnadoes was wont to dispute of bending an oze in the water, and of the bignes of the bodie of the fowle. But in things which properlie be sensible, the sense is never deceived, unless it be long of some impediment of the bodie, or of overmuch distance, or some such like let. Wherefore seeing that in the Eucharist our sense doeth vnder that bread remaineth, there is no need to feigne that the sense is therein deceived.

But to appoint a certaine compendious booke of this disposition, these booke come to mind, by which it may seeme that the Angels appeared. For either they were seene in phantasie, so as they were thought to have bodies, when they had not (which wile cannot be as- proved), for they did not beguile the senses, and they were not seene onlie of one person, but of manie, and at manie and sundrie times, and were in such good sense, as Abraham washed some of their feet, and Jacob blessed a whole night with an Angel: or else they verelie appeared with a true bodie, which notwithstanding was not such a bodie, as it was thought to be: or else they had the verie selfe same bodie, true and in verie deed, which they seemed to have. Tertullian *De carne Christi*, hath written most learnable of this third sort; Whom hast sometimes saith he both read and believed, that the Angels of the Creator were turned into the shapies of a man, and that they carried such a truth of a bodie, as both Abraham washed their feet, and Lo: by their hands was plucked from the Sodomites. An Angel also was clothed with a man, and desired to be loosed from the weight of the bodie of him, by whom he was held. And therefore, which was lawfull unto Angels, which be inferior unto God (namely, that they be turned into the compendious of men, and yet never theles remained Angels) this doeth thou take also from God, which is more mightie: as though Christ, taking true manhood upon him, were not able to remaine God: Thus Tertullian disputeth against the Marcionites; who they affirmed, that Christ did seeme to have, but yet indeed had not, the bodie of a man. Tertullian obiecteth against them; And if ye grant this (saith he) unto the Angels; that they have had bodies; why do ye not much rather yield the same unto the sonne of God? And he answereth; Whom did the Angels also appear in phantasie of flesh; but thou darrest not saie so. For if thou account of the Angels of the Creator, as thou dost of Christ, Christ shall be of the same substance

Three man-  
ner of ap-  
pearings of  
Angels.

1

Gen. 13. 4.  
Gen. 3. 14.

2

3

Note that  
they were  
turned.

The error  
of the  
Marcionites.

The indig-  
ment of the  
senses.

A proofe of  
the goodnes  
e manhood  
in Christ.

John. 1. 3.  
Math. 3. 16.

of the hour  
when the  
holie Ghost  
appeared.

Augustine.

What be-  
came of the  
dove when  
in the bolle  
shell ap-  
peared.

Luke 24. 39.

The indig-  
ment of the  
senses.

A proofe of  
the goodnes  
e manhood  
in Christ.

stance that Angels be of, and the Angels shall be such as Christ is. If thou haddest not of set purpose received the scriptures, which are contrarie to thy opinion, and corrupted others, the Gospel of John would herein have abolished thee, which declarerth, that the Spirit coming downe in the booke of a dove, lighted upon the Lord, which be the spirit: was as true a dove, as he was the spirit: neither did the contrarie substance taken, detract his owne proper substance.

I knowe there have bin some scholermen, which thought, that it was not a verie dove, which descended upon the head of Christ, but that it was onlie an aerie and thynned bodie, appearing to be a dove. But Augustine *De agone Christiano* testifieth otherwise; namelie, that the same was a verie dove. For a thing (saith he) is more effectually to expelle the properties of the holie Ghost, than is a signe. Even as Christians also are better expellid in thepe and lambes, than in the lidenes of theype and lambes. Again, if Christ had a true bodie, and descended not, then the holie Ghost had the verie true bodie of a dove, Tertullian addeith; Thou wilt demand where the bodie of the dove became, when the spirit was taken againe unto heaven, and in like manner of the Angels bo- dies? It was taken alone, even after the selfe same manner that it came. If thou haddest seen where it was brought forth of nothing, thou mightest also have knownen when it was taken awaye to nothing. If the beginning of it was not visible, no more was the end; then he remitteth the reader unto John: Thus he also (saith he) a phantasie after his resurrection, when he offered his hands and feet to be seene of his disciples, saying; Behold, it is I; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as yee see me have? Therefore Christ is brought in as a lugler or controuer. And in his third booke against Marcion; Therefore his Christ, that he should not lie nor deceive, and by that meanes perhaps might be esteemed for the Creator, was not indeed that which he seemed to be, and that which he was, he was seigned to be: flesh and yet no flesh; man, and yet no man, and therefore Christ; God, and not God. For why did he not also beare the shapies of God? Shall I believe him as touching this inward substance, that is overthowne about the outward substance? How may he be thought to inooke faulshin in secret, that is perceived to be false vperlie? And afterward; It is enough for me to affirme that, which is agreeable unto God, namely, the truth of that thing which he obiecteth to these senses, to sight, to touching, and to hearing. Again, in his booke *De carne Christi*, his vertues (saith he) proueth that he had the spirit of God; and his passions, that he had the flesh of the flesh; but he was not without spirit, neither shall passions be without flesh. If flesh together with the

passions be seigned, the spirit also with his vertues is false. Wherby doeth thou make blisfull of Christ by an unitate? He is all whole in truth.

Apelles the heretic, being in a manner banquished with these reasones, agreed indeed of Christ to be moved with verie flesh, but yet the spirit. He thought the same to be borne, but saith, that it was brought forth from heaven. And he obiecteth, that the bodies which were taken by Angels, were true bodies, but were not borne: such a bodie, (saith he) Christ had. Whereunto Tertullian answereth, Wher (saith he) which publish the flesh of Christ to be after the example of the Angels, saing, that it was not borne, namelie a fleshe substance, it would have them also to compare the causes, as well why Christ, as why the Angels did come in the flesh. For there was neuer anie Angel that came downe to be crucified, to suffer death, and to rise againe. If then there was neuer anie such cause for Angels to incorporate themselves, then halt thou a cause why they take flesh, and yet were not borne. If they came not to die, therefore they came not to be borne; but Christ being sent to die, it was necessarie that he should be borne; for no man is wont to die, but he which is borne. He addeth moreover; And even then he is the Lord himselfe, among those Angels appeared unto Abraham, with flesh indeed, without ratiuite, by reason of the same diversitie of cause. After this he addeith, that Angels have their bodies rather from the earth than from heaven. For let them proue (saith he) that those Angels received of the stars substance of flesh; if they proue it not, because it is not written, then was not the flesh of Christ from thence, where unto they aplice their example. And in his third booke against Marcion; My God (saith he) which having taken it out of the time of the earth, formed it a new unto this qualitie, not as yet by the seene of matrimoine, and yet flesh notwithstanding, might as well of anie matter have framed flesh unto Angels, which also of nothing framed the world, and that with a word, into manie and such bodies.

Again, in his booke *De carne Christi*; it is manifest, that Angels doe have not flesh proper of their owne, as in the nature of spiritual substance: and if they were of anie matter, yet was it of their owne kind; and for a time they were changed into humane flesh, to the intent they might be seene and converse with men. Further, in the third booke against Marcion; Understand thou (saith he) that neither it must be granted this, that the flesh in Angels was an imagerie thing, but of a true and perfect humane substance. For if it were not hard for him to give both true services and ads unto that imagined flesh, much easier was it for him, that he gave a true substance of flesh to true senses and actions: inasmuch as

he is the vertie proper author and teacher thereof, for it is harder for God to make a lie, than to create a bodie. A ll of all, he thus concludeth: Therefore are they vertie humane bodies, because of the truth of God, who is far from lying and deceit: and because they cannot be dealt withall by men, after the manner of men, otherwise than in the substance of men. 3 might allege manie other things out of Terullian, but these may seeme to suffice for this present purpose. Besides, he thinketh that Angels have bodies for a time, but yet strange, and not their owne: for their owne bodies (as he thinketh) belonge unto the spirituall kinde. Secondly, he saith; that those strange bodies, which they take unto them, are either created of nothing; or else of some such matter, as seemeth best to the Iudgement of God. Chirilde he teacheth, that those bodies were true and substantiall, and humane bodies; not vaine or feined, but of verie flesh; and not of that, which onlie appeared to be flesh: in such wise, as of men, they might both be touched and handled; to the intent that both he might remove dissimulation from God, & also confirme the truth of humane flesh in Christ. Whereby it is proved, that mens senses beguiled the not as touching these things, as the Papists confirme, that men are deceived about the bread and wine of the Eucharist.

13 But Origin in his booke *mod. app. ad* As Ierom citty him against Iohn bishop of Ierusalem, was of a far other mind. For whereas he saith, that the visions of Angels may be conceived three manner of waies; to wit, either in phantasie, or in bodie, but not humane; or else in the verie true bodie of a man; he teacheth a certeine error, and saith; that The bodies of Angels, wherein they present themselves to the eyes of men, are neither perfect bodies, nor humane bodies, nor yet phantasticall bodies, and yet bodies nevertheless: and that he applyeth to them that rise againe, for we shall (saith he) have bodies in the resurrection, but not yet bodie, not bones, not sinewes, not flesh. And when there is some difference betwixt a bodie and flesh; for curie flesh is a bodie, but curie bodie is not flesh. Such a difference Paule toucheth in the first chapter of his epistle to the Colossians, when he saith; Ye are reconciled in the bodie of his flesh. And in the second chapter; By putting off the sinfull bodie of the flesh. And, and in the Creed also twi saith; that We beleue in the resurrection of the flesh, andaine not; Of the bodie. Origin saith, that he saue two exceeding errors; the one was, of which Iohn said, that there was no resurrection. Such were the Valentines and Marcionites, of which Iohn saith were Hymenus and Philites, who (as Paule writteth) taught that the resurrection was already past; and such are the Libertines at this daie reported to be. For they

habile (I cannot tell what) of the master both unbolle, and unlearned. Another of those things, that perfect and true bodies shall rise againe with flesh, sinewes, and bones: which thing (he saith) is not possible; for flesh & blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.

But Origin should have weighed what Paule said afterward: for he adde; Neither shall corruption possesse incorruption. Wherefore, his meaning is, that a corruptible bodie cannot possesse the kingdom of God. But Origin, to keepe himselfe within that name, which he appointed, confessed that bodies indeed shall rise againe, yet not grosse and bonie, but spirituall: according as Paule said; It shall rise a spirituall bodie. But Origin in these words marked not, that Paule calleth it a spirituall bodie; not because it shall be wholly converted into a spirit, but because it shall have spirituall qualities: namely, incorruption, and most clere brightnes. But because he perceived, that the bodie of Christ, which he after his resurrection offered to his disciples to be handled and fealt, was against his doctrine, therefore he saith; I set not the bodie of Christ dectine you, for it had manie singular properties, which are not granted unto other bodies. Further, he would have a true bodie after his resurrection, to the intent he might prove by this dispensation, that he was truly risen from the dead: not to signifie that other bodies should be semblable unto it at the resurrection. But he shewed the nature of a spirituall bodie at Emaus, when he vanished from the sight of his disciples; and at another time, when he went in to his disciples, the doores being fast shut.

14 Against these things Ierom repugneth. Ierom. If Christ (saith he) after his resurrection, did verie like with his disciples, he had also a verie true bodie: if he did not cate, how did he by a false thing prove the truth of his bodie? In that he vanished from the sight of his disciples, this was not through the nature of his bodie, but by his owne power: for to in Nazareth, when the people would have assailed him with stones; he withdrew himselfe out of their sight. And shall we not thinke, that the some of God was able to do that, which a magician could do? For Apollonius Tyranus, when he was brought into the counte cell before Domitian, he faithfully testified as a true. That this was in Christ, not in respect of the nature of his bodie, but of his owne power, it is shewed by that which went before in the history. For while he was in the waie with his disciples, their eyes were blind, as they could not knowe him. And whereas Origin affirmeth, that the bodie of Christ was spirituall, because it came in where the doores

were shut: Ierom answereth, that the creature gave place to the creator, &c. And therefore the bodie of Christ perfed not through the midst of the plants and bowes, so as two bodies had bene together in one and the selfe same place; but herein was the miracle, in that the verie timber of the doores gave waie unto the bodie of Christ.

Further, whereas some do object, that the bodie of Christ came forth of the sepulchre being close shut; that also is not of necessity to be believed: but it may be thought that the stone was rolled away before he came out. And least any should thinke that I abuse this of my self, let him read the 3. epistle of Leo unto the bishops of Palestine: The flesh (saith he) of Christ which came out of the sepulchre, the stone being rolled away, &c. How to returne to the purpose. Because I said that the bodies of Angels, which they take unto them, may be thought either to have bene phantasticall or spirituall, or else substantiall and verie humane bodies; and that the two first opinions are rejected: it now resteth, that the bodies of Angels, wherein they the themselves to be men, are verie true and humane bodies: and this onlie I affirm to be true, seeing Angels were in such sort sent, as they mixed with men, and offered their feet to be washed. And it were not lawfull to say, that mens senses were there deceived, seeing the things were outwarde bodie. I do not indeed, but that sometimes there happened to the prophets visions imaginative, when they said that they sawe God, the cherubims, or such other like things. For in as much as that happened often in their mind or power imaginative, it might be done by forms, images, and visions.

15 How remaneth two things to be examined: one whether the Angels, having in the wise put on humane bodies, may be called men. I thinke not: for if we understand humane flesh, which is formed and borne a soule reasonable, surely it cannot be said that Angels in this sort have humane flesh. What then (will some say) were the senses beguiled when men sawe them? I do verie: for the senses do onlie iudge of outward things, and of such things as be apparent: but what doth inward force: or move those things, which they see, they iudge not; this is the part of reason to seke and search out. It must also be added, that Angels did not alwaies hope those bodies with them; because they were not ioined together in one and the selfe same substance, so as the Angel and the bodie should become one person. The holie Ghost also, although it was a verie dove wherein he descended, yet was not together of one substance

with it; wherefore the dove was not the holie Ghost, nor yet the holie Ghost the dove: otherwise Angels, as we taught before, may enter secretly into a bodie which was made before, and which before had his being: as it is read of the Angel which spake in the Aile of Balam, and of the duell which spake unto Eze of the serpent. But of this kind we dispute not now; but onlie say, that Angels abiding after this manner in sensible creatures, are not ioined to them in one: the selfe same substance. Wherefore the aile could not be called an Angel, nor the Angel, an aile: no more than the serpent was in verie dove the duell, or the duell a serpent. But the Soune of God, for so much as he took upon him the nature of man, was man, and man was God, by reason of one and the selfe same substance, wherein were two natures. Before which time, when he appeared unto Abraham, and unto the fathers, although he had true flesh; yet because the same was not ioined in one substance with him, neither might he be called flesh, neither was the flesh God. But afterward, when he took upon him both flesh and soule, so as there was onlie one substance of person, then might it be truly said that man was God, and God was man. By which meanes it came to passe, that he should verie be borne, that he should suffer death, and redeme mankind; wherefore he truly called himselfe The soune of man. And in Iohn he saith; Ye seeke to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth. And in the scriptures it is said; Made of the seed of David. And Peter in the Acts; Ye have killed (saith he) a man ordained unto you of God. And Eliaz Behold a sonne shall conceive, and shall bring forth a sonne.

These two things have great force: for unless Christ had bene verie man, a virgin could not have conceived him, neither have brought him forth, nor yet have called him hir sonne. This doth Terullian consider at the next; 3 he had bene a stranger (saith he) a virgin could not either have conceived him, or borne him. The Angel saluted Marie on this manner; Fear not (saith he) for thou shalt conceive a sonne, &c. And Elizabeth said; How hapneth this to me, that the mother of my Lord cometh unto me? 3 if she had said Christ also as a shee, he might not be called his mother. Also the old woman; Blessed be the fruit of thy wombe. 2 hee; Blessed be the fruit of thy wombe, which it could it have bene called the fruit of hir bowels; if he had brought a bodie with him from heaven: And in this it is written; A rod shall come forth out of the stocke of Iesse, & a blossome shall flourish out of hir roote. Iesse was the stock, Marie was the roote, and Christ was the blossome which toke his bodie of hir. Marthe also thus beginneth his gospel; The booke of the

The summe of Terullian and apoc. nion.

Origin.

Curie flesh is a bodie, but not curie bodie flesh. Col. 1, 22. Col. 2, 11.

1. Tim. 2, 8.

Luke 24, 2.

The bodie of Christ came not out of the sepulchre, the stone being shut.

The bodies wherein Angels appear were true humane bodies.

The visions of the prophets were imaginative.

Luk. 24, 11.

Iohn. 20, 19.

Ierom.

Angels appearing in mens bodies were not men.

Luke 24, 12.

Apollonius Tyranus.

Luke 24, 16.

Iohn. 10, 19.

The house was not the holie Ghost, nor yet the holie Ghost the house. Num. 23, 24. Gen. 3, 1.

The soune of God was man, and man was God.

Iohn. 8, 12. Iohn. 1, 17. Iohn. 1, 42. Iohn. 1, 43. Iohn. 1, 44.

Terullian.

Matt. 23, 13. Luke 11, 29.

Iohn. 8, 12.

Iohn. 1, 1.

Iohn. 1, 1.

Iohn. 1, 1.

Gen.22.18.

Galar.3.

Gen.9.5.

Rom.9.5.

Matth.3.28.

If Angels  
did trulle  
eat & drinke  
when they  
appeared.  
Scotus.

The booke  
of Tobias.

Tobias.12.

generation of Iesus Christ, the sonne of David, the sonne of Abraham. If Christ brought a bodie from heauen, how was he the sonne of Abraham, of that David? Appearer, the promise made to Abraham concerning Christ is on this wise; In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed. Paule intreating of these words in the epistle to the Galathians; He said thus in the epistle to the Romans; He said thus in the epistle to the Romans, we read; Of whom Christ came according to the flesh. All these sayings proue most euidently, that Christ was verie man; and that in him was one substance of God and man. These things cannot be said of the Angels, no; yet of the sonne of God, before he was borne of the virgin; although when he appeared, he had verie fleshy, as we said before, but not ioined to him in one and the selfe same substance. Neither yet could it be said of the holie Christ, that he was a verie diuine indeed; although the same, wherein he once appeared, was a verie borne. And according to this sense wrote Teruillan those things that we cited before, which being not rightlie understood, might haue either erred, or offende vnto those that shall read them.

16. How remaineth the other question; to wit, Whether Angels clothed with bodies taken, did eate and drinke indeed? Of the schoolmen some thinke that they did eate indeed, and some denie it. Scotus thinketh, that to eate, is nothing else but to chaw the meate, and to conuie it downe into the bellie; but this did the Angels; wherefore he gathereth that they did verie eate. Others thinke, that to eate, is not onely to chaw the meate, or to conuie it downe into the bellie; but further, to conuert it into the substance of his owne bodie, by concoction, through the quickening power; which thing, seeing the Angels did not, they did not trulle eate. The booke of Tobias is not in the canon of the hebreys; but yet we might apply the same to our purpose, sauing that there is a disagreeement in the copies. For in that booke which Munster let forth in hebre, in the twelfth chapter, the Angel Raphael said; I seemed to you to eate and to drinke, but I did not eat, nor yet drinke. The common translation hath; I seemed to you to eate and to drinke, but I vniuulible meate and drinke. Either text denieth, but that the Angel did eate after some manner. But whatouer may be gathered of these words, we thinke that the interpretation of Augustine in his 12. booke *De ciuitate*, the 22. chapter is to be received, where he wote on this wise; The Angels did trulle eate, yet not for need, but to procure conuersation and familiaritie with men. Where-

fore when as in another text it is said, that Raphael did not eate, it must not be understood, as though he did not eate at all, but that he did not eate after the manner of men. But this is speciallie to be noted there, that when the Angel answered, that he doth feed vpon inuulible meate and drinke; that spiritual food was no thing else, but a perfect and manifest knowlege of the true God, and an excretion of his diuine will. As Christ also said, that His meate was to doe the will of his father. The verie which also is our meate, although not after the same manner; for they feed God manifestly, but we by a glasse and in a darke spech.

17. We may call Angels (both according to the Greke and hebre name) messengers, or legats, becaue not as though they should teach God as concerning the affaires of men, or any other busines; naie rather, to the intent that they themselves may be instructed, wbat they ought to minister, and what doings of. If to be thou read in the scriptures, that they offer for our praies, this is not done of them to instruct or teach God; in like manner, as woe, when we praye fertuente, do not therefore lose before God, our calamities, as though he were ignorant of them; Ieuing the Lord witnesseth of that matter; that He knoweth whereof we haue need, euen before we aske. But by discouering and laieng them open, wbat our felues be the more earnestlie bent to craue the helpe of God. And wbat discummoditie should arise, if we affirme this selfe same thing to come to passe in Angels; these things did Augustine write in his 15. booke *De trinitate*, the 13. chapter. And in *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, the 58. chapter, he saith the same thing, when he intreatch of the names of Angels, which are recited in the first chapter of the epistle to the Colossians; Let them faile what they can what be thrones, dominions, principallities, and powers; so they be able to proue that they faile.

And against the Prileilianists, and Originists, the 11. chapter; Archangels (saith he) perhaps are powers, and we beieue not, but that there is some difference betweene these; but that is ignorant of such a thing, will bring no great danger vnto vs. For these certeinly are in danger, where they despise the commandmentes of God, or neglect the obedience of him. But if to vs, thou wilt aske me, why the scriptures make mention of these things, if the knowling, or not knowling of them be of so final impozance; He addeth a fit answer; namely, that If these things haue bene reuealed to some excellent men, they may then knowe that there is nothing proued for a certeinly, which is not found written in the scriptures. To which answer, I adde also this other; Because we may be the

what me-  
te of meate  
was that of  
Angels.

Iohn.4.31.

1 Cor.13.12.  
In den.31.  
at the be-  
ginning.

Tob.12.12.  
wherby  
Angels do  
offer our  
praies vnto  
God.

Matth.6.33.

Colos.1.6.

To be igno-  
rant of the  
estate of  
Angels is  
no harme

if to vs.

Gen.32.1.

wherby  
golic men  
be better  
than An-  
gels.

Phil.9.9.11.

Hebr.1.3.

Ephes.1.11.

Ephes.5.6.

wherby we  
shall bein-  
dred with  
greater glo-  
rie than the  
Angels.

more humble, and not to puffe vp our felues, as though we were able to sound vnto the depth of all that we reade in the canonical scriptures. 18. The Aduersaries haue noted in the historie of Jacob, that the scripture saith not that he went, and met with the Angels; but contrariwise, that the Angels met with him; and that they saie was done for; honoy false. And threat they argue further, that Jacob, and euery golic man is more worthy than Angels, forasmuch as the person that is met, is more honorable than he that goeth forth to meete. Also he is better which is borne of anie man, than he which beareth him. But the scripture saith, that the Angels do beare (the golic) in their hands, least they should hurt their feet against the stones. Which to ruere is appointed to haue the custodie of another, seemeth to be inferiour to him which is kept. By which reasons they make Angels inferiour vnto holie men, who are called The friends of God. But all men doe aslie for how these reasons of theirs do proue. For the father and the mother do beare in their armes their young children, do they therby; beare more worthy than themselves? It is said, that Christ doth beare all things by the word of his power; but why is so far before himselfe, or becaue, as to iudge that things created, be more excellent than the Sonne of God? The shephard when he findeth his shepe, beareth it vpon his shoulders; doth he beare a better than himselfe? A father, a master, and a friend, go forth vpon the wate to meete with their sonne, scheler, or friend, returning from perill out of a strange countrey; do they this therefore; as wnto their better? Or be enerie where set our stocks of shepe to keepe them; yet are they much better than the shepe. In verie deed the Angels do all these things, not that they are bound to vs, but to the intent they may be thankfull vnto God. Wherefore the arguments of the Rabbins are vaine and fruitles.

19. But vnto this selfe same purpose, there be reasons gathered out of the new Testament. For the Apostle faith in the first chapter to the Ephesians; Christ being raised vp by his father from death, is lifted vp on high, far above all principallitie, and power, and dominion, and above euery name that is named, not onlie in this world, but also in the world to come. Further, in the second chapter he testifieth, that God hath taken vs vp together with him, and hath alreadie made vs to sit on the right hand with him; wherby it cometh, that we are accounted greater than the Angels. For if we sit hard by Christ, and he no doubt hath alreadie above all creatures, the highest degree of glory all place vnto vs. Howbeit, this is yet a blunt argument, for it may be, that we shall sit with Christ in

glorie, taking the sayeng generallie. It is sufficient that we be partakers of that glorie. And it followeth not necessarilie thereof, that we shall be superiour vnto the Angels; vntill they shall haue no more need of the helpe of Angels. When they shall haue God and Christ present, and saluati on attened, to that purpose shall there be need of the ministerie of holie spirit; whereof vnder stand this reason; If to be that when Christ came, and poured out his spirit plentifully among the faithful, that same instruction of Angels was not vied, or needfull vnto diuine things, as commonlie it had bin in the old Testament; euen so in the euerglasting Kingdome, where we shall haue Christ reuealed, and the father endentlie knowe vnto vs, certeinly we shall enioie the fellowship of Angels, but not vnto the ministerie of them. But as touching the substance and nature of Angels, and of men, we cannot certeinly knowe in what degre we and they shall be placed in the heauenlie habitation; but yet, if we respect nature, we doubt not but that they are more excellent than we be. But who can boldlie either affirme or denie, whether the grace and spirit of God shall more abound in some certein men than in them?

20. Quiereth this, as concerning the place of St. Paule in the second chapter to the Ephesians; It sufficeth that his words be true; namely, that we, as we be, and are contained in our nature, be said to sit at the right hand of the father, above all creatures. But afterwards, if one would inter theby that we shall do the same as touching our owne proper nature; or person, that cannot be proued by anie firme argument. And Paule wote things past for things to come, to wit, that we are alreadie taken vp, and sit in heauenlie places; and that not without reason that he might make the same more certein, euen as those things be which are past alreadie. So he, if we haue respect to the will and decree of God, these things be alreadie done. But in the epistle to Timothy, the selfe same things are assigned vnto the time to come, when the Apostle faith; if we be dead together with Christ, we shall lue together with him. If we suffer with him, we shall also reigne with him. Yet neuertheless, we must not acceit him of it, in that he useth those times that he pass, in stead of the times to come. For if whatsoeuer is come to passe in our head, we cease it to be done in vs, in that we more beare, as we are growne by together with him. Therefore let none saie; If Christ be risen from death, if he be carried vnto heauen, if he sit at the right hand of God, which lengthen this vnto me; These doubtles, beie much; for whatsoeuer hath happened vnto him, thou

1 Tim.4.13.

1 Tim.4.13.

man



maiest of god right effeime that it hath happen-  
ed to thy selfe. Those shall not greaue trouble  
vs, which by thrones, principalties, pow-  
ers and dominions, will haue to be under-  
stood such princes, monarchs, & magistrats.  
For Paul, when he maketh mention of these,  
speakeeth manifestlie of Angels, & of spirits that  
be aboute: whom in the second to the Ephe-  
sians, he calleth rulers & gubners of the world:  
and to the Colossians he saith, Christ hath spoil-  
ed principalties and powers, & hath led them  
as it were in open triumph. In which place who  
seeth not, that these words do signifie vnto vs  
the spirits which be aduersaries vnto vs?

Ephe.2.3.  
Colo.2.15.

3.1. Cor.  
15.24.14.

1. Cor.15.  
vers.14.  
Chrysost.

20 But whereas it is said in the first to the  
Corynthians, the 15. chapter, When he hath put  
downe all principallie, and rule, and power:  
these things, altho Chrysostome, as diuers o-  
ther interpreters, refer vnto the diuell, & other  
wicked spirits, being souldiers of his band;  
which I mislike not. Albeit, if aunc will under-  
stand them as concerning magistrats and  
principalties of this world, I will not be a-  
gainst it. For kings and princes haue the  
sword, to the intent that sume may be kept in  
subiection; and that innocent subiects may be  
defended from violence and iniuries: which  
things shall take no place, when things shall be  
set at peace and quietnes by Christ. We might  
also vnder these names comprehend the good  
Angels, which be assigned as ministers and hel-  
pers vnto vs, while we be here in this misera-  
ble life: as we read in the epistle to the Hebrewes,  
and as Daniel testifieth, they be set ouer king-  
doms, and they be the guardians of men: seeing  
Christ say as touching the pong children, Their  
Angels do alwaie beholde the face of the Father.

Heb.1.14.  
Dan.10.13  
and 12.1.  
Angels be  
gouernours  
of king-  
doms, and  
guardians  
of men.  
Mat.18.10.  
The cause  
of the moti-  
on of the  
planets.

Ap.12.7.

But when the principallie of Christ shall be ful-  
ly appeared, then these ministeries shall be in-  
superfluous: and therefore it is said, that they shall  
be taken ainsie. For, and the labours of the  
sunne, moon, stars, and celestiall bodies shall  
not be needfull: for therefore are they moued,  
and keepe their circuit in the world, that they  
may giue aboue darkenes and cold: and be-  
cause that fruite also may be wrought forth for  
the defence of our infirmities: which being  
perfected healed, these helps and supporta-  
ons shall be at rest. Wherefore we read in the  
Reuelation of Iohn, that an Angel shewre by  
him that lutch for euer, that hereafter there  
should be no time anie more: which cannot be  
taken auaile, unless the motions of the hea-  
uens be at rest. And therefore it is said, that all these  
things shall be abolished: if not as touching  
their substance, yet as touching their gifts and  
offices, which they exercise towards men. The  
same thing also may be said of ecclesiasticall  
dignities and functions, which now in our dayes

ther vnto edification: but when all things shall  
be perfect & absolute in the clea, they shall cease  
and haue an end.

Spaite things hath Dionysius concerning  
the significatiou of the wordes Principallie, po-  
wer, and dominion: but yet such as is spoken  
onlie of him: for among the rest of the fathers,  
there is verie little extant as touching these  
things; and that for god cause: for the holie  
scriptures teach not these things, because they  
further not to our saluation. Therefore they  
which be of the greatest iudgement in ascribing  
of bookes to the true authours of them, do not  
thinke that Dionysius, which wrote these  
things, is that Arcopagita the scholar of Paul,  
but some later Dionysius. Neither is it likele  
to be true, that that wrote was in estimation  
long ago, seeing that Gregorie except, who was  
a Latin man, none of the ancient fathers cited  
those writings. I haue heard sometimes diuers  
saie, that these surnames of Angels were com-  
monlie translated by a metaphor taken of the  
powers of this world; and therefore they woud  
that Paul, when he happened to make mention  
of Angels, remembered these names: as if he  
should saie; Whether they be principallies or  
dominions. And they alleadge the place vnto  
the Ephe. sians, where it is said; that Christ is  
set aboue euery name that is named, whether  
it be in this life, or in the life to come. But I do  
not much allow this iudgement, because not  
onlie the Rabbits, but also the holie scripture  
hath the name of Archangel, & Seraphim, and  
of Cherubim; which things declare, that among  
the celestiall spirits there be certeine orders  
and diuers offices.

As iudgment  
of bookes  
is ascribed  
to Dionysius.

Gregorie.

Ephe.1.11.

Orders of  
Angels.  
Among the  
celestiall  
spirits  
there be or-  
ders and  
offices.  
In Rom.8.  
where the  
emb.

Dan.10.11.  
Dan.12.1.

Angels and  
the gift of  
healing are  
giuen as  
officis on  
against the  
other.

Act.15.1.  
Act.13.1.

Angels set  
to punish  
sinners.  
Gen.18.1.  
Exo.24.1.

21 Perhaps therefore the scripture, by the  
name of principallie vnderstandes the higher  
spirits, vnto whom is committed nothing but  
the charge of prouinces, empires, & kingdomes.  
This ment Daniel, when he wrote of the  
of the Grecians, and of the Persians, & brought  
in Michael the prince of Gods people. Another,  
called in Greke *Αρχαγγελος*, is taken of Paul for  
that power, which is giuen of God to his  
miracles, whereby the wicked may be redi-  
med: where vnto vnderstande on the other hand,  
which signifies The gift of healing. For  
euery one that by power touched men, were  
then, so by that the bened were made whole.  
By this power Peter healed Ananias & Saphira,  
Paul made blind Elnias the sorcerer, and he  
liued diuers, which had sinned into the hands  
of Iudas. And those Angels in the scripter ap-  
peter to the Romans, are called by this name,  
which be sent by God to punish the wicked.  
Such were they that destroyed Sodom and Go-  
morrha; and such was that Angel, which stood  
betweene the host of the Egyptians, and the  
people

1 Sam. 24.  
vers. 16.

1 Kin.19.3.

Psal.78.49.

people of God, and which drowned Pharaos with  
all his in the sen; and whom Dauid saue  
vpon the threshold of Arcena, destroying the people of  
God; and which consumed the host of Senach-  
erib with fire. Albeit God woth sometime the lesse  
same things by euill Angels. For to Dauid woth  
teeth in the palme; that God sent plagies among  
the Egyptians, by the hands of euill Angels.  
Paul (in that place to the Romans) nameth the  
orders of the Angels by their ministeries and of-  
fices. And it is a thing worthie to be noted, that  
in the holie scriptures there be verie few things  
mentioned of Angels: for subtilie and earnestlie  
to search after them, declarer rather our curio-  
sities, than furthereth our saluation. But those  
things which serue to edifying, are most diligent-  
ly set forth in the scriptures: which thing I  
would to God that the Scholmen had obserued,  
for then they had not left behind them to manie  
intricate and vnpotestable things, which at this  
date are to no purpose, and woth great offense be-  
putted of. It is profitable for vs to vnderstand,  
that there be certeine Angels appointed about  
our affaires; for by that means we perceiue the  
goodnes of God towards vs. And on the other  
side also it is profitable to knowe, that there be  
some euill spirits, by whom we be continually  
assailed; both, that we may beware of them, and  
that we may implore the helpe of God against  
them. And these things indeed, because they be  
profitable to be knowen, the holie scripture hath  
not kept them in silence.

### Of the estate of man; In Gen.2. vers 7.

In Gen.2.7  
In the crea-  
tion wout  
to be con-  
sidered.

22 When thou hearest that God did shap  
man, thinke not onlie vpon the outward parts  
of lineaments, but consider the inward parts;  
namely, the uppermost skin, the veines and sin-  
ewes, the powers and passages, the bones, man-  
ner, and the instruments of our life, which lie  
hidden within. But I consider they principall  
things in the creation of man. First, consula-  
on; Lervs make man. Secondly; God formed  
him of the dust. Thirdlie; that He breathed in  
his face the breath of life. Thou shalt not read  
that it was so done in other liuing creatures.  
Of saymg. And yet thou maist find the verbe of making of  
forming in other places attributed vnto the  
heauens, and to other things; namely, in the  
Psalm. 95. His hands haue formed the drie  
Esaie. 45.7. land. In the 45. of Esaie: It is that formed the  
light. In the fourth of Amos: He formed graf-  
hoppers. But it is not the last or least digni-  
ty of mans bodie, that the same is of an vpright  
Nature. Whereof Ouid;

Vtque sloping into earth,  
each head did downeward bend:

A face vpright it man he gave,  
to heauen for to tend.

And he formed him out of the earth. Wherefore  
the name of Adam, was of earth; as if thou shouldest  
saie, sprung of the earth. Albeit some saie,  
that it was of *Adam*, that is Red; because that  
earth was red. First therefore is formed the in-  
strument, that is to wit the bodie: next was ad-  
ded the manner, that is the soule, which should be  
the same. He breathed in his face or nostrils, for  
the same.

Appaynt first significth the nostrils; then, by the  
figure Synecdoche, by a part, the whole is taken  
for the countenance and face. Where it may signi-  
fic both; first, the nostrils, because the life, by draw-  
ing of breath, so the life flowe life: secondlie, if  
thou vnderstand it of the soule and of the life. Some  
would use metaphors to be taken from the for-  
ming of glasses. For by blowing thorough cer-  
teine instruments they draw cups, bowles, and  
diuers fowes of becks. Whereof, consider thou  
that here there is a metaphor, taking God neither  
that more, nor yet both beaith: euen as he also  
hath no hands, by which he might frame mens  
bodies. But in these things it becometh that thou  
vnderstand the mightie power of God, his com-  
mandement, and most pfect strength. As tou-  
ching the wordes *Nephilims*, and *Nephilim*, they  
both of them sometime signifie a blast of wind, or  
a breath: and otherwhile they be taken for sub-  
stance, and for the soule, because the life is breath,  
he retained and shewd by drawing of breath,  
that the Latine word *Anima*, that is the soule, whereof  
is called of wind and blast. In Grek it is *ψυχη*,  
which is called of the Grecians *ψυχη*,  
of refrigeration or cooling. So as all these proper  
speeches may frame haue conspired together  
about the naming of the soule; that it should be  
so called of breathing.

Whereupon, by reason of a double significatiou  
of the wordes wind, because it significth both the  
soule and a blast, there ariseth a double oppositi-  
on. The first shall be, by the commandement of  
God was the nostrils, or face of mans bodie  
breathed into, and so to receiue the life, and certie-  
not that that blast was the soule, but a certie-  
signe that the same should be planted in man by  
an outward beginning, and that the words of  
nature should not be expected, as the rest of the  
lines are had of other liuing creatures. And so  
wee read in the Gospel, that Christ breathed vnto  
on the Apostles, and said; Receive ye the ho-  
lie Ghost. And yet was not that blast the nature  
of the holie Ghost, but a signe thereof, that he  
would from without come into their soules, and  
that by the wordes of Christ. Again, in taking of  
that word for a blast, we might saie, that God  
to breathe; that is, he made man himselfe to  
beaith; that is, after the bodie was made, he  
gaue



gave him the power of breathing: so as he being alive, and indued with a soule, might be firme and beheld. The second interpretation is, that that blasf is taken for the soule, which is given unto vs by God. And they saie, that *Nijemah*, doth charlely signifie that which is blinne and reasonable; that doth God give unto vs. And where it is added; Man was made a living soule: *Nephelch* significeth a sensible life, whereof our living creatures be partakers. Which thing plainly declareth unto vs, that a soule reasonable is given unto vs from above by God, and hath with it all power that our inferior creatures have.

ther good or euill. But the scripture in the ninth  
to the Romanes, pronounceth plainlie of Iacob Rom. 9. 11.  
and Esau, that before they had done either good  
or euill.

But that which moueth more, is the historie of the creation, which the wri<sup>r</sup> brought into vs, that the soule was made euen when the bodie was brought out of the earth. For seeing there is no mention made thereof before, and that the production of so notable a thing should not haue bin kept in silence, it remaineth to be understood, that it was made by God euen then, when we read, that it was inspired, or blowne in by him. But that reason, which concerneth the ceasing from all his labour, may easily answer, if we saie, that nota alio God doth worke, either through the continual generation of things; or else because, that after such he maketh, are referred to the former, and be of the same kind that those be which were made in the first first daies. But why the bodie was first made before the soule, this reason is shewed by the fathers; because, if

the foule thought haue bin brought in vnto the bodie, it might haue bin idle, being without the organ and instrument of his actions. As this other hath God observed, that alwaies should be first prepared those things, wherein the more excellent things should abide; and then to bring in the things themselves, that they might not: as he to some as they were to be made. First the earth was discouered from the waters, then the Sun and the ayre were made, which should exercise their power and strength vpon the earth and plants thereof. All beaſts were first made, and all the flyinges and plants of the earth; and last of all, man, which should be let out all these things, that immediately after he was created, he might haue somewhat to do. In like manner now, the bodie is first, and then followeth the soule, lest the bodie should be idle. By which purpose of God we are taught, that among vs this all may be done, that the more apte men do erreil, the more readie matter of working is ministered vnto them, lest they should be idle.

*Of mans soule.*

An argu-  
ment of the  
salines of  
the resur-  
rection.  
Ezec. 37, 5.

bers) there is gathered a good argument for the  
easiness of our resurrection. For if his spirit shall  
blow againe vpon the ashes of the dead, they  
shall most easilie put on againe their bones, as  
it is described in the 37. chapter of Ezechiel  
where he sheweth, that by the breath of the spirit  
of God those bones were quickened; which last  
remelting of bodies, shall so far exceed this, as  
Paule calleth this first man Of the earth, car-  
ne; and the latter he calleth both spirituall and  
deuoutie.

25 But let vs see how it is true that is au-  
ched [in the ninth of Genesis] that the bloud  
the soule. This the Manicheis cannot abide it  
the old testamēt, and reprove it as a lie: & so  
they bitterlie renounce the old bookes. And that  
which is twittin in Genesis, Leuiticus, and  
Deuteron. they taunt with these argument.  
In the first to the Corinthians the 15. chapt.  
the Flesh and blood shall not inherite

kingdome of God, therefore blood is not the  
 soule: otherwise Paule had excluded soules out  
 of the kingdome of heauen. Further, Christ

the gospell faith; Feare not thole which kill the  
bodye, and haue not to dō with the soule: if  
be that the bloud be the soule, then without co  
trouerie, the tyrants haue to dō with it, the  
shed it, they despoile it, &c: while they kill the  
lie martyrs of God. These arguments are ti  
manner of faises dissolued by Augustine againe

**Martyr.**

Cap.13.

Pag.123.

spite and consumed, it cannot abide any longer in the bobbie yee, and it is ioined to the same, as it followeth in a maner the affections, and perturbations thereof so much as we live in this life. yee, some have thought that it was their fore decreed, that men should refrain from carnall maners; which they saie are carnlie carried into our minds, if we should rate the blood of wild beasts: wholy thing I have alledge, not as though I allow this to be the cause why God gave that commandment, but to declare the consumption even of mans soule wity the bobbie.

26 But how man is the image of God, it is declared at the beginning of Genesis, where it is written, that God said; Let vs make man after our image and likenes, that hee may haue dominion ouer the foules of the aire, the fishes of the sea, and the beasts of the earth: Where it appeareth, that herein standeth the first

In 1. Cor.  
11, 7.  
Gen. 1, 26.  
The image  
of God con-  
sisteth in the  
rule over  
creatures.

The true image of God is the new man.

Р.И. nature



part) understand it of the east situation, whom the seculent interpreters by their exposition do allow. Albeit they thinke (and it seemeth not absurd) that this garden was planted by the power of God the third day, when the rest of the grove trees, plants, and herbs were brought forth; but yet placed in the second chapter, when the historic of mans creation is set forth. And that garden was appointed for the habitation of man. Wherbeit this is but a small contrarie; whether the same were planted the third day, or on the first, it maketh no great matter. ¶ Look the propositions out of the fourth chapter of Gen. at the end of this booke.

Gen. 1. 10.

The virtues of paradise.

1. Kim. 1. 33.

Euse. 8. c. 12. John. 9. 11.

Paradise signifies

felicitie: as when Christ said to the thiefe; This daie shalt thou go with me in paradise. And Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the 1. chapter saith, that he was rayed by into paradise. The metaphor is plaine, and very comfortable; as who would say, that is a pleasant and delectable garden, wherupon it shall be lawfull for vs to continue Gods wherupon the Gentiles account their felix Elysij as gardens. [where they imagined the souls of good men to dwell.] But let us returne to our terrestrial Heden. What is become thereof at this daie? There be some which thinke, that it is yet extant, and that the place cannot be come vnto. Others thinke, that it is no more to be found; vnto which opinion I might easilie subscribe. For seeing that place was assigned vnto man, when he was innocent; he ceasing to be such one, vnto what life should the garden serue? ¶ Therefore this place either was taken abate, when the fowls colonized the woods; or else immediately after the curse giuen to the earth, the woman, and the serpent, when as the earth also was cursed, and then all those pleasures and delights perished. Against which opinion is spoken of the Cherubim, that was [set with a sword edged sword for keeping of the same. But it may be answered, that this was then done for the terrifying of Adam; or else that kind of custodie remained vntill Noahs flood. These things may we declare vnto you, out of the sayeng of diuers interpreters; when as yet there is no certaine determination made of this thing out of the holy scriptures. ¶ That Adam vsed the Hebrew speech is noted upon Genesis the 11. verse the eight. And dam vnto of the confusion of tongues, looke the eleuenth chapter of Genesis. Also if any be desirous to knowe the originall of diuerse nations and countries, let him read in Genesis, the tenth chapter, and Iudg. 1. 2. verse 6.

Of the long life of the Fathers.

31 But some men might muse in their mind, how it happened that the old fathers before the flood, and a while after lured to long; and that this age afterwards was shortned by little and little, vntill it was brought by a common curse vnto foure score yeeres: ¶ And we see the causes of that long life in the old time. [And it hath bene the general opinion, as well among the philosophers as Rabbies, that those ancients lived at that while by nature and not miraculouse. And the first reason that moued them therevnto, was; that our first parents Adam and Eue were created immediate-ly by the hand of God, without any meanes

the first eternall felicitie, Luk. 23. 43. 1. Cor. 13. 24.

what is the cause of paradise at this daie.

That A. is noted upon Genesis the 11. verse the eight. And dam vnto of the confusion of tongues, looke the eleuenth chapter of Genesis. Also if any be desirous to knowe the originall of diuerse nations and countries, let him read in Genesis, the tenth chapter, and Iudg. 1. 2. verse 6.

In a. Sem. 19. Iudg. 11.

In additi- on. Cause of the long life of the fathers.

meanes of man, or of any other corruptible thing: wherefore it is presupposed, that he made them of an excellent complexion, of a perfect agreement, and proportion of humors; by which meanes the children proceeding from them, resembled their parents in found and good complexion, vntill the third generation. Secondly, in those daies they had no such cause to haue diseases and infirmities, as did afterward followe to their succellion. Thirdlie, their temperance in eating and drinking, as well in quantitie as in qualitie, did much further them; because they were not acquainted with the eating of flesh, nor yet with the contention of so manie deititie diethemes, as we are in these daies. Furthermore, in those daies, fruits, plants and herbes were of more vertue than now they be, because they sprang from a new made ground, & as yet became not barren with the inundation of waters. Also Adam out of all doubt knew the proprietie of all herbes and plants, for the preservation of health, more than we at this daie do, and brought the same knowledge to his succellion after him. Moreover, the curse of the heavens, and the influence of the stars & planets were then more fauourable vnto them, than they be now vnto vs, when as they haue passed so manie eclipses, aspects and conuuntions; whereof procéedeth so great alterations and changes vpon the earth. Besides this, many children were then to be procreated, and the world to be replenished, which was done by the meanes of long life. And thus to be found out, wherefore long life was requisite; for they are learned by experience. And that which was the chiefest cause, it becometh that the worshipping of the onlie true God should be retained among men; which thing in so great a battelle of people might be hardie haue bene done. Afterward, when to great a procreation was not needfull, when aires were found out, and the holie scriptures (vnto which the seruice of God was fastened) were giuen vnto vs, long life would haue bene tedious. The patriarch Jacob said; Few and euill are the daies of thy seruant; if they should be compared vnto the age of our forefathers, not to our age. So this shortening of mans age, was done of a certaine merice of God to wards vs.

But vnto what those first men absteine to long from procreation of children; for it is written, that they begat children at the age of five hundred yeeres, at a hundred and thirtie, and not before. Augustine in the 15. booke Decretales Dei, in the 15. chapter saith, that it may be answered two manner of waies; the first is, that in these men it was long before they came to the age of procreation, & that they inloied not the power of seed to come as we do. Which answer may thus be confirmed; our age is diuided into infancy, childhood, youth, and mans state. Whether it so be the number of yeeres be proportioned to the rate of our whole age, so was it then. And therefore, if their life did to greater exceed ours, it becometh also that the time of their infancy & childhood should be more at length extended and enlarged. The second answer is, that in that genealogie, the best is not reckoned from one first begotten to another. For it may be, that there were others begotten euen before them; which thing is after this manner declared. The purpose of the scripture is to counsell the comie of the narration vnto Abraham, from whom the people of Israel had their beginning; wherefore in the genealogie those children are chosen to be described, by whom they descend vnto him. But it is of no necessitie, that those had bene of the first begotten. Euen as in the gospell of Matthew, where the meaning of the Gospellist, in describing of the stocke of Christ, is to descend by David vnto Christ himselfe, therefore he doth not alwaies take the first begotten; for Imael was borne before Isaac. Isaac went before Jacobs; and in the order of the procreation, Iuda among the children of Jacob was not the first begotten. And by Iuda himselfe other children were begotten, before Phares & Zerah of Thamar. Yet there was Dauid the eldest son of his father, but the youngest among the rest of his brethren. But by others, the stocke would not haue descended vnto Christ. But vnto speciallie it was so long before that Noah begat children, was (as saith Rabbi Selomoh) because that the children, which should haue bene begotten before of him, might easilie haue bene infected with the vices of other men. And Gods would that they, at the time of the flood, should be yonger, whereby they might not be infected with such horrible vices as others were.

Finally, it is thus argued; These, if they had bene borne long before the flood, would haue bene more full of wicked; if they had bene younger, they must therefore haue perished with others, and by that meanes sorrowe had bene added vnto a righteous father, which thing God would not; if they had bene good, and they also had begotten others, and perhaps Noah himselfe others also; all which, if God would haue

Mat. 1. 2.

Gen. 1. 32. Gen. 47. 9.



we shall search what the cause is, that nature hath brought forth giants of such huge bodies; we can allege no other, but an abundance of natural beauty, and a multitude, both abundant and large, minister matter. For this heate, not onlie extendeth a man to tallness and height, but also spreadeth and enlargeth him to breadth and thickness. Wherefore giants began to be before the flood, and they were also before the reflow, which the sonnes of God had with the daughters of men, and were bred after that also. Further, men did beget them, and there was a natural cause, as Job have shewed. Also for a truth, there were of them borne after the flood. For there is mention made of them in the bookes of Samuella, Deuteronomie, Judges, Judges, Samuel, and Paralipomenon, and in others of the holie bookes.

25 And the greatnes and stature of them, we may partly conjecture, and partly we have the same expressely described. The conjectures be, that Goliath had a coate of male, which weighed fiftie thousand sicles of brass. The haft of his speare was like a treecrues beame, and the iron spear had weighed five hundred sicles of iron. We also contrarie of the exceeding great stature of Og the king of Basan, by his brethren, which being of iron, was of ten cubits long. Also, the Israelites being compared with Anahis, seemed to be but grasshoppers: these things may be a token unto us, of what greatnes these men were. But the greatnes of Goliath is propertie and distincte first found in the booke of Samuel: for it is said there, that he was of six cubits and a hand-bread high: and a cubit, if you follow the measure of the Greekes, is two foote; but according to the account of the Latins, one foote and a halfe. Some allege this to be the cause of the difference; that the measure may be sometimes extended from the elbowe to the hand, sometime closed together, and sometime open & stretched forth. This is as much as I could gather of the stature of giants out of the holie scripture. But among the Chirurges we reade of much more wonderful things, such as men can hardly be persuaded to give credit unto. For Plinie writeth in his seventh booke, that in Candie there fell downe a pill, and that there was found a mans bodie of fire and fytie cubits long, which some thought to be the bodie of Orion, some of Ocho. Also it is written, that the bodie of Orestis, being digged up, by the commandement of an oracle, was of 7 cubits high, which Berolus affirmeth of Adam, and of Seth his son, & of Noah's six sons, that they were all giants, seeing it is without scripture, it may be receiveth Philostratus faith in his Heracles, that he sate a certaine bread carcase of a giant of thre cubits long, another of two and thwerde, and

another of twelue. But the common stature of the common nature of men of our time, the measure of aforesaid agreaty as well as among the Greekes as Latins; that unto every foote are appointed four hand-breadths, and every hand-breadth containeth the breadth of foure fingers, that is, the length of the little finger. But it so be that the two outwardmost fingers, I mean the thumbe and the little finger be stretched out, every foote containeth onlie two spans or hand-breadths. Unto this place I thought good to transfer those things, which Auguſtine hath in his 1. booke De ciuitate Dei, the ninth chapter, where he reponeth those, which as firme stoutlie, that men were neuer of such tall stature; and the twelfth, that he himselfe sate up on the coast of Veica, a cheke-tooth of a man exceeding great, as the same being diuided into the fourme and quantitie of usual teeth in our age, it might easilie be iudged a hundred times greater. And that there were manie such performances in old time, he declareth out of the verses of Virgil in the 12. booke of Aeneides, where he brought in Turnus to have lifted up from the earth, and to have shaken at Aeneas to great aforesaid, as twelue choise men could carlele rule.

*He said no more, but straight a might  
 the stone he there beheld,  
 A mightie ancient stone, that when  
 by chance within the field  
 There for a boy had lied, all strife  
 ruiues lands for to appeale,  
 Scarce could twelue chosen men that on  
 their shoulders lift with ease,  
 Such men (I mean) as now aduise  
 the earth to light doe bring,  
 Thus up in hand he caught, and tumbling  
 at his feet did fling.*

Which thing he declared out of the first of Homer. Also Virgil in the first booke of Georgicks faith, that men would neuer in time to come, when they should happen to fill by the fields of Ematia, to see the greatnes of bones which should be digged out of the graves. Further, he allegeth Plinie the second, who in the seventh booke affirmeth, that nature, the firste fathers that it goodly, the latter booles it baillie bringeth forth. He calleth to mind, that Homer once in his verses beheld the following thing, whereunto I might adde the testimony of Cyprian against Demetrius. But if I should be demanded, whether I thinke that menia bodies, which came after the flood, were lesse than those which were brought forth before the flood, perhaps I would grant they were; but that they have continuallie decreed, euen from the flood to this date, that I would not easilie grant; especially considering the words which Aulus Gellius wrote in his third booke, where he

faith; that The stature wherunto mans bodie groweth, is of freuent foote, which seemeth also to this date to be the measure of the taller figures. But yet we read in the Apocryphus of Elders in the fourth booke, at the end of the fifth chapter, that now also our bodies are less, and baillie shall be lessened; because nature alwaies becommeth more barren. The selfe-same thing also (as I said a little before) Cyprian seemeth to affirm. But I altogether the cause thinke I cannot callie grant thereunto; namely, for that I see little diminished at this date of the measure which Aulus Gellius beclered.

36 Now it seemeth good to shew the cause, whye God would, that some men otherwhilie should be borne of such huge stature. Auguſtine in the 24. chapter of the booke before alleaged thincketh, this was done, to the intent that it might be left for a testimonie unto us, that neither the beautifullnes of the bodie, nor the largenes of stature, nor yet the strength of the flesh should be accounted among the principall good things, seeing those are sometimes common, as well to the lowked, as to the goodlie. Certainelie, they which bend their mind unto goodlines, will iudge that spiritual good things must be preferred far above; partly because they further vs to saluation, and partly because they in verie bad make vs better than other men. But that giants were nothing at all furthered unto saluation, through the greatnes of their stature, be proueth by that which the prophet Baruch writeth in the third chapter. What is become of those famous giants, that were of great of bodies, and of worthe men of war? Those hath not the Lord choosen, neither hath he giuen them the waie of knowledge: therefore were they destroyed, because they had no wilcomde. But if a man will peruse the historie of the Bible, he shall carlelele find, that they at anie time took a god or goodlie cause in hand; naie rather he shall perceiue, that through their pride and forwardnes they were perpetuall enemies unto God. For so was Og the king of Basan; so was Goliath and his brethren, they were most inuious to the people, whom God had imbraced, & chosen from others to be peculiar vnto himselfe.

Also there is another matter, which may verie much confirme our faith. For the holie historie alwaies make mention, that such huge giants were soule vanquished in batels; and that especially by weak men, and by mere verte expert in warfare: namely, by Dauid, being as yet a shepheard; & by the people of Israel, when as yet they were young foundlers and ignorant in wars. Wherefore the spirit of God warneth vs to be of a constant and steadfast mind, when for goodlines sake we are to fight with such monstrous men. We must not then be dismayd for

lacke of strength, seeing the holie oracles in euerie place pronounce, that it is God which delivereth such huge bodies into the hands of those, whom he will defend. Which things being lo, then this vnbondelie is brought to passe, that we are not in anie wise to stand in feare of tyrants, which alwaies for the most part are against God, and have a confidence in their own great strength) when they defend a wicked cause, and allure themselves of absolute to overcome the weak and feeble flesh of Christ, at their owne pleasure. For against them the strength of Gods word, and the power of the spirit, although we be weak and feeble of nature, shall make his mightie and invincible. And so in mans reason we being compar with them, may easilie appear to be but worms or grasshoppers; but yet being fortified and walled in by the power of God, shall not onlie overcome them; but (as Paule to the Romans faith) We shall conquer them. For Christ himselfe shall be present with vs, who himselfe that strong armed man, & plucked from him by face those most rich spoiles, which he had heaped together.

Bauglie did be twelue with the dwell and his members; and though him shall the also fight properous batels, and shall obtine a far more noble victorie, than the poets feigned their gods to carrie with them against the Cyclops, Titans, and other the giants, which at a place called Philagras the fable were quite extinguiſhed by Iupiters thunder-clap. It is proued enough, whie in old time the giants, and also at this date the mightiest princes, and wise men of the world resist God: verelie cume be cause they trust a leane overmuch to their owne strength, wherein they haue more affiance, than is meet, there is no mischance, but they are atempt, there is nothing that they thinke not intall for them. But God vnbondelie not by such men to bring to perfection those things, which he hath determined to do, but is woutt rather by Dauids, and such other abjects, to performe the things that he hath purposed to do, to the intent that his strength and power may far and large appeare.

37 I would thinke that though hath bene spoken of this matter, but that yet there remaineth a certaine place to be expounded: to wit, how it is written in Deuteronomie, that Og the king of Basan was onlie left of the giants. What Rabbi Solomon fableth I am not ignorant, but Og was of his complexion so to shilidly and ridiculous, as the last of his complexion is to rehearse it. Wherefore Iudge that it was not spoken absolutely, and without exception, that he was last; as though there had bene no giants left in the world besides him selfe; but it is thebed, that he onlie did remaine in those places, namely on the other side of Jordan.

Of lot at stature giants have bin.

1 Sam. 17.

Deut. 3. 11.

Num. 13. 34

The greatnes of Goliath. 1 Sam. 17. 4

The cubit of Greekes and Latins.

The eighth mens testimony concerning giants.

The testimony of Plinie and Berolus concerning the stature of the Latin; for he saith a little after, he may conveniently fit in this place. Plinie. Berolus. Philostratus.

1. Elic. 5. 4

The cause whye God would forme time raise up such huge giants. Some and stature God nothing further vnto saluation.

Bar. 5. 16.

The giants could not be the benefite of good causes. Deut. 4. 1 Sam. 17. ver. 1.

Giants overcome by weak men.

Whether human bodies were decreed to decrease since their good nature. Aulus Gellius.

Rom. 8. 37.

Whye giants were not overcome by the weak men.

Whye God would raise up weak men and not mightie.

Deut. 3. 11.

Deut. 3. 11.

Deut. 3. 11.

the Spaniards  
 and the  
 Felicitie  
 of the  
 Spaniards  
 out of their  
 borders.  
 Deut. 32. 20.

dan. Further, it must be knowme, that not the  
 Israelites onely did rid the giants out of those  
 regions: for the Moabites also (as we read in  
 the second chap. of Deuteronomie) drave them  
 out of their coasts. Which thing also we must  
 thinke did happen unto them by the fauour of  
 God: for it is there declared, that God gaue those  
 regions to the Moabites to dwell in.

### The xiiiij. Chapter.

Of Felicitie in generall, and of the chee-  
 fest good; out of the commentaries vp-  
 on Aristotles Ethikes.

**T**ouching the name of  
 Felicitie, all men in a  
 manner agree: which is  
 manifest by the Latins,  
 Greeks, and Hebrewes:  
 for none of them do con-  
 tend about the name;  
 but about the thing it  
 selfe, and especially wherein the highest ob-  
 iect is to be placed, they are at great difference.  
 For the vulgar sort differ from the wise men;  
 yea & if thou wilt somewhat narrowly consider  
 the matter, all the common sort agree not with  
 themselves; and wise men doe not a little differ  
 from wise men. From this felicitie did Aristotle  
 exclude all creatures void of reason, and this  
 he did by vertue of the definition of felicitie;  
 which he affirmed to be the chase action of man-  
 kind, arising of the most excellent vertue. For  
 this he saith, then by such creatures shall not be  
 partakers thereof, seeing they be not capable of such  
 an action. Indeed it would not be denied, but  
 that they haue in their owne nature of kind from  
 god, proper to themselves, which to them is prin-  
 cipall and chiefe; but yet we must thinke that  
 the same is blessednes, seeing it is of such a  
 nature, as it cannot be without reason.

How Ari-  
 stotles defi-  
 nition ac-  
 cords with  
 the holly  
 scriptures.  
 Phil. 1. 18.  
 and 127. 1.  
 Phil. 1. 11.  
 and 127. 1.  
 Phil. 1. 11.  
 and 127. 1.  
 Phil. 1. 11.  
 and 127. 1.

And before we come to the thing it selfe, I  
 thinke it shall be good to knowe how this defini-  
 tion of Aristotle doth either agree or disagree  
 with the holly scriptures. And first, where he ap-  
 pointed mans worke in act to be felicitie, he de-  
 nied no other felicity than do the holly scriptures,  
 where it is said; Blessed are those which walke  
 in the lawe of the Lord. Blessed is the man that  
 feareth the Lord, and which doth meditate in  
 the lawe of the Lord daie and night. All these be  
 most goodly aces and erretries for this life. But  
 it is objected; Blessed are they whose iniquities  
 are forgiven, and whose finnes be covered. Ble-  
 sed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no  
 sinne: which things belong not to the worke of  
 men, but flowe from the mere liberality of

God. Whereunto we saie, that Aristotle breake-  
 sth out no; but beleaueth this iustificatiion through  
 Christ, which the holly scriptures haue reuealed  
 unto vs; neither do we in the meane time  
 speake of this felicitie: but we speake onely of  
 that which followeth this first blessednes, and  
 standeth in the right doinge while we live here;  
 and in the other world, in the contemplation  
 and fruition of the sight of Gods maiestie. And  
 yet neuertheless, if we will also regard the ble-  
 sednes of iustificatiion, and laie that before our  
 eyes, whereby it is applied unto vs; then com-  
 meth the worke of faith. For we be iustified by  
 beleauing, although we are not iustified by the  
 merit of that action, nor yet for the dignitie  
 thereof are receiued into grace: but of this felici-  
 tie we do not now treat.

And that which we do speake of, although it be  
 the worke of man; yet both it not breake out  
 from his strength, but is produced by the power  
 of the spirit of God, and from the heauenly ma-  
 iestie. In the world to come this felicitie shall  
 be perfect, which shall neuer be interrupted, but  
 shall be one, and a continuall act. Whereas this  
 blessednes of Aristotle, as his definition shew-  
 eth, may manie times betwixen whiles beake  
 off. He would that this action, whereby a man  
 is blessed, should flowe from a most excellent  
 vertue. The same also do we thinke, who thinke  
 that the actions of faithfull men are not worthy  
 and acceptable unto God, unless they be the  
 branches of faith, hope, and charitie, the which  
 we ascribe for the chiefe vertues. Well agree  
 with him also as touching the continuance; for  
 we require a perseverance while we live here,  
 and in the world to come we beleave to haue  
 everlasting blessednes. And in this, there is a  
 disagreement betwixen Aristotle and vs, that  
 he requirith the good things of the world, but  
 we affirme that they are not of necessitie here  
 in this world unto a Christian to make him  
 blessed.

Some phi-  
 losophers  
 place as  
 touching  
 felicitie.

The opinions of the philosophers concerning  
 felicitie, may thus be distinguished; for as we  
 may saie, that some of them were notable, ha-  
 ving famous patrons; but others vnder ob-  
 scure, because they came from men of no ac-  
 count, and be not confirmed by strong and eu-  
 dent reasons. And of this kind are found heathen,  
 riches, and such like, whose defenders were no  
 notable men. And the other kind belongeth plea-  
 sure, honestie, vertue, to live agreeable with the  
 first gifts of nature, knowledge, &c. These in-  
 deed are the ends, which are accounted without  
 mixture. And there be some that haue other  
 things ioined with them: for some men vnder  
 vertue do ioyne pleasure; others vnder honestie  
 ioyne a freedom from seruitude; others vnder  
 vertue do ioyne the accomplishment of a perfect  
 life.

simple  
 and  
 contented  
 ends.

life. Augustine against Iulianus Scyllas blas-  
 phemy that god, which is compounded with plea-  
 sure; for in that honestie is placed therein, it re-  
 presented a shew of man, the pleasure which is  
 mingled, is a brutish thing. But he that will  
 more fully vnderstand of this matter, let him  
 reade Cicero as well in his second booke De fin-  
 bus, as in his Tusculan quest; and then mailt al-  
 so to see, that sometimes some of them disagree  
 with themselves; and that which they first iur-  
 ged to be the chiefe god, straightwaie they re-  
 fute it: for they which being whole, made small  
 reckoning of health, afterward being destitute  
 thereof, placed it in the chiefe god, which also  
 happened to them that be pressed with pouertie:  
 for such, not onlie make great account of riches,  
 but about all things seeke for the same. And  
 these whom we haue spoken of, do appoint some  
 thing that should be euident and manifest. For  
 these things; namely, pleasure, riches, and ho-  
 nous be to all plaine and euident, that they are ap-  
 parent, euen to the senses. And Epicurus  
 said, that he therefore thought pleasure to be the  
 chiefe god, because it was the most knowen,  
 and most euident good thing. And he said, that  
 pleasure was no lesse knowen to be the chie-  
 fest god, than smoke to be white, or fire hot.  
 Varro saith, that the number of opinions  
 concerning this matter, was verie great, as  
 Augustine declared in his booke De ciuitate Dei:  
 for he saith, that there might be reckoned two  
 hundred somecose and eight opinions touching  
 felicitie.

And yet then take the cause why there arose so  
 manie and so variable opinions thereof: which  
 therefore we saie came to passe, because men did  
 not deliberate of this matter with the better  
 part of their mind, but rather counselled with  
 their owne affections, which as they be diuers,  
 and do diuerslie stir by the affections, they in-  
 clined mens minds vnto so manifold and fun-  
 die ends. A man may see young men, which bi-  
 uerious toales being hot in loue, thinke them-  
 selves blessed; others make their bellie their  
 God; some haue giuen themselves like bond-  
 slaves to the seeking of hono. Where be some  
 suchlike, thinke that nothing is to be pre-  
 ferred aboue riches: and the libertie of the Cy-  
 nicks philosophers verie well pleased Diogenes  
 and his like. But if that reason it selfe had bin  
 consulted withall in this matter, about the sen-  
 ses and affections, without doubt we should not  
 haue had so manie and so contrarie opinions.

Now since there be, or may be so manie in  
 number, to reckon all, much lesse to examine  
 them, should be ouer-great labour. Wherefore,  
 that we take not a superfluous matter in hand,  
 we will in this treatise chose those things which  
 might easilie decline vs, seeing a great likeli-

hood of felicity is discerned in them; which Euthra-  
 dius shewed by a borne learned similitude. If  
 one (saith he) see a doke, he will come thither  
 he seeth a pigeon, which will not happen but  
 when he seeth an eagle, seeing the same is far  
 vnto a pigeon. And we may iudge, that there  
 be some opinions of blessednes, so far from the  
 truth, as verie few or none can be deceived by  
 them; and againe, others in a manner to neere  
 ioined vnto the truth, as it is not in all men to  
 discern or knowe them one from another:  
 therefore those that be of this sort, ought not to  
 be talked ouer, but to diligentlie be examined.

Aristotle declared, that men, as touching the  
 chiefe god things, bent their opinions vnto  
 those kinds of life, which they had determined to  
 follozie, which indeed are reckoned to be three;  
 namely, delightful, ciuill, and contemplatiue.  
 But if thou shalt demaund the causes why  
 will incline to this kind of life, another to that,  
 manie causes may be shewed: for manie in the  
 execution of their affaires, and ordering of their  
 actions, do follozie the constitution of their bo-  
 die, wherein, if they be giuen to suffering, to  
 drunkenness, to the flesh, to excellent and good  
 acts, to reuenging of iniuries, then they speci-  
 alitie thinke themselves happy, when they haue  
 obtained those things, whereunto they are mo-  
 ued by a certaine naturall pronocation. Others  
 are greatly desirous to attaine this or that  
 thing, being brought thereto by education;  
 and it doth not seldom happen, that they be-  
 come like vnto those men, with whom they be  
 conuersant, and be ioined in friendship. Again,  
 vnto others, and those without doubt not a few,  
 no alwaies euill men, it is argument and  
 cause enough for them to prosecute arie thing;  
 because they regard their authoritie, which go-  
 uerne either the common wealtie, or church, or  
 scholes, or warfare. For loke what princes,  
 graue and wise men, whose authoritie is verie  
 great, do chuse vnto themselves as an end and  
 thing most to be desired, that both a great part  
 of men take in hand and wish, according to that  
 worthy sentence of Plato, and of other such  
 men, Such as the kings and princes be, such are  
 their people. When England had king Edward  
 who was a goodlie prince, and giuen to good lear-  
 ning, all the youth intended to imitate his la-  
 boures. Causes indeed these be, but yet no iust  
 causes. We ought not to be moued by authors,  
 nor by examples, nor yet by the force of both  
 the constitution, but by the suggestion of reason,  
 and of the mind, and by the weight of the things  
 themselves. But to follozie Aristotles similitude,  
 herein the common people are like vnto bond  
 slaves, and brute beasts. For this seems to be  
 the manner of these, that if the ramme, or that  
 sheepe which goeth for sale in the flocke, depart

a simi-  
 litude.

who men  
 doo cree-  
 dences  
 kinds of  
 life.

such pri-  
 nces, such  
 people.

sooble king  
 Edward the  
 first.

Sardana-  
palus.

unto anie side, they doe all followe: also bond-  
slaves without anie iudgement of anie chiefe  
doe followe their maisters. I would speake some-  
what of Sardapanalus, sauing that those things  
which Iustine hath of him, are common vnto all  
men: onlie that I will shew, which they saie he  
had alwaies in his mouth; *Eate, drinke, and  
plate.* But Horace in his epistles reprocheth  
those speeches; Thou hast plaid enough, thou  
hast drunk enough, and thou hast eaten enough,  
it is time for this to be gone.

In the first booke of *Tusculan* questions Ci-  
cero saith, that Sardapanalus would be to lye  
tore by this tombe;

*Hec habeo, quæ cæd, quæque exaurata libido  
Hauserat illa iacent multa & præclara reliqua; hinc is,*

*'Delighting moile haue that I did eate,*

*'Delighting moile to eate my panch with meate:*

*'Hæc bene habet res que sunt de better kind,*

*As I then found, I left them all behind.*

Tyberius.

Cicero addeeth that Aristotle said; What else  
wouldest thou lye by the tombe of an ore,  
not of a king? But what complaine we onlie of  
Sardapanalus, as though that Tyberius prince of  
the Romans were not to greaue giue to these  
delights and wantonnes as he erected to himself  
euen an office of pleasures. For euen as vnto  
kings and magistrates, there are some which be  
maisters of trauels, secretaries, and maisters  
of the houses; so would he haue a maister of  
the houses. Also Hellogabalus, whom I cannot  
tell whether I should call an emperor, or a mon-  
ster, appointed rewards to them which could de-  
uise strange kindes of lauses, that he might be  
more prouoke his appetite to eating and drin-  
king. And not onlie did the Roman monarchs  
sinne in this point, but also the great king of the  
Persians; euen Xerxes, who appointed great re-  
wards to the inventors of new pleasures.

Xerxes.

*Of Pleasure, and wherein it may con-  
cur with the chiefeſt good, and  
wherein it may not.*

Now the place serueth to speake somewhat  
of pleasure; and that we may not thinke that all  
kind of pleasure is felicitie from the chiefeſt  
good, or from felicitie. For in many kinds, felicitie,  
wherewith we vnderstand it for naturall, or theo-  
logicall, is either pleasure, or else is ioined there-  
with; so as they cannot be plucked one from an-  
other. First I will shew those things, which I  
haue gathered thereof out of Platos doctrine;  
afterward I will briefly comprehend what Ari-  
stotle hath of the same. Plato diuideth our soule at  
the least into two parts; to wit, the mind, and  
the sense: of these parts, as the one is high and  
most excellent, and wherby we appoyne vnto

niere vnto God; so the other is grosse, and in a  
meaner dignity, and by it we communicate with  
beasts. This distinction of the mind being put  
and confirmed, he attributed vnto the mind  
gladnes and ioy; but vnto the sense, pleasure.  
But what the difference is betwixt ioy and  
gladnes (as me thinks I find by his opinion) I  
will declare. He will haue it, that gladnes is four  
times good and commendable; but sometimes, if  
it shall passe the limits, he affirmeth it to be a  
vice, and that it is to be despised. Which will  
apere the more plain, if it be defined: for it is  
a certaine haughtines of the mind, because of  
the presentness of some good thing: but euery man  
doth see that gladnes is right, if he be lifted up  
by reason of some present good, that is neither  
lesse nor more than the thing it selfe desireth.  
Therefore they be foolish, which puffe up them-  
selves for false good things, or be too much elate  
for the obtainment of vile and simple goods.  
But those men are to be despised, which reioice  
at wickednes committed, which through the  
corruption of iudgment faines good vnto their  
minde. But on the other side, gladnes is then  
praised and commendeth, when the mind is no  
more merrie nor puffed up, than agréeth with  
the good that is gotten. And Cicero in his second  
booke *De finibus*, as he haue learned of the Sto-  
icks, comprehended naughtie gladnes vnder  
these words, saing that the same is an exalting  
of the mind, which without reason thinks it ex-  
ceedeth a great good.

But I returne to Plato, who also ascribeth  
ioy vnto the mind; but yet sa, as there can be  
no ill cleare thereunto, because he defineth the  
same to be a pleasantnes, which followeth either  
from the contemplation of a wise man, or else  
from the actions of vertue. This pleasantnes  
can suffer no euill access: for those things which  
be iust, right, and as best becomeeth, cannot  
please anie man to much. And he so commen-  
ded ioy, as in his booke *De pulchritudine*, when he  
speaketh of beaues, a true blessed life, he affirmeth  
that thereby the minds of the faithfull are nou-  
rished. And he will haue it, that the poets did  
cunningly call that kind of meate Ambrosia  
& Nectar. But the pleasure, wherby the senses  
alone (as he thinketh) are replenished, is a false  
motion, which tickleth the senses. For which  
opinion Cicero nothing disagreeeth, who in the  
second booke *De finibus* saith, that all men thinke  
this to be pleasure, which the sense receiuing is  
moued, and is replenished with a certaine plea-  
santnes; and after a fewe wordes betwixt, he  
moueth not to repeat the same. That pleasant  
motion, wherewith the senses are made merrie,  
all men call in Greeke *hêdonê*; in Latine *Ple-  
tasentem*; that is pleasure. For these things which  
I now shew, ye must obserue this, that as well  
Plato,

infinite  
pleasure  
doth lying.

Plato, as the Stoicks, and other ancient phi-  
losophers iudged pleasure to be a motion of action;  
for afterward we shall see what truth this may  
haue in it.

Plato thinketh, that this pleasure of the sen-  
ses riseth of the infinitie of nature: for the same  
if it be spent, beginneth to desire those things  
afterward it iudgeth that it may be requied and  
renewed; & while we satisfie the want of nature,  
the senses are tickled and tempered with plea-  
santnes. And contrariwise, while nature cannot  
obtaine those things that it hath need of, both it  
languishesth, and thorough want is maruelouslie  
grieved. Wherupon the same author in Phi-  
loto said, that pleasures are the auoiding of sor-  
rowes, and thereof concludeth, that the plea-  
sures of them that be sicke are greater and more  
vehement than of them that be in good health;  
when they be greatly tormented with griefe,  
they do exceedingly burne with the desire of me-  
dicines. I meane with the desire of all pleasures;  
therefore when they obtaine them, they are de-  
lighted above measure. As we may perceiue  
in them which are sicke of most sharpe fevers,  
and be in a manner consumed with intolerable  
thirst, to whom when the physician giueth leaue  
to satisfie themselves with cold, or some other  
kind of drinke; it cannot be said what exceeding  
pleasure they take. Wherevnto in that place he  
addeeth, that these greater sort of pleasures, which  
belong vnto the senses, are not fine but mixt;  
for they haue alwaies some sorrowe ioined with  
them; (as we haue said) the necessities of nature  
breedeth griefe. Neither are the pleasures of this  
kind wrought forth anie longer, when the natu-  
rall want is satisfied: for meate lieth not them  
that be satisfied and haue their fill; neither is  
drinke welcome to them which haue drinke  
abundantlie. But and if it happen to be other-  
wise, as otherwise we see it both to them which  
be drunkards & gluttons, there is another cause  
of that pleasure than naturall want; namelye an  
ill disposition, or else some other thing, which  
is not now fit time to declare, saing we treat of  
naturall pleasures.

The plea-  
sures of the  
senses are  
mixt.Naturall  
pleasures  
being faint,  
finest, plea-  
sures faintest.From the  
name of  
pleasure is  
vnderstood  
by Aristotle.

4. Whollieth Aristotle put not these differen-  
ces of pleasures; but those delectations which  
well belong vnto the mind or reason, as those  
which be of the senses be called pleasures, that is,  
*hêdonê*. And in the seventh booke the ele-  
mentary chapter, he will that *μακαριος*, that is,  
happy, is so called of *εὐγεν*, which is to reioice;  
and he speaketh of pleasure, which he ioineeth  
with blessednes. Certainlie he speaketh not of  
this pleasure, wherewith the sense and greater  
part of the mind is possessed: for that is only io-  
ined with the felicitie which shall be of the mind,  
which as I haue said, of a mingled kind, is na-  
med pleasure. And perhaps Aristotle would not

change the name, because he thought to speake  
as most men doe, although he agreed with Plato  
as touching the difference of the thing. What  
yet herein they differ one from another, that Ari-  
stotle thinketh not (as Plato and the old phi-  
losophers do) that pleasure is a motion of action;  
but rather an after cleauing vnto the motion of  
operation. Therefore these differ after a sort,  
although in the subject they agree. And if at any  
time Aristotle himselfe, or any Peripateticke, cal-  
led pleasure a motion; that opposition, which  
commeneth in the Scholes that call *Idemica*,  
must be ascribed vnto them: for as it hath  
bene said, both the affect, and motion of action;  
are in subiect all one. Therefore the generall  
word thereof is the ybericement of qualitie, and  
pleasure belongeth to the third kind thereof, and  
the same is called a passion; or possible qualitie.  
It is called in Greeke *παθος*; wherby we are  
swetle affected with the presence of some good  
thing agreeing with our nature. And as beaustie  
is a qualitie which riseth of a lust and right tem-  
perature of the boile, of well fauourednes, and of  
a comlie colour; so pleasure ariseth of a concu-  
piscence motion and action. Therefore this I shall  
be lawfull to define the same.

Pleasure is an affect, wherewith we are swetle  
le moued, by reason of an action which proceed-  
eth from a nature that is of good constitution;  
or else from an habit according to nature with-  
out impediment. For the actions both of eating,  
and drinke, and procreating, being they arise  
of nature, do alwaies to him that is in health  
bring pleasure with them; for they be not hindered  
by sickness, nor weaknes, nor yet by satietie  
and fulnes. Euen to contemplations, and the  
actions of vertues, since they spring from an ha-  
bit of the mind, they be eade and easie, and are  
a present good thing, which agréeth with the  
nature of man; & therefore haue pleasure alwaies  
ioined with them. Aristotle in the tenth booke  
of *Ethics* groweth, that pleasure is not a motion,  
because it is all whole together, as is a vision;  
and pleasure hath no succession, except it be ac-  
cidentalitie. For if it followe actions, which haue  
succession, the same in like manner is prolonged,  
as it happeneth in eating and drinke; but if the  
action be momentarie, as is a vision, hearing  
and vnderstanding, then is all the pleasure had  
at once: euen as the whole vision is at once; if the  
vertue and power of seeing be perfect, if the thing  
that is seen be set before the eyesight all at once, if  
the light going betwixt them be not obstructed, and a  
conuenient distance come betwixt them. A motion  
is not perfect in his parts, but pleasure is whole  
all at once; therefore it is no motion. Motion  
cannot be at once moment or instant, but plea-  
sure may. The properties of motion be fluxitnes,  
and notwell; and these things are not antio-

wherein Ari-  
stotle and  
Plato differ  
concerning  
pleasure.The gene-  
rall word of  
pleasure.The defini-  
tion of plea-  
sure.Whether plea-  
sure is no  
motion.



able to pleasure. For while a man reioiceth, he neither reioiceth the sufferer, nor the doer; for if pleasure endure for an houre, it is all whole at once, while the houre lasteth.

Since we vnderstand by the definition now brought, that the power must be perfect, and the habit firme; and that the action must be without impediment, and the object principall and excellent: it is gathered how long pleasure can endure. It is long as long as the object and ablenesse, or power of doing both remaine whole: for if the object fall from the excellencie thereof, for if the facultie be not vehement and easie, neither bent, delectation both not followe. Hereof it cometh, that when in talking men be tired, pleasures are oftentimes diminished. Which thing also happeneth, when any thing is taken away from the excellencie of the object. As appeareth alio, why new things doe so greatly delight; because the mind, so some as are noble and excellent thing offereth it selfe to be beheld, doth beholde the same carrellie and attentively; which, after it is knowen, the mind rebateth his carrellines, and to the pleasure readily: but if any other new thing be put in place of the former object, then the vnderstanding enioiceth his studie againe in beholding of the same, and the pleasure returneth, and by this means we euer delight our selues in new things.

Where this, it is shewed hereby, that the actions which are done before we attaine to an habit, be not pleasure; because they be not easie and readie done, but with some difficultie and labour. These things are opened by that definition.

Now must we see to what pleasure is by his forms and kinds. Either it is anie doubt, but that pleasures are diuided among themselves in kind, seeing actions doe differ. But pleasure (as we knowe) is the perfection of an action; and the thing which should be done, being changed, the perfection also thereof is changed. For these be of those sort of things, which be compared one with another. Neither is anie man ignorant, that there is one perfection of a chiefe, another of an obiect, another of a plant, and another of a man. Wherefore since that actions be diuided one from another, so shall the pleasures, where by they are performed, differ. Furthermore, they strue one against another, & one extinguisheth another; whereof it cometh that they are distinguished. That pleasure, which shall come of musike, will take away that which ariseth of speches: and those, which be the greater sort, do vnderstand and let the delights of the vnderstanding and reason. Again, of actions some be euill, some good, and some betwene both; whereby it is brought to passe, that the pleasures which followe them haue varietie and difference.

ence. The which also by this means cometh to passe, because the desires of actions are faworie; for if the desires be varied, much more be the pleasures, which are more ioined with the actions, than be the desires: for desires are oftentimes plucked away from the doer, whereas pleasures cannot be separated from their actors. So doubt not some pleasures there be of better, some of lions, some of beares, and these also there be some of men: and not one he haue they them diuersely from other living creatures, but euery men themselves also haue them not alike among them. For those pleasures, which be naughty, doe please naughty men; and those which be honest, doe delight good men.

Wherefore now (as I thinke) it is sufficiently confirmed, that pleasures must be distinguished. Let this then be the first distinction. Of pleasures some be pure, and some impure. And this distinction is taken from doers and actions; so as of them some be about the objects more leuered from matter, or more ioined with the matter. Which how true it is, Galen hath verily well declared in his second booke De causis Symptomatum: where are found (say he) griefes and pleasures in all the senses: griefes, as he sayth, come hereby, that the senses are removed from their owne constitution and naturall state; but pleasures come, when they returne to the same. And that this may the more plainlie appere, he thus runneth through all the senses. Feeling is removed from his owne estate, if there happen to much heate, or to much cold; or else, if it incur those things which doe freeze, or grate, or beate, &c. hence do arise griefes vnto it. As feeling is greued with the selfe-same things, which it both communicate with feeling, but as it is taste, it is offered with taste, which be to tart, fower, sharpe, and bitter; for by these the naturall constitution thereof is disturbed, and the continuance broken off. Smelling is disturbed by the dissolution of ouer vehement vapours; for by them the continuance is broken off. Again, hearing is put from his state, by a voice too high, or too lowe, or too great, or too swift, and also by euery violent noise. Finally, the sight is offended, when it happeneth vpon most bright lights and colours; for these things doe scatter and disperse the vertue thereof. Vnto all these same things the senses are greued, because though they depart from their owne measurable and quiet state. Again, they are delighted and take pleasure, when they are reduced to their proper & naturall state. Whereof the sight hath triall, when it turneth it selfe to a holsome colour, whereby the power thereof is more gathered and knit together into one; or else when it beholde pleasant colours, as greene,

greene, golden, blue, or these colours. The hearing delighteth in a mild and treatable voice. The smelling, when those vapours be distilled, which vnto a certaine sweetnes doe strengthen and confirme the instruments of smelling. Vnto tasting are fat and fower reliques pleasant. And though we be sicke, yet are we for a little while delighted with somewhat sharpe and fower tastes. Feeling is delighted with qualities which be temperate, soft, and somewhat warme. Thus are the senses delighted, and doe take pleasure, when they be reduced to their naturall and proper constitution.

But it is to be vnderstood, that those also may take pleasure, though they haue not bin first of friends; or removed from their naturall state. For if there happen to come a pleasant colour, or delightful sound, the sight and hearing is delighted, though it haue not bin first removed from the constitution thereof. Galen proceedeth in those things which he saith, and sheweth, that there is a degree of greater or lesse purities in the actions of the senses, and in pleasures; and doth declare that the same standeth in the means that the senses vse. The sight looketh by light; hearing, by the aire; smelling, by fawour; and these things be pure, and haue little of the greater and thicker kind of matter. Those things, wherein feeling is occupied, hold the lowest place; those be grosse and terrestrial things. From thence we come to tasting; that also is exercised about watery humours, which be somewhat thicker. Smelling is elevated vnto vapours, far more pure than water. Vnto hearing is the aire, and that a pure aire more rare. As little, we come vnto the sight, which among those things that be perceived, is most fine, and hath a great deale of purities. Wholset, we are not there to rest, but after these things we come to imagination, cogitation, memoire, and vnderstanding, which are occupied about the similitudes and images of things far more pure. Wherefore by these things appeareth, that first distinction of pleasures, that one is purer, and another grosser, and out of Galen we haue expounded the ground of the diuision.

The second  
distinction  
of pleasures.

After this diuision there followeth another, that some pleasures are bodilie, others not bodilie. Of the bodilie, thus we affirme in general, that neither they be good, nor yet bad; as also are not the actions about inate, diuine, and carrell pleasure. But as touching the kinds and parts, we must take that if they exceed measure, they be euill, but if they containe themselves within iust and due limits, they are indifferent, since that men may vse them both righte, that is, according to vertue, and also vnto good and laudable ends. They doe also adue their sometimes, namely, vpon an ill determination; & corrupte,

as Cardine, when he tempered himselfe from delights and pleasures, to the intent he might be stroue his countie: but yet, if they shall be used in their owne nature, they be rather good, as leading to ciuill goodness, than euill. This cometh to a third distinction of pleasures. There be some, wherein there is excess; but there be others, wherein it cannot be, as it also happeneth in actions. For who do euill righte or iustly more than is requisite? And so in contentments of the truth, be of things naturall, or mathematical, or diuine; no man can reioice, or take pleasure in them more than is requisite; neither can he be in like manner, as touching things righte done, and of the works of iustice. But in being angry, in ambitious desire of promotion, in going, in hearing, we may exceed measure, no less than in eating, drinking, and procreation.

Finally, the fourth distinction, that of pleasures, some be single, and by themselves; because they haue no folowes mingled with them, nor yet be sweet, in respect they fill and restore nature, being waded and consumed. Neither be they at one time pleasant, and at another time vnplesant, but are euer in their owne nature to be wished and desired: and these pleasures are chiefe those, which are perceived in the mind; but others be mixed, namely with folowes, and for that cause be pleasant, because they refresh and renew nature decaying, and therefore are not to be desired alwayes and at all times.

These things being thus determined, let vs go in hand with the pleasures which be impure, bodilie, and which haue excess, and which be mixed; and let this be the first proposition of them: If they exceed measure, they must be altogether avoided; for such do either arise of a corrupt nature; or some men are curen by a prophetic nature, fierce, wild, and cruel; or other be headie, and altogether intemperate; or these be euill actions and pleasures doe come from a vicious habit, brought in by a naughty custome, as we see it in drunkenness, gluttons, and lasciuious men: wherefore from such shamefull and wicked causes, nothing can happen. Which (as we haue said) must not be avoided. Furthermore, since that pleasures of this kind, as if they haue bin already had, haue bin inuented to be as it were medicine vnto vs, when we suffer them to exceed measure; so far is it off that they be medicine, as they are euill hurtfull vnto vs, and that in all kind of good things, and especially those things which come of fortune. For how many riotous men be there, which haue spent their great and ample patrimonies, are constrained miserable to live in want? I speake nothing of the gods of the bodie, seeing gluttonie and sicke pleasure killeth far more than the

that pleasures must be avoided by a prophetic nature, and why.

that great lie the grosse corruptione hurt vs.

noord, or anye ordinary sicknesses, or defect of nature. *¶* Seneca, and Calen in his second booke De *sermone* wrote, that pleasure is sometime by it selfe the cause of dissolving the force and strength wherewith life. And there haue bene manye, which haue yeined by the ghost throughto much pleasure. But if that all abuse of things must be avoided, such kind of immoderate pleasures as these must be vicerally shunned, seeing by this meanes they cure not the bodie, but do exceedingly destroye it. *¶* I let passe the goods of the mind, since nothing doth more harme vnto wisdom, than any thing more weaken the right iudgement of knowing things, than these immoderate pleasures.

Cicero his words as touching the ends which rule of pleasures,

The reason which I haue brought, that by these goods and immoderate pleasures, all the kinds of good things belonging to man be destroyed, is written by Cicero in his booke called *Hortensius*, which booke is lost; yett toll I referre his words as they be recited of Augustine in his fourth booke against Iulian the 1. chapter. But are these pleasures of the bodie to be desired, which trulie and graciously are of Plato called the allurement and baits of culls? *¶* For what desiring (saith he) of helth, that desiring of the colour and the bodie, what faule lesse, what dishonour is there, that is not called and brought forth by pleasure? *¶* Euerie nature whereof, the greater it is, the more is it enuie vnto philosophy. For the pleasures of the bodie cannot agree with anye great cogitation of the mind. For who is he, that when he vnder the greatest pleasure he can, is able to apply his mind to make an account, or to thinke of anye manner of thing? But who is so vnstable a person, that day and night, without anye intermission of time, will haue his senses so to be moued, as they be moued in the cheefest pleasures? What man indued with a good mind, had not rather no pleasures at all than be giuen vs of nature? Thus much saith he. *¶* Cinde which sentence of this is coppled under the harts, which are to be brought in through the pleasures of the bodie, which exceed measure. But thou wilt say, that I for this reason would force it, it will condemne pleasures which sping of contemplation, and also that which activity of iust actions; because both the bodie is hurt by too much studie and contemplation; and that Socrates and alio Aristides perswaded by their baird the false. *¶* I answer, that this was accidentally; because Socrates lighted among euill men. *¶* Again, that the powers of the head, which do serue vnto cogitation, are sometimes ouermuch consumed. But some wittie fellowe will replicate, that this also is accidental, as touching the pleasures of the bodie; which in verie deed do arie of those actions, which destroye the bodie, and our good things, which the verie pleasures by

themselves would not do. *¶* Wholbeit to this we answer, that it comes not alwaies to passe, that a man perseth for righteousnes; no; yet that contemplation both alwaies harme. But these greater and mixt pleasures, so oft as they exceed the meane, it cannot be but they do hurt; and so the hurt is not to be accounted of both alike.

*¶* But this of some is counted a hard matter, that these pleasures must be shunned, seeing pleasure by it selfe is good, & to be desired. *¶* Wherefore to auoid this, they are wont to say, that they are not pleasures indeed, but onlie seeme so; and although they seeme so, yet that of wile men they ought not to be accounted pleasures. *¶* Euen as those things are not said to be wile, which so appeare vnto cleare eyes; neither soat of bitter, which those that are sicke do so affirme. But me thinks it should not to be answered; because both Plato and Aristotle do call them pleasures, whereupon the definition before alledged doth trulie agree vnto them. *¶* Therefore would I rather faile to the argument, that pleasure indeed is of his owne nature good, and to be desired, but not to be taken off all things; euen as we desire to satiate hunger, yet not by euery kind of meate. Just men also would become rich, but yet not by euery kind of gaine; we also desire health, but yet not by euery kind of medicine; and so we would haue pleasures, but yet not those which arise of actions that be dishonest and filthy, and which do hurt the bodie, and all the good things which we haue. But seeing this kind of pleasures is both hurtfull, and to be shunned, how hapeneth it that it is desired of so manye? *¶* Because pleasure in his owne nature hath some certaine thing in it, and is desired of all men. *¶* Wholbeit it comes to passe, that seeing nature in man is not yet full perfect and consummation, as in children; or else when men be indued with haughtie and leue habits of mind, as be drunkards and stichie persons, they be deceived, and seeke for pleasures where they ought not. *¶* Wherefore I marvel at Epicurus, which taketh his argument from children, whose nature is not yet become full perfect, neither are they indued with any vertue, & therefore may easily be deceived. *¶* Again, it must be considered, that men do perpetuall labour, and are tooe rich vnto iust studie exercises; and therefore to be recreated and refreshed, they turne themselves to diuers pleasures; and when they cannot haue honest, pure, and simple pleasures, they will be satisfied with those greater and hurtfull pleasures. And men haue a compounded nature, not simple one and vnnixed; and thereof it comes, that they imbrace sundrie kinds of pleasures. Sometimes they take those which belong vnto the mind, and sometime those which be of the bodie; since that they consist as well of the

the pleasures which must be shunned by verie pleasures.

who be most inclin'd to the pleasures of the bodie

why these pleasures were giuen by god vnto men.

Augustine.

what pleasures are not to be avoided, and why.

mind as of the bodie. *¶* Seneca, and the bodie it selfe, because it hath manye humors, and is indued with manye senses, therefore are we sometimes moued to these pleasures, and sometimes to those, according as the humors stir them up, or as the sundrie objects do fall into the senses. *¶* But God, since he is one and most pure, he enioieth one and the selfe same pure and eternal pleasure.

But to those pleasures of the bodie, they that be yong, and melancholicke men are most inclined. In them, while their stature is increased, the humors are disturbed, and nature is toerced and haled; and therefore do they flie vnto pleasures, as vnto a certaine medicine and recreation. *¶* Likewise both the melancholicke humor; disquiet and bere melancholicke persons, and suffereth they not to rest; so as they being toerced, returne to pleasures, whereby they somewhat resioice and exhilarate themselves. *¶* Whereupon it aperly, that nature, yea God himselfe, did not vnpossible giue vnto mankin these pleasures, that the immoderate vse of them might be auoided. *¶* For by them we lead the more commodious life, and we take more willinglie in hand the necessarie labours of life, and the preservation of mankin, and are the more readie healed of our dailye infirmities. *¶* Moreover, yong men, by certaine honest and moderate pleasures, are stirred by vnto honest duties, and excellent vertues; and by graues they are terrified from sinnes and wickednes. And Augustine addeth, that these base pleasures are certaine steps of god, and as it were a little shadowe of the nature of felicitie, and of the diuine good, whereby we may be directed vnto an earnest desire thereof: wherefore they be of force to awaken vs, wherein neuertheless we are not to staid, but must rather rise by vnto better things. And that we should not dwell in these things, God is so good, that he vnto these kinds of pleasures hath mingled manye bitter things.

As touching those pure, vnnixed, and no bodily pleasures, and which haue no exercise, let this be the proposition. They ought not to be refused, but since they are of the better sort, they ought not a little more vnto the nature of the cheifest good: for they be desired; not for themselves, but for another thing. *¶* I said that they drawe nere to the nature of the cheifest good; because in verie deed, the cheifest good is not in pleasure, no not of this kind: for that consisteth in the most perfect action; and vnto it is pleasure ioined as a perpetuall companion: wherefore it cannot be plucked from the cheifest good, so as it should not be comprehended in the nature thereof. *¶* We verie grant, that the same is wished for of all men, since there is none, but

desireth both to liue, and to liue well. And as to liue, is to liue; so to liue well, is to be occupied in a vertie good action: where vnto when excellent pleasure is ioined, all men wish for the same, when they wish for that whereof it is a perpetuall companion. *¶* But an excellent action it cannot be, unless it be conseruant about the most noble object; whereof as of a fountaine our perfection dependeth. *¶* Which that it may euidentlie be perceived, we must understand, that we are made perfect by a most excellent object, as by the efficient cause, whereby our mind and will is carried, or is allured vnto it. *¶* Again, we are made perfect through pleasure, which is an affect and qualitie, that is infused into our mind. *¶* But it is called into doubt by some, whether pleasure must be wished for for the life sake, or life for pleasure sake. And to this, those things which may be said on the other part, that which to me seemeth good, I thus let downe: *¶* Pleasure is desired for the life sake, not the life for pleasures sake; because pleasure breues of anguish, that the action agreeth with nature, and this we both feele and knowe. *¶* Wherefore that aboute all is to be wished, to the intent that the action may be counted most perfect. *¶* Neither is anye man ignorant, that perfection is instituted for that thing sake, which doth make it perfect, especially when in his owne nature it hath no stabilitie. And all men see, that meate it selfe is better than the fauce thereof.

*¶* But how those things, which Aristotle by his eighth do agree with the holie scriptures, we may easily perceive. *¶* First he saith, that this opinion, as touching the greater sort of pleasures, is the thescaps opinion of manie, and that of the vulgar sort of men. *¶* Which also Chast taught, affirming that the waie of perdition is large, and manie bad men that waie. *¶* He addeth moreover, that they which iudge this, are *desolueres*, that is, most burdensome. And in Elsie we knowe, that it was said to twiced Azaz; Is it a small matter vnto thee, you to be greuous vnto men? *¶* Aristotle callth them bond slaues. And the Lord said; He that John 8, 44. doth finne, is the seruant of sinne. *¶* Also Peter said; Euerie man is his seruant, of whom he is 1. Pet. 2, 19. overcome. *¶* Aristotle saith, that they shoulde a braile life. And we haue it in the Psalmes; Man, when he should be in honour, is compa- Psal. 48, 18. red vnto the brute beasts, and is made like vnto them. *¶* Also Ieremie; Euerie man neigheth at his Ierem. 5, 8. neighbours woe. And againe in the plaine; Be ye not like horse and mule, in whom there is no understanding. *¶* They which to thinke (saith the philosopher) do defend themselves by the authoritie of princes, which liue after the manner of Sardanapalus. *¶* Neither doth this disagree with the holie scriptures, wherein we read, that such in a manner were the people, as were the things whom

whether pleasure for life, or life for pleasure is to be wished.

how Aristotle agrees with the scriptures as touching the greater sort of pleasures, is the thescaps opinion of manie, and that of the vulgar sort of men.

Matt. 7, 13.

Elie. 7, 19.

1. Pet. 2, 19.

Psal. 48, 18.

Ierem. 5, 8.

Psal. 32, 10.

Olea.4.9.

Matt.2.3.

1.Cor.6.13.

Matt.22.30.

That place  
is not  
strange from  
f.licitie.

whom they had. And in Osea we reade: Such people, full priest. In the 34. power, the 29. chapter; When the wicked shall beare rule, transgression shall be multiplied. And in the Gospells as touching Herod, when the wife came to Ierusalem, we find that not onlie hee himselfe was troubled, but also the whole citie with him. Lastly, it is concluded, that in their greatest lost of pleasures cannot be repayed the cheefest god. Which also the Apostle confirmeth to the Corinthians, Meare for the bellie, and the bellie for meate, God shall deftroye both the one and the other. And Christ himselfe speaking of the pleasure of procreation; In their generation they neither marrie wives, nor are married, but they shall be like vnto the angels.

11 Aristotle disputing yet further of pleasure saith, that the same must not be counted strange from felicitie, and so proueth it, because it is of those kind of good things, which belong vnto the mind, vnto the will saie, that flowers, frocks, & mettals reioice and be glad. If we first be cured his generall sentence; That is pleasant to euery man, whereunto he is said to be, and thereof is named desirous. Whereby Aristotle meant, that pleasure seemeth to be of those kind of things, which haue relation one to another. And it is not maruell, for those things which be sweet, must of necessity be sweet to some bodie. But what he is, to whom pleasure is referred, is declared by affection, while he saith; A horse, a cheiv, iust things, and vertues do delight those men, which haue bin desirous of horses, of horses, a iust thing, and of vertues. The manner of all syllogismes is, that first should be brought forth the cause in general, and then it is want to be applyed vnto that thing thereof it is spoken. So in this matter, the generall cause is set forth for: why anie thing is pleasant and sweet vnto anie man; namely, for because he loveth it. This generall cause is here restrained vnto him that is happy, because he is a louer of honest and good actions, whereupon of necessity it followeth, that he is verie much delighted with them.

For the confirmation of that generall cause, he beth diuers and manifold examples; and first, he alleggeth the pleasure that men haue in riding of horses, wherewith, how fondle and carnestlike some men are otherwhile delighted, the pong man Strepiades in Aristophanes doth testifie. He bringeth forth them also, which are desirous to behold shewes, vnto whom we may adde those, which giue their mind to philosophy, to witte, and music: all which men (we see) are wonderfullie delighted, when at anie time they enioice their desires. By these examples the foure of the argument, which the Logicians call Induction, being the maior proposition,

which comprehendeth the generall cause, is plainlie confirmed and sheweth, which is straitly applyed to the matter in hand, whereas he saith, that the like reason is to be had of those causes that are of a iust thing, and of good actions, and are referred to god and happy men, to wit, that those things be loved of them, and that they reioice not a little in them. Whereof it plainlie cometh, that blessed and good men, if they either see or heare anie to liue well and be well, they take great pleasure therein: but without doubt much more, while they themselves exercise themselves in iust, god, and beneuolent actions. By these things we now vnderstand, that the life of happy men is not sweeter from pleasure; and we see, that they did not but terrie fraie from the right waie, which ioined themselves vnto this felicitie.

12 Yet the question is, whether all pleasures haue fellowship with felicitie, and that all haue not, as it should seeme we must affirme, that what pleasure shall we iointe therewith? As to this we answer by distinction. Some things are pleasant in their owne nature, and by themselves; but some haue it not of their owne property to delight, but takeeth delight by a certaine corruption or viciousness of him that is caught therewith. Vnto the first, honest actions, remembrance of good deedes, prudent government of things, finding out of profitable counsels, doctrine, contemplation, and such like, are delightful euen of their owne goodnes, which if otherwhise they be not like of some, that passeth through their owne vnkindnes and rudenes. But on the other side, immoderate toine, gorgeous fights, surfeiting, and lussies, are not in their owne nature pleasant and sweete, but do onely delight them which of themselves be caught by such things. It is the common fault, which hunt after things not pleasant in their owne nature, which things are diuers and in sundrie sort, & those repugnant one to another. So man doubteth, but that there is a great number of pleasures of the common sort; for there be manie minds, and euery one hath his owne delight, which certeinlie is then not lastly, when it passeth his bounds, and when it vtterly men to much therein, or doth stir vp and disquiet their minds. These, and other pleasures of the senses, if they hold themselves vnto in their bounds and limits, and do not passe them, are both naturall, and by right cannot be condemned.

And what contrarieitie there is of pleasures betweene the vulgar sort, Eulitrius thus testifieth; One is delighted with salt meate, another with sweet, one with yntike somewhat bitter, another with softer, which talks be one contrarie to another, and cannot be had together in one and

whether all  
pleasures  
haue fellowship  
with felicitie.

the con-  
trarieitie of  
pleasures  
betweene  
the vulgar  
sort.

and the same thing. But here a man may saie, that this also may be seene among the pleasures which we call naturall; some are delighted in the mathematicall sciences, others in the knowledge of naturall things, some in logike, others onlie in prudent actions.

Wherefore since there is a varietie as well here as there, this difference of contrarieitie after that manner interpreted, seemes not to put a distinction betweene pleasures, seeing it is found alike on both parts. Whence then will saie, there is a great varietie a multitude of vulgar pleasures, which are contraries; as sweet and bitter, hardy and mild are one repugnant to another; which contrarieitie is not in the honest pleasures that we haue now rectified. For the mathematicall sciences are not against the knowledge of naturall things; nor logike against prudence. But the difference is more trauel declared, if we marke the repugnancie in the appetite of one & the selfe same man: for euen he that delighted in a thing, straightwaie hateth the same; and he that desired meate, doth by and by leath it. Whereupon Terence saith; In loue are all these faults, inuities, suspitions of eninitie, truce, war, and peace againe. Here we see a contrarieitie of things among themselves, and against the mind. But those things are pleasant indeed, wherewith the louers of honestie are delighted: for they which giue credit to reason, and not to the senses, take counsell of the better iudge. Thou shalt moreouer perceiue those to be constant, and of one mind; and that the right things which once liked them, will neuer mislike them: neither do they suffer the true opinion to be twinged from them. Again, they laie all one thing with men of their owne profession; for so manie as be louers of honestie, allow the selfe same vertues, and the same actions.

those things  
con-  
curre with  
the holie  
scriptures.  
Phil. 4. 4.

ver. 15.

Ad. 5. 41.

13 Finally, this haue we learned out of the holie scriptures to concurre with Aristotle, that Paule exhorted the godlie, as being happy men, to true and perfect gladnes, when he wrote; Reioice in the Lord alwaies, and againe I saie reioice. Also in the 21. chapter of the 34. power; The iust man delighteth to do iudgement. And David both manie times fir by the iust and would to gladnes, and reioicing. And so true is this opinion, that euen those god actions, which by the sense of nature, and iudgement of the common sort seeme to be repelled, do be- lieue happy men. And therefore we read that the Apostles went abate merie and reioicing from the sight of the council, because they were counted worthy of rebukes for the name of Christ. And we knowe, that not onlie manie christians suffered death with a ioyfull mind for the testimonie of their faith, but that manie

thinkes also, with great ioy and cherefulness, gaue their life for the libertie of their countrie.

Of Honour; that it is not the cheefest good; but wherein it concur-  
reth with it, and  
wherein not.

14 Now that we haue disposed of pleasures, it followeth that we speake of honours; and for god cause are these ioined together, seeing both of them do accompanie actions, though after a diuers manner. For seeing that action agreeth with nature, and that we marke it, are made glad with pleasures; euen to those actions, when they shall be good, and iust, and honest, honour is ioined. And that it may be made the plainer, which we treat of; I will speake somewhat of the nature of honour, and of those things which belong vnto the same. And first of all we will set forth the definition thereof. Aristotle in his first booke of Meteores, will haue it to be a signification of the opinion, which is had of a mans nature, honestie; and that consisteth of outward signes. To make this definition perfect, I thinke good to adde thereto the cause of the end, which since I cannot deduce from the philosophers, I will bestowe of our diuinitie. We therefore testifie by manifest signes, that we iudge well of honest men, to the intent that God, the author of all iustice and goodnes, may be honoured in them: secondlie, that the authoritie and example of them may profit others. Now we may comprehend all the causes of honour. The first is the signification, declaration, and testimonie of our opinion touching good men. The second cause is touched, when we adde thereto, the mans honestie: for by it are men stirred vp to iudge well. But the matter shall be in all those signes, whereby we giue a testimonie to god and iust men. And these things, since they be manifest, are mentioned in the booke of Iob to his new alledged; namely, monuments, images, government, virtues, expulsiues, a liuing of the publike treasure, gifts, and we may ad thereto, the uncouraging of our head, the giuing of place, and rising vp to our betters, &c.

And as all these things are manie in number, so must we appoint as manie parts, formes, or kinds of honour. And the difference of them is in respect of the matter of them. And we haue also adde the ends, that this testimonie of ours may rebound vnto God, and that by our honours we may make the god examples of iust men to be the more famous; or else that to them which behaue themselves well, there may be giuen an authoritie, and that thereby manie others may be holpen. From the sense

the desire  
of the  
nature of  
hono-

the cause  
of hono-

Augustine  
definition  
of glory.

of this definition doth Augustine not much  
re, who saith, that *Gloria* is a iudgement of  
men, which haue a good opinion of [other] men.  
Whereunto we haue added certeine outward  
testimonies of this iudgement, and haue expre-  
ssed vnto what men those testimonies must be  
giuen; that is to wit, vnto honest men, and to  
those which other themls aright. But this is  
wanting as well in Aristotle, as in Augustine,  
who should be those, that should signify their  
opinion. Certeinly, those ought to be as we  
gather out of the first booke of *Ethicks* wise men,  
and such as do knowe vs well. Quincilian yet  
more brieue, and in a certeine compendious  
manner hath thus expounded the matter: *Gloria*  
(saith he) is the praise of god men consenting in  
one: where that word [of god men] may be in-  
terpreted both to them that are praised, and to them  
that do praise: for it behooueth them both to be  
good. Which to make more plaine, we will thus  
diuide honours; so that some of them we make  
to be of small importance, and but outward ad-  
uantage, which all, onlie are raised by a abuse of  
the people: and these, since they pleased not of a  
sound iudgement, are neither firme, nor yet  
yeilded vnto them, to whom they ought to be  
giuen. But others (as said Quincilian) proceed  
of the content of good men; wherefore they be  
found, and god men onlie are honoured with  
them. But we haue experience, that those for-  
mer are so light and inconstant, as though maist  
be that well-nere in one daie, some are both in-  
flicted, and condemned of the people: wherefore  
we like likened this kind of good to a fraile, be-  
cause it is vnder battell and traile, is raisede not  
much from the truth.

we breue  
honour be  
his that gi-  
ueth the ho-  
nour, or of  
him that is  
honoured.

15 But now there is this a question, Whether  
honour (to speake of the same which is sincere  
and constant) be the good of him that doth giue  
the honour, or of him to whom the honour is gi-  
uen? *Elis* did Seneca handle in his 103. epistle  
to Lucilius. I affirme it to be the good of them  
both. Without doubt it is his that is the payer,  
seeing that his action is iust and right. Neither  
thinke I it doubtful, that euery good action is  
his god, whose action it is. Furthermore, since  
he, who is honoured, hath in himselfe honestie,  
iustice, and goodnes, whereby both god and wise  
men are allured and yoked to commend  
him; therefore is his god also called honour: for  
he hath the beginning and cause thereof in him-  
selfe. *Spocrouer*, he himselfe receiue fruit of that  
honour, when his authoritie increaseth, and he  
is made the able to perswade others, what shall  
best become them, and the better to retaine  
themselves in their dutie. Therefore, also it is his  
god for this cause, that while he perceiuech god, he  
next, and thankfull iudges, to iudge rightlie of  
those things which he hath verie well done, hee

greatly reioiceth. Wherefore I haue thined  
the reason why Iudge, that honour is the good,  
as well of him that is praised, as of him that  
praiseth. And yet for this cause am I not contra-  
ry to Aristotle, which saith, that the same is in  
him which doth the honour, not in him which re-  
ceiuech the honour: because he (as it is said  
brought in the definition) saith, that honour is a  
signifying of a mans opinion and mind; and  
therefore he iudgeth rightlie, seeing as well the  
opinion as signification thereof proceed from  
him that honoureth, and rest on him, as on a cer-  
taine foundation and matter subiect thereto.  
But yet I haue respect to the original, where-  
upon this opinion was raised, and this iudge-  
ment is stirred up in the minds of the wise, and  
moreouer, I note the fruits of this opinion, and  
I see all these things to be in the man that is  
praised, that is to say, a greater authoritie & gla-  
ries. Neither hath this my definition onie place  
in honours; but it must be no otherwise ex-  
pression of the laudfull iudgement of a iudge, and  
of a iust sentence, when he pronounceth the laue.  
For these are the proper good things of him,  
which therewithall turne to his god, on whose side  
the matter is iudged. And no otherwise should  
we saie of iustice: the same without doubt is his  
god that iust, but it is also god vnto him, to  
whom, by the same iustice, that which is due is  
rendered and paid. Now by these examples  
it plainlie appereth, how honour is a certeine  
good thing, pertaining as well vnto him which  
is god in estimation, as vnto him which doth giue  
the same.

They bond in like manner, whether the tes-  
timonie of one honest and wise man be sufficient  
vnto true and perfect honour; or rather that a  
signification from manie is not required. I  
thinke it may be said, that according to the na-  
ture of true and sincere honour, the testimonie  
of one wise and god man, and who knoweth his  
well, is sufficient; because in one which is of this  
sort, we haue all others like vnto him: for there  
is one mouth and one iudgement of all wise and  
god men. Whereby, to this end, that the exam-  
ple may be made manifest, and that the authori-  
tie may growe and be confirmed to him that is  
praised, the testimonie of one man is not of force;  
because a verie great furtherance hereto is fame  
and god name, which things do require the tes-  
timonies of manie. Now must this be sene,  
whether at anie time honour be feared from  
vertues and iust deeds. Some say it is, and some  
say it is not. Certeinly the more common opi-  
nion among the learned is, that honour followeth  
iust vertue, as a shadowe followeth the bovie,  
which similitude in my iudgement, expoundeth  
the question. The shadowe accompanieth the bo-  
vie, but yet not alwaies after one manner; some-  
times

whether one  
good man  
may be  
sufficient  
vnto per-  
fect hon-  
our.

whether  
honour be  
feared  
from  
iust deeds.

time it goeth before, sometime it is vpon one  
side, and goeth together, but sometime it follo-  
ueth after: so the vertue of some men is had in  
honour, straightwaie after the beginning; of o-  
thers it is not regarded, till it be quite gone,  
which are not honoured, till they be quite gone;  
for they are men want other while to perueue,  
though ouer-late, how great a god they haue  
forgon. Which we knowe hapeneth in old time  
to the prophets and apostles, and also in our  
times to manie most iust princes, good pastors,  
and good preachers. While there were plenti-  
tie of them, they were contemned; but when  
they were not taken alone, then do they stir  
up an incredible desire of them. Wherefore ho-  
nour doth accompanie vertue, but not alwaies  
in the same step: sometime before, otherwhile  
together, and oftentimes after. And besides  
this, the testimonie and signification of wise  
men is neuer wanting vnto true vertue, and  
iust actions, except there be a want of the wise,  
and such as haue sene and knowe these  
things.

16 Now at the length let vs come nerer  
to the matter, and consider yet together with  
me, whether the desire of honour should be ac-  
counted among good things, or among vici-  
ous things. Shall we not commend honour, seeing  
it is planted in vs by God and by nature; see-  
ing God promisseth it vnto them that be his,  
and that not selboune; They that glorifie me (saith  
he) I will glorifie them? And the elders are by  
Paul pronounced wortheie of double honour.  
And therefore it seems, that God planted this  
desire in mens minds, that we might be more  
and more stirred up to liue well and iustlie.  
Neither is that common prouerbe rashly to be  
reieted; Honour nourisheth arts. Againe Ver-  
tue commended increaseth. *Spocrouer*, there is  
none which hath but a parbe of goodlines can  
deme, but that all our wishes must be so or-  
dered, as they may be allotted both of God and of  
men; namelye that men, by the seeing of them,  
should (as mate it is) glorifie God. Wherefore  
seeing honour, for the things that be well done  
saith not in vs, but reboundeth vnto God  
himselfe, how manie sooner be desirous of his  
glorie, as we ought all to be, we may, at the  
least, wiske for this cause, desire honour. Quer  
then, who ought not to wish, but that all the  
brethren should not faile of doing their dutie  
and office: Certeinly this hath God commanded  
all men, that they should honour their parents,  
and by the same reason the magistrats. And by  
Paul be commandeth; In giuing honour go  
one before an other. Also in the first epistle  
Timothie the first chapter: Honour widows,  
which be widows indeed. In the first of Pe-

ter, the second chapter: Honour all men, loue  
brotherlie fellowship. And of Epaphroditus he  
saith in the epistle to the Philippians; And such  
as he is haue ye in honour. Such places as  
these be I may vying manie; but seeing these  
be sufficient, it appereth that when anie man  
hath honour giuen him, that is worthy of it,  
the commandments of God are obeyed.  
Which thing that it may be done, ought not  
they which be honest, and bebaue themselves  
well, to commend it and be glad of it, and also  
to wish that it may be done? While do we pray;  
Let thy will be done in earth, as it is in hea-  
uen?

Whereunto adde, that in giuing honour vnto  
god men, we shall obtaine rewards and bene-  
fits; That thou maist (saith God) liue long yea,  
on the earth. And on the other side, in contem-  
ning of them, they procure detriments to them-  
selves, as the children which derided the prophet  
Elihu were rent in funder of braces. Which  
seeing it is thus, he loveth not his neighbour,  
which desireth not that he may auoid these pun-  
ishments, and obtaine these commodities  
and rewards. Wherefore euen as with the good  
favour of God we may wish for due honours;  
so we are bounden to the verie same thing by that  
charitie which we ought to loue our neigh-  
bour. And this doth David verie well con-  
firme in the 15. Psalm, when he spake of him  
which should dwell in the house of God, and in  
the euerslating habitation, among other his  
vertues thus he reckoneth; He that is lowlie in  
his owne eyes, & glorifieth them that feare God.  
Therefore since without controuersie, eternal  
life is to be wished vnto our neighbours; this  
is to be wished for with most ardent paires;  
that the godlie, and those which feare God may  
be had in honour: which is this kind of honour,  
namelye to haue them in estimation, to be de-  
lighted with their companie, to maintain  
their good name, and chearfullie to releue their  
necessities; all which things, since they be so  
colde borne in these daies, they which be god-  
lie cannot choise but earnestlie forsooke, and  
wish that at the length it may be done euen as  
God hath commanded. Augustine in his Soli-  
loquys the first booke, and eleuenth chapter  
iudgeth, that since of honours authoritie both  
increase, and that authoritie doth much further  
to induce men vnto honestie, and to diue men  
as well vnto true opinions, as vnto honestie of  
life, therefore honours are to be desired. *Pea*, &  
for their sakes, whom we ought by our minis-  
terie to helpe; if we see our authoritie to be de-  
spised, we ought for our honestie to defend  
the same, least in verie deed it become typos-  
table. So this belongeth that which Paul wrote  
vnto Timothie; Let no man despise thy youth.

In honour-  
ing of the  
good, we  
obtaine re-  
wards, and  
by contem-  
ning them,  
we incur pun-  
ishments. *Exo* 32, 18.

1. Tim. 1, 11.

And

And when we do well, it doth not a little further to the confirming of us, if we have the commendation of god men. For, even as we are in a manner all troubled with the disease of self-love, we are easilie deceived in affaires & actions; and those things which we do least commendable, we make most account of them. And because this doth not seldom happen, it causeth the more ignorant sort to become more doubtful and ambiguous in their doing, unto the which men, honor, praise, and approbation would do much good; if by outward signes the same were yielded: for by these things their mind and judgement is established. But those which be not doubtful, nay rather be assured, that those things which they do, be right, when they are moved by love and god men with a iust kind of honor, they cannot chuse but excedinglie reioice and be glad in themselves, that they have gotten so god and iust iudges; wherefore honors do also profit them men. Neither do these things, which we have said, differ from the opinion of Aristotle. For he saith he denie honor to be the cheifst good, yet doth he not exclude it from the number of good things. Touching those things, which I have spoken of firme and perfect honor, there is nothing to agreeable, as that that shall be the cheifst, which the faithful in the last day of iudgement shall have of Christ, when he shall raise us to them. Come ye blessed of my father, &c. For that praise shall proceed from the most iuste iudges, to whom all iustice is best knowne, neither can our doings anye waie be hiddeyn from him.

17 Wherefore I thinke it is now sufficientlie considered, and made apparant, that the moderate desire of honors is not to be blamed: yet because manie do lane over-readie themselves herein, and that the place is slippery, therefore must we declare some things, which we ought to take heed of, lest in seeking for vertue, we shamefullie fall into vices. To this must we have a speciall regard, that even Aristotle being an Athenian native, that we desire not honor: for he saith: for this were of a meaner good, to make the principall good, and to enioie those things which we ought but to use. Let the same desire therefore tend both to the glorie of God, and to the enioiung of our brethren. Apart of all let us be beware, that we take not too much care for honors; for to wound the mind be more disquiet, which not avoid, they with the desire of praise became in a manner mad. Wee knowe with what a furie Alexander of Macedonia was carried in a manner through the world, seeking glorie without measure and reason, who at length was brought to that passe, as he thought

that there were other worlds to be conquered besides this: One world sufficient for yong Pellexus. With the verie which disease, Julius Caesar being infixed, let upon his countrie, and rashlie violated the lawes and libertie thereof. So then let this desire be moderate, and let it be bounded within certeine and iust limits. And in receiving of honors, let us follow Augustine counsel: Neither receive thou (saith he) all that is offered, nor yet refuse thou all: for he that receiveth all the honor, which is yielded unto him, for the things that he hath rightlie and verie well done, serves as it were to suppress the gifts of God, and that he would not have them acknowledged, which in verie deed is against true goodlines. And on the other side, he that imbraceth whatsoever is offered him, doth manie times passe the limits of moderate desire.

And herewithall must hee be taken, that the kind of honor, which is brought, be not greater than the dignitie of men can sustaine; which when it happeneth, must not be addeben: for thereat is God angrie, and doth severallie take vengeance for his honors usurped by men. Herod was most gramineously punished, when the people cried unto him which voices not fit for a man, but such as were meet for God. And for the same fault is Domitian, Nero, and manie other most insolent Emperours iustlie condemned, which would not be waied signed as princes, but as God. Those things which belong to God, but them we render unto God, and let god men receive humane honors rightlie and moderatelie when they be offered. Also, let there be kept a iust and right measure in obtaining of honors. There is one onie waie and meane commendeth, and that is by well bringing of things to effect, which the Cicereans call *ex nobilitate acta*, which things hypocrites do counterfeit, and while by outward signes they endeavour to declare themselves godlie and holie, they be had in estimation of the people. But of them Christ saith: They have received their reward. And there be others, which are carried so far forth, as they be vile honors, which vaine without doubt is condemned by all iust lawes, and of the A. itins it is called *Ambitio*, that is, Ambition: for it is a most vile thing to crane the peoples voices by great gifts. Herod in the digestis *Ad legem Iuliam, de ambiru*, are manie things extant. Those which were consulted, were condemned of infamie, and also in a payment of mortie. And the punishments of this fault were manie times in the commonwealth of Rome increased; for the fault did growe out without measure. And, the ecclesiasticall Canons did imitate the Roman lawes. And because this vice grew ungodlike in the church, and

and at this daie reigneth entire where, manie lawes were decreed, which are in the first canonic, quest. 1. throughout the whole question: and in the first booke of the decretals, in the title *De Simonia*, & in another title, that the prelates should not grant their owne places, or places of the church, for a pecunie rent. They that sell ecclesiasticall dignities, followe Cherebi the servant of Helizaeus, and they which buye them, are like unto Simon Magus. Neither is onlie money, but woads, & curie kind of flatterie, if they be done onlie unto that end, to obtaine ecclesiasticall honors, to be esteemed as a vice. And the fathers did so persecute this vice, as against those that commit Simonia, they admitted anie sort of accusers, even those that were infamous, vile, dishonest persons, & harlots, and such other sort of men, which it not suffered in the complaint of other crimes. As thus, must be regarded, that which vice honors must when they be gotten, which I therefore speake, because we may for some other where, which abuse them, to obtaine power to compass riches, and followe pleasures, unto all which things they make the waie easie to themselves by dignities and honors, as well civil, as ecclesiasticall.

18 Those things we thought good to be recited, as touching them which receive honors, now must we speake a few wordes of them; whose part is to yield honor unto others: for these also must be admonished, because herein men may sin diverslie and manifoldlie. I suppose there is none that doubteth, but they do gratefully erre, which denie will and meet honors to them, that well and rightlie behave themselves, and yet we see that there be manie such as denie this. And those men are a great deale worse than these, which in the dread of giving honor, do hate them, do diminish their deserts, be disquieted and grieved, if they shall fee anie thing go well with them: these men without doubt are to be accounted uniuil, and most bitter. Some indeed there be, which frankly lieue through do honour god men, but this they do to crape in like manner more benefit, favour, or helpe of them: and these passe not much of the will doings of honest men, but onlie feele their owne good; wherefore they rather sell their honor, than make it a reward of vertues. Againe we have knowen others, which are ready enough to give honors unto honest men, but in doing thereof, use a peruerse iudgement: for those good things which they ought to regard, they neglect, and do gratefully esteeme those things which be of lesse value. As a man do well over his church, being found doctrine, lue godlie, and strictly where-where god examples, in this respect they make small account of him: but if the same man give crasse

and expert counsell to increase wealth, or these some unbanishome thing in husbandrie, or in physick, then they have him in admiration, and with praises extoll him to heaven. There be also those which would do flatter, and which adorne enen foule vices with the names of vertues. Also, there be some, which in giving of honors heape no meane, but either they give them sparingly, or else more than they should.

19 All these things, which I have rehearsed, must be diligetly taken heed of; which since I have largelie enough declared, now remaineth that we shew how the doctrine of Aristotle agreeth with the holie scriptures, or else differeth from them. And when he saith, that honour is not the cheifst good, hee is disagreeing not anie thing from the holie scriptures: for the cheifst good cannot be desired more than is meet, but in wishing for honors we must temper our desire. I would not haue you (saith the Lord to his apostles) be called Rabbi, or masters, or fathers; but rather regard this, that ye feare one another, and that with a lowelie and moderate mind. Besides this, our famous would not suffer his to be decaied of the cheifst good, being he came purpose to make vs happy. But he letteth vs open in a manner into rebukes, and hee foresheweth that his children should have contentment come unto them, whom he comforteth by his owne example: Who abaled himselfe, and taking upon him the forme of a servant, was made obedient even to the death of the crosse. And whereas it is affirmed, that our cheifst good should be firme, proper, and not easie to be remoued, it maketh with that which Paule saith; that therefore our saluation and iustification doth consist of grace and faith, but not of

works; that the promise may be firme. That honors may come to be taken awaie, the holie scriptures do testifie: for Christ saith; that No prophet is without honour, saue in his owne countrie. And we see that the saints, having honour manie times come into them, are within a while after accused & caught unto punishment. And finally, the holie scriptures teach, that honor is of the kind of those good things, which are referred to some other thing: because the Lord saith; Let others see your good works, and glorify in your father, whoe live in the light: that glorie and honor ought not to rest onlie in us; but must be referred unto divine honors and praises.

Of certaine good things attending upon Felicitie; namely, riches, beautie, nobilitie, and such like: and how far men may use them without hindrance unto Felicitie. 20 In the definition of Felicitie, action of the mind

That the faithful in the beat of iudgement shall haue the cheifst good. Mat. 25. 34.

That honor, for it is little sake must not be desired.

That we must not be too careful for honor.

That the honor be more greater than the worth of the person.

Acts. 12. 19.

The desire of them that doo giue honor.

The right waie to come by honors.

What is to be said, hereto actions.

March 6. 1.

Ambition.

March 23. 8.

Luke. 22. Mat. 6. & 10. Iohn. 16. Mark. 13. Phil. 2. 7.

Rom. 4. 16.

Matt. 23. 57. Mark. 6. 4.

Math. 5. 16.

A distinction of good things.

The goods of the mind.

mind was the generall word vnder which it was contained; which verie well agreeth with the old writers, who diuided god things into three parts, and among those things gaue the principall and chiefe place vnto the gods of the mind.

A distinction of the goods of the mind.

The good  
things of  
the bodie  
distingui-  
shed.

Onward  
good things  
distingui-  
shed.

### Resolution 11

Riches are  
removed  
from felici-  
ty,

held. Another reason is, becaufe they tend to profit, and are referred to another thing, wherefore the state of them is futile. For we haue them to this end, that we may helpe vs to other things which we desire: neither would a man examine them the value of an heare, vntill he knew them to be profitable vnto those things that he would haue. And how strange this is from the nature of the chiefe god, all they are not ignorant, which knowe that the same should be asured for it selfe false. Where much therefore are they deceiued, which haue riches in the greatest honor, becaufe they be profitable vnto all things. This if Midas had let before his eyes, he would not haue so aduised himselfe to the studie of heaping vp riches, that he was foolish called *μωρολογος*, that is, euil mad for the desire of gold. For this is he alone among princes and kings to be repawnde, for now the greatest part of them is infected with this vice, who neuertheless might haue bin admonished, not onlie by these two reasons of Aristotle, but by manye other reasons, to let downe some moderation of their desire. For it is without reason, to be cruetie to exaune that kind of god, which is eternal, and in a manner perfermeth nothing to the mind: but is onlie reckoned among the intrimments, whereby men are holpen to do those things which they haue purposed. Alas, this kind of god doth be- set men, if it happen vpon them that be vnto: they be verie carefull to attaine vnto riches, but haue no care of their children, to whom they shall leaue them: nor yet of themselves, who should vse them. They are like vnto him, which would haue manie thores, and in the meane time went barefoote. Besides this, the nature of riches is doubtful, in so much as they serue no lesse to the accomplishing of euill desires and wickedness, than of honest and iust duties.

spouſor, if vertue be therefore not the cheſt  
ſt gold, becauſe it may be with them which be  
aſleep, and which be in miſerie, whom no man  
tuging pubertie would call happy; how ſhall  
felicitie be attributed vnto riches, ſeing they  
be oftentimes poſſeſſed of moſt miſerable  
men; yea rather, of them which be monſters  
and wonderments of the world, who hate all  
honest arts and all vertues : Vnto honour it  
is denied, and that iuſtly, that it ſhould not  
be accounted bleſſednes, becauſe it is not in  
their power which be had in honour. Which  
if we ſhall affirme, no doubt but we may  
iudge the ſame of riches ; ſeing the poſſeſſi-  
on of them is ſubiet to infinite perils : they are  
gotten and loſt well-neere in an houre. One  
man boeaſed of excreaſing great riches, which  
his thys had brought vnto him; another bea-

*with Felicitie.*

The scriptures testify that riches he will

Luke. 16,  
1. Tim. 6, 2

L. Tim. 6, 2

1.Tim.6,

1. Tim. 6,

Mat. 19.

That out-  
ward go-  
belong n-  
to the na-  
ture of fe-  
sile.

belong not  
to the na-  
ture of fo-  
cile.

Whether  
Heitic be  
need of  
inferiour  
good  
things.

ring him, answered, that he made no account of goods which hang on gables and winds. And that they be not the chief good indeed, it seems that they were well known, which termed riches a gilted felicitie. And so he note, but that riches be good; but that they be the chiefest good, that he denote. That they be idle, is a reference to another thing, the holie scriptures in one word testifie; Make ye friends of unrighteous Mammon. That they do hurt the soule, it is said; The root of all evils is covetousnes; They which will become rich fall into fires & temptation, &c. And as for the inconstancie of them, [Paul saith to Timothy] Command that they trust not in the vanities of riches; and **Quint** said; This night will they fetch away thine house from thee. Finally, they are a hindrance unto men, as in the gospel; And the young man being rich, went his waies: so as they be good things, but yet in their owne degree.

Certainly this word *εὐτυχισμός* (*eutuchismos*), that is, do comprehend, must be diligently considered of; for we easily understand thereby, that the elder fathers thought not that the abundance of outward goods belonged to the nature of felicity: but only called the same a thing added for a help. Riches make not the nature of felicity, they are not placed in the definition thereof, they are not counted among the goods of the mind; wherein it is said, that felicity is *εὐτυχία* *κατὰ νοῦν*. To what end are they then? First they are therefore added, to the intent they may further man's actions of an happy man; for neither a liberal man, nor a man of valiant courage, nor he that is honourable can do anything of their own virtue; if they want money, if they lack force of things, and finally if they be needy and poor. And moreover, without riches, a happy man not only cannot live another man, but can be at no leisure to give himself to contemplation; because whilst his travels he must woude for his bodily sustenance.

21 But forso much not alloweth it, that so ex-  
cellent a thing as felicitie is, should have need  
of goods far inferiour unto it: holdeth this know-  
ledge is vniuersall by our destination. Yet it selfe and  
of his eternall nature it hath no need of them: for in  
it selfe it should haue need of these things  
nothing might be hapie, vntill it be abounded  
with such things: which must not be granted  
seeing God and the angels are blessed without  
the final help of these goods. *This paine* lacketh  
which is of a corruptible and mortall man, is  
joined to this felicitie. Euen as our power of  
vnderstanding is not able, by consideration, to  
do any thing at all, without the senses and in-  
tellects which we contemplate: which in the  
ric dead happeneth vnto it, not in respect it is  
mind; by vnderstanding: for if it were an thy

r Martyr. Cap.14.

Pag.147.

wife, neither God nor angels should understand any thing without senses and imagination. So then, the mind and understanding require those things, not by themselves, or their diuine nature; but in respect they belong vnto men. It is to be noted moreover, that the matter which is subject, may be understood two waies: for either it representeth that matter, about which our actions are occupied; or else it is the matter wherein our mind is, namelie the bodie, to the nourishing, sustaining and feeding whereof these outward goods are in any wise required; therefore in these two respects sollicit hath need of the outward good things.

¶ *As* those, we see in arts, that manie things are  
baine, not onlic by the art, which is placed in the  
mind of the artificers, and in the members of  
their bodie; but by the helpe also of outward  
instruments. The smith useth fire, tongs, a  
hammer, and an anuile: the carpenter a rule, a  
saw, an axe, and such other things, and not be-  
cause of the matter which is suited: so oftentimes  
it sufficeth not artificers to haue art, and  
the members of the bodie. In like manner doth  
it come to passe touching felicitie; although the  
mind be inuoid with excellent vertues, and that  
it will and can thinke forth excellent adions, and  
is not destitute of bodilie power, yet hath it need  
of freinds, riches, and ciuill politer. ¶ *Ciuill*  
*politer* 3 understand honours, good will, fa-  
uours, protection, and such like. As for riches,  
they are diuided some into naturall, and some  
into artificiall: naturall are counted whatsoeuer  
things do growe out of the earth, and which the  
beast of cattell producth: but artificiall consist  
eth on monie, which in verie deed was inuen-  
ted, that it should be indifferent to both parties  
in the exchange of things. And both the kinds  
being called faculties, we gather by the etymo-  
logie of the word, that they are a great further-  
rance into doing.

Aristotle, to the furtherance of a mans felicitie, required a beautilfull life of the bodie, nobilitie, those of children, and of true friends. Felicitie (as 3 supose) hath hee there made a pleasant signification, but that a man be not altogether deformed: and this is the meaning of *ἡμετέρας* as it is in Græke. The reason of this saying is, Eutracius thinketh) may be, because men's minds are prone to love & esteeme them, whom they percieve to exceed other mortall men in fortune, & in the use of things. For the more noble & goodlie force of: of which inclination moche men are affected, they willingly obaie and followe them, which are thus beautilfull. And a man he using the minds of the people thus affected towards him, doth undoubtedly helpe very much forward to the execution of excellent things: for the people being made thine to pass, where they be moved of their owne accord, and where

riches natural and artificial.

Of riches  
 Look mo  
 part. 3. cha  
 11. Art. 15

Because re-  
quired to  
felicitee.

3. παιδί

2



1 Sam. 10,  
verfe. 23.  
1 Sam. 16,  
verfe. 12.

they fulfill the mind of one man with an earnest love and voluntarie good will. And therefore that king, whom God first set over the Israelites; namely, Saul, was of so tall a stature, as he was higher than other of the Hebrews by the shoulder upward. And of David, whom he also commanded to be anointed king, it is written; that he was ruddie, and of an excellent beaurie. Another thing mozeouer there is, whereby men are moved to love them that be beautiful; because the beaurie of the bodie is a certaine image of the mind; which mind, since above all things we must seeke to have it honest and good, and that it cannot be differed by the eye, it remaineth that the common sort followe the forme of the bodie: after which manner if they were led, which are the lovers of our bodies, they should not be blamed. But at this date there is in all manner nothing done with moderation, but all things are wrought with uncleannes and lust.

schollie  
required to  
science.

Also unto blessednes, he requirith nobilitie; because the people obeye and reverence noble personages: for nobilitie is in that kind, out of which have proceeded manie famous and excellent men: and vertues, which shined in the ancestors, are wont to be looked for in their posteritie. I knowe indeed, that some doe thinke, that nobilitie is but rides preferred of long time in some familie; but the former opinion liketh me much better. Eustracius mozeouer addeth, that the noblenesse of a stocke is therefore available unto civill felicitie: for the people are wont to esteeme of new men, when they start up, not onelie according to their present vertues or excellent acts; but according to that which they were a little before. Therefore the former balances, while it is considered of, doth somewhat obscure the present glorie; which cometh so much the more to passe, as men be exceedingly given unto backbiting. *Verba* is a doubtful word, because it signifyeth not so much a stocke of children, as it doth their goodnes. And indeed as touching stocke of children, they which abound in them, are both grateful unto the cite, and are feared of others: grateful truly they be, because they increase the Common-wealth. Wherefore among the Romans there was a priviledge for those that had five or seven children. And a young man of the Lacedemonians would not rise up unto an ancient, who otherwise had deferred well of the Common-wealth; because (saith he) he leaveth not behind him, one that may rise and overcome his head unto me, when I shall be old. But then onlie children doe further unto felicitie, if they shall be well instructed: for otherwise they shall be rotten impostumes and cankers; as Octavius Augustus spake of his daughter and niece,

when they were unchaste. Also Tyberius sorrowed, that he did nourish in his house for the people of Rome Caligula, a most cruel knave.

22 Furthermore, how friendship doth profite men with excellent helps, to the leading of a good life, may be gathered sufficientlie by good writers, and by humane custome. But he is far more to be rejoyced, which hath all friends, than he which hath corrupt children. For sometimes it may so happen, that through an ill nature, which diligence to ever be used in education, we cannot have such children as we would: but there is no excuse, if we have ill friends; because we make a choyse of them, and they may be forsaken. Mozeouer, the losse of these (I meane of honest children and friends) Aristotle testifieth, may be a great hindrance unto blessednes; because their death cannot be without great sorrow and mourning. And although we suffer these calamities with an indifferent mind, if we be moved with the vertue of fortitude; yet are we subject thereunto not without detriment, which detriment no doubt doth not a little blemish our felicitie.

Neither doth the holie scripture dispraise the touching the commendation of outward good things; for as concerning children, they be promised of God; Thy children shall be like the olive branches. And among other blessings, this is reckoned up, that there should not be untimely births in Israel. And in manie places there is promised abundance of children to them that feare him. Which selfe-same thing we may easilie knowe as touching riches, God enricheth Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest of their friends. He granted of his owne accord riches unto Solomon, which bestowed wisdom. And he would that his people, if they behaved themselves well, should be abound in riches, that they might lend unto other nations; but not borrow of them. Nobilitie was in such estimation with the people of God, as euerie familie would haue his owne generallies, wherein they reckoned by their ancestors among the heads of the tribes of the children of Israel. And the priests, which in the time of Esdras could not do this, were removed from their place and office. *Pea*, and the Evangelists Luke and Matthew rehearsed the genealogie of Christ, least he should seeme to be of an unknowne stocke according to the flesh. Again, the apostle in the ninth chapter to the Romans described what nobilitie the Israelites were of; To whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glorie, and the lawe that was given, and the covenant, and the service of God; of whom are the fathers, of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came, which is above all things, &c.

what helps  
true friends  
being to les  
living.

Eccle. 10, 18.

Prov. 17, 16.

what the  
holie scriptures  
have to say  
touching  
outward  
good things  
Mat. 127, 4  
Genes. 22,  
verf. 17, &c.  
& 2 Sam. 3, 4

1 Kin. 3, 13.

Matth.  
Luke. 3.

Rom. 9, 4.

Leuit. 11, 18,  
19, &c.

Eccle. 10, 18.

Prov. 17, 16.

what the  
holie scriptures  
have to say  
touching  
outward  
good things  
Mat. 127, 4  
Genes. 22,  
verf. 17, &c.  
& 2 Sam. 3, 4

1 Kin. 3, 13.

Mat. 19, 29.

Matth.  
Luke. 3.

Rom. 9, 4.

Esaie. 56, 4.

A beaurie of the bodie I shewed before, was graunted unto those two kings Saul and David. I shewed also that the same was requisite in the priests, as none that was lame, blind, crooke-backed, or blemished with any notable deformitie, might execute the ronne of high priest. Mozeouer, that friendship might increase among the Hebrews, God promised speciallie by his lawes; all which, if they be narrowly considered, doe ferue verie much for the joining of men together. Wherefore these things, which Aristotle hath rehearsed, must not be reieced; yet as touching felicitie, there must be no more ascribed to them than is met. It is said indeed in the booke of Ecclesiastes, the tenth chapter, that Vnto monie all things are obedient. But that sentence is rehearsed as a common saying of the people, not as a true saying, but that thereby manie error might be reposed. *Pea* rather, the scriptures elsewhere doe teach, namely, in the 17. chapter of the *Proverbs*; What do riches profit a soule, seeing he cannot haue wisdom for himselfe? These things then beinge some-what narrowlie and diligentlie considered, we saie that these gifts of God are not to be contented, seeing they further verie much to the good and right execution of manie civill duties belonging to blessednes; but we must not relie altogether vpon them: yea rather, if at any time we want these good things, the true and perfect felicitie, which we seeke for, is not for this cause taken abate. And if we, for the name of Christ, and confession of his faith, be requyred of these things; so far is it off, that true blessednes is blemished, as it is rather made a great deale the more excellent.

First that pueritie is no let vnto us, as appeareth, seeing not the least part of the saints was collected of yong men. And Christ commanded the yong man, that he should sell that which he had, and give it to the poore; whome nevertheless he would without all doubt haue made happy, which in verie deed could not haue bin done (if pueritie had bin a hindrance unto felicitie.) *Pea*, and Ansthenes and Crates the Theban, that they might in their philosophy be made the more happy, cast from them their monie and treasure. And the Lord promised a hundred fold, and eternall life to them, which for his sake should lose all things which are of this kind. What shall we saie as touching nobilitie? Look to your calling (saith Paule) not manie wife, not manie mightie, nor manie noble are called, &c. Also, the lacke of children is no let, for in the 36. chapter of Esaie, the Canaanites are said to haue the better place in the house of God, not in respect they be Canaanites, or leade a single life; but in as much as they shall more diligentlie keepe the commande

ments of God than other men. In like manner, if friendships faile, they exclude not men from true felicitie; seeing it cometh to passe sometimes, that for the name of Christ, the goodie are become hated of all men, which neuertheless is not against Aristotle, seeing he wryteth but of a politike or civill blessednes.

### Of contemplation, and what Felicitie is therein.

23 Eustracius in expounding of Aristotle, (who in the tenth booke of his *Ethicks* affirmeth contemplation to be the highest perfection of our felicitie) saith, that there be some which are not men exercised in civill and politike administration, but altogether given to contemplation, and these separate themselves from domesticall and civill cares, and do live from companies and societie; yea, and they studie all that they can, to be seuered even from their owne flesh, whereof it comes to passe, that to the obtaining of felicitie, there needeth not (as Aristotle would) the goods of the mind, for the teaching, counselling, and ruling of others; nor the goods of the bodie, for defending of their countrey; nor yet the goods of fortune, for; relieving, succouring, and helping of the poore; and that onlie it is enough to aplye the mind to understanding and contemplation. And he saith, that these men haue a hard felicitie, because they be as it were at war with nature, not seeking in deed to destroye the bodie or flesh; but prouide this, that those things may be no impediment to their contemplation. And therefore, since this is a more private life, it needeth not manie things. But he saith, that Aristotle spake not of these men, which he testifieth by the saith, that *Verba* nature a man is civill; and they which are of this sort, unless they minister to their elders and parents those things which be necessarie, and also unto their posteritie, kinne, friends, and citizens, they haue a mained and imperfect felicitie, although they be furnished with manie good things. And the diminishing of their felicitie is either more or lesse, according as they shall more or lesse want those good things which we haue recited. It belongeth therefore vnto a happy man, to haue a care of all those things, which I haue recited; which if he may commondeable do, he hath enough, and may be content; otherwise he shall not be contented happy.

These things I thought good to rehearse out of the doctrine of Eustracius; to whose opinion I subscribe not. For; in that he will haue any man to live alone, that he should give himselfe onlie to contemplation, and be hidden from the companie of other men, forsaking the duties of



charitic, and other vertues toward them, is both against philophie and diuinitie. For the philosphers cry out generallie, that men are not borne to themselves; and declare that it is mans nature to helpe others, and in like manner to be helpe of others. Moreover, there wants no testimonies of the holie scriptures, whereby such a kind of life is condemned. Paule saith; that None ought to seeke their owne, but that all should be done to the edification of our neighbours. And God commanded in the lawe, that the parents should be honored; which precept in verie deed commandeth the maintenance of them. And the parents are commanded, that they should diligentlie and earnestlie instruct their children. Neither are there lawes wanting of worldehoor, as defending and preferring of friends, and of the poore. And also Paule vnto Timothie saith; He that hath cast away the care of his owne, and despised this owne houldhold, hath deniecial his faith, & is worse than an infidel. Therefore it is not lawfull for anie man to chafe to himselfe to solitarie a life, as he will let apart the care of other men. True indeed it is, that Aristotle treacherly feuerallie of ciuill life, and function, & also of life contemplatiue; but yet not for this purpose, that any man should vnto aduice himselfe to one of these liues: but to the intent, that whosoever aspirith to felicitie, may knowe, that he is not able to obtaine the same, except in an excellent sort he be partaker of both these estates of life.

Two properties doubtlesse there be of our nature; for nature it selfe hath made vs both men of vnderstanding and ciuill. Wherefore in our actions we must answer to both conditions; namely, that when they happen vnto be in our actions, we may execute them by our owne, and according to vertue. Again, that when a nic lecture serueth vs, or that by anie chance we are let from doing of things, then we to be occupied with great pleasure in the contemplation of diuine and humane things; that so these actions, which in kind seeme to be diuers, may helpe one another. For if a man be exercised in mozell and ciuill vertues, in gouerning of a familie & common-weale, to the intent he may haue the more readie and quiet mind in the helping and succoring of his friends, it so comes to passe, that he returneth the more apt to contemplation. And on the other side, when anie man, by reason of his lecture, shall be in earnest contemplation of diuine and humane things, he is afterward thought to be much the readier to do other affairs. Thus we knowe did Tullie, Cato, Pompeus, Lucillus, and such like singular men among the Ethniks. And we read in the holie scriptures, that Christ our saviour did sometimes withdraw himselfe vnto the mount

taines, and woods, that he might praye and meditate of diuine things; but within awhile he returned to the people, and was all manner of waies a helpe vnto mankind. The verie same thing did Iohn Baptiste, Elias, and other the prophets. And, and the same Iesus our Lord first taught his apostles in the wilderness; afterward he sent them out into Iudaea, to preach & to heale them that were sicke. So then let there be two kinds of life, but yet not in such sort, that anie man should perpetuallie be addicted to anie one of them.

*That vertue is not the chiefeft good; and wherein the same agreeth with it.*

24 Among some of the philosphers vertue was taken to be the chiefeft good, which Aristotle refellect on this wise; It behooueth that the chiefeft good be perfect. But vertue is not perfect. Therefore it must not be counted the chiefeft good. The maior proposition appereth; for if it be not a perfect chiefeft good, our desire reflect not therein, but will desire moreover some other chiefeft good. The minor proposition; namely, that vertue is not perfect, is proued, because it is an habit, that is, a power not in act; & it may oftentimes be in the subiect without the action thereof, as a thing that manie waies may be stopped; as by disease, & by taking auaire of the recreation, it matter be wanting, and when afflictions, sickness, and misfortunes do disquiet vs. This opinion, which placeth the chiefeft good in vertue it selfe, is of all other that we haue heretofore counted most nere vnto truth, and therefore it hath had great and graue patrones. But holo it betwixt nere vnto the truth, herby we easilie gather; that there is none more certaine nor surer preparation vnto felicitie than vertue; from the habit of vertue proceedeth that action, which is affirmed by Aristotle to be verie felicitie: vertue therefore is the nextest power of facultie vnto felicitie. But whie the same cannot be the chiefeft good, & felicitie it selfe, it is cause enough, that it is referred vnto a further end. For to what purpose do we procure vnto our selues the habitus of vertues, but that we may the more easilie and readie do well? Wherefore, since that vertue is directed vnto action, action shall be better and more to be desired than it.

I am not ignorant, that they which are wont to hold with the Stoicks, haue haue accustomed to obiect against the Peripatetikes, saying that they, while they appoint vertue to be the chiefeft good, do not vnderstand it, as it is in the power, and lieth without act; but do take the same as it is joined with his action: & so laugh Aristotle to scorn, which obieced not against them, but

That vertue is not the chiefeft good.

Why vertue is not the chiefeft good.

An obiection on of the Stoicks.

an idle vertue, and leuered from right action. This answer at the first sight seemes vnto come to be unill, and likelie to be true; but if the thing be more narrowly considered, and that we shall more diligentlie looke into the same, it is rather a swift, than a true dissolving of the argument; because whether they will or no, action, and vertue, from whence it proceedeth, are distinguished (one from another); for they be contained in diuise Diuicements, and are manie times leuered one from another. For vertue, when it is an habit, belongeth vnto qualitie; but the act which it worketh, is comprehended vnder the predicament of action. But how they be leuered one from another, I thinke no man that diligentlie considereth the matter, is ignorant; for he which is indued with knowledge of wisdom, doth neither contemplate alwaies, nor yet is alwaies occupied about those things which he knoweth. Whereupon it cometh to passe, that they which comprehend two for one, and distinguisheth them not, do easilie swaure from the marke, whereunto they should haue an aine; and in stead of an absolute and perfect doctrine, do folloiw that which is confused and not plaine. This Aristotle perceiving distinguished and leuered one from another, and when he saith that one of them is referred to the other, he denieth that that which tendeth to another end can be the chiefeft; which reason of his opinion is so euident, as I thinke nothing can be more manifest than the same. But they which cannot confute the reason, do returne the argument vpon Aristotle himselfe, who denieth that felicitie is therefore placed in vertue, because vertue may easilie a manie waies be hindered.

Another objection.

If this argument (saie they) like the so well, neither canst thou indeed defend the most perfect action to be the chiefeft good; because the same also is as manie waies subiect to impediments, as thou dost obiect against vertue. For he which sleepeth doth not contemplate; neither can he do the same, which is vered with greuous toyments; and he cannot endure any perils, which lieth in quiet & peaceable common-weales. Wherefore thou that saiest that vertue, for these causes, is not the chiefeft good; thou shalt also saie, that the most perfect action must not be accounted for felicitie. A shew indeed of truth this hath, which is obieced, but it maketh no matter at all; because the Peripatetikes will easilie grant, that the same most perfect action, which they saie is felicitie, is not continued so as it cannot be broken off, but so long as it is, they would not grant it to be no felicitie, and much lesse will they yield that the same is referred to a better end. Both which things cannot be said of the habit which is vertue. For the same, as it is in a man that sleepeth, or is

vered with most painful graues, can neither be called felicitie, nor yet can make him blessed in whose mind it is: for the habit may remaine, when the action is taken away; but an action being let from breaking forth, neither is it, nor yet remaineth it. And besides this, an habit, while it yet remaineth hindered, who saith not that it is still referred vnto action, when as it inclinet him to move and desire thereof? Moreover, that should be accounted our felicitie, which appereth most nere vnto the diuine felicitie; but God, seeing he is not onelie perfect, but euen perfection it selfe, hath felicitie in act, not in power; in verie deed, not in habit; therefore our felicitie also shall be an action; which notwithstanding is requisite to be lesse than the blessedness of God, which therefore happeneth, because his act cannot faile him, but ours is verie oftentimes broken off.

After these things, which he haue now spoken, must their cawill also be contented, which laugh at the argument, brought as touching the impediments, whereby the action of vertue is expellid, that it cannot be effectuall. The feigne (saie they) that the woeke of vertues pertaineth to the bodie; but it is not so: because the whole action of vertue is in the soule, and therein it standeth full and whole: the gods of the bodie, or instruments of fortune belong nothing thereto. And without doubt, a poore man may be liberal, by willing to giue vnto them to whom he thinketh meet to be giuen. Again, in the modest toyments, and in the verie flames themselves, feare doth shine the more, and becometh more glorious. According to which opinion Seneca vnto Lucillus, and among others saith; Vertue hath alio place in the bed: euer come thou thy sickness vnto a valiant courage, because, if others that be present, shall perceive thee to be courageous, great, and bright in toyments, they will wonder at the brightnes of thy vertue; and thou, whilest thou art to bed, shalt rightlie instruct them, and through vertue shalt not onelie helpe thy selfe verie much, but them also. That manner of things these be, now will we more narrowly consider. They declare, that the action of vertue is whole, full, and perfect in the mind: that we denie. For if we shall declare the nature of an habit, the same is nothing else, than a qualitie brought in by long exercise, by the benefit whereof the powers of the mind and bodie are made more readie and fit to occupie themselves. Neither doth vertue in the mind alone expellie his action. They which saie that vertue doth beare rule in eating, drinking, fleshe desire, and such like; those also will saie, that the action of that vertue is expellid in the bodie al

Another objection, that the action of vertue is onelie in the mind.

so, not in the soule onlie. So it may be lawfull to saie, as touching fortitude, liberallitie, and manie other vertues; to theu that the bodie and gods of fortune were not giuen by God vnto mankind. Doubtles, these men perhaps peruse themselves, that the nature of man is fulfilled, and made perfect in the soule onlie: which how far it is from the truth, your felices without me may perceive.

A poe man say they may be liberrall, while he desirith to giue vnto them, to whom he thinketh it meet to be giuen. But I would faine learne of these Stoicks, whether they that be indued with vertue, and being hindered, do desire to worke by it; for what cause they desire this? Do they it not for blessednes sake? This if they shall denie, they will declare themselves to be without in desiring of those things which they refer not vnto the chiefe god. But if they will grant, that they wish those works for felicitie sake, it shall be lawfull to saie that felicitie is perfectest gotten, not in vertue, but in action. I will callie grant, that vertue shined, and is more glorious in the midst of flames, and in most cruel toiments; and him that with a valiant courage suffereth these things, I will extoll with praises among god and wise men; but yet so, as I will denie him, in the meane time, to inioie whole and perfect felicitie. He shall verie well by his example instruct and teach others, yet shall he not perfectie and all manner of toades be blessed. These things be to vertie true, as euen they, which professe the Stoicall discipline, must whether they will or no peele vnto this opinion. For Cicero in his first booke of Tulliane questions, at the beginning saith; If vertue be not of such strength, that it can defend it selfe, I feare we least we are not so much to leane to the hope of a blessed life, vpon confidence of vertue, as it may seme that we haue more need to praise for it. Mercie I my selfe, when I consider those chances, wherein fortune hath exceedingly exercised me, I begin to mistrust this opinion, and otherwises also find in great care of mans vncertaines and frailtie. For I feare least that when nature gaue vnto vs weakie bodies, and such then iointed vncurable diseases, and intolerable greifs; it also gaue mindes agreeable to the greifs of the bodies, and leuerallie intangled with the vberations and troubles therof. But herein I reforme my selfe, that I iudge of the strength of vertue according to other mens miseries, and peradventure according to mine owne, not according to vertie it selfe, yet. Who be doubted, and in a manner became of this opinion, he plainlie expelld in these wordes: and it machly yow matter, that he saith he reforme himselfe, because that is vncertaine; and, he adde this word Peradventure, which is a token of

doubting.

Answer, what is so certaine, as that Cicero himselfe in his fourth booke *De finibus* dilpited against Cato, who had before in the third booke extolled the opinion of Zeno and the Stoicks to the heauens? Hea and the Stoicks as in vertue alone they boasted, that they were blessed, yet did they not repose themselves in that alone; but called the powers of the bodie, the purenes of the senses, dignities, riches and such like *exornamenta*; that is, things comming naturallie without any other beginning: which Cicero calleth things produced, promoted, principall, aduanced above other. With the sense of which wordes if we would vize the Stoicks, we shall say, that they attribute more vnto this kind of things, than the Peripateticks; as they which do name those things principall, and above others; whereas the Peripateticks call them indeed good things, but yet of the lowest degree, and which are not of much account, being compared with iust and honest things; and therefore, as the time serues, to be contemned, and not much to be desired. I knowe indeed that the Stoicks do call these things principall and chiefe, while they be compared with their contraries; and not when they be compared with vertues; but yet by these their reus and made wordes they attribute verie much to this order of things, when they call these things, Commodities, things to be perzeered, of chiefe regard; and their contraries *extremopulchra*: as you should saie Discommodities, and things reieced. Wherefore, though the Stoicks would contend with the Peripateticks in talke, yet in reason and in the thing it selfe they agree with them. He Stoicks delight in a magnificall kind of speech, and onlie in wordes bring in an vnsensiblenes of passion, which when they come afterward to the matter, all men feele by experience, that it is quite differing from our senses, and from our tried customes, and also verie far from the strength of our humane nature.

25 And I do not thinke, that I should lightly passe over those things, which Cicero a little before, out of the first booke of Tulliane questions; If (saith Cicero) vertue had not helpe inough in it selfe, that then we must make our prayers for the same. What is this we heare? As though if vertue were sufficient in it selfe, it needs nothing then to be wished for, or to be desired of God; as if we had all things confiding in our owne felices: Shall Tullie on this wise, in making more of vertue than is requisite, take a true godlines, which is the chiefe vertue of all others, by abolishing the innuocatio of Gods? Tullie euen thus did the Stoicks thinke. For Seneca writeth, that Iupiter can do more than a god man. Wherefore the Stoicks vied no lesse magnificall kind of speech, than their doctrine on

That the Stoicks refused not themselves in vertue alone.

That the Stoicks opinion is far from religi

was altogether differing from religion. Which I do not therefore saie, as though I endeuored to pronounce Aristotles opinion to be goodie and religious; but to giue warning, that the Stoicks are not so to be estimed, as though in praising of their vertues, they vied verie nere (as some thinke) vnto the chistian doctrine. Yet will I beare more in this behalfe with the Stoicks, than with the Epicures; because they speake in a manner aluimes that which is agreeable to their owne opinion, whereas the Epicures manie times affirme things not agreeable to their owne rules. Because Epicurus accometh grace for the chiefeit cull, he also placeth pleasure of the bodie, or vaines of forgiue to be the chiefeit god. If he be tomentred, or descend vnto Phalaris bull, and tell me how fure this is, as he boasteth that his wife man will faie, without doubt he shall speake most inconstantie, and such things as no manner of waie accord in themselves.

Let these wordes to glorious and worthie of memorie be left vnto the Stoicks, which to boast of their vertues, as they thinke that a wise man indued with them, shall neuer be without hapines. Further can they persuade their mind, that seeing felicitie doth euermore accompanie vertues, it will then forsake them, and that it will stie vpon the threshold, wherein they enter into the prison; as though it may not be lawfull for it to enter into a forgiuefull place, nor (as said Theophrastus) to ascend vpon the rocke or whelke of torment. Theophrastus, no doubt, was far wiser than Epicurus. For he which saue, that by the Peripateticks doctrine, was required vnto ciuill felicitie, whereof we now intrate, both the gods of the bodie, and the gods external; the verie same man vnderstand, how vnsensible it was, that euen the wisest man should be blessed in toiments; miserie. But Epicurus, who was delighted with such a chiefe god, as we haue now declared, will speake things neither meete nor agreeable to his purpose, while he speaketh so magnificallie, and vbleth such glorious sentences. But yet this is no maruail; for he contemned Logike, which is the right meanes of disputing; but of this thing we haue spoken enough.

What the chiefe scriptures teach hereof.

Phil. 3, 12.

Phil. 1, 1.

26 As we now see what the bible scriptures saie hereunto: trulle they make no mention of vertues, when they shew the felicitie of man. In the psalme, wherein is rehearsed the opinion of the common sort, which thought him to be happy that hath abundance, and who is repleished with infinite store of the goods of this world; we are otherwise persuaded by the voice of God. For it is added; Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord. Here an act is shewed, Phil. 1, 1. not a power; Blessed is the man that searcheth the

Lord; blessed is the man that walketh in the lawe of the Lord. Further, that euen the good habits of the mind may be sometime quite vnsupportable, hereby it is euident; that Paule warneth vs to take heed, that we receive not the grace of God in baine. And Paule auerith Timothy, To stir vp the gifts of God, which were in him, by laieing on of hands by authority of the elderhip. Seeing then the gifts of the spirit, which are more excellent than morall vertues, are referred vnto amon, that others may be holpen and instructed, (otherwise we should not become the better for them) this must be iudged much truer, and more certaine as touching humane vertues. Where it is said of Aristotles, that Calanities and miseries do let, that men cannot be counted happy; if this should be considered by it selfe, as it is said vnto ane distinction, it agreeth not with the bible scriptures. For they which suffer for Christ, are in great penurie, and are troubled with graciuous punishments; yet do they enioie that blessednes, which in this life is possible to be attained vnto; because their finnes are not imputed vnto them, and their soule and bodie are then exceedinglie reuenced toward the attaining of eternall life. Doubtles, seeing the felicitie of this life is not yet full, but begun; therefore we will grant it, that the saints, which be so afflicted, are not in perfect and absolute blessednes; seeing they looke shortlie to haue the same, wherein they shall feele none of these miseries. For the opaciens of God late; God shall wipe awaie all teares from the eies of his faillt. Apoc. 1, 4. neither shall there be mourning nor lamentation anie more: for these former things are parded awaie. Wherefore we saie with Aristotles, that betwene perfect and full felicitie, and miseries and calamities there is no agrement, which neuertheless disagreeeth not with that felicitie, which we haue here begun.

And Paule saue the displeasures of this life to be so repugnant vnto perfect blessednes, and that they could not abide together, as he said vnto the Corinthians; If the dead rise not againe, we are more vnhappie than all men. And ife Christ vponounced them blessed, which moigne, and which suffer persecution for his name; that must not so be vnderstand, as though we should be blessed, because we weepe, and sigh, and suffer persecution; but because we wait for better things hereafter, and are saued by hope. Neither do I denie, but that in the midst of the troubles of the flesh, God will giue marvellous comforts to them that be his: which I persuade my selfe paxeth all the delights of ciuill hapines. Yet cometh it not to passe thereby, that perfect felicitie is iointed with these calamities. After this manner did Paule comfort the soldiers of

where the calamities do hinder men from hapines.

Phil. 1, 1.

Eccie. 1, 8.

1 Cor. 13, 12.

ver. 13, & 19.

Math. 6, 4.

ver. 4, & 10.

Rom. 8. 18.

of Christ; The things (saith he) which we suffer in this life, are not equal and of like value with those things, which at length shall be revealed in vs, when we reigne together with Christ. But Aristotle was constrained to iudge as he said, because he was ignorant of the blessednes to come, and sawe that the cruell hapines, which he treated of, was obscured and diminished by aduersities and afflictions. And vnto him were binholuene those heauenlic comforts, which God, about the power of nature, bringeth to the confessions of the truth, even in the berie toments. Wherefore, if as touching this matter, the Stoicks seeme somewhat to disagree from vs, this they did vnadvisedly; seeing they al knew nothing of the life to come, neither had they cure triall of the consolations of God in the midst of miseries and death.

### Of the causes of Felicitie.

27 Now that we haue largelic enough disputed as touching the nature of felicitie, we will inquire of the cause therof. Aristotle reckoneth by five causes, which may be gathered into two; for either they be inward, or outward. They are reckoned inward, because discipline, custome, and exercise do proceed from vs. But the outward causes are thought to be God and fortune. Wherevnto custome and exercise this is the difference, that custome is referred vnto vertues, which are byed by often and continuall actions. But exercises and labours are to be applied to a sure obtaining and keeping of riches, honour, and health; in which things nature (as it hath but said) haue placed felicitie. And first as touching discipline, it belongeth vnto them, which haue thought that vertues are learned by applying of doctrines. Wherefore; if there be need of discipline, it must be learned; if of custome, we must not desist from honest actions; if it be ascribed to exercise, there must of necessity be no labour spared; if it be expressed of God, he must be praised vnto; but if of fortune, since we are able to do nothing concerning it, all must wholly be conquered vnto the same. The Stoicks, and especially Epictetus, distinguish all things which are found either to be in vs, or not to be within vs. Iy those things that are in vs, they vnderstand the things which we can rule by our counsel, and obtaine by our strength; and those things that are said to be not within vs, are the same that we haue not in our power; as no builtie health and riches.

Whether God be the cause of felicitie, Aristotle in his first booke of his Ethics speaketh verie ambiguouslie, & bringeth a conditional proposition, but absolues not the argument. If

anie gift (saith he) be of God, felicitie shall be given of him. And he sheweth a reason of the conclusion, because the same hath the charest place among all humane things. But to the making vp of the argument, there may be added a double minor proposition: that the felicitie of the goodie, and ours is all one; that manie things are given vnto men by God, therefore must felicitie be expected from him. And that manie things are given vnto men by God, we doubt nothing at all, who do also extoll his providence in euery thing: and since from him, as from the chiefe god, and fountaine of goodnes, is deriued whatsoeuer is good, we do not once imagine, that this doth flow without his pleasure, will, and election. But there be some, and those indeed Peripateticks, which do seeme far otherwise of the providence of God; for they thinke that his providence, as touching particular things, stretcheth not lower than the moone; because lo far, all things are done constantlie, and in singular order. But, as touching the things which are beneath the moone, they make providence to be onlie of generall things, not of particular. Wherefore they should take this for the minor proposition; But no gifts are distributed by God vnto men, neither therefore is felicitie given. And they saie, that gifts are not given by God vnto men, not because they acknowledge him not to be the first efficient cause, from whence all good things do arise; but they take the word of giuing of bestowing from election, will, and free choice. The good things, which we haue, and felicitie, they will grant do depend of God, and of the motion of the heauen, and that they cannot otherwise be had; but they thinke that those not given by him, by a certaine distribution which he considereth of, or which he giueth by a free disposition. For they thinke that God beaeth necessitie, and by a natural impulsion.

Wherefore we must note, that Aristotle in the place aboue mentioned, neither affirmeth nor denieth that felicitie is given of God. He affirmeth it not, because he saith, that this worke belongeth to another treatise; namely, to the metaphisicks, or treatise of supernaturall things, wherein is treated of the providence of God, without which doctrine, this question can not be defined. Neither yet doth he denie felicitie to be given of God, least he should fall into an absurditie. For it seemes to be contrarie to reason, that the rest of the gifts should be given by God, and felicitie not to be given by him. Wherefore he teacheth it vnder a condition, namely, If other things be had from God, felicitie likewise doth proceed from him: but he affirmeth nothing at all. But I see not how little he putteth over this treatise to another place; for

The opinion of the Peripateticks as touching providence.

for if this definition doe depend of providence, might he not in the meane time haue bestowed so much of his metaphisicall treatise, as should haue bene sufficient for the explaining of his mind: This he did as touching the soule, and took from his treatise of naturall things so much as serued vnto morall doctrine, and saith, that The soule as we shall shewlie see, hath diuers parts. So likewise might he here haue written of this, although he had not here purposefully passed it, but taken it from some other treatise; that God by his providence both giue manie gifts vnto men; than the which gifts liuing felicitie is far more excellent, it is met that the same also should belone vnto it. Wholbeit, dissembling this, he passed it over, and saith it belongeth to an other treatise. But I beseech you, what more convenient place had there bene, seeing in that booke he was to treat of maners and vertues, the vnderstanding wherof dependeth altogether of the knowledge of felicitie: Now was it time to affirme therof simply, that he might no lesse haue expected the same of God, than other gifts. Now then, when he speaketh on this wise, he seemeth to shunne the hatred of vngodlines, but deserues not praise for a plaine and sincere confession. If he had ment well and honestly, he should not haue bled these ambiguities. But what should he haue done & he could not by philosophy know any thing of the will of God towards men; for, whatsoeuer we knowe thereof, we are all whollic beholding for it vnto the holie scriptures, and especially to the gospell.

28 When Aristotle had after a sort denied, that felicitie cometh from God, in that he would not confesse it; his neuertheless he granteth, that it is a thing most diuine, that is, most perfect, which also God himselfe. For he, although not as men be, yet after a certaine manner of his owne, is blessed. Here Eustathius added of his owne, that God doth giue felicitie, but not vnto other the meanes which we haue rehearsed. I meane learning, custome and exercise. And vndoubtedly, there be certaine things giuen vnto vs by God, without anie labour or inducement of vs. For when did euer anie man labour that he might be borne witlike, noble, or of a sound bodie, or of a perfect complexion? All these no man. As for other things, God so giueth them, as we should attaine vnto them by certaine meanes. Wholbeit this must be diligent considered, that if we will thinke well and godlie of the matter, even the berie meanes are giuen vnto vs by God himselfe: for no man shall be moued to receive sound bodie, nor to take in hand a god custome nor a profitable exercise, vnto he be stirred vp by God. If felicitie haue those three things, for causes and certaine principles, it may saie be common vnto

How God doth giue some things without a meane and some by meanes.

That felicitie is common vnto manie.

manie; except those which haue not their senses perfect, which be feeble, and borne lame, and for that cause cannot attaine vnto felicitie. As for there be some, which be borne soles, and of an ill temperature of the bodie; and therefore they which be deafe, dumbe, or which be euertice too big great griefes & weakenes, cannot learne good acts and literature, neither are they fit for exercises; no yet to procure vnto themselves good manners. And doctrine is not admitted for morall vertues sake; but because of the faculties & sciences which be contemplatiue, in which things for the most part felicitie doth consist. And because it is said, that felicitie is common vnto manie hearts; readers be encouraged to thinke, that if they fall from it, it must be impu- to to their own defect which would not learne and accustom themselves to good actions, and painfull exercises.

From felicitie he in like manner crenped children; because they, in respect of their age, which in them is verie young and tender, cannot execute that action to all intents and purposes. But the reason which he maketh, why they can not be blessed, lett us examine it as it is produced by Aristotle: There is need, sayth he, vnto felicitie, both vertue, and a perfect life. Touching life, there is no controuersie; because as one swallowe maketh not the spring time, so one day maketh not a man happy. Wherefore, if one should become happy, it is requisite that his age be longethened, and his time produced. There is also required a perfect vertue; for, vnto he it shall take depe rote, it will some day awake, as ha- uing small fastening. Wherefore, Aristotle will that a happy man should be in such a state, as he cannot easilie be remoued therefrom; vber vnto all men, that a full age and perfect vertue is requisite. This opinion pleased the Pelagians, which placed righteousness, and the kingdom of heauen in the power of men. Also it pleased the scholmen; for as the Pelagians denio grace, & said that nature doth suffice; so the others likewise affirming grace in bare nature, bare in berie dard quite taken it away, as they which haue made the same common and open to all men, as though it were in euery man, either to refuse it, or to put it from him. And when they be asked who doth giue grace to them, which accept it, in such sort as they both desire it, and receive it, what it is offered to them; they doe vnto free will: and of all these is Pighius the stander-beare.

Wherefore, if either thou aske of Aristotle, or of them: Since felicitie is thus common, as ye say, how come it to passe, that so few obtaine the same? Because few (saie they) will learne, few will labour, few will accustom themselves to honest and good exercises. But we will here note

Children are crenped by their infirmities.

As the difference betwixt custome and exercise.

Whether felicitie be of God.

These  
things  
Common  
to felicitie.

I plainly  
declare  
what for-  
tune is.

1. Cor. 8, 1.

note a generall and a certaine proposition: 1. To cuerie nature of kind there is a purposed end, the which all that be comprehended in it may attaine. And felicitie, that which Aristotle answere, as touching them that have not their perfect felicie, he lame, and feeble, why they cannot be partakers of felicitie; namely, because of their naturall defect; that proposition may be understood, when the powers that be perfect: so do we answer, that men cannot now by themselves be perfect, because nature was corrupted euen from the beginning, and that we have not the powers as well of the mind, as of the bodie perfect. So that now, when we heare these things, let vs thinke that we heare Aristotle, not Paule, or Christ. Where haue we these things that are spoken of felicitie: It is a diuine thing, it may be obtained by the three principall things, which he haue already rehearsed, and it is common in a manner to all men.

29 There remaineth fortune, which Aristotle remoueth from the causes of felicitie; because it is thought unworthy that it should be admitted to open to excellent a gift vnto men. But before I shew the reason brought by Aristotle, I will vndercoue to declare what fortune is. As it is written in the second booke of naturall philosophy: It is an accidentall cause, and then it cometh in place, when any thing is ioined to any man, which is author of the effect following: vnto the producing of which effect, that which is ioined thereunto, worketh nothing, but onlie giueth sometimes an occasion; and the effect may well come to passe without it. This is made plaine by a similitude: If a man, by reason of an ague, become temperate, his will shall be that he fell out by fortune: for temperance cometh of the will as of his owne proper cause, which will by itselfe the affection of lust. The ague might haue bin the occasion wherby this came to passe, but the cause it could not be. And by cause these things, to wit, the will of temperate gouernment, and the ague, made by fortune in one and the same man; therefore doth temperance spring by fortune from the ague. But it appeareth plainlie enough, that the reason is not by it selfe the cause of the temperance; otherwise, all that be greued with a feauer, would become temperate. According to this manner of speaking must the sentence of

Paule be examined and vnderstood; Knowledge puffeth vp. Pride, which immediatly preferreth our owne things aboue other mens, proceedeth from the will; hereby we become haughty and puffed vp. And because knowledge giueth an occasion vnto some that this is done, therefore knowledge is said to puffe vp, but yet by fortune; because in one selfe man, are ioined together by chance these two things, to wit, the desire of passing and exceeding others, and also some knowledge of things. And as these things be ioined together at all adventures; so doth vaine puffing proceed by fortune from knowledge. Also it banneth, that when into that effect, which we desire by it selfe, need by our owne aduise, another effect by chance is ioined therewith; then the same cometh of fortune, not purpose, whereas we in verie deed sought for another thing. As otherwise it happeneth vnto them that be diggers, that they in labouring do finde treasure, when as they onlie intended the tinning of their vines and trees: this I saie happeneth by fortune, when as the digger sought for another matter: neither is the digging the proper and true cause of finding out the treasure; for if a man should affirme this, he must of necessitie auaunt, that all diggers do finde treasures. And moreover, that all the effects of fortune do verie felosome come to passe, and that contrariwise that felicity out in the true and proper causes, which verie felosome are hindered from bringing forth their effects. Which things being to, it appeareth, and that manifestlie, that fortune is repugnant to reason and counsell. Wherefore it is not meete to attribute vnto it, that it bringeth forth felicitie. And to Aristotle concludeth, that being felicitie is better deriued from the causes before mentioned, than from fortune, it is mete that we should determine it to be, because it ought to be in the best manner that it can.

One reason, wherby Aristotle proueth fortune to be no cause of felicitie is this; The chiefest god ought not to be referred vnto a vile and abiect cause; Felicitie is the chiefest god, & fortune is but vile among the causes; Wherefore blessedness ought not to be reduced vnto fortune, being a cause lesse worthy than others. And hereof dependeth the force of this argument; for although a noble cause doth otherwise bring forth a vile effect (as we knowe that the same doth not onelie breed a man, but also frogs, fleas, and flies) yet excellent effects cannot proceed but of noble causes. Where we see, that by euident and most manifest words Aristotle excludeth fortune, as he that would not number the same among the causes of felicitie, and taketh propositions as well out of his booke of naturall philosophy, as also out of his metaphisicks: the verie which certeinly he might haue done, in affirming God to be the cause of mans blessedness. So that he excludeth from this number both God and fortune: God as our owne worship and too high; but fortune, as an unworthy and a more vile cause. For it is a most inconstant thing, and hath no substantiall ground: whiche neuertheless is so excluded, as it can do nothing about the nature and substance

That for-  
tune is not  
the cause  
of felicitie.

substance of felicitie; and yet vnderstande it can do somewhat about those good things which helpe vnto felicitie, & be the instruments thereof. But if it be of power, concerning riches, and honours, and such like, which (as it hath bene said) do not a little further vnto felicitie; why do they denie them to be the cause thereof? We grant indeed, that these things do accomplish, and do serue vnto felicitie, and do such service, as it may not be without them; but we denie that it doth properlie cause the same. For it is so farre not, that as the lacke of these things may hinder blessedness; so if they be present, they can performe and bring the same to passe. For thou shalt fee manye men that be noble, rich, strong, and in honours, who neuertheless be troubled, thou wilt not call hapie. Which aduerbie should not come to passe, if these things were by themselves causes of hapiness. But if these kinds of good things be taken auaile from honest and wise men, they suffer their not to be hapie, although (as it hath bene said) those things themselves are not the causes of blessedness. But if thou demand, whether the good things of the bodie do also come from fortune: I may easily denie it; because fortune is affirmed to be one of those causes, which rare and felosome comes in action: for felicitie within a hundred yeere it happeneth, that a digger of vine trees, or a ploughman chance vpon a treasure. But it is verie often giuen vnto men euen fro their birth, to haue a good constitution of their bodie, & haue giuen them sound members, and sufficient strength to accomplish their actions.

30 Another argument is alleged, which is much stronger, and that is taken from the definition of blessedness. And the first is; because felicitie is an action, and that no final action of the mind, it ought not to be expected of fortune: for the nature of minds and of vertues is otherwise, than it is of fortune. But he saith not absolute, that blessedness is an action of the mind; but he added, that it is a certein kind of action, that is to wit, a most absolute and most perfect action; because it proceedeth from a most excellent vertue. Hereof dependeth the force of the argument; that neither the mind of man, nor vertue do any action by fortune. We againe confirm felicitie not to be of fortune; because he said at the beginning that the end of civil facultie is the chiefest god; but no man doubteth, but that the same facultie worketh not by chance, or by fortune. And he proueth, that therefore the chiefest end of man belongeth vnto that facultie, because therein civil vertue doth verie much labour, to the end it may make good citizens. Wherefore, if it be diligence, it cannot be said to deale by fortune. For counsell, industrie, and diligence are altogether repugnant vnto fortune;

for the civil art endeouret to make good citizens, and to be of excellent conditions, & singular qualities; first by making of good lawes, afterward by giuing of honours and rewards to the keepers and faithful observers of them; and on the other side, by punishing, and keeping vnder those which do transgreffe them.

Let vs now briefly examine these things by the holie scriptures, how much they agree with them, or how much they dissent from them. Aristotle speaketh doubtfullie of God, whether he be the author of felicitie or no. But we constantlie affirme that he is; I will (saith God) vnto Abraham; be thine exceeding great reward. And least we should suspect that this is naturallie true, but not at the will and election of God himselfe, there followeth there the making of a covenant, wherby he doth to himselfe a certein people; and he covenanted that he would be the God of those that beleue. And Moses, who verie well vnderstood, that felicitie consisteth herein, that God might be vnderstood and seene, desired this of God, when he said; Shew me thy face, which are altho be obtained. And David saith; Pleasures are at thy right hand for euermore. And Christ our sauiour, who is our God; Come (saith he) vnto me all that labour and are heauie laden, and I will refresh you. And he said speaking of his sheepe; They heare my voice, & I giue them eternal life. At this be a full persuation to cuerie one of vs, that our felicitie is to be expected and desired of God himselfe. As for the exercises, customs, and doctrines which Aristotle mentioneth, in our opinion also must not be contemned; naie rather they are commanded vs in euerie place of the scriptures: yet not so, that they should be the causes of our felicitie. For we be frecke iustified, not of works; and eternal life is granted freelic vnto vs.

But there be certein means, wherby God doth lead vs into him, and to the felicitie which we desire; and these means we haue from God himselfe. Wherefore it was vpon good cause said by Paule; It is God which giuech vnto vs both to Phila. 13, will and to performe. But as for fortune, much lesse than Aristotle did, do we commit blessedness thereto; as it is that we thinke, that all our doings are gouerned by the counsell and will of God, so as without his will, not so much as one here can fall from our head. And we thinke this of all other to be most fall, which is commonlie said of the Heathens, that Cuerie wise man frameth to himselfe his owne fortune. Aristotle denieth that children can be hapie, but we on the other side affirme them to be hapie, for Christ saith; Suffer them to come vnto me, & be Mar. 10, 14, imbraced them with great fauour, & with singular clemencie. We know indeed, that they as yet cannot be workers of excellent actions, but yet by

So the  
things a-  
gree with  
the holie  
scriptures.

Gen. 15, 1.

Exo. 33, 13.  
Mal. 1, 11.

Mat. 11, 28.

Ioh. 10, 28.

Rom. 3, 24.

Luke 11, 18.

Mar. 10, 14.

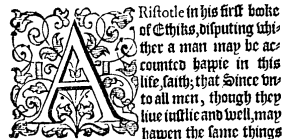
by Christ both originall sin is forgiven them, and a waite unto eternall life is opened to them. Neither do we grant unto him, that they can not be called happy, which are afflicted with great mischances; since it may be, that they which are truely blessed, do suffer grievous things for the name of Christ: neither do those hard and horrible things, which they endure, overthrow that blessedness, which we men may have while we live here. ¶ Of felicitie and blessednes, look more Part.2. Cap.16. Art.26.

The xv. Chapter.

Whether anie man can be counted happy, while he liueth in this world.

Out of the com. upon Aristotles Ethics.

Whether anie man can be called happy in this life.



ARISTOTLE in his first booke of Ethics, disputing whether a man may be accounted happy in this life, saith; that since due to all men, though they live iustlie and well, may happen the same things that hapned unto Priamus, there is left a doubt, whether anie man, while he liueth, being subiect to so manie alterations, can rightlie be called happy. And having excluded butte beasts and children, it seemeth for godd cause to be doubted, whether any man should be accounted partaker of that blessednes: which as it might seeme, is not easilie to be affirmed; because of the manifold alterations. For what sea or river is there, that can be tolled with so manie stormes, that can be disquieted with so manie trouble some toings, as is the life of man, which though it be wholie well settled; one day, or one unfortunate night both not alittle cast it vnder foote, yea oftentimes utterly bring it to naught: And not onely the bodie is changed, which after a sort would be tollerable, but also the mind, whereby we now learne precepts, and now forget them; now receiving counsells, now reject them; what within a while we deare, we overthrowe; what a little before pleased vs, is now earnestlie refused. These things Eustratus considering with himselfe, and perceiving the cause of alteration of all these things to be deriued from the bodie, saith; that Our soule, when it is ioined with it, is as if it should be let downe into a water troubled and most swiftly running, whose whirlpoules our mind is so far vnable to resist, as it is rather most vehementlie drayned by them. Whi which saieing we may perceiue the great infinitie of mans mind, where with he is so hoblen, as he is not able to rule the violent course of whollie alterations.

Aristotle indeed might haue named the variable and inconstant state, as well of the bodie, as of the mind, but he set forth that manifold vncertainty of things, which is perpetuallie sene in outward things. And that the thing which he said might be the more plaine, he shewed an example verie well knowne even vnto children, which had hard the fables of the Poets, namelie Priamus the king of Asia, who had abundance of posteritie, as he that was father of sinnie children, whereof leuenteene were boyne to him of lawfull wiues, he had great store of friends, he was famous in warraie. But the more that fortune flattered him continually all his life long, the more did the at the end of his life, take all things most miserablie from him. Wherefore iustlie and for godd cause doth Aristotle demand, whether anie man is to be counted happy while he liueth: And this may be called a question as touching the time; for he had before inquired of the causes of blessednes, and afterward he disputed of the matter, the subiect, or persons which should be capable thereof; and now he searcheth out, at what time a man may be blessed, or so called. Wherefore (saith he) shall this be attributed vnto him while he liueth, or after his death? The question hath two partes, and Aristotle treateth of either part. In the first place he dealeth with their opinion, which would haue vs to expect vntill the time of death, because that opinion is false, neither doth he followe the same; and he alwaies placeth the false things before: the true, that those being confuted, that which is true may be the better confirmed.

The opinion seemes to be proued by the authoritie of Solon, who was both one of the seven wise men of all Greece, and also a famous lawmaker: for he said, That none is blessed, or ought so to be called, before his death. His sentence was spoken by him vnto the king of the Lydians, whose name was Croesus, who outergoinglie boasting of his substance, riches, power of his kingdome, pleasures, and other good things which he enioied; And doubt not thou (saith he) count me happy: For speaking herewith, he seemed to glorie over the philosophers, who with their doctrines and sciences, in some manner of sort were in need; whereas he having no philosophie, seemed vnto himselfe to be full fraught with felicitie. Solon hearing these wordes, repayed with a wise answer the insolencie of the proud king; For man (saith he) is happy before his death, admonishing him, in a free philosophicall manner, that by ill fortune, all those things might be easilie taken from him, in such wise, that withstanding to great things, he might be cast downe to extreme calamitie. Wherein he was not deceiued;

for Croesus being overcome by Cyrus, he saue all that ever he had, quite overthrowne. This sentence of this Philosopher did Quid thus expelle;

Of enerie man we must expect, the life and fatal day: No one person happy call, till time of death be may.

Solons 2. anie exam. mo.

The saying of Solon may be vnderstood two manner of waies. The first sense is, that it should be ment of the thing it selfe, and should be signified, that no man is blessed before death, but that now at length after death men be called happy. In this respect first this sentence is reproued as absurd, and most repugnant to the definition alleged of felicitie. For if felicitie be an action, and that a perfect action, it ought not to be giuen to the dead; who, since they haue no longer being, are able to do nothing. This is a peculiar place to testifie, that Aristotle thought the soule to be mortall; for if it remaine safe after death, assuredlie it can worke, and that much more readie than being ioined with the bodie. Wherefore he should neither rightlie nor otherwise withdrawe action from it, as he doth when he bingereth forth such a reason, as cannot be firme; while it shall be granted, that they which depart do nothing. He seemeth to saie, that this would be so absurd, as the selfe same men, at one and the selfe same time, both do and not do. If they shall be counted happy, then they doe; but if they be dead, they doe not. Neither is it convenient, that they which be not happy, should be called happy. I know indeed, that some do defend Aristotle, that he speaketh in this place of ciuill felicitie, such as is not to be expected of vs in an other life. But what felicitie fouer it be, whether ciuill, or perfect, and eternall, it must needs be an action. Besides, if he had iudged rightlie, he might in our word haue signified the same, by testifying that there is an other felicitie to be looked for after this life, of which he did not prescintle speake. Again, when he sheweth a little after, that the dead as yet are subiect vnto godd and cull, he turneth all his disposition to the godd and cull things of this life. Thus did not Plato speake, in his last booke of the common weale, where he sheweth, that then death do remaine pure and happy actions for vs, when we be called aluaie from this life. And in his booke of the immortallitie of the soule, he appointeth philosophie to be a sound and sincere meditation of death; namelie, that we should alwaies seek to remoue the mind from the senses, we shall then at the last attaine, when we shall be departed from hence. But Aristotle so far as I know, neuer speake one word of the blessednes thereof.

The other sense of Solon, Aristotle sheweth;

for he saith; If we shall saie that he, which is dead, is not blessed, seeing now he hath no being, and is dead, then will some man in benefite of Solon make exception to this that we saie; That is was not Solons meaning in his sentence. For he will grant this much, that a man is happy in verie deed, euen while he liueth here; but that he ought not to be pronounced happy of vs till he be dead; because then in verie truth a man may saie for it, when he is now out of dangers & cills, where is a difference betwene *saxa*, & *dispergillat*; the first signifieth the vices, which we of our own choise and iudgement do ioine vnto vs; but the other signifieth the mischances which happen vnto vs against our wills. Vnto this exception of the selfe defenders of Solon; Aristotle appotheth himselfe, and saith; That which is affirmed is doubtfull, namelie that the dead are now out of cills and calamities; for euen the dead are yet subiect to cull things, and to godd. Neither must we thinke, that Aristotle here speaketh of purgatorie and of hell; but of the godd and unfortunate things of this life. Let vs thus set downe his argument; They which be not past the godd & cull things of this life are not yet in safetie, nor can not be called blessed; But the dead are not yet exempted from these things, but are subiect vnto them; Wherefore they be not in safetie. The maior proposition is manifest, the minor apperly by a similitude: for if a man, while he is alie, be absent, he may haue some cull & god things done vnto him, though he perceiue it not; as if some certaine honour be decreed vnto him without his knowledge, if there happen vnto him some great inheritance, if there be a faire child boyne vnto him, and such like things. These things, although he knowe not of them, and be far off; yet are they his god things. And on the other side, there may euils happen to vs, that he may be defamed, he may be punished, he may be banished, his goods vntierallie lost, &c. Wherefore, although the dead be absent from hence, and perceive them not; yet may they be partakers of the godd and cull things which here are done.

But let vs see, how anie godd & cull things may be said to belong vnto them, which are absent, and haue no perceiving of them; whether I do thinke, that this is otherwise borne, but because they be referred vnto those men, and that which be they which do these things, saie I iudge that they belong vnto them; because they perceive that some of those commodities or incommodities, which are done, do come vnto them, or be taken aluaie from them. But without doubt, there is a far other respect of them that be alie. Although they be absent, and perceive not, yet haue they a possibilitie to be present and perceive; and sometimes it will be told them what is done; but none of the dead can either be present

Now godd and cull things may be there; but absent

That the  
things Done  
here belong  
not to the  
Dead.

again, or, *foale wylde is come in this life.* Aristotle alleged against these Solonists, *If we will regard the alterations and changes of fortune, the vertie dead indeed cannot be called happy; because they also may be subject to such alterations, at the least-wylde for their posteritie sake which be alive.* Which he powred by a similitude of the lining; for although being absent they feele not, yet may they have both good and euill things done vnto them. *How wylde the small strength of this reason;* he seemeth to relect the same by this argument, which neuertheless, seeing the changes of the posteritie are blisful and manifold, it should be said that the dead are neuer at rest. Which that he may the better laie before our eyes, he bringeth in a certaine man which liued happily, vntill the end of his old age, and in the vertie faine state of life died; *this mans state shall now be oftentimes changed blisful and vniuolue wies for this variableness of his posteritie, and of a happye man shall become miserable, and life againe from miserie to happines.* And not without cause faile Aristotle *[Cittiz his old age]* to shew, that while he liued, he wanted no contentments towards the perfection of felicitie. Which how gratefull is required vnto blisfulness, both it is shewed before, and here Eulitracius declarably by the example of Achilles, who notwithstanding he gratefull flourish in that fame expedition of Troie, and that he was vpholuen wylth all kinde of good things; yet could he not be called blisful, since he died a yong man. And that manie changes of things shall fall out in the posteritie, Aristotle vnderstand as a most manifest thing. For Heliodorus saith;

ἄλλοτε μιστρὺν ἡμεῖς, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ, that is,  
Sometime the dæie is a stepmother, and sometime  
a mother.

Furthermore, by this word *consequence* he understandeth nothing else, than a space or distance of time, that endeth by the revolution of years or months. Whereof he will haue it to followe, that such a man as he described, should by infinite interchanges become sometimes happy, and sometimes miserable. These things are spoken to shew, that those things which are done here, pertaine not to the dead: which as neuertheless he seemed before to affirme this by a similitude. Now he denieth the same by an argument that leadeth to an absurditie, and the absurditie will therefore become the more manifest, because then, neither in life, nor after death, any man can for the selfe cause to be called happy; to wit, because of the alterations which be imminent, which will binder as well him that is alive as dead, from being happye.

4 Neither could he rest himself in that which

he last declared; If so (saith he) it seemeth verie absurd, that the matters of the posteritie should not at anie time belong vnto their parents; but toheren this is absurd he saith not. Yet he leaueeth it, as a thing knowne well enough, and so knowes, as the common sort looe of that minde to all men (in a manner) thought that the dead are carefull about those things that we do, whence came the fables of the poets, as touching Palinurus and Achilles, which would haue their goods to be pacified by the chiefe sacrifice. And thus he said. [Not at anie time] the reason is, because they might haue exception to the former reason; namely, that they did not asseme an infinite proceeding, so that all the alteration of things of all posterities should come vnto the dead, but of ouere himselfe onely; as if you should say, euen to the fourth generation. Therefore Aristotle said, that it would seeme absurd, if the matters of the liuing should not ouer at anie time belong to them that be dead: he declared not the reason of the absurditie. But Eustracius saith, that this seemeth to be against the nature of man, and without all affection, as though all communion betwene vs and the dead were quite broken off. But let vs returne (saith he) to the doubt that was let downe at the beginning: namely, Whether anie man may be called happy while he liueth, or els after his death. For by the unfolding of that question, this perchance that we now search will appeare.

The which denie this, saie, that they doe not,  
 because of the alteration and change of things:  
 howbeit they be deceived, because the altera-  
 tions, which be imminent, may bring it to passe,  
 that the felicitie which is present may cease; but  
 this shall they neuer call, but that while it is  
 present, it may be affirmed of him with whom  
 it was present. And whereas they affirme, that  
 a man may be called happy, because he was fo-  
 re they ought much more to grant the same, while  
 actually he is so. For according unto their las-  
 eng, he might be called happy, even in that re-  
 spect that he was happy, much more therefore  
 while he was happy; because that for which an-  
 thing is like, that is affirmed to be much more  
 like. And as the Logicians saie; A proportion  
 can be true of a time past, onelike that which an-  
 swereth thereunto have sometime bene true of  
 the time present. The opinion of these men is  
 grounded vpon two principles; first, that felici-  
 tie is a certeine firme and stable thing; se-  
 condlie, that the same dependeth of fortune. The  
 first is true; for blessedness is not easilie chan-  
 ged, and therefore it dependeth of vertues, which  
 are confirmed habites of the mind, and not easie  
 to be moved. And therefore Cicero in his second  
 booke *De finibus*, saith, that Therefore felicitie be-  
 cometh of wisdome, because the same cleareth  
 self

happy e in' this life.

That the  
good and e-  
uill of man  
standeth  
not in fol-  
tune,

fast and stedfastlie to the mind. But fortunes  
are oftentimes changed and altered, no man  
doubteth; whereupon appeareth, how far these  
be out of the waie, as touching the other point  
because they thinke, that fortune must be follo-  
wed in the placing of benefices. But both for  
these erre, he sheweth briefly; that they are fau-  
nourable to make a happie man changeable and vnfay-  
like the camelion; which must needs fall out, if we  
shall follow fortune, in the which there is no  
constancie no stabilitie; for such are the gods  
of the world, as they neuer continue in one state

Proportune Aristotle saith, that we must not  
 regard fortune when we treat of felicitie; seeing  
 the good and euill of man is not placed therein.  
 A verie graue contention trulle is this, that the  
 good and euill of man standeth not in casuall  
 things. What (saith Aristotles) would it profit  
 to haue aine being at all, if to be hapie and in good  
 plight depend of fortune, and not of our selues?  
 And yet of this, whiche we call the goods of for-  
 tune, the life of man hath need. For some man  
 might say; Since thou saist that felicitie is not  
 put in these casuall goods of man, whie doe we  
 desire them? Why dost thou seeke those things?  
 He saith (saith he) manns life hath need of them.  
 But vertues, in very deed, as the actions of them,  
 obtaine the dominion and these place in felicitie.  
 And a reason may be brought, whie blessed-  
 ners dependeth not of these things which be not  
 in vs, such as fortune is; but hath the originals  
 thereof placed in our owne liues. And as the ac-  
 tions, whiche proceed of vertue, are the beginnings  
 of felicitie; so the contraries, namelie those  
 which come of vice be of a contrarie effect; to  
 wit, the originals of calamitie and miserie: so as  
 it is concluded, that felicitie is not of fortune, be-  
 cause there we doe not chuse or deliberate of these  
 things; but in these actions whiche proceed of ver-  
 tue, both our choyse and deliberation haue place.  
 And if that the common sort doe thinke, that  
 felicitie is to be placed in good things, they must  
 not be heard, seeing they erre in many other  
 things. And this onlie will we recurre of Solon,  
 that felicitie staideth it selfe vpon a stable & firme  
 matter, and since it is so perfect, and so absolute  
 a thing, it must be sought from causes which are  
 of themselves, and not from those which are cal-  
 led accidental causes.

5 To confirme, that fortune is not to be fol-  
lowed in obtaining of felicitie, Aristotle bring-  
eth the question moued a little before: for it is  
much doubted of this, whether any man may be  
called happy in this life; because there was a res-  
pect had to the alterations and changes of for-  
tune. When if we shall let aside fortune, that  
doubt will become apparent. So that the philo-  
sopher was moued to determine this sentence.  
To wit, that Nothing may seeme more vnbale-

than fortune. Wherefore it may be praised by  
Solon himself, that felicitie must not be placed  
therein; because he wudgeth, that in any iustice  
must be steadfast. But there is nothing more  
firme and constant in this life, than be the actions  
which proceed of vertue: which by an argu-  
ment brought of comparison he sheweth; where  
steadfast saith he be vertues than sciences, where  
as notwithstanding sciences among humane  
things seeme to be verie constant. The foundati-  
on of the reason is; because those things that  
be more constant than others, which seeme to be  
verie constant, are in their kind speciallie to be  
accounted to be steadfast. And trulike knowledges,  
if thou have respect whereabout they be exercised,  
namelike, about things necessarie, and which can-  
not otherwise be; and about the asperance of an  
afflict, which is most firme gotten by demon-  
strations; they seeme among humane things to  
have most steadfastness. And yet notwithstanding  
being it is not so in sciences, because that ac-  
tions are not so often to their actions, as ver-  
tues be. If we should alwaies be in contempla-  
tion, as we must alwaies be doing some thing  
so long as we live, without doubt sciences should  
be as firme as vertues be; but contemplation is  
marie times left off. And those which profess  
the mathematicall sciences, while they leave off  
their studie, they forget marie demonstrations.  
Indeed, as well these as others are habits of the  
mind; and the nature of habits is, that they are  
hardlie abolished: but yet these habits are sooner  
abolished, about which we are not often exer-  
cised. Both sorts of habits in their owne nature  
may by discontinnuance fall away: but discon-  
tinuance can not happen alwaies to vertues; for  
knowledges; for in all actions there is need of tool-  
dom. In politics, fortitude, in bargaining, justice;  
in meate, chastitie, carnall pleasure, temperance;  
in conversation with men, friendship and caritee;  
and finally, in everie worke a measure and  
measure is needfull. Being therefore to all sci-  
ences, the use of vertues is open, but not of sci-  
ences; it is manifest, that there may sooner happen  
a forgetfulness of sciences, than of vertues. So  
sciences oftentimes for the most part are if thou  
things, whereof we have no doing; but vertues  
be of those things, wherein the blessed are con-  
stant. And that which is spoken of sciences, it  
may also affirme of artes; for if any man, though  
he be a noble artificer, do rest a long while from  
his worke, he will easilie become ignorant and  
unlearned. All this reason cleaveth unto this  
ground, that it is not lawfull of a sound and con-  
stant thing to assigne a mutable cause; which  
certeinly would be, if of sciences, which should  
be fable, we would make fortune to be the  
cause, the same being variable and in a maner  
never abiding in one state.



These blef-  
fesses can  
be the cause  
of vertues,  
and yet be  
produced of  
them.

A distinction  
of causes  
(16).

Which bet-  
weenes be of  
most bet-  
talence.

6 Here will some man saie; I hold both this doctrine agree with those things which were before set downe, that where it was affirmed, that felicitie is the cause of vertues and honest actions, and therefore we should about all things, have determined of it, as of the chief and principall cause of all morall things. But here it is said, that therefore blessedness doth not depend of fortune, but is produced by vertues and good deas, because these be firme and constant, but fortune is uncerterne and variable. And thus there comes but small agreement betwene these things; namely, blessedness to be the cause of vertues, and iust actions; and on the other side, that felicitie cometh from vertue. Wherbeit, this disagreement will easilie be reconciled, if thou wilt distinguish of the causes. Of outward causes, we must make two kinds, and the finall causes must be severed from the efficient; and then it will be granted, that among the finall causes, felicitie is the chief: which nevertheless to be brought to passe by those things, whereof felicitie it selfe is the end, no man must marvell; since betwene the end, and the efficient, this change or course is alwaies perceived: for as the end is brought forth by the efficient, so the efficient is moved by the end. And which shall be those principall among morall vertues, which Aristotle pronounced to be most steadfast, and in a manner immovable: so others, in my iudgment, but those four vertues communitie commended; wisdome, iustice, fortitude, and temperance: for these do comprise almost all the actions of mans life; therefore of a happie man they can not be forgotten.

Another thing in this place is called into doubt; namely, that there may be found some man, which will both let aside the care of house hold affaires, and which hath decayed neuer to deale with matters of the common-weale, but to live onlie alone, and to exercise himselfe in studie sciences which he hath learned. He, because nature is contented with a little, will be occupied in vertue & actions, and will allowe thy give himselfe to contemplations and sciences: whereof it will come, that he will come forget vertues, or else will come be without them, that forgetfulness can abolish sciences: or else that he doth not with great indolence provide to have them. Therefore, as touching this man, that will not hold, which Aristotle said; to wit, that sciences are easilier forgotten, than vertues. Whereunto I will saie, that such a man shall seldom and hardlie be found, who yet if he can at any time of time, is not so greatlie to be accounted of, as for his sake the common condition of men should be changed. That which is taught here, happyness among the most sort of men; neither can there be a science had of those

things which rarely happen. And let us adde, that such manners are not agreeable to the nature of man, that anye should so leade his life in solitarie, that he would do in a manner nothing, but be occupied altogether in contemplation and learning.

When Aristotle had now discovered and taken away the cause of the error, he affirmeth, that a blessed man may have happines in himselfe, even while he is perishing; and by it may be called happy: and that changeable events and mishaps do nothing hinder it. And this reason be giueth of his opinion; namely, that a blessed man will allowe, or about all other things, both by his actions, and contemplate according to vertue. After he had said, Alwaies, he added, & about all other things; because it can not be, that a man can alwaies be in action or in contemplation. Sometimes men must sleepe: and they that be awake, do many times by their mind sake, let apart the cogitations of learning, and incommence of being. Little he can repaire as well action as contemplation; because the whole life of man is distributed into these twaine. But here if one should replie: Thou speake nothing as touching misfortunes. What if some great mischance should befall unto your principall man? He answereth, that this blessed man will be well, and as shall best be same him, suffer these misfortunes. For if he catch not with him, as with the vulgar sort, who, if they be perished with calamitie, are discouraged, and leave their mind troubled, as they can live in a manner nothing: in like manner, as when fortune fauoureth them, they be puffed up, they give over their accustomed studie, and become in a manner negligent. Thus will not the happy man be, but will in a manner alwaies keepe one and the same estate of mind.

7 Moreover, those things which happen unto us are either prosperous, or hurtfull; and as well hurtfull things, as prosperous, be either great, or small. The small things as well in the kind of hurtfull, as of happy, doth Aristotle take, and saith; that those are of no moment, either to change the condition of life, or to drive it from the former estate. Which without doubt we are to understand, as touching the blessed, and them that be indue with vertue: otherwile, the common sort of men, and they which be of no account, are easilie and in a manner by the mischance of all, troubled and disquieted, which good and graue men will not in like sort do. When they take the other member; But admit they be great things which do happen; those, if they be prosperous, will without doubt increase the blessedness of life: because they be made for adorning of the same. Felicitie beyond his owne proper bounds cannot be increased, seeing it is the

What a blis-  
sed man  
may be cal-  
led happy, be-  
lieve he li-  
ueth.

How he  
may be hap-  
py, which is  
affected by  
misfortunes

Small mat-  
ters, be they  
adverse, or  
be they pro-  
sperous, are  
of no mo-  
ment to  
change life.

Great pro-  
speritie in-  
creases fe-  
licities in the  
vulgar.

the chiefest god of all. But in the blessedness of his owne kind it may be greater, & it may be lesse. But since that Aristotle saith, that blessedness may be adjoined, if itselfe the same may be compared with a singular forme or beautie; which though by it selfe it be delightful, yet is it more sweete, if there be any ornament decently ioune therewith. And the art of handicraft, when it obtaineth instruments more fit, doth expresse a greater cunning, than when greater tooles are applied therewith. But if on the contrarie part, the misfortunes which befall are grievous and many, I saie that they preiudice downe, and blemish felicitie.

And Aristotle sheweth what manner of oppression or blemish it is; & Greeks (saith he) do bying in these things, and are a hindrance unto excellent actions. Hindrance consisteth of two causes; first, they be fore greivous because unapt to bring things to passe. And when the instruments be lost, we cannot without them do as we would: thus doth the losse of outward good things hinder him that is happy. Yet doth he mitigate this oppression; or blemish; for as honest man (saith he) doth chuse even in these adversities, as bright things do in obscure places. Wherefore the darkness of adverse fortune extinguisheth not felicitie so, but that it speeche out by his bright beames, even in that state; which is a token that honestie is still retained, which in blessedness beareth the chiefe stone: otherwise it might not give forth his brightnes. And not to go far from the example alleaied let forth: Even as if a man, or a most beautiful woman because of her ornaments, should be constrained to go in rags and vile clothes, assuredly it could not be, but that same beauty would after some manner shew it selfe even in that attire. Some doth Aristotle conceale wherein that brightness doth consist; to wit, in enduring patientlie and with a quiet mind those hard chances: indeed not stoicallie, by a certaine insensibleness of griefe; but of a nobleness of mind and excellent courage. These things may suffice to resolve this question; whether that we may affirme that a man can be blessed in this life. And hereby may we litle answer those things, which were before alledged as touching the dead.

And besides we gather, that outward good things, or prosperous fortune, doth not fall indeed into the proper and naturall definition of felicitie; but are onlie applied as certaine instruments and helps. Even as neither a handie craft ought to be defined by the instruments which it useth, although without them it cannot do any thing. Yet adverse fortune therefore is felicitie distressed and stopped, in such wise, as it can but smallie breake out into act: for by the griefe which it bringeth therewith, the mind is

darkened, and the powers do as it were faint. But Aristotle remoueth away, the insensibleness of griefe, because therein is no vertue, but rather a certaine kind of assention. And men must not be either strokes of stones, which while they be assailed with grievous strokes, should faile nothing. But herein is vertue, that those things which we feele, we should so moderate and govern, as they disturbe vs not from the right state of our mind. I knowe here that the Stoicks do erie out on Aristotle, who thinke that felicitie and vertue are not hindered or blemished by anye adversities; but that perfect blessedness may be still retained even in Phalaris bull. And the Epicures, as it were out of their apothecaries shops, draw out that same notable consolation of things, as Cicero hath in his booke *De finibus bonorum & malorum*; namely, I; In griefes, if long, easie; if grievous, short. These things nevertheless are easilier said than proved, and they be verie contrarie to the nature of man. Those things which Aristotle teacheth, are not onlie agreeable unto reason & to our nature; but also do verie well consent with practise and experience. Against the saying of Solon did he affirme, that felicitie, while we live here, is not subject to alteration; because it dependeth upon a stable and sure thing, namely, of that action which is iust, and according to vertue, against which fortune being most inconsistent is able to do nothing. Some alteration indeed may happen unto a blessed man; but yet not such, as thereby he should be made miserable. For unhappines doth growe by evil actions, as we said before, of which actions the blessed man shall not be author. Unhonest and filthy deas doth Aristotle call *νεστωτα και φαυλοτα*; that is, odious and frivolous; for frivolous they be, and of no value, because they turne a man from the iust and true end: and odious they are infinite called, because they be hurtfull as well to others, as to those that commit them.

8 After this he teacheth, what an happy man should do, when by chance he falleth into adversities; Of those things (saith he) which are adjoined unto him, he will do the best, and will omit none of those things which may be done. This indeed is the part of excellent artificers, that although they have not alwaies meete instruments, and fit matter; yet do they neuer to deale, as they will suffer those things which are granted unto them, to perish without anye profit. And without doubt, in this lacke of matter and instruments, this indolence of theirs doth exceedingly shine, which also we taught before as touching the happy man: the vertue whereby remaineth in him will appeare, even in the midst of calamities. Here if thou wilt saie; What then

What ad-  
versities  
do not hin-  
der felici-  
tie.

What a  
difficult man  
shall doe if  
he fall into  
adversities.



whether  
aduerſities  
doo rather  
beneficite  
or  
blemiſh it.

then are not aduerſities rather ſaid to make felicitie more renowned, than to blemiſh it. So this we anſwer; Becauſe though calamities do not altogether ouerwhelme felicitie; yet after ſome manner they ouerpaſſe it and obſcure it. And whereas vertue doth ſomewhat ſhine in them, that comes not by any viſage of calamities; neither ſo that they conſpire not herein, that the ſame vertue may be hindered; but becauſe they be not of ſuch ſtrength, that they ſhould utterly extinguiſh the ſame. Neither when any good actions do there ſhine, are thoſe commended, as perfect in all reſpects; but in compariſon and reſpect of the preſent ſtate. And to diſcuss an example even from arto; If any men which wanting their hands, as otherwiſe it happeneth, do ſolve o2 loſe with their feet, all men will maruell, and will commend their working ſo long, not as perfect and in all reſpects abſolute, but in reſpect of the inſtrument. Wherefore Aristotle in his Ethicis, when he teacheth to amplify and commend any thing, ſheweth that there muſt be a conſideration had; not onlie of the time, place, ſociety, and ſuch like; but ſpeciallie of the inſtruments. Whereupon the ſcribble perceiving this, and thinking that Job would not do ſuch deeds that ſhould be met and decent, if the outward inſtruments of felicitie were taken fro him by God, deſired leave, that it might be permitted him at his owne pleaſure to take auaie thoſe inſtruments from him.

unto what  
kind of  
the inſtrument  
belongeth.

Two examples are ſo ſet before vs explaining of the ſecond opinion, as one of them belongeth to the inſtruments, and the other to the matter, & theſe are not a little ioined one with another; yea and when the inſtrument doth not appoint a peculiar kind of cauſe, it may be referred to the matter. Albeit I am not ignorant, that ſome do reduce the ſame vnto the efficient cauſe. But it ſeemes, that we ſhould rather paye to the former opinion; becauſe as in motion the matter receaueth the forme; ſo the inſtruments themſelves ſuſtaine the motion and working proceeding from the efficient cauſe, and by them the action paſſeth into the matter of the efficient. And as the matter is to the inſtruments, ſo the inſtruments be towards the efficient cauſe, by which they are immediate moued. A cheſe captiue after a barbariſh manner, with his arme, ſuch as it is; when he pudentlie ſetteth his hoſt in arrie, when he before hand poſſeſſeth the places of greater advantage, & when he leaſt liſt on occaſion of getting the victory, and well & wiſely conſidereth ſuch other like things. He is ſaid to be well the arme which is preſent vnto him, becauſe it becometh him well to know that arme which he hath, as well touching number as ſtrength, and the ſame behooueth it to be ſo well, and not to deſire a better. When it is

come to the ſtroke of the battell; if he could not haue a better, or more copious arme, now it is not require of him, but that he be that well which he hath at hand. Thoſe things which are ſpoken of a cheſe captiue, be alſo agreeable vnto a ſhomer: the difference onlie betwixt them is, that in the one there is a reaſon had of the inſtrument; but in the other, of the matter. For even as the ſkins and leather of the ſhomer, are the matter of his handie-craft; ſo the cheſe captiue hath his arme for an inſtrument of victory. But betwixt theſe things this is the difference: the matter is made, the inſtruments are not made, when any thing is wrought. A gainie, that which is wrought, ſtandeth of the matter; not ſo of the inſtruments, ſeing they haue no ingreſſence into the effect. Finally, the matter is in power to receive forme, and before it obtaine the ſame, it is ſubiet to the priuati on thereof. All which things do agree to the matter, as they cannot be attributed to the inſtruments. It is powned by that, which hath him ſaid, that the works of euery artifice are not ſimile to be regarded; but according to the commoditie & proportion either of the matter, or of the inſtruments. Which muſt no otherwiſe be thought of, as touching the actions of a happy man, that now fallen into aduerſities: for thoſe are to be regarded of according to the preſent ſtate of him that is author of them. And then that follooweth, which was ſaid before; namely, that thoſe things haue their certaine benefit, euen in calamities themſelves. For if a happy man, that is afflicted with ill fortune, ſhall alwaies do good deeds of ſuch things as he hath, he cannot become miſerable. When that change therefore of fortune ſhall happen vnto him, what ſhall this happy man be? What ſhall he be called? Where hath Aristotle ſomewhat to ſay, and while he is vnto to ſay, at the laſt he affirmeth, that partie he is happy, and partie not; becauſe he hath not full felicitie, though he haue not full loſe the ſame.

& At the laſt he appointeth a certaine meane betwixt a bleſſed and a miſerable man, and in that place comprehendeth that man happy, which is ouerwhelmed with grieuous afflictions. There here haue bene ſome which thought, that a bleſſed man doth differ from a happy man; becauſe he is called bleſſed, which ſuffice all manner of losses is abſolute and perfect; but a happy man, who hauing vertue and good actions, yet wanteth outward good things, & helps, & riches. Whereby I diſpute not of that matter; this neuertheleſſe I ſay, that this diſtinction cannot be applied to the words of Aristotle; for he ſaith afterward, that a man cannot eaſilie to plunge out from Priamus miſeries, as he can be againe a happy man. Where it appeares, that he puts no difference

wherein the  
drummes  
and ſinging  
doo differ.

It meane  
betwixt  
bleſſed and  
miſerable.  
A difference  
betwixt  
theſe two  
is  
happy.

how the  
blame and  
miraculous  
may agree  
together in  
a bleſſed  
man.

whether a  
happy man  
may become  
miſerable.

difference betwixt bleſſed & happy; but theſe two words for one ſignification. Wherefore he ſhall be in a meane; neither can he be judged miſerable, ſince he ſhall retaineth the roſe of that ſame bleſſedneſſe. But ſince that a bleſſed man may be ſubiet to ſome alteration, how can he then be ſaid to be firme and ſtable? Becauſe he will not be changed, whileſt there happen maie and great miſchances. Therefore do Aristotle ſtile make mention of Priamus milhaps, which both in number and greatnes oppreſſed that king. Again, he is called firme and ſtable; becauſe he is not to be changed, as he falleth into the contrary, and be cometh miſerable. But it is demanded, whether it can by any meane be, that at length a happy man may become miſerable? While there haue bene ſome found, which being oppreſſed with calamities, haue in like manner bene ſo much changed vnto ſleth ſolines, and to verie great vices, and haue quite fallen from the vertues which they had before. But I would rather thinke, that thoſe, while they flouriſhed with outward wealth, did rather ſeeme to be honeſt, than that they were fo. For it oftentimes cometh to paſſe, that in theſe mightie and famous men, there is a certaine ſhow of vertue, but no found and ſincere honeſtie; and vices, vnder the reſemblance of honour and riches, were eaſilie hidden, which afterward when poſperitie is gone, are diſcouered.

But why true vertues do not eaſilie turne into vices, hereby it appeareth; becauſe they be habits and habits (as they be defined by Aristotle in his Categories) are harde removed. Finally, he is conſtant, ſeing euen in miſfortunes themſelves, he hath vertue, being the roſe and foundation of felicitie, and thereby hath a moſt excellent action. At the laſt Aristotle concludeth of this propertie of him that is happy, and ſaith, that he is not variable; or eaſie to be changed; as Solon did imagine, who for this cauſe thought that no man in his liſe time to be called happy. He is not changed, ſaith Aristotle by euery kind of fortune. Which verie well agreeth with that which was ſaid before; whole things, which be eaſie, as well aduerſities as felicities, haue ſmall; or no moment at all vnto the liſe of a happy man. Whereby he granteth, that he is to be changed, if calamities be maie and great. Whereby it appeareth, that that perfect action is not ſufficient vnto a full felicitie, eſpeciallie if we ſpeake of the ſame according to a ciuill ſenſe. And ſome do maruell how it cometh to paſſe, that if vices and vices do ſuffice vnto miſerie; why vertue and good actions are not ſufficient vnto felicitie, ſince it ſeemeth that there ſhould be one and the ſame reſpect had of contraries. But hereunto is answered, that the

argument doth not alwaies hold in contraries; becauſe euery man is able to kill himſelfe, but no man can call himſelfe againe from death. Whereupon, vnto health is required a temperance and equallitie of all the humors; whereas vnto ſickness it is enough, that euen one humor depart from his natural conſtitution.

Aristotle hauing ſpoken of the one kind of alteration; namely, when one from a happy ſtate is thowne downe, not into miſerie, but to ſuch a point as he is neither miſerable nor happy; then likewiſe he dealeth with the other change, ſeking whether any man, plunging out of theſe infinite and manifold miſfortunes, can returne againe to his former felicitie. Where firſt note, that he ſpeaketh here of a happy man, as of one that is abſolute and perfectlie bleſſed. For it is demanded, whether from thoſe miſeries and grieuous milhaps a returne is to be granted vnto the former felicitie, from whence being bleſſed he fell as Priamus of Creceus; or ſuch other, which before were happy? Aristotle anſwereth to the queſtion, that this could may be done, but not in any ſhort time. For there is need of maie things, which cannot ſtraightwaie be gotten and obtayned, eſpeciallie of them which be oppreſſed with the injuries of fortune. And as a bleſſed man, like a ſquare ſtone, cannot eaſilie be removed; ſo being thowne downe he cannot eaſilie be ſet vp againe. We read not in hiſtoies, that ſuch things did commonly happen; neither do I knowe of any notable perſonage, which being utterly confounded, did returne to his former ſtate. The holie ſcriptures ſet forth vnto vs onlie Job, which was indeed a pointing doctrie, and by the ſingular prouidence of God was reſtored; and if there happen any ſuch things, truely they may be accounted wonderfull and rare works. And how hard this is to be done, the example of Priamus ſhall ſet forth may plainly ſhew. Admit he could ſometime haue riſen from ſo great miſerie; but when could he euer haue recoverd his citie onethowne? When could he haue reſtored his kingdom to the ancient ſoyne and glorie? When could he haue put auaie the ſolowes ſo many children ſlaine, for ſo many kind-folke which were now loſt alwaie captiue, and ſerued the Creceians? The perfect time, which Aristotle ſpeaketh of, ſignifieth nothing els, but all the courſe of liſe. And that in the ſame time (he meaneth the reſidue of time, vntill the end) it ſhould be needfull for him to poſſeſſe verie maie great and good things, otherwiſe he ſhall not become happy againe. If he would paye any thing vnto Solon, or gratifie him, we might thus ſay; that bleſſed they be, and ſo called in this liſe, but with a condition withall; to wit, that they ſo remaine hereafter. Neither doth Aristotle

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Ariftole ſeeme to denie it, but granteth this, fo as the time to come may agree with the time preſent. It is not granted to Solon, that a mā can not be happy, no; fo be called, while he liueth, as though death were to be looked for; But perhaps when he is called happy, we muſt adde a condition therewith. For it is to be noted, that he ſaith not, that they are bleſſed abſolute, but as men; ſignifying thereby, that there is a certaine other moſt perfect bleſſednes, which can not be ſignified by any meanes, and hath no need of adding a condition of the time to come; and this bleſſednes is of God, not of men: men are bleſſed, and yet they are not be bleſſed men.

1. I ſo remaineth to ſhew, how theſe things, which have bin ſhewed in this matter, may agree with the holy ſcriptures, or diſſent from them. Firſt we made a diſtinction of bleſſednes, ſo as one ſhould be of this life, and another ſhould be expected in the world to come. As touching that which is to come, we make uſty Solon; for he agree, that it is not to be had in this world. But the other, which ſtandeth in the ſoggiuſnes of ſins, & renewing of life by good maners, may be had here. But ſolva a man may be called happy by it, we affirme, that euerie man is perſuaded thereof in his owne ſelfe; for euerie man can tell whether he beleue or beleue not. And this is that which is ſaid; Let euerie man examine himſelfe, and let him eate of this bread, and drinke of this cup. And we haue the ſpirit to heare uoices; Who teſtifieth to our ſpirit, that we be the ſonnes of God; he is preſent as a teſtimonie of our confidence and good life. As others we can knowe nothing, ſeing their mind and grace is not knowen vnto vs: but ſo long as they profeſſe the right faith, and liue tollerable in the church, we are to hope well of them. And to aſſume felicitie to be an action, doth nothing hinder, but that after death, thoſe which be departed, may enioie the ſame; ſince our actions ſhall then be more readie than now they are. And that our felicitie may be firme and ſtable, let vs, as Ariftole did of his, weigh it by the principles thereof. Our felicitie dependeth of predeſtination, of the ſpirit, and of faith; which are far more excellent things, than any humane vertues or actions are. And of much leſſe force is fortune in theſe, than in thoſe principles of Ariftole. Whereouer, whateuer Ariftole appointeth in his felicitie, we haue in ours: ſo; both we would, that they which be iuſtified, ſhould liue rightlie, and renew themſelues with true and perfect vertues. And beſides theſe, we ſaie, that there be high principles, which excell nature; namely, diuine election, the ſpirit, and faith. And no leſſe do we agree with him in this, that we affirme, there be principles of miſerie contrarie vnto theſe; namely, the reprobation of God,

the want of gods ſpirit, and inſolentie. We that is ſubiet vnto theſe evils, is to be counted altogether miſerable and unhappy.

Touching the compariſon betwene vertues and ſciences, we by no meanes diſagree from him; yea, and we grant, that vertues are more conſtant and firme than humane knowledge is. And ſo great a ſecondnes there is of bleſſednes, as Paule ſaid touching predeſtination; The foundation ſtandeth ſure, the Lord knoweth who be his. And by faith and grace, the Lord would haue vs to be iuſtified; not by works, that the promiſe might be firme, and that we might not ſumble at thoſe things, hauing reſpect to our infirmite. Again, Paule ſaith; I knowe whom I haue beleueu vpon, and I am aſſured, &c. And he that enioieth this our bleſſednes, ſuſtaineth herie well the ſtrokes of ſaytune; yea, though they be grievous. Paule ſaith, that He knew how to humble himſelfe, and how to exell, to hunger and to thiſt, to abound, and to ſuffer penurie. Our happy man in like manner is, as the four-square ſtone; Who (ſaith Paule) ſhall ſeparate vs from the loue of God? Shall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or ſword, or danger, or nakednes? &c. And he adde, that He is moſt aſſured, that neither life, nor death, nor angells, nor principallities, nor powers, &c. Our happy man is not hindered by caſual things, but All things proceed happilie to them that loue God. And he will muſt of all thinge in aduerſities; Tribulation worketh patience; patience experience; experience hope; and hope maketh not ashamed. As Ariftole ſaith of the ſtrength of grete; ſo we alſo do not admit the ſame. Yea rather Chriſt, next the prophets & the ſaints do weepe, and we are commanded to ſorgeth with them that ſorgeth. Ariftole ſaith, that his happy man will neuer commit vile and naughtie things. This do not we pronounce of ours; for David ſell greuouslie, and Peter greuouslie. Thoſe happy men which cannot come be repaired, but we haue the moſt readie medicine of repentance, and that alwaies at hand. In like manner, our happy man, of thoſe things which are miniſtred vnto him, is able to do moſt excellent things, according to the ſtate and condition which he hath obtained. Therefore that little miſte, which the world offereth, was ſo well pleaſing, ſo gratefull and acceptable to God, as it excelled the oblations of the rich men. Laſtie, temporal chances and miſfortunes, whateuer they be, do the more by the goodie men vnto God, and do natue them from the world. For our men can not be bleſſed, unleſſe they be poore in ſpirit.

The xvj. Chapter.

Of Providence; vpon Geneſis the 28. chapter, verſe 16.

The Grecians call providence *providencia*, *providencia*, *providencia*. The Hebrewes vertue it from the verbe *Higilab*, in the conjugation *Hiphal*, which is to ſee exactly and to diſcern.

As touching the definition thereof Cicero ſaith in his book De uirtute, that it is that, whereby any thing to come is ſo ſeene before it come to paſſe. I doubt it, this definition, if it be referred vnto diuine providence, doth not expreſſe it: becauſe this doth offend both the knowledge of that which is to come, and the power of foreknowing. But in diuine providence, is not onelie comprehended the knowledge of the mind of God, but alſo his will and election, whereby things are decreed and determined to come to paſſe, rather by one way than another. Further, there is alſo a power and abilitie therein, to gouerne and direct thoſe things which it is ſaid to foreſee; for in things, there is not onlie found the nature & ſubſtance of them; but alſo the order whereunto they be knit one with another. And the one to reacheth to the other, that it helpeth it, or is made perfect by it; both waies things be well ordered; particularly, as touching themſelues, each of them are ſaid to be good; and generally, as touching order, excellent good. And that this order is in all things, we may proue it by the nature of order it ſelfe; for it is defined by Auguſtine to be the diſpoſition of things like and unlike attributing to euerie one that which belongeth vnto it. But no man is ignorant, that the parts of the world are diuers, and not alike, if they be compared one with another.

Whereouer, how conuenientlie each one of them is allotted by God to his owne place, proper ſeaſe, and ſtanding, both experience teacheth, and the holy ſcriptures teſtifie. For it is ſaid; That God hath fed the ſeas and the waters their bounds, neither may they paſſe the limits appointed vnto them. Further, He meaſureth the aire with his ſpan, &c. And ſeing that ſo great a benefit of his, ought to be aſcribed vnto him, in reſpect of his providence, we may thus define it; that it is the meane which God uſeth in directing of things to their proper ends. In which definition is not onlie comprehended the knowledge, but alſo the will and power of doing it. Wherevpon this that we ſaie, Paule in the

fiſt chapter to the Ephreſians, hath verie well expreſſed, when he ſaith; Who worketh all things according to the counſell of his will. And Cicero in his oration for Milo, taught by what tokens this providence may be knowen from natural reaſon; for thus he ſaith; Neither doubt I that any man iudge otherwiſe, unleſſe it be ſuch a one, as thinke that there is no heauenly power, nor diuine maiesty; and whom neither the ſunne, neither the motions of the hea- uens and ſignes thereof, neither yet the order and courſe of all things do moue; and ſo ſaith. The verie ſelfe ſame demonſtration Paule doth crieth in the fiſt chapter to the Romans. And Iob in the twelfth chapter; Aſke the cattell, and the foules of the aire, the fiſhes of the ſea, and the plants of the earth, and they ſhall inform thee. Alſo in the 19. psalme; The heauens declare the power of God. Againe Iob in the 39. and 40. chapters; Concerning the goats, the harts, the horſe, the Leuiathan, and Behemoth.

2. Wherefore let it thus be determined; the order of things declare, that theſe things which be created, are not made by chance, and at all aduentures; wherefore God worketh according to his purpoſe; and vnto his owne providence, as vnto a certaine generall and diſcrete art, all things are ſubiet; neither is there any thing to be found, that can eſcape the ſame. Which nevertheless ſome are ſo bold to denie, who thinke that onelie the chance and principall things are committed to the care of God; but the reſidue, if they be of ſmall account, they attribute to natural cauſes; as if they be of greater importance, to angels & diuies. Which thing a man may ſee in the dialog of Plato called Protagoras, that ſome things are granted to Epimetheus to make, and ſome things to Prometheus. Yet to the intent that mankin might be well provided for, this only is aouched, that it was by the waies of the gods. But in the Goſpell we do otherwiſe taught by Chriſt; All the heares of your head are numbered. And; Of two ſparrowes not one of them lieth vpon the ground without your officer heauenly father. Again; The Lord himſelfe hath looked downe from heauen vpon the children of men. But if theſe men would vnderſtand the matter thus, as though the providence of God extended not it ſelfe vnto all things, offer ſuch a ſer as it doth vnto men; we would grant it; not that the providence which is incredible ſimple in it ſelfe, ſhould be ſaid to be manifold; but becauſe the effects which be directed by it, are diuers and ſundry. Wherefore it ſelfe alſo ſeemeth to haue diuers reſpects. Wherefore we grant, that the providence our godlie men ſurmoueth ſo far, as in compariſon of them, it is ſaid by the Lord vnto them that

shall be damned, & to the foolish virgins, I knowe you not, and so is to our men more than our unreasonable creatures. And by a lively faith of this providence, we receive many commodities, and especially a comfort in adversity; where we knowe that those things happen unto us, not by casualty, but by the will and procurement of God our father. Alas we be daily stirred by the move unto good things, when we understand that God is both the knower and witness of our actions; who afterward will give a true judgement of them. Besides this, the gifts which we receive, be much more acceptable unto us in this respect, that they be offered by God which provided them. Further, in the same we behold predestination, which bringeth to great a comfort unto goodly men, as thereby they are wonderfully confirmed.

Neither must we stand in any feare, that there is any newness in God, because of this providence. Men, which by their parents are brought forth into the world without knowledge, can not attaine thereunto without alteration. Which thing we must not surmise as touching God, seeing he hath had his knowledge from all eternitie. Further, we desire the same from the nature of things; but he hath it of himselfe. Therefore James bid trulie wyte, Whithin there is no variableness, nor shadowing by turning. Neither commeth it to passe at any time, that the knowledge of God is changed by the alteration of things. Moreover, this excellent knowledge is safely placed in God; for there is no danger, lest he should abuse the same as men doe, of whom Ieremie in his fourth chapter writeth; They are wise onlie, to the intent they may doo euill. But God is most excellent, and he hath the knowledge of that thing that is most excellent. Which knowledge who so erre hath, can not vie other things amiss, as Plato taught in his second dialogue called Alcibiades; where it is proued, that without that knowledge, it is better to be ignorant of manye things. For it had bin much better for Orestes, if he had not knowne his mother when he met her, being determined for to kill her. Neither is God, by reason of this government of things, removed from his peaceable felicitie, or from the contemplation of better things. This thing happeneth unto men, that sometimes by reasoning in matters not necessarie, be deuailed awaye from weightie and better occupations. Therefore Paule, not without cause, condemneth vain and curious questions. And this cometh through the slenderies of our understanding, which is not able to apply it selfe to manye things at once. But God being infinite as touching all his doings, can easily percieve all things that now be, that shall be, and that at any

time have bin. Neither is God by this knowledge of things vntooken to euill; for that happeneth unto men, because they haue a corrupt desire.

Therefore Salomon saith; Behold not the wine when it shewed faile in the glasse, &c. Psalm 119. Turne awaie mine eyes leaſt they behold vanity. And Job in the 31. chapter, saith, that he made a covenant with his eyes, leaſt he should thinke vpon a virgin. But God, which is the principall rule of iustice and goodnes, can not be moued to euill. But Aueroes saith, that at the least, wile his vnderstanding should be embraced, if he would looke vpon and acknowledge all these simple things. But because he attineth this knowledge, not from the things, but from himselfe; therefore that is not granted, neither both it in verie bad follo. When as we see that a glasse is not therefore stained, because it sheweth the images of vile things; neither yet is this same that we see, defiled, when it sheweth vpon places that be foule and lothsome. A about also in vnderstanding both not diſquiet God, seeing in this action he hath no instrument of a bodie; as men doe, vnto idome, by means of their bodie, there ariseth labour in vnderstanding, for therein the bodie is verie much afflicted and wearied. Therefore Salomon vpon this cause, called this indour of knowledge, A consuming and affliction of the spirit: for knowledge sometimes breedeth vnto vs diſquietnes. For the more men doe vnderstand, the more things they see that doo displeaſe them, wherewith they are agroued. Therefore not without cause it is said; He that addeth knowledge, increaseth labour also. For we do not easily leave those things that be vnto us commended. But God is not subject to these humane affections, who hath it in him to see the end of things; and although the things be vnto us, yet he directeth them, and knoweth that they shall tend to his owne glorie.

But it hath bin no hard matter, to take awaye from diuine providence, those obiects, which we haue hitherto removed: for a plaine and ready waie was offered for the confuting of them. But there remaine certaine other things, more hard to be expounded. The first is, because of chance and fortune, which seemeth to be taken awaye from the nature of things, if we attribute vnto God the providence of all: for there is nothing more against fortune & chance, than reason. For fortune is a cause that worketh besides the purpose, when any thing, not intended, or appointed, or decreed, happeneth to vs vntowardly, and besides our expectation. But this argument we resist on this wise; As touching vs, fortune and chance are not taken awaye by the providence of God. For what doth

let (as touching vs) that nothing is done by chance, but (as touching vs) that many things be done rashly by fortune? There is brought a medle fit similitude: About that a maister send his seruant to the market, there to remain till nine of the clocke; which houre being not yet past, if he send thither some other seruant of his; as touching the maister it cometh not to passe rashly or by chance, that those two seruants meet together, seeing he fore-saw the sending vnto that place; but vnto them it cometh not to passe of purpose, seeing the one knew nothing of all the others coming. Therefore many things, which are done by the fore-sight and knowledge of God, if thou respect the dull and weak cogitation of man, happen by chance and fortune. But if all things (like they) be directed by God, and done by his counsell, as we be leaue they be, where shall now be the chance of things? For all things will come to passe of necessity. And some thinke this argument to be so strong against the providence of God, as scarcely the freedom of our will can be defended. But to this reason is applied in a manner the same forme of answer, which a little before we used as touching things that happen by fortune. For it may be, that if thou respect the next causes, those things that doo happen, both are, and are inflicke called things happening by chance; for it is nothing repugnant to that cause, that it bring forth as well his effect, as another effect that is contrary thereto. For as touching mine ewe will, it may to come to passe, that I doo sit, as also that I doo not sit. So then if the effects be referred vnto that cause, they shall be, by chance; for they may be otherwise; howbeit, as they be subject to the providence of God, we must not denie but that they are of necessity. Therefore there is granted a double necessity; that is to wit, a necessitie absolute, and a necessitie by supposition. But it may be, that those things which by supposition are of necessity, if thou take them without supposition, they be things contingent, and not of necessity.

Esai 14. Chapter the twelfth, that the kingdome of Babylon should be destroyed; which was but a chance, as touching the twofold causes thereof: for there was no law but that it might otherwise be. And yet nevertheless, the prophet minding to shew that it should undoubtedly come to passe, groundeth his reason vpon the determinate will of God, and said; God hath it decreed, and who shall be able to disannul it? The hand of the Lord is now stretched forth, and who shall plucke it backe? Therefore the thing now by this reason was of necessity. And in the 3. psalme we read; But the counsell of the Lord indureth for ever, and the purposes of his heart from generation to generation. Yet

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they still vnto the contrary; necessitie seemeth to be a let to the providence of God: for we consult not of those things which cannot otherwise be. Forasmuch then as there be many things in the world, which seeme to be of necessity, as they have relation to the purpose & determination of God, being as it were borne and decreed, be of necessity; yet as concerning God, the appointer and decreer of the act, all things are contingent, and nothing is of such necessity in the world, but that the same may otherwise be. Neither do we now speake of the definiti- ons of things, or of necessarie propositions or conclusions; seeing these things are not governed by diuine providence: for they be descriptions of the eternall truth and diuine nature. Some there be also which thinke, that there should be no euill found in the world, if it were governed of God by his providence. For none that dealeth providentlie in his works, would permit euill to take place. But there may be easily answered, that there is no euill to be found, that is not either profitable to the saints, and furthereth them to saluation; or that declareth not the iustice and mercie of God; or else that aduanceth not the order of all things, and the preservation of the same. ¶ The same place is expounded in 1. Sam. 10. verse 2.

But to followe some order herein; first let vs search whether there be anye providence, or no; secondly, what it is; thirdly, whether all things be subject vnto it; fourthly, whether it can be changed; and lastly, whether it may be vnde cause casualties of things. But before I come to the purpose, let vs speake somewhat as touching the signification of the names thereof. Therefore among the Grecians a thing that cometh by chance is called *ἀπὸ τύχης*, which is of such sort, as both it may be, and it may not be; and whether it be or be not, there is no absurditie, either against reason, or against the word of God. It is distinguished into 3. parts; of which the first is called by the Grecians *ἀπὸ τύχης*, because it inclineth equalitie as much one waie as another. The second *ἀπὸ τύχης*, which for the most part seemeth to happen after this manner; or after that, but yet may otherwise come to passe. The third is called *ἀπὸ τύχης*, because it falleth out but seldom, and is not vnto all. The philosophers assigne two grounds of beginnings of chance, one in the matter, the grounds of which is as lightly vnto diuers and sundrie accidents, so it receiveth a diuers and sundrie forme; the other in the will, wherby our actions are governed: now the will hath consideration of the matter, because it is directed and

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Providence  
described in  
to three  
parts.

who is pro-  
vident.

provident.

Providence  
described  
as a God.

that there  
is a provid-  
ence.

forced by the understanding. Augustine in his  
booke of questions quest. 3. saith, Wilddome is  
by the philosophers divided into three parts;  
namely, into understanding, memorie, and pro-  
vidence: and that memorie is referred unto  
things past, understanding to things present;  
and that he is provident, which through the con-  
sideration of things past, and things present, can  
determine what will afterwaids come to passe.  
But God, not onelie understanding and seeth  
what will come to passe, but he also adbeth a  
will unto the same. For we affirme not onelie  
a bare understanding to be in God, but an ef-  
fectuall will also, whereby he ruleth and go-  
verneth all things. This of the Grecians is  
called *providentia*, that is, Providence. And Cicero  
in his booke *De natura deorum*, nameth it An  
old toshlaine wisse of the Stoicks; who was  
of such account among them in old time, as in  
the Isle of Delos, the was worshipped even  
for a Goddesse, because she helped Latona  
at hir child-bearing. But that sutable signifieth  
nothing else, but that second causes, although  
they have some force in themselves, yet they  
bring nothing to passe without the providence  
of God. For Latona, is nature; and providence  
the unchange: so that unlesse this latter be pre-  
sent, do helpe, and as it were plaie the midwife  
that, the other bringeth forth nothing.

6 But now, as touching those five points,  
which at the beginning I determined to in-  
terleave for ever. In the first place, I propound  
to my selfe, that there is a providence: which  
thing may be proved by manie sure and invin-  
cible arguments. For first, seeing that God is  
the author and creator of all things, and that he  
can do nothing unadvisedly, but that with him  
selfe he hath his owne certaine and assured rea-  
sons, therefore of necessity there is a provi-  
dence. For if there be no artificer, but that he  
seeth the reasons and ends of his worke, and con-  
vinceth the times by which he may bring the  
same to his purpose ends; if there a mannes  
not to attribute that unto God the chiefe work-  
man, whome the holie scriptures not onlie teach  
to be the creator of all things, but as it were a  
potter. Chrysostome in the 19. of Romilie  
upon the epistle to the Ephesians saith, that if a  
thing, though it be found and well rigged, can  
not brike the seas without a godd master or gover-  
nor; how much lesse can the whole world, be-  
haviour of the world stand without the care and go-  
vernment of God? For if a master-work-  
man will not begin to build, before he have de-  
vised in his mind all the parts, fashions, and  
fournures of the building; shall we thinke, that  
God hath rashlie, without counsell, or reason,  
made all things unruerfallie? Undoubtedly,  
the beaumenlic spheres, the stars, the firmament,

the aire, the water, the heate, the cold, to manie  
causes and changes of things contrarie and re-  
pugnant one to another, would fall to ruine, un-  
lesse they were sustained by some governour.  
Without care and providence, our bodie might  
not be defended from the rigor of the heaver.  
We call those provident men, which by their  
good excellent judgement and disposition, do  
keep all the parts of their bodie in their proper  
office and vertue. But God hath the same plaie  
in the world, that the mind hath in man. We  
sines this, the holie scriptures ascribe unto God  
the destructions of kingdoms, and prophecies,  
and miracles, which things do far passe the com-  
pass of our nature. And last of all, they attribute  
unto him the generall judgement, wherein God  
will one daie render to everie man according to  
their works. Therefore we, being inforced by  
these, and manie more reasons, do conclude  
that there is a providence. For we passe not for  
the Epicureans, whose manner of spech is this;

*Euen so the powers on high,  
With labours toile are prest,  
The care whereof which onerwhelms,  
Be cause them of their rest.*

And this also; God walketh upon the poles  
of heaven, and considereth not the affaires of men.  
These monstrous opinions have they held,  
partlie for that they being of grosse wit, could  
not perceive higher things; and partlie being  
of a shamefull and abhominable life, would be-  
use for themselves this consolation, least they  
should be perpetuallie tormented with the feare  
of punishments. For, He that liueth wickedlie,  
abhorreth the light. And children, when they  
have done a fault, would not haue either their  
father to be at home, or the master in the school.  
And as touching the first part, these things un-  
doubtedly should be sufficient for Christians,  
who are persecuted onelie by the woe of God,  
without other reason, that there is a providence.

7 But what providence is, we shall easilie  
vnderstand by the definition of the same. Pro-  
vidence is the power of God, whereby he direct-  
eth all things, and bringeth them to their [ap-  
pointed] ends. In this definition, the generall  
woord is power. A sureddie, God is most able  
lie, yet for our capacite sake, we saie that there  
is in him two manner of powers, to wit, the power  
of understanding, & the power of willing. For  
God understandeth and seeth all things; and  
not this onelie, but he also willeth all things.  
Where I will make no needles disputation, whe-  
ther the will of God be before the understand-  
ing, or understanding before the will. If ante  
man would knowe these things, I from them  
unto Scotus and Thomas. This power and fa-  
caltie which I speake of, belongeth unto the  
qualitie, for it is a naturall power. The diffe-  
rence

to be the de-  
pictures be  
are provid-  
dence.

John. 3.

what pro-  
vidence is.

All the cau-  
ses of pro-  
vidence.  
So efficient  
cause of the  
providence  
of God.

Providence  
is no bare  
but an effi-  
cient know-  
ledge.  
Rom. 11. 3.  
Adm. 17. 18.  
Prou. 6. 1.

Man. 10. 19.

Effi-  
cient  
cause.

Whether  
God onlie  
by common  
influence  
doe rule all  
things.

Effi-  
cient  
cause.

erence, that God by this power directeth  
all things, whether either he, or hereafter shall  
be. But yet this is not enough; for he also can-  
not be proved to their ends. But to what ends?  
Euen unto agreeable ends. And those be agree-  
able, which his purpose hath appointed. The po-  
wer is the cause; and, that things be brought to  
their proper ends, is the effect. Here have we  
comprehended all the kinds of causes which can  
be assigned in this matter. This I speake, be-  
cause there can be giuen no efficient cause of the  
providence of God. The formal cause is the  
power of God. The matter whereabout, are all  
manner of things whatsoever; for we in no wise  
except anye thing. But the final cause is, that  
all things may attaine to their owne ends, and  
may rebound to the glorie of God. By this de-  
finition we see, that the providence of God is  
not onlie a bare knowledge, but it is some bring-  
ing to effect. For as Paule saith; In him we  
liue, we moue, and haue our being. And as  
I haue; Of him, and in him, and by him are all  
things. And as Salomon saith; Man may pre-  
pare his heart, but God ordereth the speech.  
For we are not able to moue, no not the toung,  
being the lightest part of the bodie, without the  
providence of God. And Christ saith; That a  
sparrow doth not light upon the ground with-  
out the will of our heauenlic Father. And, all  
the heares of our head are numbered. Some  
dreaime that God indeed made all these things;  
but after he had made them, call them off. So  
(someth) carpenters, when they haue done fust-  
icilie in building of a house, they afterward  
leane the same; but if God should do so, this  
world would come to ruine. For a house,  
unlesse it be oftentimes repaired and underpro-  
pped, faileth to ruine and decay. If the soule be  
seuered from the bodie, what remaineth, but that  
the bodie will become putrid and rotten?

Neither are they to be heard, which saie;  
that God indeed ruleth all things: but that this  
is nothing else, but to minister unto all things  
the common influence, which euerye thing was  
brought unto it selfe. This is euen to make God,  
not in verie deed, but in name to be the ruler and  
gouernour of the world. For if he be that euerye  
thing, according to the nature thereof do bend  
and asple unto it selfe that common influence  
of God; then as rather contrarie to the nature of  
things created, there as rather contrarie to the nature of things  
created ought to folloive and (see after) God.  
But yet this saie, that euen as he, which thoweth a  
stone, or sheweth an arrowe, hath done enough  
to haue left forced the same, although he him  
selfe afterward folloive not after them, when  
they be out of his hand: so it was sufficient for  
God, in that he induced all things with a certaine  
power, although he do not perpetuallie gouerne

them. But these things be not alike; for a stone  
and an arrowe do fall immediately after that  
they be shot, because that force which is in things  
created cannot be of long continuance. Where-  
fore, unlesse that God should prosecute by his  
euerslasting care and providence, the thing which  
he hath forced, the nature of euerye thing could  
not abide. When the Peripateticks perceived that  
all their inferior things, were continuallie  
troubled; they iudged that the providence of  
God was about the none; as if it were not  
conuenient for it to be casual for these inferi-  
our things, no further sayth than a certaine  
common influence is thereby ministered unto all  
things. But these are fond reasons; for the  
scriptures teach vs, that euen these things, which  
to us may seeme to come most of all by chance,  
are yet governed by the providence of God. In  
Deuteronomie the 19. I as an streng by chance  
out of his hands that betwixt wood, strike a man  
and kill him as he passeth by; is 1 (saith the  
Lord) that deliuered him into the hand of the  
Assir, and in the 14. chapter of Iob, it is said of  
God; Thou hast appointed man his bounds,  
which he shall not passe. Also in the booke of  
Wisdome, (which booke though it be not in the ca-  
non, yet certainly it manie good and godlie fa-  
uours) in that booke (I saie) in the eight chapter,  
it is written; Wilddome reacheth from one end  
to another *uigilans*; & dispeth all things *uigilans*;  
it reacheth (saith he) *uigilans*; that is to saie,  
Strong & mightie; & dispeth Profitable: for so  
someth *uigilans*; & not Sweetie, as the trans-  
lation hath. And that profite, although it be not  
oftentimes perceived of vs, yet it is alwaies  
such sort, as it doth tend to the glorie of God.

8 But whether all things be subiect to the  
providence of God, is a matter in controuersie;  
for some saie, they be; and some saie, they be not.  
But, as we said before; if God haue made  
all things, undoubtedly nothing is exempted from  
his providence; for if anye thing should be ex-  
empted from his providence, that also should be  
exempted from creation. It is written in the e-  
pistle to the Hebrewes; He vpholdeth all things  
by the word of his power. The Hebrew phrase;  
The word of his power is in stead of His mightie  
word. This place agreeth with that which we ci-  
ted out of the booke of Wisdom. Ezechiel calleth  
God; The Lord of all flesh. And Moises calleth  
God; The Lord of spirits. And Paule saith; It is  
he that worketh all things, according to the de-  
termination of his will. Also Heliodorus an Ec-  
clicke poet saith; In this life we can no there ef-  
cape from the mind of God. Yet there be some  
which would exempt from Gods providence,  
men and free will, and things that either be of  
necessitie, or that come by chance. Cicero in his  
booke *De fate* saith; That the most ancient philo-  
sophers,

That God  
doth go-  
uorne both  
the superi-  
our and the  
inferiour  
things.  
Deut. 19. 5.  
Iob. 4. 5.

Wisdo. 8. 1.

whether all  
things be  
under the  
providence  
of God.

Heb. 1. 3.

Ezech. 1. 4.  
Num. 1. 19.

Eph. 1. 11.

sophers, such as Empedocles and Heraclitus affirmed, that All things come to passe of necessity: but the Peripateticks were of the opinion, that manie things come by chance. And Chrysippus as a notable empiric, although he taught that all other things were of necessity: yet affirmed, that mans will, as touching the first election is free. Wherefore Eusebius in his treatise *De preparatione evangelica*, saie pleainly, that Democritus made men to be slaves; but that Chrysippus made them but halfe slaves.

Also Cicero in his second booke *De divinatione*, will rather exclude all providence, than that men should not be free. Which vanitie Augustine describing in his fifth booke *De civitate Dei*, saith, that he to make men free, had made them rob Gods of his glorie. So we see, that there be some which thinke not, that all things be under providence: but in that they except man by name, which is the chiefest workmanship of God, that cometh to continuallous a thing against God. For seeing all artificers conferme trifling workes of small value, but doo above, and have a special care of those workes which be excellent; who will imagin that God could despise that worke, which of all other he made most choice of? And if it should be so, in what state stand we? What refuge should we have in adversitie? David saith; Cast all thy care upon God, and he will nourish thee. And Peter saith, It is he that taketh care of you. And Zacharie; He that toucheth you, careth of the apple of thine eye. And I (saith the Gen. 15. 1) am thy buckler, and thy strong wall. The Lord (saith David) is my helper, and I shall not be afraid what man can doo against me. Though their tents were pitched against mee, yet my hart shall not be afraid.

But thou wilt saie, that in Inferiour matters, manie things are done either without order, or else disorderly: for we see oftentimes the goodlie to be opposed, and the wicked to flourish. Admit it be so; but is there no providence therefore, because we do not see the causes thereof? If peradventure thou shouldst be in a smother shop, and seest manie toiles, some crowded, some botched, some broken, and some fawced in; wouldest thou straight waie condemne them all for naught, because they appeare not straight and handsome? I thinke not; but thou wouldest rather confesse thy selfe to be ignorant of the use of them. Surely an honor must be given to God, as when thou seest tyrants and wicked men to enioie localty and prosperitie, thou must saie, that they be instruments of the providence of God, although thou canst not perceive what God intendeth by them. Augustine saith, that God is to god, as he is able to have out some goodnes curen out of the wicked. Further, if there were no tyrants, what vertue & patience

of martyrs should there be? God will have come to be the triumph of his goodnes, he will have some also upon whom he may exercise his might and power. But perhaps thou wilt saie; Is it not enough that men be martyrs in the preparation of their minds? Indeed there be noble vertues hidden in the minds of the goodlie, but yet oftentimes this doth not lastine God; he will bring them forth into act, that they may be seene. Wherefore our eyes must be lifted up, that we thinke not of the vngoodlie, but of God. So the prophets call Nabuchadnezzar, Pharao, Esau, 10, 1, and Senacherib, hatchers, hammers, sawes, and swords in the hand of God.

Job, when he was turned out of all that he had, respected not the Chaldeans, nor the devil, but said; The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. He is accounted a learned physician, which can daine out unto the outward part of the bodie the corrupt humors, which be hidden within the bodie; yet we would abhorre blanes and sores; but the physician saith, that then the sicke man beginneth to heale, when such things breake forth. In like manner God, with his medicines and fires of persecutions bringeth into light those things, which before late hidden in our minds. Let the wicked do what they will, yet can they do nothing more than is the will of God. So said Peter in the Acts as touching Pilat and Herod; They agreed together, that they might doo, whatsoever thy will and thy counsell had decreed to doo.

But thou wilt saie; Some things be of necessity, which cannot otherwise be than they are; do those fall under the providence of God? I say, there is nothing created of such necessity, but if it be referred unto God, it hath the nature of a thing that cometh by chance. For as we saie; God readyeth from end to end, and ordereth all things. What thing is of more necessity than the cure of the sunne? And yet Iulia made the sunne to stand still. What thing is of more necessity, than that the fire should burne, if fuel be applied thereunto? Therefore it hath bene an old saying; If a true thing be applied to things possible, the action must follow of necessity. Per necessitates God brought to passe, that those three young men walked safelie in the flaming furnace. What is of more necessity, than that the shadowe should followe the sunne shining? And yet God brought to passe, that when the sunne did shine, the shadowe went backward. But man seemed to have bene made, and to be left in the hand of his owne counsell. Thou shalt keepe those things (saith Ecclesiasticus) & they shall keepe thee. I grant that man, as concerning the inward causes, was so made at the beginning; as nothing could be to him of any necessity: but

we do not therefore exclude the grace of God and providence. Let us heare the holie scriptures as touching that matter. For Ecclesiasticus is not among the number of the canonick booke. The kings hart (saith Salomon) is in the hand of God. But God saith; I have given them precepts. But he also saith; I will make you to walke in my commandments. Again; I will give you a new hart, and a new spirit. Wherefore man is not to be exempted from the providence of God.

But much lesse are those things to be excluded, which seeme to be done by chance. For although we can not perceive the reason of the second causes, yet God seeth it; yea, the Philosophers teach us, that euerie cause, which they call Per accidens, that is, Comming by chance, must be reuoked into that which is a cause by it selfe; so that which is Per accidens, can not be any cause. Wherefore Aristotle in his little booke *De bonis fortunis*, when he demanded for what cause some were fortunate, and some not? he answered, that it is done by a certaine violent motion, and impulsio; whereof neuertheless, he that is diuine, can not yelde a cause; hereby it cometh to passe (saith he) that some are fortunate, and some not. Furthermore he saith, that this euent, if it be referred to our will & knowledge, happeneth by chance; but that inso much as it is a cause by it selfe. But the question is not thus diuolued. For how cometh it to passe, that this fortune is giuen to one man, and not to another? The Aristologers would suppose that, which they thought Aristotle wanted. Prolome in his booke *De astronomia*, referreth this unto the stars; by which (he saith) men being diuersely boynt, are carried some to prosperitie, and some to aduersitie. And this, some call, A power, some Coniellation, and other some Particular destiny; Socrates called it *Dæmonium*. But what it happeneth more to one man, than to another; & more at one time, than at another; none other cause can be assigned, but the providence of God: which undoubtedly is, that all things should be referred to the glorie of God.

It is not you (saith Ioseph to his brethren) that should me into Aegypt; but God sent me hither before you. So God said that he felt Saule turned out of the waie to him by chance. So Christ said to his Apostles; There shall one meete you bearing a pitcher of water. These things were certaine unto the providence of God, although otherwise in the sight of men, they might seeme but things comming by chance. But thou wilt saie; We see then no second causes? With God nothing by his angels; We take not awaie the second causes; but we make them instruments of the prou-

dence of God; for Angels be administering spirits. And David saith; Who do execute his angels, yet he him selfe is present and principall in all things; if I shall ascend (saith David) into heauen, thou art there; if I go downe into hell, thou art there also. For he doth not to giue his angels charge, as though he him selfe were absent. Which thing the poets feigne of Apollo, that he placed Paeton in his chariot, and by that means all the heauens in his absence were set on fire. But sinners, (will some man say) depend not on providence. How sinnes be ruled by God, shall be shewed afterward. In the mean time this I saie; The cause of sinne vn doubtefull cometh from vs; but at what time, and against whom it should breake forth, that is in the power of God. It was vrbolue determined by Nabuchadnezzar, that he should oppress people more; but that he should oppress the Jewes more than others, that was prouided by God.

The next question is, whether this providence be immutable. What should it not? For it is the rule of all things that be done. It is written in the third of Malachie; I am the Lord, & am not changed. In the first of Malachie; With him there is no variableness, nor shadow of turning. And in the 19. of Prouerbes; There be manie cogitations in the hart of man, but the counsell of the Lord continueth stedfast. In the 46. of Esai; It is I that speake, and my counsell abideth surelie, and I do what I ever pleasest me. For seeing providence is both the knowledge and will of God, and that those things belong to the verie essence of God, it can not be changed, except God him selfe be changed therewithall. The first cause indeed, being they be diuine and fundie, they often times hinder themselves; which thing we see some of them be an impediment to others; but the will of God can not be hindered by any violence. In old time God ordered the ceremonies of the Jewes, afterward he would haue them to be abrogated. How then? As not the providence of God mutable? I answer; that in God is altogether one and the selfe same will; but that he fore-saw from the beginning, what might agree with the diuersitie of times. Augustine to Marcellinus saith, that if husband man hath sometime sowe, sometime reape, and sometime compass the soile; yet he must not saie that aspect of husbandrie is therefore mutable. Vicidians saith; that A certaine physician ministred a medicine to a sicke man, and healed him; and that he manie yeares after falling into the same disease, toke the same medicine without the counsell of the physician: but

but when he waered to come, he came to the physician, shewing him the matter, and began to complaine of the medicine. So marcellus (quoth Vindicianus) then; for I misinformed not the same unto thee. How then those men marueled thereat, and were of opinion that he was some indomitable; There is no such matter (saith he) for now is he of another age, and hath other humors than he had when I gaue him that his medicine. But shall not therefore the art of physic be like it selfe? euen so in anie wise God, although he foresee all things, yet he hath not decreed that all things should be done at one time.

13 Now let vs come to chance. It fo be that the poudence of God be so certaine, whether can it admit anie casualtie? Here will I first vnder two distinctions, and afterward I will answer. There is one necessitie which is absolute, and an other conditional. For when we saie, that God is wise of his selfe, we vnderstand that it is simple, and absolute necessitie. As there be other things necessary by supposition, as that which is commonlie canuaded in the scholes, to wit, that whatsoeuer is, thyle it is necessitie. Christ and the prophets foretold that the cite of Ierusalem should be euertowne; therefore of necessity it shall be euertowne; not that this necessitie is in the nature of the cite, but because Christ & the prophets haue foretold it, who could not be deceived. Paule saith; That there must needs be hereticks; Christ saith; It is necessary that offences come. For these causes being set before; namely, the corrupt nature of men, & the diuile hatred towards mankind; & the ed being granted to wit that the elect should be tried, it is necessary by supposition, that it should come to passe. Also things may be considered two manner of waies, either as they be in act; in that case they haue the nature of necessitie, for they be no longer indefinite. As, to witte, or not to witte, is by chance; but if thou be now in the act of writing, it is no more chance, but necessitie. Therefore we saie that the knowledge of the senses is certaine, because the things themselves cannot otherwise be. As alle things may be considered, as they lie hidden in their causes; but seeing causes may sometime bring forth effects, and sometimes not, therefore there is no necessitie power of working in them. But if those things be referred vnto God, the reason is far otherwise. For he calleth those things which be not, as though they were; & for he comprehendeth all time, and hath neither beginning nor ending. All things also, which haue to come for euer hereafter, are notwithstanding present vnto him. Here also cometh in the will of God; for we must not ascribe vnto him a bare knowledge; but such as is effectual, or actual. And by this meanes I saie, that the verie things them-

selves are to be considered as necessitie. Augustine in *Genesi ad litteram*, the first booke, chapter 15. There be many waies whereby man, and other things might haue bene made by God, and those meanes had some possibilitie, and no necessitie: but this is by the will of God, whose will is the necessitie of things. And though such things, being referred vnto God, be necessitie, yet of vs they must be twigged according to their inward and proper causes, and so be called things contingent, as that come by chance. For it is of no necessitie, that such as the efficient cause is, such also should be the effect.

14 If thou demand, What these two kinds of causes be in the nature of things, so as some be limited and necessarie, others indefinite and contingent; Nothing else can be answered, but that God hath laid these conditions vpon all things. God byingeth forth all things, and he limiteth and boundeth all things; but yet so as he neither consumeth nor destroyeth the nature of things. Boetius in his *Topicks* saith, that *Destinie* is so called, of drawing to, and giuing place aside: for God draweth all things; but yet after a sort to giue them place, as he disturbeth nature. Euen so things, although in their owne nature they incline indifferente on both parts; yet by God, they are made to incline more to one side than to another. The will of Saule, of his owne nature, was no more determined to go thither to tarrise; but when God would send him vnto Samuel, that will began to incline to the one part. And therefore God put into his mind the will of his father, and brought to passe, that the same should effectually moue and persuade his mind; and that all other desires of rest and ease (if same were) that might haue retained him at home, should be subdued. Therefore it came to passe, that the will of Saule obeyed the poudence of God. But yet in the meane time, the nature of the thing was not violated; but that the will of Saule was alike free vnto either part. Whereby it appereth, how necessarye the grace of God is vnto vs. For our owne will, as it is all manner of waies corrupted, turneth all things to the worse part. Also there be many things, which do dull and blind our vnderstanding, that the will cannot easilie followe. God therefore propoundeth god vnto our vnderstanding, afterward he kindly saith, & directly by the will that we do will the same effectually.

15 And thou wilt saie; Why is anie thing said to be contingent, seeing God hath alwaies determined of the one part, and so it is made a thing of necessitie? I answer; Euerie thing of his owne poudence and beginning is contingent; but poudence, which bringeth a necessitie, is an outward cause, of which nothing ought to be named. I knowe there be many, which at first,

tho they be said to be contingent, when it is determined, by God.

firste, that those things which can not be done by mans power, are brought vnto that passe by God, that our will may either chuse or refuse them; and that there the poudence of God staileth, and goeth no further; but then as God soyleth that euerie man will chuse, and what he will refuse, his foreknowledge bringeth nothing at all. Howbeit, these sayings do not suffice to satisfie agree with the holie scriptures. For they teach, that God doth not poudence for things, that he will forsake them; but that (as we haue said) he may conduct them to their ends, and those may seruise the poudence of God. For so saith Paule; God hath made all things according to the purpose of his will. So saith God himselfe in *Esaie*; All things that I will, I doe. And Christ saith; Verlie, euen a lielle sparrowe lighteth not vpon the ground without the will of our father. I knowe that Origin, Cyrill, Chrysostome, and others being vided by certaine manifest places of the scriptures, such as these are; it beloued Christ to suffer; The scriptures ought to be fulfilled, do thus interpret them; to wit, that these things did not therefore come to passe, because God fore-saw them, but therefore God fore-saw them, because they should come to passe. This iudgement of theirs, if they spake as touching absolute knowledge, could not much be reprehended. For, not by chance I see a man waiting, therefore he waiteth; but because he waiteth, therefore I see him waiting. Howbeit, we cannot ascribe a bare knowledge in God, but we must also attribute vnto him a will, whereby he directeth and ordereth all things. Yet shall it be true that they say, if their meaning be of the effect, or (as they saie) *Appetite*, that is, of the latter; For we hereto, that a thing is done, do vnderstand, that it was the purpose of God that so it should be. As therefore the scriptures speake verie plainlie; It beloued Christ to die; It beloued that the scriptures should be fulfilled. But how did it beloued? By supposition; because God so fore-saw it: not that that necessitie was in the nature of the thing.

16 But peradventure thou wilt saie, that therefore the causes in the nature of the thing it selfe be infinit, for that I take not the perfect and full causes, in so much as I should haue added the poudence of God. I answer; I onlie take the inward and proper causes of euerie thing, whose effects, because they might or might not be brought forth by them, be things contingent. But I adde not poudence, because the same is an outward cause. The which being added, it cannot be avoided, but that by supposition, some necessitie must followe. For, Saule met with men carrying of kibe, bread, & wine; their will, in respect of the nature thereof, was

infinite, either to haue giuen him, or not to haue giuen him anie thing; but God by his poudence did limit that will vnto the one part. They went to Bethel, there to sacrifice; they met with Saule wearie vpon the wine, & almost dead with hunger; it seemed a courtesie to refresh him; this did God put into their minds. And if there were anie thing, which might be a let vnto this will, those things be bybled. And these things we dispute onelie concerning the wills of men; for otherwise, in other things which be contingent, I knowe the means be infinite, which God is wont to vse. Another example of this matter we haue out of the 21. chapter of *Ezechiel*;

Nabuchadnezzar marched into Syria, and when he was now onward on the waie, at a place where two waies meet, he began to consult with himselfe, whether it were better for him to lead his power against the Iezus, or else against Kabbath the cheefe cite of the Ammonites. He drew lots there vpon, the lots did God so frame, that he brought him to Ierusalem. The nature of the thing it selfe was contingent, but the same being appointed of God became a thing of necessitie. Ioseph was to sold and carried into Egypt, as concerning the nature of the thing, it might be, that either he should live at home in bondage, or else that he should at one time or other be deliuered. But God sent dreames into the *Isahar* and *Isidur*; those dreames did Ioseph interpret; afterward he fled from Pharaos byname, which then none of the diuinites could expound, the Butler gaue him intelligence of Ioseph; and by this meanes it came to passe, that Ioseph was deliuered out of prison. Therefore be it thus determined (as we haue said) that all things hauing relation to the poudence of God, be necessitie; but of their owne nature are contingent.

But thou wilt say; Shall the meanes be absolute; he called things comming by chance, or rather of necessitie? Some there be, that for the dignitie of poudence, will haue them called necessitie; but I should rather call them contingent, according to their owne nature. Albeit I will not graunte true, so that the same necessitie be vnderstand onelie by supposition. I mighte do some of the Greeks name poudence *προνοια*, because it passeth through euerie thing; others called it *δαιμονια*, because nothing can escape it. Some will saie, that we receive the opinion of the Stoicks concerning destinie. That is not true; for they defined their destinie to be a necessitie by a limiting together of causes, and as affirmed that the same did ouer-rule euen God himselfe. But contrariwise, we teach that God governeth all things, and that he vseth them to his owne glorie. But if they affirme that destinie

Things coming by chance. A distinction of necessitie. 1. Cooke part 2. But. 21. chapters. 2. and part 3. chap. 1. But. 49.

Matt. 24. 1.

1. Cor. 11. ver. 19. Matt. 18. 7.

Two sense respect of things.

Rom. 4. 17.

God me, both things of equal weight incline on the one.

1 Sam. 16.

Luk. 24. 26. Iohn. 19. 36.

Who cause are infinit.

1 Sam. 10. 3.

Eze. 21. 23.

Gen. 37. 18.

Whether it be a necessity or contingent.



Whether  
councils  
or admoni-  
tions be tak-  
en alone  
by powe-  
r of grace.

nie is nothing else, but the providence of God; the question is onlie as touching the word, and not of the thing: as Augustine else-where hath taught. As thus, thou wilt say, that by this means, there will be no place for admonitions, admonitions, and corrections, seeing that which God will, must needs come to passe. The selfe same thing I have objected to Augustine, whereupon he wrote the booke *De corruptione & gratia*. Unconcoenable God, although he have decreed a thing to be done, yet he useth means in bringing the same to passe. He will change the naughty will of man; he useth admonitions, preachings, and chastisements. For these be the instruments of Gods providence: so farre is it that the providence of God excludeth them. In this question we have set in a manner the roots, and laid the foundations of predestination: but of it we will intreate an other time, when opportunity shall serve.

I knowe I am misreported, that I make God to be the author of sinne; but that is not true, as I shall plainly appeare. But I oole intreat you by this doctrine, to know how the scriptures must be understood, when they seeme to affirme: Also what Augustine meant, who said, *God denbereth the will of men as well unto good, as unto evil.* And in like manner, how Zuinglius & Oecolampadius, and other great learned men, professors of the Gospel, must be understood, when they seeme to as-  
mouch the same.

### The .xvij. Chapter.

Whether God be the Author of sinne; out of the second booke of Sam. the 16. chapter, verse 22. Looke in Iud. 3. 9. and 9.24. and 2. Sam. 2. 27. and 1. Kings. 22. 21. and In Rom. 1. 23.

In 1. Sam.  
17. verse 22.

2. Sa. 16. 10.

1. 12. 1.

Arguments  
inferring  
God not to  
be the au-  
thor of sin.

It remaineth now, that we intreate of the question; Whether God be the author of sinne? For aswell the exche of Se-  
mei, as the desiling of Dauids concubins, may seeme at the first to be proceed from God. For as touching the curse, David him selfe said, that it came from God. And as touching the adulterie of Dauids concubins, it was spoken by Nathan under the person of God. Wherefore it may verie well be cal-  
led in controversy, whether God be the author of sinne. And trulie there are verie many and strong arguments of both sides: a good part of them I will recite, unto the which all the rest

may be referred. God can not trulie & rightlie be said to be the cause of sinne. Excellent is the sentence of Augustine, in his booke of 83. questions; God is not the author of any thing, whereby a man becomeeth the worse: But no man doubteth that men are the worse through sinne. Therefore God can not properly be called the author of sinne. It is not likelie, that God will deserve man: artificers becometh to adorne their works. Further, God him selfe generalie in the scripture professeth him selfe a revenger of sinnes. If he be a revenger, he is no author; for then he should punish his owne. If he were trulie the cause of sinne, he should condemne that which he made, which thing is absurd. Where it is said, that He loveth those things which he made, and hateeth nothing that he hath made. But he testifieth that he did hate sinne, therefore he doth not in force to sinne. To hate and to love are contrarie; wherefore both can not be spoken of one thing, at one and the selfe same time. If he hate sinne, then he loveth it not; but if he be it were of God, it should be beloved: for God loveth those things which he made. If God were the cause of sinne, he in the bringing forth of sinne, should sinne; he that createth is a thief; he that committeth is further, is a manqueller; but far be it from God, that he should be either said to sinne, or to be a sinner. What is else to sinne, but to straye from the right end? But God is infinite, and can not be lead awaie from the end by another greater force. He is not ignorant, that he can straye from the end; for he is most wise. And that he him selfe should cause others to sinne, it seemeth to be absurd.

Let us consider what is done among these naturall things created by God. There be many efficient causes; it seemeth that every efficient cause co-worketh to make that like unto it selfe, whereabout it worketh. Fire, if it take hold upon wood, to worketh, as those things, whereupon it worketh, may be made like unto it selfe; a man doth procreate a man. Thus in things created do agents worke; while shall we not say, that in Gods workings, his endeavour is to make like unto him selfe; and that therefore he sinneth not? The holie scriptures teach us the same; they bring in lawes which stirre up good workings, but sinnes at no time. If God should provoke sinne, as would it to be done, he should seeme to be an hypocrite; he should elswe and secretly do another thing, but he openlie pretendeth. Ieremie spake of false prophets; They ranne but I sent them not; they prophesied, and I spake not with them; namely, that they should speake this thing. Ofeas saith; Thy salvation, O Israel, is of me, my perdition is of thy selfe. But no man is ignorant that

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John 8. 44.

John 3. 13.

James 1. 13.

2. Par. 36.

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Gen. 1. 25.

Iere. 23. 13.

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Rom. 3. 5.

Iere. 23. 11.

Ofe. 13. 9.

that time is the cause of perdition. If perdition were of Christ, then sinne also: but saluati-  
on, and whatsoeuer goeth before saluation, is of God. If saluation and perdition, being the effects, be thus distinguished; the causes also, must be distinguished; the one to be of God, and the other of man. Sin shall proceed of men, and vertues of God. Poze manifest is that, which is written in the eighth chapter of Iohn, where Christ speaking of the Iewell, faith; When he speaketh lies, he speaketh of his owne: If of his owne, he hath no need to be stirred by o-  
ther. And againe, This is the condemnation of man, that light came into the world, but they loved darkenes more. James testifieth, that God tempteth no man. But by temptation, men are provoked unto sin: wherefore if God were the cause of sin, it might not be said, that he tempteth not any man. It is concupiscence where-  
by we be tempted, and that is not of God, but of the two lo.

2 In the second of Paralipomenon, the last chapter, there is a speciall place, where the cause of the destruction of Ierusalem is giuen and ascribed to the sins of the people: and in such sort it is so disposed, that God is the author of sin, as God testifieth that he would it otherwise: wherefore the cause must not be laid upon God. He sent his prophets (saith he) be-  
times in the morning, but they hardened their hart. Christ wept over the citie of Ierusalem; he was loathe for the ouerthrow thereof. If he were loathe for the ouerthrow thereof, much rather did the cause: he wept, because they lo sinned, as they deserved utter destruction. If Christ wept, who not onlie was man, but verie God also, he was displeased with sins: I re-  
force God is not the author of sinne. Neither can it be affirmed, that God is the cause of sin, inuolue we will charge him with tyrannie, in that he condemneth men for their sins, because they haue done wickedlie, whom he pet after a sort he hath led unto wickednes. Tyrants are wont to let forth lawes, and then to promise punishment that their subiects may commit their things against those lawes, whereby they may punish them. Moreover, the scripture at-  
tributeth unto God the iudgement over all things; but how shall he iudge the world of sin, if he him selfe haue bin the author of sin? In the third chapter to the Romanes; If our righteous-  
nes do us forth the righteousness of God, is God vnjust for punishing? that it may be per-  
ceiued how absurd a thing it is, that our sinne should make to the glorie of God: for if they make to the glorie of God, why doth he con-  
demne them? If the reason be there of force, it more strongly concludeth in this place. If God be the cause of sin, how shall he iudge the world

Also there will seeme to be in him two wills, and those one contrarie to the other: but in God there is onlie one will; if there should be more, they would be one against another, as touching one and the selfe same thing; so that he would haue vs both to do, and to do the selfe same things. We will demand, to what purpose are so many exhortations, persua-  
sions, and callings to do well, in the holie scrip-  
tures? All these things will seeme to be vaine. To what end doth Christ giue warning unto Iudas, if he should be betrayed of him? These speeches may seeme to be done as it were in game. But God dealeth grauilie and earnestlie in those things, which he dealeth with men. Also there would followe a great absurditie; for the differences betwene god and euill, and betwene vertue and sin, would be taken a-  
waie. God should be appointed the author of both; whereas he being the fourerigne god, there can proceed nothing but goodes from him. If a man should desire murder, aduul-  
rie, and incest, he would saie; it is a godd work. The matter would be brought to this passe, as god would be called euill, and euill god; yea rather there would be no difference at all betwixt them. For though the will of God, whereby he forbiddeth and commandeth any thing, the iudge of god and euill; but by this means we should be void of all iudgement.

In like manner would be taken awaie the iudgements of our consciences. We reade in the epistle to the Romanes, that we haue cogi-  
tations, which shall defend and accuse one o-  
ther in the iudgement of the Lord. If this o-  
ther opinion were true, we will gather, that we should not accuse our selues, but God the author. There is plentie of excuse for the twice he, they will saie; wherefore need I to repent for this thing, seeing God himselfe is the author of it? Repentance will be taken awaie, and a wickednes opened vnto great mischances. Wherefore shall we giue thanks unto God, be-  
cause he hath belieuers vs from our sins? But sin was good; It hat but all one to haue been still in sin; We will not lament our sins, but rather reioice in them, for it is the worke of God; it is mete that we should reioice for the works of God. If God himselfe be the author of sin, praise and reioicing will followe; but not for-  
rowe. Much will be dytome awaie from the ex-  
tirmation of God, if he should be put the author of sin. That saluting alie, which they shew, might be brought; namely, that God would haue all men to be saved. If he will haue them to be sa-  
ued, he shew god meane; he incourageth not men to sin; for sins doe leade men to perdition. Again, more reasons might be brought, but for this time we will content our selues with these.



3 Let vs be on the other part, what things they be that might ascribe God to be the cause of sin. In the first chapter to the Romanes it is written; that Seeing the idolaters knew God, and would not worship him as God, therefore (as met it was) he gaue them vp vnto a reprobate sense, and vnto shamefull lusts. If ye agree here, he also punished and moued them. In Exodus 9, 12. It is written, that God had hardened and blinded the hart of Pharaos, so that he would not hearken, when Moses commanded him in the name of God to let the people depart. In the first of Eiaic, Heis said to blind the people, that they should not see. When we pntre out our prayers before God, we desire him that he lead vs not into temptation, but that he will deliuer vs from euill. So what end should we thus praise, if these things should not sometimes be: for man intreateth, except for those things which may be, or which do hang our life head, or which he fearth will come to passe. They are wnt to say, that God doth and willett these things, not as they be finnes, but in respect that they be punishments to chaften him that hath sinned. But it is hard to apoint the punishment and fault to be all one thing, being the nature of punishment and fault is diuers. A fault ariseth from the will, whereas punishment is laid vpon vs against our will. If it be committed voluntarie, then it is no punishment. So to ascribe a thing to be voluntarie, and yet involuntary, can hardly be made to agree. That which is the cause of a cause, may also be called the cause of the effect: but no man doubteth but that God hath giuen vs a will, inclinations, properties and effects, whereby we are prouoked to sinne. If God be said to be the cause of these things, why dare we not say that he is the cause of finnes: that which remoueth the impediments, if the thing afterward happen, or the effect followe, it shall be called the cause of sinne. What doth chrestie let finnes: Cuen grace, and the good spirit of God: except these haue vs backe, we shall rush headlong into most grievous crimes. Who can remove grace, or take away the spirit, but onlie God which gaue them: If he remove the lets, no doubt but he is some cause of finnes. Also, he that ministrerth an occasion of anie thing, he seemeth to be an author thereof: although he be not the chiefe cause, if he giue an occasion he shall not faile to be called author. God knew the hardnesse of Pharaos hart, and he knew that he being not holpen by the spirit, would be prouoked to sin. So the laweis said to increase sinne, if it be not propoied to the regenerate: for we alwaies bend our selues vnto that which we be forbidden, and couet that which we be deni'd. God commandeth [Pharaos] to let the people go; what

is this, but to offer an occasion that he might be the more hardened: He cannot denie but that God doth minister occasions: yea, and be not onely giue occasions, but we can also thinke commandments therein be commandeth sinne. We haue in the historie of the kings, that Achab was a wicked prince; that God determined to punish him in battell; he would haue him brought to die by the flatteries and false persuasions of false prophets. And he brought in to talke with the spirits; Who can seduce Achab? There slept sayth an ill spirit which said; I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of the false prophets. God alloweth and commandeth it; Go thy waies, do so. He giue encouragement; it shall be so.

Further, we cannot denie, but that sinne is a certaine humane action: but euertied, as it comes in act, dependeth of the first principle of all things. God is (as the Philosophers acknowledge him) *Primus motor*, the first agent. Thislike he be the vpholder, there can be no agent: wherefore sinne dependeth on God, as vpon the cause efficient. Sinnes for the most part be motions; and motions haue an order, so as the inferior dependeth vpon the superior: therefore the cause of sinne, so far forth as it is a motion, is directed vnto his owne mouer. Augustine hath certene testimonies of this thing, and confirmeth it also by some places of the scripture. In his booke *De gratia & libero arbitrio*, the twelue chapter, he saith; that There is no doubt, but that God worketh in mens minds, to make their wills incline, either to good according to his merite, or vnto euill according to their merits; by his iudgement vndoubtedly which sometime is open, sometime secret, but euermore iust. In the beginning of that chapter he saith; Who can but tremble at these horrible iudgements of God, whereby he worketh what he will in the harts of the wicked, pelding to euertie one according to his desert. And he addeth; He berelle together in the harts of men the motions of their will, and by them he doth those things that he will do, vnto neuertheless cannot will anie thing vniuillie. He is proueth by the scriptures. In the first of kings we haue the historie of Roboam, who hardened not to the counsel of the ancients, that he should deale mildly with the people. But it is said, that this turning away was of the Lord, to the intent he might establish the saing of Ahia the Silonite. Wherefore (as Augustine expoundeth it) that naughtie will was of the Lord. He allegeth another place, out of the second booke of Chonicles, the 21. chapter. God stirred by the Philistines and Arabians against Ioram, which followed idolatry; God was minded to punish him. Vndoubtedly the moti-

ons of the minds in the Philistines and Arabians were touched against Ioram, inasmuch as they inuaded other mens countries, and were infected with crueltie; and yet God is said to haue stirred them by. In the same historie of kings, there is speaking of Amasias, which prouoked Ioram the king of Ioram vnto battell. Hea and Ioram himselfe, and also the prophet of the Lord discouraged him from the purpose; but he being carried with ambition, hearkened not vnto the godlie admonitions: which thing neuertheless came from God, who would that he should be deliuered into his hands, because he followed the doles of Edom.

4 He read in the 14. chapter of Ezechiel; If the prophet be deceived, I haue seduced him; and I will stretch forth my hand, and will lime him. He intreateth of the false prophets, which euertie be whiles baine led the people. Ie-ruemie saith in the fourth chapter, that God deceived the people. In the 63. chapter of Eiaic the prophet complaineth; Wherefore hath God so seduced the people, or made them to erre, that they should depart from him? Salomon saith in his *Proverbs*; Euen as the violence of waters, so is the kings hart in the hand of God. Vnto doubtles Pharaos was a king, therefore he inclined his will vnto what part he would. Nabuchadnezzer was a king, therefore he inclined his will vnto which part he would. In the 104. psalme, it is said of the Aegyptians, that God turned their harts, so as they hated the children of Israel: they seemed before to loue the Israelites. In the second epistle to the *Thetalonians*, the second chapter; Because men cast awaie the loue of the truth, therefore God sent them strong illusions, that they might giue credit vnto lies. It is written in the eleventh chapter of Iohas, that None made peace with the children of Israel, among all the nations of the Chanaanites, save onely the Gabeonites. For God encouraged their hart to fight against the Israelites. And it is added, vnto what end; namely, that they should be washed out by them. After this he did animate them, that they should not desire to haue peace, but rather to haue waere. Wherefore, he that would an end, seemeth to do those things, which serue vnto the end; and by the same will he would those meanes which craue an end. The physician, willing to heale a sicke man, seeth that cutting, or searing, or else a bitter potion is fit, and euen these he will vse for reuerence of health. When God would that a testimonie vnto the truth should be giuen by the martyrs, and that Christ should die, he also would those things that should procure this end; namely, the veneration of the saints, and crueltie of kings and people: for it behooued to attaine vnto that end by these kind

of meanes. In the prophet, especially in Eiaic, kings are said to be in the hand of God, like rods, hammers, and axes; which comparisons haue no place, if it were not understood, that God moueth the harts: for they be not inuaded, while they be diuine foemen. Also when God was displeased with the people of Israel, he stirred by the hart of Dauid to number that people by the poll; which thing was wicked. It is to small purpose, if thou wilt faile that in the booke of Chonicles is read, that Ioram prouoked him: for Ioram can do no more than God giue him leaue. Whether God do it by himselfe, or by Ioram, thou saist that David was stirred by the will of God, vnto that which was not lawfull. They are wnt to excuse this matter, that God permiteth, but not helpeth. We saie, it is not enough; for the offence is still left in our minds. God as yet seemeth after some sort to will sinne; he knoweth, that a man cannot stand by himselfe. If some blind man should walke before him, and we should see him ready either to stumble against a stone, or to fall into a ditch; and we are present, we may helpe him, but we will not, we will suffer him to go: now when he falleth, shall not we after some sort be said to be guilty of his fall: for thou wouldest haue him fall, if thou diddest not raise him when thou mightest.

And that which yet is more greuous; if so be that an old impotent man were leaning vpon his staffe, and to after a foot were going, and if some man should take away his staffe where vpon he leaned, although he infused him not to fall, should he not after some sort be called the author of the fall? God taketh away his spirit from weak men, who without this be not able to go; both he not after some sort seeme to be the cause of their fall? God defendeth, that which they bring, will be a weak defence, when they saie that God foyleth men. While we would seeme to excuse God, we laie as greuous things vnto him; to wit, that he is no more a God; and while we shun the smoke, we fall into the fire. If anie thing be done before the will of God, whether he will, or no; if there be anie effects, whereof he is not the cause: he is not then the vniuersal cause of all, nor yet God. But he compelleth not to fall; the excuse will not serue. Admit there be some good man of the house, whose familie be some of the house, if he be reproued, he will excuse himselfe, saying; I bad them not, I commanded them not; that excuse shall not be counted lawfull; for he ought not to permit that which he could haue hindered. In anie times the good man of the house cannot let wicked men, but the power of God is inuincible. There be no wills to euill and corrupt, but he can amend and make them good. Anicimus in his booke *De causa diaboli*, the 1. chapter; *utpote* (saith)

Amilic  
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Ac.2.23.

Ac.4.27.

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opinion.

(saith he) doe we account it absurd, that God doth particular actions by a naughty will, seeing we knowe, that he maketh furthest substances, which are brought forth by an dishonest action: As when a child is procreated by adulterie. That adulterie is euill, no man doubteth, but that child is the creature of God. This fiercly thise to be affirmed in the Acts of the apostles. In the second chapter Peter saith of Iesus the sonne of God; that The Iewes had taken him, and deliuered him to be slaine by the determinate will and counsell of God. Afterward in the fourth chapter, when the church gaue thanks vnto God, it prayeth on this wise; Against thy holie Iohanne Iesus, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles and people of Israel, gathered them selues together, to do those things that thy hand and thy counsell had determined to be done. With these arguments, whereunto as there might be added, I will hold my selfe content.

¶ Now that we haue set before the reasons for each part, there remaineth that the question it selfe be expounded. I find three opinions; the first is to be detested, namelic of the Libertins, which saie, that God is all toholie the cause of sinne; and so saie, as they affirme, all sinnes to be creable, and not to be repayed, because they be the woorks of God; and if anie fault should be, they would laie it vpon God. This one thing they indeuour; namelic, to take as loue from all men the feeling of sinne. If anie man haue committed murder, it is not he (saie they) that hath committed it, God hath done it. And bulke that a man to thinke, they saie, that he is imperfect, and can not alio of all Gods woorks. What can be more wickedly imagined? The diuill could not haue found out a readier waie to hell. Let these men go to perdition, seeing we can not mend them: let vs praye vnto God that he will take awaie these pestilent persons out of the church. The second opinion is of certaine learned men, who mislike not that senle, which the scriptures appeare to haue at the first sight. They saie, that God hardeneth, that he punisheth sinnes with sinnes; and finally, they grant him to be the cause of sinne; but they adde, that these actions, seeing they proceed from the verie corrupt nature of men, so farre from that they be of God, haue a respect to induce; and that men be not excused, because they be inclined vnto these things: they laie not the blame vnto God, who doth his part rightlie. If (saie they) it can not be comprehended by reason, howe he doth iustlie, and doe vniustlie; we must referre our selues to the iudgement of the scriptures. There be manie other things, which by mans reason we cant not knowe, which neuertheles

we doe beleue. The third opinion is of them, which interpret all these places of the scripture by the woordes; He suffered, He gaue leave, He permitted, as according to the Greeke; He did not hinder it, and such like. So they thinke that all dangers are auoided.

¶ But what my iudgement is, I will not be loth to declare; afterward vpon some selues shall iudge. And that the matter may be the more easilie knowen, it shall be good to examine it the more deaple: and somewhat I will laie of euill, vnder which generall word, sinne is contained. Euill is a certain priuation, of good I meane; yet not of euerie good, but of such a good as, thing as is requisite for the perfection of euerie creature, which I saie belongeth to the perfection of the thing disposed. For if we take a loue sight from a stone, it shall haue no hurt: for that qualitie of nature is not meate for it. Cuill being a priuation, can not consist with out god: for it must haue a subiect. A subiect being it is a substance, is a good thing; wherefore euill can not be but in god: euens as blindness is a priuation of sight, it hangeth not in the aire, but it sticketh in the eye. So may it be shewed by manie other examples. But not to depart from that which we haue in hand; sinne it selfe deprieth mans action of dutie and obedience towards the woord of God. These things ought to be in action; but when we sinne, action is bereft of those good things. And action, seeing it is a certaine thing, it is in his owne nature good; wherefore euill can not be but in god. Howouer, euill is not desired for it selfe, but men tooke in consideration of god; for vniustie there appeared some likeness of god, they would not depart from godnes. So great therefore is the power of god, as euill can not be except in god, and vnto god. Wherefore rightlie haue the wise men said, that we may grant, there is the cheefest god; but not affirme that there is the cheefest euill, which can depriue god altogether: for then it should destroye it selfe. It might haue no subiect wherein it should be, nor yet outward the, whereby it should be desired. So speake now of euill: it is distinguished into punishment, and fault. Fault is called that which we commit against the laue of God; punishment is that which is laide vpon vs for sinne; and that also hath a priuation of some commoditie; as when God kineth sickness, sickness is the priuation of health, and hath place in the bodie of a liuing creature. He kineth famine and barenesse, which is the priuation of fertilityte; and it is in the earth it selfe: this (I saie) belongeth vnto punishment. But sinne taketh place in the mind onlie: punishments doublete may both be in the mind, and in the bodie. There is added a third member,

The third  
opinion.

The distinction  
of the question  
is defined.

What god  
by him selfe  
is not the  
cause of  
sinne.

A simile  
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A propo  
sition,  
on whereby  
the question  
is defined.

What god  
by him selfe  
is not the  
cause of  
sinne.

A simile  
tute.

which is a punishment, as it is also sinne: as original sinne is, is the natural corruption left after baptisme. These things thus concluded, I put forth a certaine sentence; of proposition to be considered, the which hath two parts. The first is, that God is not by him selfe and properlie the cause of sinne. The second is, that there is nothing done in the woold, no not sinnes them selues, without his will, determination, and prouidence.

¶ To proue the question, it becometh necessary to examine it as touching both parts. At it speake of the first; that God by him selfe is not the cause of sinne. Vnto this purpose serue the arguments in the first place. But I adde, that when god of euill are opposed, as habit and priuation; the habit by it selfe doth neuer bring in priuation. A light it selfe doth alwaies illuminate, it neuer bringeth in darlines. Wherefore if we put god and euill as contrarie priuities, euill shall not be of god. God is the cheefest god, let vs then put him to be the habit; wherefore by him selfe and properlie, he maketh no priuation. But I saie that he is not the cause of sinne by him selfe and properlie. These woordes I haue added, because, if we will speake lesse properlie, he may be said after some sort to be either the beginning, or the cause of sinne; not indeed the proper cause; but that cause, which of the philosophers is called remouing or prohibiting. I will make the matter plaine by similitudes. The sinne is altogether bright, the proper effect thereof is to make light; yet after some manner it may be said to make darlines, not in that it thineth, but in that it is moued, and depareth from one place to an other. For bodies be round, therefore when it depareth, it can not alwaies by reason of the motion, giue light to that place from whence it went, but shadowes do come betwixen: so then after some sort it is said to make darlines by the depature thereof; because bodies are so ordered, and it selfe is moued.

So likewise it happeneth as touching some ruinous house; it is help by a pop, some man applying remoueth the prop, the stones and buildings through their owne weight fall downe from the top; which things haue in them selues the causes of their coming downe: yet notwithstanding, he which taketh awaie the prop, is said after a sort to cause the fall: for he remoueth the staie which letted the ruine. In like manner God, in his owne nature is god, yet in respect that he is iust, he will punish sinners; he taketh awaie his grace, and after some sort may be called the cause of those things which afterward be naughtyli done; yet not the true cause; for that proper cause is inward, that is to wit, the naughty will of them. But while he

sometimes taketh awaie his spirit from men, a reason may be yelued; when they sinne, he remoueth his grace from them, not onlie to the intent he may punish, but that the excellencie of his fauour may be knowne; and to let vs vnderstand, that that which God giueth, he giueth it freely, and that it is not of nature. For if we should alwaies haue his grace; and after one and the selfe same manner, as if God would not at sometime backe his strength, he would attribute vnto our owne power the good things that we do. But thus it is, to the intent we may acknowledge our owne infirmitie, and praise the more excellent for preferuation and increase of the heauenly gift. But when the grace and fauour of God is iustlie taken away from vs, sinne doth naturallie followe; neither is there meere of anie other efficient cause; I meane, there needeth no other cause, to come from our infected and corrupt affections.

This appeareth by the similitudes alleaged, if the sinne be remoued, darlines doth followe; not through anie efficient cause, but by it selfe. If the habit be remoued, priuation is straightwaie present of his owne accord. If one so hurteth his eye, as the sight be lost; blindness doth immediatlie followe; neither is it needfull to take anie other thing that worketh. Which seeing the Manicheis perceived not, they erred most shamefullie: they would not attribute the cause of euill vnto the god God; but they saue that there were manie euils, and they iudged that euils could not be without a true cause; whereupon they affirmed that there be two beginnings. And because they saue a great power to be both in euill, in god, they brought in two gods; one god, and an other bad. Of these we read much in Augustine. Yet that euill, which is sinne, cometh, if the spirit of God be taken away: for then man is left vnto him selfe. But whether is he so left, as God hath no more anie thing concerning him, or his sinne? That this may be vnderstood, I will declare these sort of twooing, which we may perceiue in God towards his creatures: not that other woordes of his can not be shewed, but because these three do most of all erre vnto the matter we haue in hand.

¶ Some action of God is generall, seeing by his prouidence he cherisheth, susteineth, and gouerneth all things in their conditions, qualities, and inclinations, as they stand at the beginning when they were created. And thus is the order of nature preferred; which thing is excellent to be knowne. We see that haueu retereth his owne nature: surely it hath manie nature to be maruelled at. We see that the nature of fire is beyement, of aie is pleasant,

Three sort  
of sinnes  
whereby  
his creatures.

Similit  
tute.

Three sort  
of sinnes  
whereby  
his creatures.

The first  
action of  
God is ge  
nerall.

of water is flowing: we see also the metals, the trees, the works of artificers, which things are difficult to be wonderful. All these are governed by God; yea, and if he should withdraw his hand from them, they would fall to nothing. Profitable doubts is the consideration of his divine government. Oftentimes both God exhort us in the psalmes, to magnifie him for these works. In the first to the Romanes it is written, that the Gentiles by these creatures did knowe God, and a kind of his euelsing force, working government, and goyhead, in such sort, as Aratus said: We are in verie deed the linage of God. We haue an excellent example of this worke in our felues. The soule which is not sense, is indubitable, yet it moueth and quickeneth the whole bodie. Euen so all creatures doe retaine their properties and inclinations.

9 Secondly, another worke of God is, whereby the creatures are not onlie preferred and ruled, but do also obey the counsels of God. For God vseth the actions of all things, euen of men, and of euill men: he vseth them (I saie) for the establishment of his purposes. When he fauoreth his owne, he giueth them plentifull increase of fruits; the raine fallth earlye and late. But if he will of his iustice punish the wicked, nothing cometh well to passe; there is giuen a heauen of brasse, and an earth of iron: if the fruits be ripe, they perish in one night. These things must not be ascribed vnto fortune. When we knowe not the cause, we take it to be fortune; whereupon the poet saith,

*A goldesfe Fortune we thee call,  
And place thee high in beaueslie fall.*

Wherefore we must not occupie our felues alone in a generall consideration of things of the world, but we must weigh the vse where in they serue the prouidence of God; whereas sin cometh of proper causes. I meane of our owne will, and corrupt affections, yet both the same serue God also. A similitude; There be manie poisons in the world, they haue manie and dangerous qualities; yet the physician occupieth them, and the magistrate rightly vseth them. The physician by tempering of the poisons, healeth the sicke: the magistrate at Athens gaue poison for the taking awaye of such as were guilty. So was Socrates compell'd to drinke hemlocke. Although therefore poisons are euill, yet may the magistrate and the physician vse them well for the saluetye of the common-weale, and preseruatiōe of the sicke. Euen so God ruleth sins (which haue their proper causes corrupted) for the performinge bying forth of his counsels to act. I might also vse another similitude; As holie things which same

to be done of vs by chance in the world, do much of all serue the prouidence of God. For the Lord saith in the lawe, Exodus 21, and Deut. 19. If two things fall in the waye, to the groue to heu word, & the axe fliech out of one of their hands, and he is smitten therewith that stood next him, and is laine: this he did vntilltelling, he shall not be guilty of death. For God deliuered him (thereunto) and that for iust causes betwixen him of a determinate purpose; he vnderstand it not, he knoweth it. Euen so they which offend, indeed they do as they would, yet haue determined with themselves that they will do it; but yet God vseth these actions. So by the curse of Semei, God would haue the patience of Dauid to be thoughtfull knowe vnto all men, and would open his iudgements against his adulteric and murder: but this man meant to thin his hatred against Dauid. God doth that which he will, as touching these crimes which men of another purpose committe; not to the intent they might obey the will of God, but their owne corrupt wills.

And to returne to the testimonie now alledged, he that heareth word, this he would do, but the are hitted another man, and the biting scratch the counsell of God. I come vpon the twelfth chapter of Ieremie writeth, that something hapneth rathle and without prouidence, whether it be good or euill; but that all things come to passe by the iudgment of God. Wherefore creatures be certein instruments in the hand of God; he vseth them according to his owne purpose. But yet these instruments be not all after one sort; for some there be which haue no knowledge, no sense, no will, and yet neuertheless they do serue vnto God. But there be others, which perceiue, vnderstand, and will the things which they do, and yet they do it not alwaies of purpose to serue God: yea rather they oftentimes vntillwilling and vntilltelling do that which God appointeth. Wherefore we will saie, that as well using creatures, as not liuing creatures; things hauing sense, and hauing no sense; Angels good and bad, and generallie all creatures be the instruments of God, which he vseth according to the consideration of his prouidence. He did vse the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks and Romanes, for punishment of the wicked Hebrewes: he did vse also the diuell against Saule and against Iob. But it is further to be considered, that when God vseth creatures, especiallie the reasonable creatures, and euill creatures, such as be euill men and diuels; he doth not to vse them, as though they did nothing themselves; for euen they themselves fulfill their owne naughtines, but God vseth it (for purpose.) God dealeth not with these as with stones, which

haue no sense at all; they will, they knowe, and they haue sense; and when wicked men, and the diuell do naughtines, and are moued by their owne proper will, they do serue vnto the prouidence of God. They perceiue doublelesse, and will, not that their mind is such as they would serue God, for they sake their owne. Neither are they so moued by the superior cause, as they will vntill their owne naughtines.

10 But thou wilt saie, that If God after this manner, haue recourse as the chiefe cause vnto these actions, and that euill men as the next causes do them, it shall be all one worke of God, of the diuell, and of naughtie men; which indeed must not be denied; but yet this worke cometh far otherwaie from the superior good cause, than from the next cause which is corrupt. This worke, as it is of the diuell, and of wicked men, is euill. It doth vnto infection from the wickedness of the diuell, and of naughtie men; which being euill trees, cannot bring forth good fruit. But God, the verie best, and chiefe cause, as he concurreth with these actions, doth them rightlie and in due order. Euen as both God and the diuell would Ierusalem to be destroyed, but yet in sundrie respects; God, to the intent he might punish the obstinate; the diuell, that he might fulfill his cruel hatred against mankind. Christ was to be deliuered vnto the croffe, which also was done; and this worke, as it proceeded from the hatred and malice of the Iewes, was euill; but the selfe-same, in as much as God, through that most holie action, would haue mercie vpon mankind, had goodnes. Wherefore it is said in the Acts of the apostles; That they did those things against the Sonne of God, which his counsell and hand had determined. Yet must those things which they did against Christ, in euill be called euill; because they haue both their name and nature from the next cause, although that God rightlie vseth them according to his owne prouidence. The diuell and God exercise Iob in a faire sunbrie respect; also the Sabees, and other robbers spoiled his substance for the sanctifying of their owne hatred: so did the diuell. But God did it to proue his patience, and to testifie his good will towards the goodlie, by a foillall deliuerance. Wherefore the words were all one, but the purposes were diuers. For which cause, when Iob said (The Lord hath giuen, and the Lord hath taken awaye) he praised God, as the chiefe cause, without whose prouidence these things were not done, and whose prouidence be all things to a good end; yet both he did not praise the robbers, and the diuell. So did Dauid also behaue himselfe; he commended not Semei, he said not that those cuffings were of their owne nature good; but turned

himselfe to the prouidence of God. The worke was wicked, yet in some respect it may be called the worke of God; because he ruled it and vset it. Also it is said in the prophet; Curied be he that dooth the worke of the Lord negligently: and the worke of the Lord be called the affliction of the people, whereby the wicked overcuppeth them. Wherefore, the wicked can not excuse their finnes, in respect of this vse of God: for they haue the cause of those finnes in themselves. And euen as Gods good vse of these things excludeth not finnes, so on the other part, the naughtines of finnes doth not contaminate the good vse and prouidence of God, who can errelesly well vse the things which be done amisse.

Augustine in his Enchiridion ad Laurentium, Augustine, chapter. 10. declareth, that it may be, that God and man would one and the same thing; and that God in so willing, doth rightlie; but that man doth inane, although he will those things which God willeth. He bringeth an example. The father of a wicked sonne sicketh, the will of God by his iust iudgement is, that he should die of that disease, the vngenerous child also would the same; but to the intent he be free the sonne come into the inheritance, and be free from the power of his father; God willeth iustlie, but the child vngodlie. And on the other side, he saith that it may be, that a man would the thing that God would not, and yet that as well be as God willeth rightlie. Admit that the father, which is sicke, haue a good child; God would that the father should die: the child though an honest affection would it not, for he is desirous to haue his father liue; they will be iustlie, and yet they both will iustlie. It consisteth onlie in the purpose of the will; for there of dependeth oftentimes goodnes and naughtines. But there ariseth a doubt; If that one man, or worke depend both on God and man, and that it doate naughtines from the infection of man, and that it hath some goodnes, in respect that God vseth it, so as nothing may escape God of his prouidence, wherefore doth Zacharie in the first chapter complaint; I was but a little aide among my people, but they helped forward vnto euill; that is, they pallid the bounds. What thing they sinne, sameth to errease the prouidence of God; so as they did more than God had decreed. The answer, that it must not be understood, that they did more, than that thing might serue to the vse of Gods prouidence; for there can be nothing at all done besides the will of God & his decrees, which be most firme. Augustine in the same Enchiridion ad Laurentium, 102. chapter, saith; The will of God is inuincible, how then are they said to haue exceeded; not the bounds of the eternal decree, but

the second kind of euill working.

who sing do serue vnto God.

A similitude.

The creatures be the instruments of God, but not all after one sort.

Iob. 1, 21.

It is not alway lust for man to will as God willeth.

An obiection.

but the little measure of vitioze. There be euen beuities, limits, and lawes, which ought to be kept by conquerers. They creebed that which became them, but that they could do more than providence would use, it must in no wise be granted.

Phil. 13. 1. The third kind of the wothes of God we call that which is proper unto the saints; for thereby he most mercifully bringeth manie things to passe in them: for he reigneth, he liueth, and he worketh in vs both to will and to performe. Otherwise in nature we be certaine barren trees, we are blind, we will no good things. The iudgement is corrupted, the will and choice is corrupt in those dregs of original sin; but God, by his spirit, fashioneth his choicemen. We haue from the beginning a nature giuen according to the similitude of God, whereunto they should be agreeable, to will, to chuse, to do these things and those things. But in that we can not be god of our selues, it hath proceeded of corruption: but in that we will rightlie, and do serue God by an obedience begun, it is of the supernaturall grace of God. Therefore the first kind of Gods wothes, which belongeth to the vniuersall providence, serueth not to the question now in hand. The second kind of wothing and the third belong unto this.

That euill hath no efficient cause.

12. Although therefore that God do gouerne euen sins and cuils; yet he is not propertie said to be the efficient cause. Augustine in his twelfth booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the seauenth chapter, spea- leth here well as concerning a naughty will, when he saith; An euill thing hath no efficient, but a deficient cause. And if auile will fearely this efficient cause, it is euill like as if he would for the darkness with his eyes, or comprehend sense with his eares: which being vniuersall, it is no need that they should haue efficient causes. Yet neuertheless, they be things knowne vnto vs; for there is all one kinde of things that be contrarie. The light hath not other than bright things, the ear heareth not other than noises, and yet by these senses we knowe euen these things; not by the use of them, but by the priuation onlie. A naughty will doth God vse, to the ends appointed: not because he is not able, vntill it be by these means, to attaine to that which he will; but so it pleased him to declare his wisdom and power, that he might shew himselfe able to do something mediaticke [as they saie] and immateticke: and that it maketh no matter vnto him, whether the instruments that he useth be good or bad. Wherefore let vs seeke out what is the deficient cause of euill actions, and among the rest we shall find wicked affections and inclinations, which seeing they fall awaye from the word of God, and from right reason, it is no maruell if things that be faultie,

The causes of euill actions.

proceed therefrom. These be the inward causes of sin, but they be rather deficient than efficient causes. He diuell also is said to be the cause of sin; for we reade in the booke of wisdom; By the diuell death entered into the world, therefore sin also; for death is the effect of sin. But yet the diuell can not be called the proper and absolute cause of our sin: the reason is; for that such is the nature of euill proper and perfect cause, that the same being put, the effect doth of necessity followe. But in the diuell it is not thus; for although he sometime suggesteth euill things in the mind of the godlie, yet neuertheless sin doth not alwaies followe. For manie godlie men do valiantly resist him, and when sin followeth not, he can not be called the absolute and perfect cause thereof. In deed, he prouocheth men, but yet not so, that sin must of necessity followe.

Widd. 14.

It might bring another reason. Let vs imagine that the diuell himselfe had not resulted from God, and that man had bin created, man could yet of his owne nature haue sinned, and haue had the cause of sin in himselfe: but the suggestion of the diuell could not haue bin the cause thereof, when he was not as yet alienated from God: so that he is no perfect nor full cause of sin, but a persuading and alluring cause. We haue therefore shewed from whence sin hath his deficient cause; namely, from our owne corruption. Yet neuertheless God doth gouerne and rule sin it selfe; he doth not idelic loke on, but he doth the part of a iudge and gouernour: and he leaueh not all things without guiding. But after what sort is he said to gouerne sin? Euen as touching time, manner, forme, and matter; to wit, that it is carried sometimes rather against this man, and sometimes rather against that man. Our corruptions lie hidden within vs, but God suffereth not the same at all times to breake forth, nor yet so long as the wicked would: he biddeth sin, and sometimes interrupteth them. Further, he bringeth to passe, that our wickedness shall rather bend vnto one part, than vnto another; as the rage of Semei was more bent against Dauid, than against another man. And the providence of God is the more rather at one time than at another; God directed the power of Nabuchadnezzar rather against the Hebrews, than against their neighbours.

1 Sam. 16. ver. 10.

Ecc. 1. 1.

13. There is also a certaine other thing to be considered of in sins, when they breake forth into ad. God himselfe putteth vs in mind of those things, which in their owne nature be good; and yet because such things fall into the wicked, they be taken in ill part, and be occasions of sinning; so as the sins which late hidden before, do breake forth. But yet these suggestions, either inward or outward, cannot be propertie called the causes of sin, seeing those causes be within in men: yet

yet may they be called occasions. But of occasions, some be giuen, and some taken; in like manner as they diligently *Scandalum*, that is, an offense. An offense taken, is the occasion of an offense, not on the behalfe of him that giueth it; for he doth that which is profitable, but an ill man doth ill interpret this: that is, an offense taken. So Christ saith of the Seruices and Pharisees; Let them alone, they be blind, and leaders of the blind. The apostle taught, that men ought to do well; if others were offended, the fault remained not in them. An offense giuen, is when we do those things which we ought not to do. But in God it is not so; he suggesteth some things, that of their owne nature are good, the which falling into an euill nature, become occasions of sinning.

Examples of occasions.

14. The matter must be made plaine by examples. Some godlie man seeth a man sinne, he cometh to him, he diligentli warneth him to beware: that which is put in mind is good, but it happeneth into a naughty mind, which then becometh more and more to breake forth into the hatred of vertue, and to waue cruell against the godlie. This admonition was an occasion that these things should breake out into ad. God suggested by the godlie man that which in nature is good, wherefore he is said to do rightlie, for he doth that which was his part to do. But vnto euill men, good things are made occasions of sinning, yea and of more greuous sinning, than if perhaps they had not bene ministred. Doubtless this is the difference betwixen God and vs; that we, while we suggest good things, are ignorant whether the partie will become the worse; but God is not ignorant. For example; God sent Moles and Aaron vnto Pharaos, he commaunded that he should let his people go; this suggestion in his owne nature being good, Pharaos taketh in ill part, and began to be the more cruell. If this suggestion had fallen into a goodlie man, he would haue said; It is meet I should obey God; and because it is his will that I should let the people go, I will in a while do it; for I can challenge no right over them longer than he will him selfe. But Pharaos, when he heard these words, began to blaspheme, saying; Who is this God? And he brake out into crueltie. The same will we declare by other examples and testimonies of the scriptures. One notable that admonition giuen vnto Pharaos by Moles and Aaron is a good thing, and is ascribed outwardly by God; and he which was cruel, vnto the same naughty: but we haue the selfe-same thing in the seventh chapter to the Romans; The lawe is holie and spiritual, but it hath wrought in me concupiscence and death. The commaundment of God in his owne nature is vnto life, but the filthinesse [of sinne]

Exod. 5. 1. and 2.

1 Sam. 16. ver. 10.

Ecc. 1. 1.

Rom. 7. 12.

taketh an occasion by those things which are suggested. Neither is this done outwardly alone, but sometimes also God worketh it inwardly by good cogitations; for whatsoeuer things are good, we must alwaies thinke that they be of God. Pharaos, which came after the death of Ioseph, began to cast this in his mind; We must take heed that the common-wale suffer no detriment. This cogitation was good, and it proceeded from God; but it lighted into an euill mind, wherefore it was turned against the Hebrews; for he said; The people of the Hebrews will increase, and when occasion is offered, will subdue vs; wherefore let them be destroyed. He set forth an euid, that all the men children of the Hebrews should be sholuen into the riuier. The first cogitation was good, but though his naughtinesse it turned vnto euill. Nabuchadnezzar saith; It is not the part of a good prince to be idle, but he must exercise the power which he hath. The cogitation was good, but he turned his power into forcigne nations, and armed not his power as he ought to haue done, against the wickednesse of his owne people. The same prince (as we read in Daniel) being in his hall, reckoned with himselfe the victories which he had gotten, a great number of empire which he had gotten. These thoughts were good; for we should weigh with our selues the benefits of God, but they lighted into an euill mind; he straightwaie thought with himselfe, that he had established the kingdom by his owne power; therein he sinned against God. Also the sannes of Iacob weighed with themselves, that Ioseph was beloued of his parents, that he had diuine dreamt put into him by God; this was a good thought, for we must behold the wothes of God euen in others, much more in our owne selues. If they had rightlie used that cogitation, they should haue giuen thanks to God, but they turned it to enuie, they deuised how to rib him abate, and to sell him. Anouther Ioseph, who suggesteth these good things, seeing he knoweth of the doing of them, he doth not there let the occasions of euils; he suffereth them to be done; for he is at hand with his providence, and gouerneth them. Wherefore by Pharaos he would be glorified, by Nabuchadnezzar he would punish the Israelites, by the brothers selling of Ioseph, he would haue him to be honored with great benefits in Egypt, and to feed the host hold of Iacob. Semei saue Dauid to be cast forth, and the kingdom to be giuen vnto Abalom; he saith; These be the iudgements of God. That cogitation was good, it fell into an euill mind, he abated the same, he spake contumeliously against Dauid, he followed his owne wrath and reuerge, Abalom hauing gotten

Exod. 1. 9.

Dan. 4. 27.

Gen. 37. 8.

1 Sam. 16. 10.

1 Sam. 16. 10.

So. 17. the

the kingdome, was put in mind that he should harken unto the counsel of the wise, that manie eis too far more than one eis. The cogitation was good, but it fell into an ill mind; and he iudged that counsels, so they be profitable, though otherwise they be wicked and dishonest, should be harkened unto. The first suggestion that was good, he was naughty: God suffered it, he would not let it, he ruled it, that the sinne of David might be punished, and that the hatred of God towards sinne might be shewed. Now I thinke that the matter is evident.

15 But it is demanded, that seeing God knoweth that wicked men will abuse their inward and outward motions, although they be good, wherefore doth he suggest them? The reasons of his owne counsels are known to himselfe; but yet two reasons are set before us. The first is, that his iudice may appeare the more: for to behold the iudice of God we are blind. But by making comparison it is knowne; namely, by unrighteousnes, thereof in God there can be none sene: but in diuels and corrupt men we see it. The second is, that the bolnes of men may be restrained: for manie would say, If God should put into our minds good cogitations, we should have a will and power to do good things. Behold, good cogitations are given, the which, while they fall into a corrupt nature, except it be restrained, sinne (though ere owne fault) doth arise even of things be they neuer so good: of erasions (I meane) taken, but not given. And so I understand the words, which Augustine hath in his booke of Grace and free-will; namely, that God doth sometime incline our wills, either unto good or unto euill; because if the things, which he suggesteth, doo light upon good men, they are inclined unto good; but if they fall into ill men, they are inclined unto euill. And so I understand that which he sayeth against Iulianus the first booke, and .x. chapter; that God woorketh not onlie in the bodies of men, but also in their minds. So likewise I understand those things which Zuinglius (of goble memoire) a learned and constant man, did sometimes write; that open are otheriwtiles by Gods providence promised to sinne: and that one and the selfe-same action cometh both from God, and from wicked men; iustitie from him, and vniuistie from him. And thus I understand those places of the scriptures, wherein it is said, that God gaue them vp to a reprobate sene, that He stirred them vp.

16 Certainly a permission is there, but some thing that is more ample is shewed by these few uerall p'p'ties. And we grant, that there is a permission; for if God would resist, these things should not be done: therefore he permitte; he doth not resist, but he suffereth. And he suffereth not, for that should be with griefe, and there should be a power greater than himselfe: if it be with his will, he permitte; permission is a certaine kind of will. But thou demandest, that if he will it anie waie, wherefore doth he forbid it? On the other part I would demand; if he would it not at all, how cometh it to passe that it is done? For the will of God is inuincible. Paule saith; Who can resist his will? Rom. 9, 19. And that which he suggesteth, he willet iustitie. They which sinne, doo will vniuistie that which they will. What saue Iulianus, against whom Augustine disputeth, held, that there was a bare permission in those things, to the intent we might understand, that God doth no such thing at all: and he said, that God doth rather suffer, and that this belongeth to his patience. Augustine answereth; For onlie to his patience, but also to his power: because he ruleth sinne, and thereof he woorketh what he will. And he alledgeth a place vnto the Romans; If God, Rom. 9, 21. willing to shew his wrath, and make his power manifest, did suffer with great lenitie the vessels of wrath, &c. Whereby indeed we see, that he suffereth; but that mention is also made of his power. In the first epistle of Peter the fourth chapter, it is written; Wherefore let them that suffer, according to the will of God, commit their soules vnto him. So that he attributeth the afflictions of the Christians to the will of God. But they cannot suffer, unless there be a doer. If he would the suffering, he would the doing: for suffering proceedeth from a doer. This will is a permission, but yet such as be longeth also vnto the will.

This did Augustine shew in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, the 100. chapter, where he treateth vpon that place of the psalme; Great are the works of God, feared out vpon all the wills of them. He followeth the Greeke translation. *Elle beue tert huius*, Vnto all the will of them. He willet; that So farre as belonged to them, (he intreateth of sinners) they did that which God would not. This could they not by any means bring to passe, as touching his power: for even in this, that they did against his will, his will was wrought vpon them; therefore great are the woorks of the Lord. He addeth, that by a marvellous and vnpeakeable means, even that which is done against his will, is not done without his will: for vniuistie he suffereth it, it should not be, neither doth he suffer it by

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Wherefore the respect of general prouidence is one; the respect of using of things, though euill, is another; and the respect of things, which he doth in vs that be regenerate, is another. We understand 3. that Pharoas was hardened by God, and that also he hardened himselfe: for he had in himselfe the cause of obduration. But God is said to haue hardened, by reason of suggesting and gouerning: further, because he ruled sin, and used the same to his owne glorie. And Paule saith, that he raised him vp for to declare his power. So understand 3. The vessels of wrath to be prepared vnto destruction. By that meanes: They be of themselves, of their owne naughtines, of their owne corrupt nature prone vnto sin. In like manner it may be said, that they after a sort are prepared by God; because through his good suggestions, which ones breake forth; and while it is heareth forth, it is yet in the hand of God to apply the same as he will, one waie or another: for God with a good will doth that, which we do with a most peruerse mind. Permission is a kind of will, but yet not absolute: for the will of God properlie is the cause of things. It is not as mans will is, we will manie things, which we bring not to passe. What is then the cause why God would not haue sin? It is, for that sin is among those things which haue no need of a cause efficient, but of a deficient cause. Therefore sin doth not properlie come vnto the will of God. And if that God be put as the cause, not efficient but deficient, shall we saie that God doth faile in himselfe? For; but he is said to faile, because he doth not hinder, nor resist, nor cause to relent. What manner of will shall this be? A will not to hinder, a will not to mollifie, a will not to illuminate.

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straine the will; neither can the diuell do this. For if the will should not worke of his owne accord, it were no will; but rather an vniuistie. It may as well be ascribed vnto the will to be compelled, as to the fire that it should not be hot. Wherefore our nature and will being so corrupt, if the fauour of God be withholden; of his owne accord, and by it selfe, it inclineth to euill. The which neuertheless, from the time of his beginning was not euill; but because it is brought forth of nothing, and is confirmed and sustained by the grace and power of God; if that be withholden which confirmeth it, straitwaie it will to worke of his owne accord. But if mans will be not constricted to euill, neither is euill of his owne creation, but onlie is said to sin by dep'uation; what shall we saie as touching the sin of the first man? In him nature was good, grace and the helpe of God was not wanting, and yet neuertheless he sinned. Here we see, that we must iudge one thing, as concerning the first man; and another as touching our nature, which we haue now corrupted. God bestowed vpon him manie gifts, but yet he made him, as he might stand; he might also fall. No doubt but God, if he would, might haue made him so perfect, as he could not haue sinned. Which the state of the blessed saines doth declare; for the holie spirits in the heauenlie habitation, and we when we shall be there, shall be so confirmed, as we shall not be able to sin anie more: otherwise it would be no perfect felicitie; it should be ioined with a feare of falling. But yet he did not this vnto Adam; and where as by his preference of knowledge he knew that he would fall, he might haue kept him there-from; but he would not, but would suffer him to fall; and by his eternal decre had Christ to be the remedie of his fall. The rest of the things concerning that state, we can not more particularlie declare, because we haue not the perfect knowledge thereof. Let vs returne to our owne state; the which is such, as before the renewing by Christ, we were not able to will anie good thing, but of necessity to lie in sin, neither might we lift by our selues: so far is it off, that we should be able to stand by right, as it was granted vnto the first Adam.

But although God, as we said, is not properlie the cause of sin; yet must he not be blame out of his throne, but that he also ruleth sin, and maketh a remedie for them. And this we may be assured with our selues, that there can be nothing done either of vs, or of anie creature, besides the will of God. But yet let us not hereby excuse our sins, as though we would obiect the will of God be committing of sin. We must excuse our selues, seeing we haue the originals of sin in vs. As concerning the will of God, we must

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must followe that which the scripture teacheth; and we must not depart from his late. And when we otherwise depart from him, we must twinge with our selues, that the motion of turning abate from God, and of the inclination to allurements of this world, is a thing proper vnto our will being now corrupted, not as it was instituted by God. Wherefore there be efficient causes of this motion; but an efficient cause which hath God a twofold together with vs, we must not seke. Whereupon we note in the booke of Genesis, that it is not said that darkness was made of God; The darkenes (saith he) was vpon the face of the deepe, yet God did so order them, as they should preuaile by night: they were punitiōs. So this motion of turning away from God, seeing it is forsaken, and deperly mens actions of conuenient godnes, a cause surch it hath, but the same is defective.

18 These things being declared, three remaine these things to be spoken of: the first shall be of the guiltines of sin, or bond vnto punishment; the second of the subiect of deffinitie and puiation; that is, of the act it selfe of mans will: the third is (which also is commonlie referred) that sin is the punishment of sin; and wher vnder these three considerations it may be said, that sin dependeth on God. As for the first, we must vnderstand, that the deformed and naughtie act, is in some respect the ground-wooke vnto the punishment that is due; for the reward of sin (saith the Apostle) is death: and when we sin, there groweth a bond, wherby we must suffer punishment for the wickednes committed. That guiltinesse is said to arise through the iudice of God, in consideration that he will yeeld to euerte one that which belongeth vnto him; but the bond ariseth not, except that sin be of haue bin; so as by sinning we gteue a iust occasion of the bond vnto punishment. Wherefore, if by sin we vnderstand the guiltines and the bond, we doubt not but these things are of God, as of the efficient cause. Wherof, these things ought not properly to be called sin, seeing they belong vnto iudice, yet sometimes they are so called; as when we saie, that God doth remit, blot out, and forgive our sins: for he bringeth not to passe that they be not, nor haue not bin (and vndoubtedly there remaine cruel notions in vs) but the bond of suffering punishment; for the wickednes committed, is taken away, which (as we haue said) belongeth vnto iudice, and is a good thing.

19 Secondlie, let vs consider of the subiect it selfe, vnto which the deffinitie of sin both cleaue; and of this, if we speake as the thing is, we shall not be afraid to saie, that God is the cause, seeing the action it selfe is a certaine natural thing. And whatsoever is, in respect that it

hath a being, is brought forth, not by creatures alone, but by God: for All things (saith the scripture) were made by him. This vniuersall particle comprehendeth all things, whatsoever they be, by that meanes to euere they be, and how far forth so euere they be. Augustine in his booke *De moribus monachorum*, about the beginning saith; That the catholike church beleueth, that God is the author of all natures and substances. What he vnderstandeth by nature, he declared a little before, by these wordes; Nature is no thing else, but that which is vnderstood to be some certaine thing in his kind. Wherefore as we note, by a new name, of that which is *esse*, to be, or all essence, which manie times also we name substance; so they in old time, which had not those names, in stead of essence and substance, called it nature. Seeing therefore the motions of our minds be certaine things, there is no doubt but after this manner they depend of God. God assurably twofold as the highest cause; the creatures twofold together with him. Wherefore Anselmus in his booke *De casu diaboli*, twofold, that Euen the cruel willling of the diuell, so farforth as it is to will, dependeth on God. And the thing it selfe is not willed, but in respect that he himselfe doth naughtie will it. And that the same act is something, hereby it appeareth; because it is in the general word of preoicement of action: wherefore it is something, it is of God, and is a creature. Pea and Augustine in his ninth booke *De trinitate*, and tenth chapter, said, That the accidents of the mind are better than the accidents of the bodie; by reason of the twofoldness of the subiect. Wherefore the forme or beaute, as it is in the mind, is more excellent, than as it is outwardly found in the bodie. Also the soule it selfe, being a soule, hath all power it be, is yet more noble than any bodie. Seeing therefore the deeds of the mind (where vnto afterward, through our owne fault, there cleaueth puiation) so farforth as they be things, are not brought forth without God.

Anselmus in the place aboue cited, saith, that God himselfe is the bringer forth of things, and that not alone of substantiall things, but also of accidental, vniuersall, and particular things, yea, and of the cruel motions of the will: for the power of God is infinite. Wherefore there is nothing can be brought forth whatsoever it be, but is vnder his action: for if any thing could escape the same, then should it not be infinite, then should it not fill all things: neither might one will breake out into act, whilest that high power would together with vs. Augustine in his treatise *De vera religione*, the 34. chapter, twofold thus; That the verte being it selfe, he it neuer so little, is god; for the chiefest being, is the chiefest god. And a little after he saith;

saith; The chiefest beaute is the chiefest god, the least beaute is the least god, yet it is god. So as, if that action, which we speake of, be by any meanes pertaine to the being, it is of some godnes. Wherefore, if we dispute of sinne, we must distinguish it, and we must for what is thereon of the positive, as they reason in the scholes; and the first subiect it selfe must be considered; and on the other part, to what defect and puiation cleaueth there vnto. But in the verte same puiation, since we see a defect, the defective cause thereof must be sought, and not the efficient cause. But that which is there found positive, hath need of an efficient cause; and the summe of all efficient causes is God.

20 But here ariseth no small doubt. There be certaine sinnes, called sinnes of omission (or negligence), and there seemeth not to be grounded the verte act and woike of will, where vnto either defect or puiation should cleaue, wherof it whatsoeuer is there, it seemeth to be puiation. A man is said to omit his dutie, because his doth not that which he ought to do. As for example; If a man loue not his neighbour, if one come not to the congregation to heare the word of the Lord, and to participate the sacraments; here in this sinne, there seemeth onely a puiation to be, without any certaine act, wherby vnto this should be grounded. Some answer, that euen in this place also, we are to seke a nature or action, a twofold or a thing, that is the ground-wooke vnto puiation: and they saie, that it is the will which maketh defect. For euen that same sinning will, as it is a nature, is kept in his order by God; but not in respect that it sinne. This saieing may be borne withall. But in searching the matter more narrowly, it seemeth otherwise vnto me; and I see euen in these sinnes of omission, that there is an act. For the same omitting of our dutie, is sometimes done by contemplation; and then that corrupt person hath a will not to loue his neighbour, hath a will not to go to the holie assemble.

Wherefore we see here, that the act of will, and that same action thereof, which is the action of nature, doth depend of God; deffinitie and puiation doth not so. But sometime they be omitted, because a man doth not thinke of those things, I meane not of a contempt. Here, saie I, that although there be no action there of that kind, yet is there an other, which contenteth twofold reason. He is not mindfull of the holie congregation, because he will walke about for his pleasure, or else be some pastime; and those actions be auerfaries to right working. But that be no action at that instant, yet was it a little before. For example; When night be would like a glutton, afterward he could not rise earlie to be present in the holie congre-

gation. Wherefore in the sinnes of omission, we shall find an action, either proper to that kind; or else an other driving with the god motion of the will, either which is then puiation retained, or else that went before.

21 God then is the cause of all things; and interfecting things, according to their owne nature, receive the moulding of the first cause. Wherefore, if sinne be diuident, it is diuident by the nature of the second causes. I will make the matter plaine by a similitude. In lining creatures we haue that power which hath his name local motion, and it moueth beastes either to walke or to runne; and those creatures are moued according as they receive their moving from that local motive power: But if a legge be defective, be out of joint, or crooked, that motion hath halting in that course ioined therewith; but that halting, as it is a mouing, cometh from the moving power of the soule; as it is faultie and lame, it dependeth of the faultines of the leg which was broken. And thus it is as touching that continual mouing, wherewith God directeth his creatures. There is indeed a common influence, and it is received in things according to the qualitie of them: so the subiect of deffinitie or puiation is of God; and the mouing of God sometime passeth through the mind corrupted, wherupon the fault of the action is not of God, but is diuident from the next cause. But what it is that God there doth, and how he governeth that deffinitie, is declared before: now we treat of the act which beareth forth from our will. Wherefore it is rightlie said, that the puiation of righteousness followeth not the woike of our will, and the motion thereof, so farre forth as it is in the kind of nature, but as it is in the kind of mouing.

Augustine in his seventh booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the 30. chapter saith; that God doth to generate his creatures, as he permiteth them to erre and woike together with him their owne power motions. For God dealeth not alone, but (as I said before) the wicked men, and the diuell also doth their naughtie enuoying in working. But when we saie, that the act it selfe (which) as beuident through our owne fault is evilly brought forth by the chiefest cause, that is by God; and by vs, that is, by our will: how shall we vnderstand this? Whether that God doth by vs, whole, or the whole; or whether it be partie from him, and partie from vs: And here we haue this puiation to the verte act of our will. We answer; If consideration of the whole be referred vnto the cause, we must speake after one sort; if it be referred vnto the effect, after an other sort. If the whole be referred to the cause, so that we vnderstand our will to be the whole cause of the action, that it be able by

Gen. 1.

Of the bond of sin vnto punishment.

Rom. 6. 13.

Of the subiect, vnto which the deffinitie of sin cleaueth.

The name of nature, essence, and substance.

Sinnes of omission, or negligence.

Efficient and moving cause of God.

How sin is diuident from the nature of the second causes.

Similitude.

How the act is puiated by God and by vs.

by



by it selfe to worke without God, it is not true: for, unless God would adde thereto, it should not be able to bring forth action. So God, although by his absolute power he might preserve the works it selfe by him selfe, yet as the course of things is, he will not deale alone, but will haue the creature to be a doer together with him: by this meanes are neither the will nor yet God, said to be the whole cause. But if it be referred to the effect it selfe, God and the will are the full cause: for God and the will make the whole effect, although they be ioined together in action. I will shew the thing by an example: for bringing forth of an action, we haue a will and an understanding, and our will maketh the whole effect, and our understanding is the cause of the whole effect; but the one is right, the other further off. And so is it of the will and of God: the will doeth all, and God doeth all; but one is the full cause, and the other is the second.

At first instance.

What it is that maketh the will doeth all, and God doeth all.

What it is that maketh the will doeth all, and God doeth all.

Rom. 1, 24.

22 As touching the third point, the sinne which holiness is sometimes said to be a punishment of the sinne that went before; and so God is said to punish sinnes with sinnes. When it the sinnes, which followe, be weighed as they be punishments, they after a sort be attributed vnto God; not that God doth inflict new sinning vnto, but that he doth direct vnto sinning; but when he hath withdrawne his gifts, then doth sinne followe, whereby the mind is destroyed. And those destructions, & those woundes of minde, as they be punishments, they come vnto vs by his default. Hereof we reade in the first chapter to the Romans; that God gaue them vp vnto a reprobate sense, as we haue declared before. And that sinne hath the respect of punishment, in so much as it corrupteth nature, it is manifest. Augustine saith, and it is usually received; Thou hast commanded God, and truelie so it is, that every sinne is the punishment of him that sinneth. This also do the Ethniks acknowledge. Horace saith; *The Sicell grants yet could neuer find, Then none greater torment of the mind.* Whole cruel afflictions double vnto the bones, make the strength, God do afflict the mindes; yet this is iustitie done: for God is iust and righteous in all his iudges. But if we be depriv'd of grace, we haue deserved the same.

A conclusion of the question.

23 Therefore we conclude this question of ours, and saie; that, To speake properly and plainlie, God is not the author of sinne; neither would he sinne to be. And yet is not God said to be the imperfect, or the weaker, because he cannot make sinne: for that is not imperfection and impotencie, but perfection. These things cannot God do, because he is the chiefe God, and the chiefe perfection: naie rather, he establisheth lawes against sin, he crieth out against them,

and he punisheth them. And marvell not, when I saie that God cannot properly will sinne; for then might he turne a way men from himselfe, then should he denie himselfe to be God. Paule saith vnto Timothy, God cannot denie himselfe. Wherewith reason Barnard in his little booke *De precepto & dispensatione* was moued to saie, that God can vnto somewhat of the precepts in the second table, but not of the first table. If the second he doth relinquish some thing, as when he wills Abraham to kill his sonne; so likewise while he commanded the children of Israel that they should carrie abate other mens goods; but whatsoeuer things be of the first table can not be remitted. If God would not be laued and worshipped, he should denie his owne selfe. If he be the chiefe God, should we not loue and worship him? And some alledge this reason; that I be good things which belong vnto our neighbours, be particular; and God can take abate any private good thing, to put it greater in place. But those things which appertene to the worshipping of him, haue respect to the vniuersall good, and therefore cannot be taken abate. Augustine in his booke which is intituled *Contra i. i. catholicos quodammodo ibi falsi in posterum*, the third chapter saith; Whatsoeuer is condemned in any man, is far from the author of nature. In the same place; What opinion is to be detested, which holdeth God to be the author of any naughty deed, or of anye naughty will.

The proper causes of sinne are particular.

24 Now haue we generallie declared the proper causes of sinne; but to shew them particularie, we saie that the cause of sinne is mans will, his understanding, his depraved sense, his licentious appetite, the theie of good which offereth it selfe (for nothing is desired of vs, but in respect of some good.) Herewithall the corruption remaining of original sinne, from thence as out of a standing puddle, do alwaies brayth out euil affections. A cause also is our owne infinitie ignorance, and the suggestion of the diuell and of naughty men; who neuertheless are able to preuaile no further than God doth giue them leaue. There be ill examples also, sinne it selfe is the cause of sinne; for som prodigall men finally for the satisficing of his lust. Therefore seeing there be so manye true causes of sinne, we must not make God to be author, to the intent we may excuse our felices. Now it may appere, that the wicked opinion of the Liberines must be condemned, who excuse all manner of sinnes. They which make God to be the cause of sinne, but yet not so as he should be excused, seme not well to expound this question. In like manner is of them, which allow but of a bare permission.

First therefore (to gather all into few words) we haue said, that God is not properly the author

of sinne. which are ascribed in this que. 2. dno.

1. Tim. 1. Barnard.

Gen. 1. 1. Exod. 1. 1.

Augustine.

What is to be said to the reasons of the first part. To the first.

To the second.

To the third.

Why God doeth not

those of sinne, because that God, when he will, doth will the withstanding from vs his grace, which should be the hinderance of sinne. Whereouer, we haue shewed that God doth to gouerne first by his poudence, as they shall not rage arie by his poudence; and in no otherwise further than he permiteth; and in no otherwise than may be expedient for his poudence. We haue declared that God doth sometimes suggest both inuoluntarie and outuoluntarie, such things as in their owne nature be good; but if they fall in to corrupt men, they become occasions taken and not giuen of sinnes. Also that God doth not let, but permit sinnes; and that the same permission is not altogether without the will of God. Further, that seeing sinne is a falling away and puation, it hath no need of an efficient, but of a deficient cause. Further, that our motion of turning abate from God, is proper vnto our will, as it is corrupted, not as it was instituted by God. We said also, that the guiltiness dependeth on God; and then, that the action which is the subject of desonitic, commeth as well from God as from vs, in the kind of the cause. And we shewed, that sinnes are punished with sinnes. And last of all, we reckoned by the true causes of sinnes.

25 Yet now hereafter we will examine the former reasons alledged. They which deuice God to be the cause of sinne, as we also said, vnto these reasons. In the first, Augustine saith in the 83. booke of questions, quest. 2. A man is not made the worse, by hauing a worse man to be author: neither is he therefore (the worse) by hauing God to be author. I grant it; for man became not the worse, in respect that God gaue a lawe; for by his lawe, he commanded not euill: neither is man become the worse, as touching the natural act which God bringeth forth, but he become the worse by reason of his backsliding, whereof we our felices haue deficient causes in our felices. Therefore the diuell, wicked men, our owne sensuality, and especially the corruption of our owne will do make vs the worse. And so it is granted that we are not made the worse by God or by man. The second reason; Fulgentius saith, that God is no reuenger of the things, whereof he himselfe is the author. We grant the argument; God doth not reuenge that, as it is a natural thing, as it dependeth of him; neither doth he reuenge [his] owne gouernment which he doth, but the naughty things which proceede from vs, and which commeth from our owne felices. The third reason; God hateth not those things which he maketh, but he hateth sinne. The reason is firme. But the doubt is, that if he berelie hate sinne, while he doth not forbid it, seeing he may.

Wherefore can humane reason discerning Gods perfect hatred against sinne, seeing he hateth not

the same quite altnie. Doubtles it is a difficult thing. Wherebut it cometh offentimes to passe, that some thing which displeaseth, is, for some good end and purpose, not taken abate; whereof there are plenty of examples in the state of mans life. There happeneth some man to be diseased in the bodie, whereby the corruption breaking out, ther ariseth a greuous foie in some member; notwithstanding that this be verie painfull vnto him, yet because he knoweth that it will turne to the benefite of his bodie, he suffereth the paine, neither doth he stop the foie. Also among the gods come there spyngh by coile and barrill; it displeaseth, yet are they not quite rid altnie, because men stand in feare, least the cause should be plucked up. So might we saie of God, he hath his ends; namely, that not onlie his goodnes, but also his righteousness may be declared; and therefore he hateth sinnes, yet not so, but that he will accomplish by them such an end as he hath purposed.

At first instance.

To the fourth and last.

To the first.

A distincti on of the will of God

Exo 33, 19.

Other arguments; I the will make sinne, he should be a sinner; and if the would induce vs to sinne, he should do against his owne nature: for natural things working, inuoluntarie to make that which they do, like vnto themselves. These arguments be firme. Neither is the action of God and working together of the creature, that is, of mans will, so to be affirmed, as if we our felices applye not our owne leuities. God might seeme to deale hypocriticallie, if he should on the one part command good things; and on the other part should will sinne. I answer, that the argument would be of efficacie, if it might be said that God pouerthly in his leuities; but in that he gouerneth sinne, he worketh nothing against his lawe. Whereouer, we must distinguish as touching the will of God, that respect it hath towards the commandments, and towards men. The commandments be written to the state are the will of God, for they expresse his nature and propriete: but if we marke how the will of God is towards men, and do saie, that God would equally further all men to the hearing of his commandments, and that he giueth his grace equally vnto all men, this must needs be allowed: for God hath his elect, & hath others also whom by his iust iudgement he ouerskippeth, and leauech to sinne and destruction. The third saith; I will haue merie vpon whom I will haue merie: that is, vpon whomsoever I liketh me. I will make merie. But they saie that God haue free will, whereby they be able to keepe the lawe of God, if they will themselves; and that there is no difference to be put in the helpe of God and grace, which is not giuen to all men after one sort. But I affirme that there is free will in God, he is free in his election, and in distributing of his graces; but his freedom dependeth



dependeth not of us, who shall verelie be free, if the forme will make us free.

Wherefore in the lawe of commandements, God theiveth taught his proprietie is, and that he iudgeth to be right: but as touching the favour, wherewith he fauoureth particular men, to keepe those commandements, the question is otherwise. It was said, in the second of Chamaicles; God receiveth eadie; and sent his prophets vnto them, whereto he is no cause of sinne. It is most true; God did so; but yet those suggestions, which in this olme nature are good, fell into men, which were naughtie of nature; who through their olme leuonnes were made the worke by those admonitions: for by their olme fault they were fitted by to sinne. God gave that warning, to the end he might spare his people; and the warnings were such, as being received, they brought pardon with them. But yet we must not saie, that it was the determination of God to cause them whole at that time; for he vpon will cause due iustitiuall his grace from them, and they of themselves, neither could no; would obey the admonitions of the prophets.

The sonne of God wept for the destruction of Ierusalem: and this happened for sinne; wherefore God will not that sinnes should be granted, that sinnes are not done propertie by the will of God. Wher he did he wepe: He was not our neighbour, and the culis of his neighbours could not chide but make him sorrowfull: also he knew that sinne was against the will of God, although he were not ignorant that it could not be done without his will.

26 It is written in the prophet Hosea; Thy perdition cometh of thy selfe, o Israel, but thy saluation cometh of me. The sentence is most true: for seeing that sinnes proceed from our selues, as from the proper causes, perdition also is of our selues. The guiltines of bond to abide the punishment, may be said to come from God: but that (as we said before) is not propertie called sinne, but belongeth vnto righteousness. John the eight; The diuell, when he speaketh lies, speaketh of his owne. It is most true; God will not malice into him, but yet he is wont to be his falshood, even as he doth other things. We read in Ieremie; They ran, and I sent them not. At that place there is no speaking of the prouidence of God, but of the lewd dealing of false prophets, which feined themselves to haue received the word from God, their olme conscience bearing them record that God spake not into them. They said, that they had dreamt dreames, and they bawled bawled that God had revealed some things vnto them, when as neuertheless they lied, and knew that they did lie. Wherefore no reproches ought to be laid against God for this matter, as though it should

not be lawfull vnto him by his prouidence to be their selues.

This is the condemnation of them, that light came into the world; but men loued darknesses to be more than light: wherefore God is not the cause, but they which loued darknesses. We grant the argument; The will of man, of his olme proper naughtines, hath in it the motion of turning away from light to darknesses. It was said, that God tempteth no man: but if he were the cause of sinne, he should tempt men. As touching that place; understand it after this manner. It is not there spoken of euerie kind of temptation, but otherwise the word should not be true. For God sometime tempteth his people, not that his olme knowledge may be augmented, but that men may knowe him; and that others also may see how great things God hath wrought in them, and that grace he hath bestowed vpon them. Also there is a certeine kind of temptation to be desired: as in the psalme David saith; Tempt Lord or proue me, examine my reines and my hart. Neither must we forget that which we affirmed; namely, that God doth sometimes suggest inwardlie and outwardlie, things which in nature be good, and are received according to the disposition of men; neither must these kinds of temptations be removed from God. But James speaketh of inward lusting, whereby proprietie are suggested vnto things, which prouoke be to do against the lawe of God. Neither doth such lusting depend on God, except lo far forth as he doth not resist it: men as also he doth not alwaies hinder the diuell.

It was added; that God might seme to deale tyrannicallie; whereto we answer. That he doth not propertie sin by men vnto sinne; but yet he beareth the sinnes of wicked men, and also guideth them, least they should passe beyond their bounds. It is added; Who should be iudge the world? For if he were author of sinne, he should iudge himselfe. We saie that God shall iustlie iudge the world: for that wickednesse fouler men do, they do it against the lawe of God, they do it willingly, and of their olme accord, not by constraint: And the spirit of God shall reprove the world of iudgement, of sinne, &c. Before this it was inferred, that by this meanes it should followe, that there be wills in God one repugnant to another. We answer, that in God, as concerning his nature, there is but one absolute and onelie will, which is the essence and nature of God; but yet, if we consider moouer the fundie objects, it may be called manifold. In respect of his commandements it is iust, good, and one onelie: but in respect of men, some it promoteth, and other some it iustlie depisth of Gods fauour. But they be not repugnant wills, because they be not occupied

occupied about one thing. Certainlie such things as be repugnant, it becometh that they be referred to the selfe same subiect. A father hath two sonnes; his will is, that the one should attend vnto learning, and the other not. But be there two wills of the father? No forsooth; it is but one, and he doth rightlie, so he do it vpon good consideration.

Spencer James, in the fourth chapter saith; Yee say, We will go into such a citie; yet rather to saie; If God will, we will doo this or that thing. Wherefore the will of God is, not onelie as touching the lawe and commandements, but it is also concerning those things, which be baile done of men. And that will be longly not to the commandements; for these things are not contained in the decalog, and after that sort be things indifferent. The well did Augustine write in his *Enchiridion* vnto Laurence, in the 102. chapter; The omnipotent God, whether through his merrie he haue pittie vpon whom he will; or through his iudgement shall iudge whom he will; both nothing vnjustlie; neither doth he otherwise than with his will. Afterward it was said; If he should be a cause of sinne, to what end tend to manie warnings, and to manie obtestations of his, by the sonne of God, by the prophets and apostles? We saie, that these things are not done in vaine; naie rather, they bring profit and vtilitie. First they which admonish, rebuke, and exhort, do obey the commandements of God, who would this to be done. But thou wilt saie; It will not profit me, the euent must be committed vnto God. Further, these things do profit the saints, which are predestinated; though it appere not presently, yet in some case they haue their fruit: doubtles they make the vngodlie the lesse execrable. Of this matter read in the booke of Augulline *De correptione & gratia*; for these things were also obeyed to him.

27 It was argued, that If the matter should be in this wise, all difference betwene god and euill would be taken awaie; all things without exception would be the works of God, as the Libertines do saie. We grant, that if God were verelie the cause of sinnes, the Libertines should saie rightlie, but their opinion is detestable. The iudgement of consciences would be taken awaie, inward accusations, and repentance would be dispatched, a iudgement would be appered vnto mischies, giuing of thanks would be withdrawne; for we would delight in sinne, and a great deale of the estimation of God would be lost. All these things be most true, but they make not against us, for we ascribe not God to be the cause of sinne. Lastly was brought forth, that God

he beeth god meanes, not euill; therefore he is not the cause of sinne. The most plainlie confesse, that God is not propertie the cause of sin; but yet out of this place 3. affirm with Augustine in his *Enchiridion* the 103. chapter, that the sentence must not be so absolute, vnderstand, as though there were not some, which God would not haue to be saued. This sentence (saith he) is thus ment; God hath his elect among euerie state & condition of men; so in this respect, he accepteth not the person. He calleth kings and priuate men, bond men & free men, man and woman. And excellently well both this interpretati agree with the place of Paule. He had commanded to praise for princes; but some men might haue thought, that the conuention of them was such, as saluation should be repugnant thereto. In no wise (saith he) God hath his elect among euerie kind of men.

The like reason he bringeth there, out of the 23. chapter of Matthew; Yee 17th mint and rue, & euerie herbe; that is, all kinds of herbs that are among you, not which be in India and Europe: for how could they 17th herbes of all the world? From which opinion disagreed not he that was author of the booke *De uocatione gentium*, which they attribute vnto Ambrose. Where he saith, that God hath his generalitie; therefore he iudgeth that this general proposition must be so restrained, as it is there said, that God would haue them to be saued, which belong vnto his flocke and number: even as, when it is said; All shall be taught of God; And againe; All flesh shall see the saluation of God. An other waie, whereby Augulline understandeth this place, is euent here also; We understand (saith he) that none shall be saued, but such as God will haue to be saued. As if thou shouldst saie; A Grammarian is at the citie of Tigurie, which teacheth grammar vnto all; he saith not, all the citizens, but that there is none which is taught grammar, whom he teacheth not.

And so likewise he understandeth [that place.] Heighthness euerie one that cometh into this world; that is, Who manie deuer be lightened, are lightened by this word. But that he would all men absolute to be saued, he saith it is not true. For in the eleuenth of Matthew it is written; Wo beto thee Chorazin, Wo be to thee Bethsaida: for if the miracles that were done in the cite of Tyre and Sidon, had beene done in you, they had long agoe repented of their wickednes in sackcloth and ashes. Christ would not theu forth the power of miracles as among them, who he said, would haue repented, if they had bene shewed forth. And he adde; Forpound it which waie ye will, so we be not compulled to beleue that God omnipotent would haue some thing to be done, and is not done.

a. Par. 3. 12  
To the eternitie

Luk. 19. 41.  
To the right.

Of. 13. 9.  
To the month.

Ioh. 2. 44.  
To the tenth.

Ier. 23. 21.  
To the eternitie.

Ioh. 3. 19.  
Iam. 1. 13.  
To the right.

Ps. 136.

To the 17.

28 Montaigne  
is not  
ungodly.

To the 18.

To the effect  
of the argu-  
ment.

1 Tim. 4.

John 8. 12.  
Would he  
all men to  
be saued.

Math. 23.  
23. and  
Luk. 11. 44.

General  
propositi-  
ons must be  
restrained.

Epsi. 54. 13.  
Luk. 3. 6.

Iohn. 1. 9.

Mat. 11. 11.

2. 1.

done.

dom: wher as the truth speaketh, that All things, whatsoeuer he would haue done in heauen and earth, he had done: & surely what he would not, that hath he not done. And it is touching the arguments made vnto the 1. part.

18 Now let vs take their arguments, which ascribe God to be the cause of euill. In the first to the Romans it is said, that God gaue them vp to a reprobate sentie. The interpretation is this: he gaue them vp to the desires of their owne hart, as afterword he himselfe expoun- deth it: wherefore these desires were first euill. What did God? Euen he permitted them to obteine their owne naughtie desires; he himselfe did not euill, but in leaving them to the desire of his grace, foolishly wilked desires took place in them; pination of it selfe followed: boldbeit God vied their naughtie desires to the perfor- mance of his iustice, namely, in punishing of them. If the hardening of Pharaos hart, it is sufficiently declared before. In the first chapter of Esai, when God saith by the prophet; Blind thou the hart of this people, that they hearing may not heare, and seeing may not vnder- stand, &c. This is two waies to be expounded. Ierom for interpreting of these wordes, taketh a place out of the 11. chapter to the Romans, where it is said of the Chalkins and Hebrews; Rom.11.30 The Gentils were in times past vnbelleuers, when ye did beleue, but now they haue obtained mercie, through your vnbellef. While the Gentils beleued not, the Jewes seemed to haue the true fellowship: & on the other side, when praeying was afterward offered vnto them, and they beleued not, the apostles forsaluing them, turned to the Gentils: and so they lovere to be come vnbelleuers, to the end that the Gentils might be admitted vnto grace. Thus did God vif the incredulitie of the Jewes, and therefore he added; that God did thus vp all vnder vnbellefe, that he might haue mercie vpon all. Wherefore that same blinding of the vnbelleuers was, to doe seruice to the prouidence of God, which the prophet saith of the weeth.

Another interpretation there may be, and that more conuincuous. Gods mind was, that Esai should be sent to preach; but least he might be disordered afterward, when he should for their obstinacie, and that they were offended at the word, God telleth him before, that the same word was to passe. The word of God of his selfe hath not this, but he iustlie witheld his spirit and grace from them. This word of chine (saith he) will be an occasion taken, through which they shall become blind, & be turned awaie from me. This must be vnderstood as touching the greater part; for there were from god men among them. Vnto this end it is declared, that this should come to passe; that they

by perswading, might make manifest the iustice of God; who of his iust iudgement would make this their blindness to do him seruice. But that the blindness came of God, we must not vnder- stand it otherwise, than as touching outward things; for he offered them his word by Esai.

19 Another place; Lead vs not into tem- ptation. It is so spoken, as though God should lead some into temptation, and by that means is the cause of sinne. This sentence of the Lord Augustine in his booke *De natura & gratia*, the 58. chapter interpreteth; To the intent we may resist the diuell, we praye that the diuell may fle from vs, where he saie; Lead vs not into tem- ptation. Therefore also are we warned, as it were by a grand captaine exhorting soldiers, and saying; Watch and praye, lest ye enter into temptation. Wherefore Augustine in that place referreth these things vnto the temptation of the diuell, who is able to bring nothing to passe further than God will giue leave. And in the 67. chapter of the same booke he addeh; A two manner of waies be pource against the diseases of the booke; namely, that either they may not hap- pen at all; or else if they do come, that we may quickly be deliuered of them. Thus when we saie, Lead vs not into temptation, we desire that God may turne away leue, that it happen not; but if we haue fallen, and committed sinne, we praye him that he will remit and forgive it. The same author against the two epistles of Pelagi- us, in the fourth booke and ninth chapter, by the testimonie of Cyprian writeth, when it is said; Lead vs not into temptation, that we be warned of our infirmities and weakenes. For it is said by the Lord; Watch and praye, lest ye enter into temptation: the reason is added; For the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak: let vs be not insensible puffed by. In this place, tem- ptation is ascribed to the flesh, and to weakenes; so as God is excluded from being author.

In his booke *De bono perseverantia*, and first chapter, he saith, that Cyprian bringeth in that particle in these wordes; Shew us not to be led into temptation: for he saith that the diuell can do no more than God hath giuen him leave to do. And God, as touching his owne people, bring- geth to passe, that he shall not peneale; but as touching the wicked, if he haue the owne hand, God cannot be blamed; vntill he will saie he is to be blamed, for that he hindered not, and that he reuelt euils, and vif them according to his prouidence. Here we obiecteth, that it can hardly be; that the punishment and the fault should be all one. For it is called sinne, in that it is volun- tary; but punishment is alwaies laid vpon men against their wills. And how agreeth it that voluntary and not voluntary should be all one? We answer, that we may consider our will

will as touching sinne two manner of waies; one waie, as sinne proceedeth from thence, and is brought to effect by means of the fauer, and in that respect it is called a voluntarie thing; an other waie, sinne is considered as it is in the mind of will, and deformatly it, and after this sort it cannot be voluntarie; for no euill men would haue their mind to be polluted, wound- ed, or destroyed. Wherefore sinne, as it is brought forth from the will, being the effectual cause, is voluntarie; but as it bringeth in blas- phemy or deformatly, it is done against the will: for we would be all perfect. It was added; God is the cause of the cause of sinne, therefore also the cause of sinne. Why what things do we sinne? For the will and affections, the which God hath brought forth; therefore he is also the cause of the last effect. We answer, that sinne dependeth not of the will and affections, as they were made by God; but as they are now corrupted; if they were an example before of halting.

20 Besides we said, that God remoueth his grace and holie spirit, which do hinder fins, and therefore, &c. This we grant, but we adde, that he doth iustlie remoue his spirit. Indeed the remouing of that which letteth is a cause; but yet that is not the proper cause; for there do al rest in vs inward causes of euill. Be giueh occasions; It is true, he suggesteth both out- wardly and inwardly, but yet god things, the which, men though their owne leuonies do vse amisse. But he not onlie giueh occasions, but he also gaue out his commandements. He said vnto the diuell; Go forth, doo this; herof will I not a few things. The prophet, by the figure of *Psalmopoeia*, doth as it were bring in God to sit vpon a seat like a iudge: he would that Achab should be blame, he saileth who shall decree him. Wherein tendeth this inquisition; It pte- teth vs in mind, that this should else where be sought; because it is not in the nature of God, to decree. The end is there set forth by his iust- fice; he willeth that Achab should now be blame. Others waies are deuised, this spirit the word or waie, and that spirit another waie: to the intent we may vnderstand, that the prou- dence of God hath innumerable waies, where- by he can punish men.

These waies were there propounded, but not put in praeface; because the prouidence of God was not minded to vse them. A spirit slept forth, who said; I will decieve him. Whereby it is gathered, that diuels are prompt and re- die to decieve; and when they do decieve, it is of their owne doing. In the meane time we be taught, that those spirits be able to do no more than God doth giue them leave; and in respect that he will vse them, they be executioners (ap- pointed) of God. Wherefore God saith, Go forth;

this is the imperative mood. If we respect the end, it was to late and punish Achab. But this leaue was giuen, to the intent that the diuell should erre his naughtie will, and decieve. And God vied the sinne of the diuell, and would not hinder his woele, nor yet let Achab, but that he should beleue the false prophets. Angu- sine, in his booke of the 83. questions, queth 53. noted these things; The first is, that that which God did against Achab, he did it by iudgement; secondly, that he did it by an angell, and not by himselfe; thirdly, he saith not by euery manner of angell, but by an euill angell; readie of his owne nature to decieve.

It was said, that sinne is a motion, and a cer- tein action, and that the first mouer is God: un- der nothing is concluded, but that the subiect of sinne, that is, the act it selfe, hath will to be the merest cause, and God himselfe, in respect it is a natural thing. The saying of Augustine *De gratia & libero arbitrio* the 21. chapter, is ex- pounded of the inclination vnto good by him- selfe, and vnto euill inuoluntarie. Also the dealing of Roboam, and the stirring by of the Phil- istines, and that Amazias would not hearken vnto the warnings of the king of Israels prophet, appertineth to the iustice of God: God was minded to punish them. As touching the wordes of Ahia the Silonite, for performing whereof, &c. These things were not done; because they were forgotten; but forgotten, because God forgot that they should be. And to the end that they might to be, he appointed them for punishments of the wicked; and he knew how he would vse them, and his reasons were allowed of God. It is written in the 14. chapter of Ezechiel; If the Ezech.14.9. prophet be decieved, it is I that haue seduced him. Here haue we nothing else, but that the sinne of the false prophet may be two waies con- sidered. As it proceedeth from the will of an ill prophet, so it displeaseh God; and therefore he said he would punish it: but if afterward the vse of it should be wrought, that God by such lea- uing would be reuenged of the people, then he did iustlie withhold his grace from them; fur- ther, he did that fordeciment, which prophete and by it selfe may not be ascribed to God.

21 There was bought a place out of the 21. chapter of the psalms, where it is said; that The hart of the king is in the hand of God, and he inclineth the same which faue fouer he will. The proposition is general; Which waie fou- er he will, he inclineth the same. Here is no exception; therefore as well vnto god things, as vnto euill things. In the twelfth of Job, it is said; that God doth take awaie the harts of them that be rulers of the earth, and that he maketh them stagger like drunken men. And how these things must be vnderstood of inclina- tion,

An answer to the argu- ments on the second part. Rom. 7. 24. To the first.

To the sec- ond. Exod. 9. 12.

Esai. 6. 10. To the third.

Rom. 11. 30

Rom. 11. 32

The blind- ing of vnbelleuers.

To the first.

To the first.

To the sec- ond.

1. kin. 22. 23.

To the third. Psal. 111. 10. brought in by this figure.

Psalmopoeia.

Prophet.

To the 12.

Job. 12. 24.

Job. 12. 24.

Job. 12. 24.

Job. 12. 24.

Job. 12. 24.

Job. 12. 24.

to the 14.  
Pla. 105. 35.

tion, I haue declared. Wherefore I vnderstand this sentence of Salomon no otherwise, than those words of saint Augustine, in his booke *De gratia & libero arbitrio*; to wit, that he inclineth our wills vnto good; euill, according to his good pleasure. Another argument was out of the hart, as they had them. That manner of turning that is, which he made in their harts, Augustine doth teach verie well in the same place; it was no god hath that God made euill. But such is the goodness of God, that he vseth both angels and men; and when they be euill, he pikech good things out of them. He increased the Israelites with children and with wealth; these things were good: wherefore God, by doing good vnto the Hebrews, turned the hart of the Egyptians vnto hatred; for hated earnestly through other means felicitie. Wherefore God turned their hart, which naturall was euill, vnto a hatred against the Hebrews; not by making of their hart euill. Hence therefore that I find not, when I said that God suggesteth either inwardly or outwardly, such things as in their owne nature be good; but through our fault do come occasions of sinning, but yet occasions taken, not giuen. And the occasions which be offered, be not the furthest removed causes, as is the first between vpon mount Pelion; but they be immediate occasions, which sit vpon our desires: euen as the Hebrews happiness was the immediate occasion, why the Egyptians enuied them.

Esaie the 63. chapter; Wherefore hast thou made vs to erre, Lord? Which saying Ieron inu terperch of Gods louing kindness. God did not straitly punish their finnes; wherefore they began to contemne his iudgements: God did suggest this his merite in them, which was good; but through this fault, it was dyuine to contempt. They may also be the words of the wicked, which call vpon God the cause of their finnes. Or; else the gobbie, when they thinke themselves, by the iust iudgement of God, to be forsaken of his grace; and afterward, they acknowledge their finnes, speake after such a sort: doubtles not in blaming of God, but in maruelling at his iudgements. But whosoever thus vnderstand it, God is crept from the fault. It is written in the fourth of Ieremie;

Ierem. 4. 10. Thou, O Lord, hast seduced thy people. Ieron

answereth, saying; I hope things, which were

not spoken, seemed vnto the prophet to be repugnant to the other words, which were spoken in the third chapter before; where God declared

vnto him, that Ierusalem should be called the

feare of God, and that all the heauen should

the preets and people should be astonished: and therefore the prophet crieth; Thou saiest, we shall haue peace, but behold the sword. But the things (saith Ieron) must be distinguished; for those things, which were first spoken, were to be fulfilled after the captiuitie of Babylon: and that calamitie, which was the seed of afterward, was euen at the times.

32 Iolus faith, that God hardened the harts of those nations of the Canaanites, that they should not make peace with Israel; because God was minded to cast them out before his people: and therefore he seemeth to be the cause of sinne. The answer with Augustine, out of the eighth chapter, *De gratia & predestinatione Dei*; what is it to blinden? That he will not illuminate: what is it to inform or reiect? That he will not call. Which he speaketh, not of the generall calling; but of that which is effectually: God pouereth not in new hardness, which is not in the hart. Wherefore it may be said, that God hardened those nations; because he would not make them relent, whereby they might haue made peace with the Hebrews: neither heles, they were already to be destroyed, by reason of their owne finnes. But it is further objected, that no creature is appointed to perdition. God created not man, to the intent he would cast him off. And Ieron vpon the prophet Abacuc, the second chapter is alleged; Although that the ioule, by reason of the naughtines thereof, be made an habitation for the Chaldeans; yet by nature it is the tabernacle of God. And no creature indur with reason is hereinto made, that it should be an habitation of the diuell. Indeed these words both Ieron speake. But if thou vnderstand him absolutely, he is against the scripture, which speaketh otherwise. I say, that the power hath power of one lump, to make one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour. And it is said of Pharo; To this purpose haue I raised thee, that I might shew forth my power. God suffereth the vessels, prepared vnto destruction, to the intent he may make his power manifest. It is also said by Salomon in the 16. of Proverbs; that The vngodly man is made for power, the daie of wrath. In the epistle of Iude, there is mention of certaine men, which were before ordained to this iudgement, or to this condemnation.

But true it is, that this decre of God, before he be put in execution, hath iust cause of condemning any man. For finnes are committed in the meane time, for the which they that should be condemned, are condemned: yet is it the decre of God, that he calleth them not effectually; and surely that decre is iust. But as touching

Ieron

to the 17.

to Iolus. 1. 130

to Ieron

Zuinglius.

to the 18.

an obiecti-

on.

Ieron himselfe, I answer; that the reasonable creature is not made, to the end he should be compelled to sinne; for he sinneth through his owne fault: yet it is in the decre of God, not to vnderstand that fault of his. I answer further with Zuinglius, in his little booke *De predestinatione Dei*, the first chapter; (whereof) it would follow, that God doth procure theft, and such other things. He saith; proceed yet further, and thou shalt faile, that this is done for the declaration of his iustice. Then we see, to what end the reasonable creature is made; euen that on the one side the goodness of God, and on the other side his seueritie may be declared. What wile man is there, that would opene a thing to anie such end, as he knowe he could not attaine vnto: God fore-knoweth all things, he knoweth that the wicked shall be damned; it shall not therefore be said, that he maketh those to saluation which shall be condemned.

Another argument was; If God would the end, he also would the means to come by that end. I grant; for he would that the patience of martyrs should be, therefore he would that persecutions should be. He would vnderstand, but not after one manner; for that which is good, he would for it selfe sake: the persecutions which be done by tyrants, he would after a sort, that is, for some other consideration; he would suffer them, not hinder them; he would vnderstand these things. Where I saie, that he would those things after a sort, it must not be inferred, that therefore he would them false; or like a subtil sophister. Ieron saith; He that is borne of God doth not sinne; that is to saie, against the holie ghost, and without repentance. And seeing such a one doth some wale sinne, it must not be said, that he doth sinne sophistically and false; for there is no such consequent; for he sinneth in verie deed, and not sophistically and false. In like manner, the lawe of it selfe is holie; and yet after a sort, it is the cause of wrath and damnation: but yet not false; no sophistically; for so Paule himselfe speaketh, and that trulle. Wherefore it followeth not, that God would after a sort, therefore he would that which is false and sophistical. But if God would those things, which be vnto an end; and sinnes after a sort, because he hath determined not to let them, and is minded to vnderstand: then his will being immutable, he shall followe an vnauoidable necessity: I answer, that there shall be a necessity, but no constraint; and if one will be forsaken by the grace of God, it is in the necessity of sinning.

Gerleie, the preiudice of God, as touching his decrees, is as the iron & the adamant. Zach. 6. 1. For Zacharie as touching the chariots and creatures, which should succeed after him; They went

(saith) through mountains of iron. The decrees of God are most stedfast. And Christ saith; Those whom my father hath giuen me, none can plucke out of my hands. Yet there is some what, that may seeme to withstand this saying. It is written in the 68. psalme; Let them be wiped out of the booke of the liuing; therefore if they be wiped out, howe were written in before, the will seemeth not to be constant. Read Augustine vpon that place; A man commoueth faile, *Quid scripsi scripsi*; What I haue written, charhaue I written: and will God wipe out that which he hath written? Who then are they said to be wiped out? The kind of speech is according to the hope of them. In verie deed, they were not registered, but they thought themselves to be registered. But there be some, which refer bluntnesse and hardening of hearts to foreknowledge onlie. Wholbeit, there is not a bare preiudice of these things; but there is a certaine will of God, whereby God cannot foreknowe things to come, vnlesse they be such as shall come to passe. And those things that shall be, be, cannot come to passe, or be, vnlesse that God, with some kind of will, will haue them to be, or to come to passe. Wherefore there is some will of God, that presently fore-knowledge he hath a will, not to let things; and he hath a will to vnderstand them according to his predestinate counsels.

33 Another argument; These tyrants Nabuchadnezzar, Senacherib, and others, were in the hand of God, as a staffe and rod; and therefore God seemeth to be the cause of sinne. Indeed it is true that they were as a rod; and when they had created their office, they were thence in to the fire: yet were they not without sinne and preiudice, but were moued forward by their owne naughtie will, and therefore are iustly punished. For there is two kinds of instruments, as I declared before. Wholbeit this is no beguiling; that God will vnderstand these, I yet command that they shall not be done. These men do them of a naughtie will, but God vnderstand their naughtines. Aen also can we well the naughtie actions of their aduersaries, and many times they be vile them without any craftie dealing, euen to the intent they may sale the to themselves, and may shew patience. Sometime God vnderstand them, to punish the sinners themselves; yea rather, he vseth them to alwaies, for because sinne is alwaies a punishment of the sinner. And otherwhile he vseth them for the punishment of others.

Another argument was; that God put in the hart of David to number the people. And so, the scripture speaketh after this manner. David said of spiritus he beate not in the poets, but in the mind of God: Plato might banish poets out of his common weale; but we may not

to the 19.  
Esaie 10. 5.  
and 17.

to the 20.  
2. 5. 24. 6.  
1. 24. 1. 6.

Ibidem.

Matt.25.18

1.Sam.25

2.Kin.24.15

Co the 11.

Barnard.

doine out scriptures, which speake on this wile. But both these things must be understood, & I have declared before. God witheld his helpe from David, he hindered him not; he would be that tooke for punishing of the people. But it is objected; & I God witheld his grace, he doth it iustly. I grant it, yet notwithstanding he doth the same; further, he vseth the diuell also. In the booke of Chronicles it is said, that the diuell let on David; therefore God also did it, inasmuch as he gaue the diuell leaue. But they object against that, which we haue oftentimes spoken; namely, that grace being remoued from vs, sinne doth craipe on of it selfe, forcing our owne will, of it selfe inclining vnto it, euen as darkness doth naturallie come after the light is gon. God (saie they) is euen as the sunne, he cause his light shyneth in euery place; but there be men, which conueigh themselves into corners; but this lightening be in euery place in to tobat corners shoulde gon where that light is. So the diuine scripture saith otherwise: for it saith of him that abused the talent; Take it awaie from him, &c. David paitly; Take not awaie diuine holie spirit from me: therefore God ment to be the sunne of David for punishment of the people. And Aelchylus the tragical poet, is by some vnjustly accused, who saith; that God, if he will deuote and take awaie arie, he giueth the causes and occasions, seeing the scripture to speake, which can speake against the lawes of Plato, but not against the lawes of God. For it saith, that the finnes of Hele did not hearken to their father, because the will of God was to destitute them; and that Roboam would not give eare vnto the elders, because the turning awaie was of God.

It was said, that If the matter shoulde be thus, then God shoulde not be the cause of all sinne, if he be not the cause of finnes. It followeth not; for although God be not the cause of sinne, yet the gouernour the finnes, which be committed, he vseth them, and maketh the verie ground-wooke, so farre sayth as it is a naturall thing. But it becometh (saie they) that sinne be voluntarie. If we speake of actual finnes, it is true; but of original sinne, it is not true. Also the first motions which be finnes, are not voluntarie. And Barnard in his treatise of free will, setteth downe certeine degrees of mans nature. After that be blessed in the heauenlie habitation cannot sinne; it was in Adam, not to haue sinned: after sinne committed, we cannot choose but sinne. So be the damned, so be the reprobate and wicked. But the goodlie regenerate are able not to give place vnto sinne, and being to passe that sinne shall not altogether reigne in them; and this they haue of the spirit of God. Whereby it appereth by this distinction,

that the sinne of the damned is of necessitie; and yet sinne neuertheless. For although it be a thing of necessitie, yet it is voluntarie; but not so voluntarie, as we be able of our felices to make choise of the other part, which is contrarie thereto; for we cannot haue the choise on the other part, but through the same spirit of God. Finnes are iustly punished, but there is no respect how what thou art able or not able, but whether that which thou doest, be done against the lawe of God or no.

And God doth iniurie vnto no man. Therefore this obligation is not of force, if we respect God. For one is a blind man to be falling, a doth not stretch forth his hand to helpe him, or fetter him not by againe, it seemeth to be crueltie: God saith a man ready to fall, he putteth not forth his hand, it seemeth to be crueltie. In whom? In men; because the lawe is prescribed vnto them: & God is not subject to these lawes. This answer maketh Zuinglius in his Zuinglii booke De predestination, and in his booke De falsa & vera religione, where he treateth of merit. And although God doth owe not so large gifts vpon the reprobate, as he doth vpon others; yet he giueth them manie things. The preaching of the Gospel is set forth vnto them, manie other things giueth he vnto all men, although he hath not merite vpon all vnto saluation: God may do with his owne what he will. These, thou shalt, reioice his mercie. Ierom saith vpon Ionas; God is mercifull and pitifull of nature, ready to saue those by his mercie, whom he cannot by his iustice; but we cast awaie his mercie, which is offered. I grant it, inasmuch as it is offered vs by general preaching: neuertheless, God doth not change their wills; that he can do this, who denieth: If he will not, it is vpon iust cause that he will not. Augulline De bono & malo peruenit, the fourth chapter, saith; that In one and the selfe same thing, we see a difference of Gods iudgement; and in diuers things we see one iudgement. Where were two things in the loombe of Rebecca, before they had bene either good or euill, yet it is said; I haue loued Jacob, and hated Esau. Some laboured in the vineyard a whole daie, others laboured but one houre onlie, and yet receiued all one reward.

As for the instance of the gouernour of the house, whose formes and seruants do offend; I (saie he) intence them not. The gouernour of the house is iustly accused, because he hath a lawe; but God hath no lawe prescribed vnto him, he himselfe hath prescribed to himselfe, that he will do nothing vnjustly: but his will is the chiefe rule of iustice. God forsaketh the reprobates, and is also forsaken by them, and he doth rightlie. But in that he leaueth such as leaue him, that is testified in the second booke of Chronicles,

2.Pet.1.18

Co the 24.

Act.25.18

Act.25.18

Co the 24.

Mat.26.53

of free will.

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the 15. chapter. The prophet Azarias, the sonne of Obed, saith vnto king Amazias; Seeing that ye forsake him, he will forsake you. God is euerie where by his ellice, by fauour, grace, and readie helpe. He leaueth not the twelued in the two faymer forts, but in the third. There was alledged the sentence of Anselme De casu diaboli; If God (saie he) by a diuine thought, such as is adueritie, do bring forth a child, why cannot that will of God, by a naughty will bring it forth as it is a naturall thing? We grant that the fault may be brought forth of God; but afterward it becometh to consider the defect in it selfe.

It is read in the act, that they came together against Christ, to do whatsoeuer the hand and counsell of God had decreed; and that Christ was deliuered by the determined counsell of God. Touching the death of Christ, the will of God hath another meaning towards Christ, than it hath towards the Felices. As touching Christ, God would that he shoulde beare the crosse, according to obedience and charitie, because he is our redemption; and the diuine nature brought to passe in him, that he did beare it. That the Felices shoulde be able to be crucified, God permitted them; but in that permission there was a will, not to hinder their naughty will, that he might be the same, and that redemption might followe. By this it appereth, that he could haue letted it, if he would; Could not my father (saie Iesus) giue me eleven legions of angels to fight for me? We vset that sinne to redeme vs. Spante god things were offered by God vnto the Felices; such were the preachings, miracles, and reprehensions which he vset, but through their default, they were taken in the worst part; wherefore they are left euen in the necessitie of sinning.

Where shall now be free will? It is lost. Augulline in the thirte chapter of his Enchiridion to Laurence saith, that After man had sinned, he lost himselfe, and his free will also: he saith so thus in that chapter, and else where also; and he haue it in the second booke of Sentences the 25. distinction. But Barnard saith, that it is not lost. These fathers disagree not if they be rightlie vnderstood; for Augulline taketh free will for the power of choosing things contrarie, this is that. And while we be not regenerated, we cannot trulie haue acceptable things vnto God, nor lesse we be reformed by the fauour of God, because we sin, as touching those things doth not remaine in vs. Whereas Barnard saith, that free will remaineth, what is his meaning? He meaneth, that although men sinne, they are not compelled, they haue a consent, they are willing; and such a free will remaineth. And he himselfe

expounds himselfe, when he setteth downe three sorts of libertie. He hath free will, from compulsion; from sinne, when his will is regenerate; from milere, when he shall come into the kingdome of heauen. We haue no freedom from milere in this life, it is necessitie we haue; by necessitie, he meaneth compulsion. This appereth out of Barnard, for he placeth a freedom of will in God; he of necessitie is god, and yet this takerh not awaie his free will. The angels, and holie men in the heauenlie countrie cannot sinne, yet they haue a free will. Also he granteth a freedom vnto the bluel, and damned soules; and yet they cannot be god; but the euill which they will, they will it of their owne accord, not that they be able to do the contrarie.

The same author saith; It is grace which preserueth, and free will which is preferred. By what meanes? It taketh libtly willingtelle, that is, it assenteth, it contenteth; but he saith not that it consenteth of it selfe, naie rather he alledgeth the place of Paule; That we cannot of our felices thinke a good thought, much lesse giue our consent thereto. And; God worketh in vs to will and to performe. God (saie he) without vs, setteth before vs god cogitations, by preuenting vs; afterward he changeth the will: he changeth (saie he) the affection, that the same being changed, the consent may followe. Wherefore he saith; that God doth foure things in vs; first, he stretcht by, by sending in god cogitations; secondly, he healeth, that is, he changeth the will; thirdly, he confirmeth, that is, he leadeh to the act; fourthly, he perserueth, that he may not faile the want, that we may perserue, and that the god worke may be accomplished.

So to be briefe, we also affirme that God, as concerning sinne, is (as Epiphanius saith) deus non meritorius reus, that is, cleare from the cause of all sinne, because properlie, he is not the cause, and yet he sheweth it. This word also significth vnblameable. God cannot be blamee into blame by vs; what he doth, he doth iustly. And for our part we adde, that it is a generall opinion, and must full be retained in the churh; that There is nothing done in the world, be it god or bad, without Gods prouidence. Humane actions cannot passe out of the bounds of Gods prouidence, seeing All the heares of our head are numbered. If parrottes, being small felie birds, of the least estimation, do not light on the ground without the will of God; what shall we of mans doings, the which so farre exceede? We vnderstand hath an exceeding great scope; albeit it deale not all after a sort towards god things, and towards bad; yet they are not done without the prouidence of God, which is Gods diuine will, whereby things be mightie and be well gouerned, and directed to their owne proper

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2.Cor.3.5.  
Phil.2.13.

that no  
thing is  
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idence of  
god.  
Mat.10.19  
and 30.

proper ends. Neither ought it to be anie offensive vnto vs, that he leaueh some euils in the world; for although they be against particular natures, yet they be available for common commoditie. If all euils were taken away, we should be destitute of manie good things: wherefore it is said, that where would be no life of lions, if there were no slaughter of sheepe, where would the lions be fed: neither would there be patience of martyrs, vnlesse the crueltie of tyrants were permitted by God.

Plato.  
An abstruse  
tion.

That which Plato sayeth in the second booke of *De Republica*, seemeth to be against this doctrine of ours: he saith, that God is author both of good things vnto men, because there be manie euils amongst men, and God is the cause of none of them: whereby he seemeth to strengthen the p[ro]vidence of God vnto a narrowe roome. If he meane the cause effectuall, and speake of times, we doo grant it: and yet in the meane time p[ro]vidence is not in a profound sleepe. But Plato in the same place hath, that which must not be granted generallie of the godlie: for he denieth, that God commeth vnto men in the likenesse of strangers: but angels onely entertained by Abraham & Lot in ghestly forme. Whereas he saith, that God cannot be changed, as touching his substance; it is true: but that he appeareh sometimes in certaine formes, it must be granted. He talked with Moses out of the burning bush; he declared himselfe vpon mount Sina by voices; he exhibited himselfe vnto the prophets by fanctie likenesses. I thinke that Plato meaneth these vile changes, which the poets speake of: but that heas changed into a swan, an eagle, or a bull: which things must in no wise be attributed vnto God.

Another  
abstruse.

36 But whereas I said, that all things, whatsoever they be, are ruled by the p[ro]vidence of God; and that Platos saying can be no let, it seemeth not sufficient. For Damascene also is against it, who saith in his second booke, the 29. chapter, that those things, which be not in vs, are subiect to the p[ro]vidence of God: for he adueth, that the things within vs, are not of Gods p[ro]vidence, but belong to our owne free will. But shall not therefore our actions, which he saith are within vs, be in the p[ro]vidence of God? Let them beloeue this that will: for I beleue it not. He adueth that which is more hard; namely, that the choise of doing things is in vs but that the perfection and accomplishment of good things is the worke of God together with vs. Who will saie, it cometh from vs, if we choise to be done such things as are good? The apostle saith, that God worketh in vs, to will and performe. And whereas Damascene taketh awaye these things from diuine p[ro]vidence, I like it not. He distinguisheth p[ro]vidence, into god

pleasure and permission; these I am not against. I ascribe both; namely, that p[ro]vidence not onely ruleth good things, but that it also bringeth them to passe; and that it permitteh such things, but yet not so as it permitted them all wholly to themselves: for it vseth them.

And he distinguisheth that same p[ro]vidence of god pleasure, and saith, that one is a disposing and instructing permission: because it turneth to the discipline of saints, if they be left without helpe for a time. Sometime it is called a full growne permission, and as it were without hope of recovery: as when men, through their owne default, perish and become past amendment. Euen we also saie, that God leaueh his elect for a time, but others for euer. Whereouer he saith; that God by an inward cause will haue men to be partakers of saluation; but that he will afterward punish them when they offend. He calleth it a following will, as though it must follooe by our owne default.

I for my part saie, that the will of God is of one sort, but that the objects be diuers. There is a chosen lot, whom he will haue to be saved, and there be reprobates also, whom he will for their finnes to be punished. But yet we must not there make a staie, he will shew his power in them. Wherefore I ascribe, that p[ro]vidence is vniuersall, whatsoeuer Damascene saith. Of which mind Augustine also is in the 58. sentence, saying; that there is nothing done, either visible or sensible, which is not either commanded or permitted from the invisible or perpetuall pallace of the high Emperour: and so he excepteth nothing from the p[ro]vidence of God.

37 These be the things, that I thought meet to be spoken of concerning this matter. Where remaine manie other things, but an end must be had. Anded I knowe, that the reuerend man Philip Melancthon, whom I loue & honour, hath saied to effecter this: but here I appeale to the same man himselfe, in his old common places; read ye those things which be there, concerning p[re]destination and free will. He saith, that the word (free will) which perauenture I would not haue said, is most strange vnto the diuine scriptures, and from the iudgement and meaning of the spirit. Further he saith, that Platos philosophie, in the beginning of the church, subverted pietie. In the conclusion of that place; If we come (saith he) to our owne inward and outward doings, those being referred to Gods p[ro]vidence, all things do come to passe euen as they be appointed. But in outward actions, if they be referred vnto will, there is a freedom (in vs.) If we shall consider the inward good things, which God doth require, there he saith is no freedom: if our inward affections begin to passe measure, they can not

These words  
of this place.  
Philip Melancthon.

not be staied. The same thing saith Ambrose vpon Luke, and it is often alledged by Augustine, that our hart is not in our owne power. There be others also, which disagree not from them; of which number are Zuinglius and Luther, the noble instruments of reformed religion; likewise Occolampadius, Bucer, and Caluine: and I might alleage others, but I strue not to bring manie witnesses. I said, that to speake properly, God is not the cause of Sinne; and that there is nothing done in the world, be it good or euill, without the p[ro]vidence of God. But if I haue not hit the marke I shot at; I am loath to sit. I am man shall by anie sufficient proofs shew this opinion to be vngodlike, or hurtfull to god's conuiction, I am ready to alter the same. I haue discoursed the more at large herof, because it is a thing of great importance: and it falleth out oftentimes in the holie scriptures. And things are better vnderstood, which be set downe to the full; than such as are declared here and there by peremeale.

VVe haue added these few things  
out of the like place vpon the  
first of Samuel, the second chapter.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

some of God himselfe. Neither must we omit, that this is true so named, and indeed the will of God, being Christ faith; He that doth the will of my father, the same is my mother, my brother and my sister. And it is written in Deut. 32. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Whereouer, the other will of God is that, which is called mightie, effectuall, and according to his god pleasure, which by no power can be vanquished and overcome; seeing it is iustified thereof, that Whatsoeuer he would, that hath he done. Of this will Paule saith; Who is able to resist his will? And surely, if there might be anie thing done against Gods will and mind, it would be weak and feeble. These two wills are so distinct, not as if they were two things and faculties, which be placed in God; seeing that nat appereth to be most absolute. Yet foolishly as God doth not alwaies reueale his generall & whole counsell vnto men (so that is not needfull, seeing it hath bene enough for him to shew that which is sufficient for obtaining of saluation) therof it coms, that these two wills do differ. For what he hath by anie means declared, that must be referred to his signified will; and whatsoeuer he hath kept to himselfe, as secret and hidden, that appertaineth to his well pleasing will. But to the end that this may be the easier vnderstood, it is met to be shewed by plaine and notable examples. God commaunded Abraham, that he should go to sacrifice his onlie sonne Isaac; certeinly in this precept was contained his signified will: for God heauen Abraham, that he would onlie make a trial of his obedience; and shewed him not that he would afterward let the sacrificing of Isaac; which prohibition doubtlesse did follooe afterward; neither was his well pleasing will made manifest before. Wherefore we may becke, that his well pleasing will, and his signified will is all one; it is but in summe well called, ascribing as it is knowne or unknowne vnto vs.

Whereas this, it was said vnto Ezechias; Set thine house in order, seeing thou shalt now die. Certeinly, there was no other time in the king but death, considering the force of his disease, and counse of nature; and his death was the will of God, as it might be perceived both by a natural signe, and by the words of the prophet. Yet, by his cause God, of his merite, had decreed, vpon his repentance & feares, to prolong his life, for manie yeeres; this will of his was as well effectuall as well pleasing. Also by his signified will he decreed, that for his daies was denounced vnto him Nineties, when as new creatures God, by his well pleasing will, minded to forgive them being penitent. This will is iointed with the other; for the one, they which fall from the one, do light vpon the other; the effectuall will.

The effect  
shall will.

Phil. 3. 6.  
Rom. 7. 19.

What differ  
ence there  
is betwix  
these two  
wills.

Gen. 22. 2.

Ezech. 8. 1.

Isa. 53. 4.  
A comma  
tion of  
signified  
will with  
the effectuall  
will.

ther: and they which reiect that will of God, whereby he publisheth his lawes, his promises, his threatenings and counsels, do run into that, whereby sinners suffer punishment for their wicked offences.

39 Wherefore Augustine in his *Enchiridion* into Laurence, the 101. chapter, verie well saith: That which God will have done, is in anie wise done, either of us, or upon vs, of us, when we live well; when we receive punishment for finnes committed. And in the 102. chapter he saith, that Sinners do as much as in them lieth against the lawe of God; but as touching his omnipotencie they cannot. And, as Gregorie wrote in his *mozals*, the 11. chapter, and first booke; Heane do the will of God, when they endeavour to change the lawe: and in resisting, they unwittingly obeye the counsell of God. Also Ioseph answereth his brethren with this saying; You told me indeed, but Gods purpose was to send me before you into Aegypt, that I might prepare for you both feed and faste. Moreover, this is the same will, whereby God doth predestinate his elect unto eternall life; the which, as it is unholme unto vs, so the same being most mightie, cannot be weakened. 25. this distinction of Gods will, we understand sufficient that answere we ought to make, when it is objected unto vs, that GOD make man a living soule, and therefore would not that he should perish. For we saie, that this is true as touching his signified will: for he offered unto man a lawe, promises, threatenings, and counsels: which things, if he had imbraced, he had sinned well. But if he have respect vnto that other mightie and effectuall will, doubtles we cannot denie, but he would have men to perish. For as we read in the 16. of *Ispocuen*, God made all things for his owne selfe, whereas the vngodlie to an euill daie. And Paule teacheth vs, that God is like vnto a pottor, and that he maketh some vessels to honor, and some to dishonour. And this is also the same will, whereby God ruleth, governeth, and moderateth the naughty desires and finnes of men at his owne pleasure, as it hath bene said before. 25. this will, God deliuereth the wicked into a reprobate sense, seuereth in the Chaldeans to lead awaie his people into captiuitie, addeyth efficacie unto illusions, would haue the wicked to be seduced, and is said to haue them.

40 But seeing these things are expresse in reason, that would offendments light vpon them in the holie scriptures, we must diligentl consider, how they should be vnderstood. The common sort thinke, that whereas it is written, that God doth blind, doth harden, doth delude, doth send in, doth beguile; nothing else is ment thereby, but that he suffereth these things to be done.

After the which manner, verie manie of the fathers do interpret those speeches, being led doubtles by this reason; that they thought it a wicked and blasphemous thing, if God should be accounted the author of sinne; and they would not that men should cast vpon God himselfe the causes of their finnes. Which counsell of theirs, I verie well allow, and confesse together with them that these things be done by the permission of God: for seeing he can inhibit sinnes to be done, and yet doth not let them, he is rightlie said to permit or suffer them. Wherefore Augustine verie well saith, in his *Enchiridion* into Laurence, the 98. chapter, that There is no mind so wicked, but that God can amend the same, if he will: but not to prohibit, when thou canst, is to permit. And the same author against Iulian, in the fifth booke, the ninth chapter sheweth, that There be manie euils, which God would not permit, vntlesse he were willing they vnto.

But there must be somethat else also brought besides permission, if we will dulie fastidie those places of the scripture, which are objected. For they which saie, that God doth onlie permit, they cannot altogether exclude his will, because he permitteth the same either willingly or els unwillinglie; unwillinglie I an assure thee doth not, because none may compell him; it followeth therefore, that he doth willingly permit those things to be done. Further must we imagin, the same will of permission to be slacke in God; for in God there is nothing that is not perfect and absolute. Wherefore it must of necessity be determined, that God doth not onlie permit same, but also after a sort wills it; yet not in respect that it is sinne, (for his will is alwaies of necessitie caried out) but in measure: for in that respect, although it be sinne, yet it goeth vnder the forme of good. So do princes and magistrats otherwise let lions and wild beastes vpon ill men, and incourage elephants against enemies: yet they which not those kind of beastes, but they cause the fiercenes and crueltye of them to serue their vse. So God useth the labour of hyantes, when he will take iust punishment of anie people.

Wherefore the king of Babylon is called the hammer, staffe, and lawe of the Lordes hand, when God would by his violence, chastise the people of Israel. For that king, notwithstanding he was the mightiest prince, was not able of his owne force to afflicte the children of Israel: naie rather, he was rebuked of arrogancie, because he sometime ascribed that thing to his owne strength: for God declareth, that he himselfe was the verie author of so great destruction. And Iob, when he was so grievously vexed

by the Sabees, by the Chaldeans, and also by the diuell, and depriued in a manner of all his goods, he notle godlie than wiselie said; The Lord gaue, and the Lord hath taken awaie. And that he might the more euidentlie shew, that this happened by the will of God, he added; Euen as it pleased the Lord, so it is come to passe: for he saith that God vied the Sabees, Chaldeans, and the diuell as instruments. And in the second booke of Samuel, the 24. chapter, it is said, that God directed by Dauid to number the people: which act in Darliopomon is attributed to the diuell. Both which sayings be true, because God, by the ministerie and worke of the diuell vponed him to do it. For euen as Salomon saith; The hart of the king is in the hand of God, he inclineth the king which waie soeuer he will: certeinlie, not by instilling of newe will, as we haue oftentimes said before; but by vsing of the lawe which he hath [already] found, either to the punishment of finnes, or els to the performance of his other counsels. Therefore, when it is written, that God doth either harden or make blind, we must believe that he not onlie forsaketh and leaueh; but that he also applyeth his will.

41 Further must we passe it ouer, that in the seventh and eight of Exodus, it is written, that God hardened the hart of Pharaos, when neuertheless in the eight chapter it is written, that Pharaos himselfe hardened his owne hart, either of which is certeinlie true. For first Pharaos had himselfe the originals of so great an obstinacie, and he willingly, and of this owne accord set himselfe against the word of God. But on the other part (as I haue declared before) God promised, that the same his obstinacie should be openlie shewed, and did moderate and govern it according to his owne pleasure. We must not thinke, that God doth to rule the world, as he should sit like an idle man in a towre soluer, and there do nothing: or that he suffereth the world and inferior things, to haue scope to wander at will, as doth a hoyle which he raues at libertie. Neither is that time, which is alleged by some, that God neither wills, nor nillith those euils or finnes; as if he thought not vpon them at all. Euen as if one should aske me, whether I would the frenche king should hunt this daie; or no, I might rightlie answer, that neither I would it, nor would it not, seeing the matter pertaineth nothing vnto me. But as touching God, it cannot rightlie be answered so; seeing that things soeuer are in all the world, they do belong to his care and providence.

But I would that the men did insight with themselves, by what testimony of the scripture they be able to confirme that permission of

thei, which they to obstinatele retene. I am not ignorant, that they alledge for themselves, that which is said in the 87. psalme; I permitted them to their owne harts lust. But if we conser with the true Hebrew text, it will appere most feble, & of lesse power than they be aware of. For the verbe *Schallach* in the Hebrew, is in the conjugation *Piel*, which by the force of the conjugation signifieth, A vehement action: neither is it conuenient, that we should abate the force thereof, though expounding off by the word Permission. Nay rather it agrees with the phrase of Paule, wherein it is said in the epistle to the Romans, that God deliuered the wicked to a reprobate sense: and it is rather shewed, that God cast awaie the wicked, than permitted them. But whereto did he permit them; or cast them off? Carele to their owne wicked desires; as who saith, they should be vholie possessed and governed by them. And in this sense is that Hebrew word oftentimes vied in the scriptures. In Genesis it is shewed, that God cast man out of Paradise; and who would there interpret the word *Cast* out (by the word) Permitted, being he rather gaue and thrust them out from thence? Moreover, in the 19. chapter the angels said, And the Lord hath sent vs out to deliure Sodom: in which place, To send forth cannot be the selfe same that is to Permit. And it is written in Ezechiel; It brought forth the branch: while notwithstanding a vine bud not permit the bryanch to come forth of it, but doth rather inforce it to bud out. Wherefore let the interpreter beware, least in that place he interpret the Hebrew verbe *Schallach*, by the verbe of permitting.

42 Further must we passe it ouer, that the holie scriptures no lesse attribute the permission of God vnto good things than vnto bad. For the apostle in the first chapter to the Hebrews, when he intreated of good things, saith; If God shall be intreated of good things, saith; If God shall permit. Iulian the Pelagian (as aperlyth out of Augustine, in the thirde chapter of the first booke, when he wrote against him) was of the opinion, that when it is said in the scriptures, that God deliuereth or blindeth; it must onlie be vnderstood, that he leaueh or permiteth. But contrariwise, Augustine saith, that God doth not onlie permit, but (as the apostle taught) He declareth his wrath and power. Furthermore, Iulian writeth, that such speeches are hyperbolical or excessive phrases; but Augustine affirmeth that they be proper. Iulian interpreteth, that these which are said to be deliuered to their owne lusts, were intreated before by the diuines: wherefore, he addeth; What need was it that they should be deliuered to them? It was enough that they were suffered to followe and rest in them. Vnto this Augustine saith; What thou thinke it all one; to haue desires, and to be giuen



1 Sam. 16.  
ver. 10.

over unto them : for the vngodlike be given  
over unto their naughty lusts, not onelie that  
they may have them, but that they may be alto-  
gether had and possessed of them. Wherefore the  
same father added; *Euen as God dealeth in the*  
*bodies of twined men,* by being a punishing  
thing, euen to be twined in the minds of them,  
by diuining of them into sinnes. And in the  
same place be intreated of the historie of Se-  
mei, where Dauid saith; The Lord commanded  
him to curse me. The Lord (saith Augustine)  
iustlie inclined the will of Seimei (being euil  
through his owne fault) to ralle upon Dauid :  
and the cause is shewed; For the Lord shall re-  
ward me good for this rebuke.

the Ma-  
nichies.

The same Augustine also in his booke *De*  
*gratia & libero arbitrio* writeth, that God doth  
worke in mens minds, inclining them as  
will vnto good as vnto euill, oftentimes by  
his secret iudgement, yet sometimes by his ma-  
nifest iudgement, but euermore by his iust  
iudgement. Wherevnto adde, that holu and for  
that cause be both these things, it is exceeding  
hard to perspicke. But yet this is most certie  
to be determined, that these euils, so far forth  
as they come of God, be not sinnes, but are things  
tuff and good : but in that they proceed either  
from the diuill, or from men; of god right they  
ought to be accounted sinnes. The Manichies,  
when they could not vnderstand themselves out  
of this doubt, did feigne, that there were two be-  
ginnings of things, whereof the one should be  
good, but the other euill. But we teach, that there  
is one God, the author of all good things; we  
saie, that sinnes spring by the departing  
of Adam from God, and yet that those sinnes are  
tempered and ruled by the will and pleasure of  
God. Wherevpon we conclude, that the vrie  
actions themselves, that is, the subsidies of sin-  
ne, be of God; and that he, when he thinketh it meet,  
doth withhold his grace and succour, and  
that afterward he ruleth & bendeth the naughty  
lusts of men, which waie neuer it shall please  
him : and that seeing he useth the sinnes of men  
to the punishment of other sinnes, it cannot be  
said, that he by no means at all would them.

Of the sinne  
of Adam.

But of the same of Adam the question is the  
more difficult, because there was no fall of his  
loint before, which should be punished by God  
with a latter fine. Yet vnto this we answer,  
that the action of his, that is, the subsidy of de-  
bauchitie and vngodlinesse was of God, but the  
punition of bestiall nature of the first fall of A-  
dam, whom God created innocent, free and  
perfect; but yet not so, that he might not revolt  
and do amisse. Neither was the grace of God,  
whereby he should be kept backe from falling,  
so great, as it did firmelie establish him. And it  
cannot be doubted, but that God would that

Adam should fall; otherwise he had not fallen;  
and he would haue him fall, doubtlesse not  
in respect of him; but that he might see that fall  
to make manifest his power, and the vnume-  
surable riches of his goodnes; and that he might  
shew himselfe able, not onelie to make man  
pure and perfect; but to restore him also, being  
fallen and perished. And for that cause he sent  
his sonne to die for mankind vpon the crosse.  
Wherefore Gregorie cried out; O happy fault,  
which deferred to haue such a redeemer!

Gregorie

43 But this must be diligetlie marked,  
that God doth sometimes allow those things  
whereas yet it pleaseth him not that they should  
be done. Not as though there be two wills in  
him; for he hath but one will onelie, whereof  
notwithstanding there be diuers objects; for he  
consideth our mind and determination, the  
which oftentimes be aliother. But on the other  
part, he hath before his eyes, the order of his pro-  
vidence, the which by all means he willeth to  
be found and steadfast. Therefore, he sometimes  
inspireth in our hearts, things which in their own  
nature should be good; yet for all that he will not  
haue those things to be brought to an end, be-  
cause they serue not to the order of his pro-  
vidence. So we saie, that the praier of Christ,  
wherein he desired to escape death, pleased God,  
although he would not fulfill the same. Neither  
did Christ, with a leuio or corrupt will, but with  
a righteous and good will, will that which he de-  
sired. But the providence and perscrutation of  
God remained immouable, whereby he had  
decided, that at the verie same time he should  
be fastened vpon the crosse for our saluation.  
Wherefore we must religiouslie and godlie me-  
ditate manie things; but then we vnderstand  
that God will not haue those things to be done,  
our cogitations must be applied to his will. But  
to intreat of this thing with more perspicuitie  
and plainnesse, let vs first of all determine, that  
mans will ought after some sort to be made  
conformable to the will of God; for otherwise it  
should not be right: for that which is right must  
agree with the rule of God. Yet it is not of ne-  
cessitie, that that God would haue to be done,  
should please vs all manner of waies; because it  
is requisite, sometimes, that the same should  
displease vs, and that rightlie, and without sin,  
which thing the better to vnderstand, it shall be  
shewed by examples.

Exo. 31. 1

Moses heard, that God would not cut his  
people; he otherwise would, and forsooke cer-  
eadinge; and that it might not be, he refused  
it by prayer. Also Samuel knew that Saule was  
reieced, yet he did not forthwith lettle his mind  
vpon that will of God; but he heauilie took the  
fall of that king, & for that cause he wept long  
therevpon; because (as Augustine in his *Enchi-  
ridion*

where  
we ought  
to doe anie  
thing con-  
trarie vnto  
the decree  
of god  
knowe vnto  
vs.

In 1. 1. 1.  
ver. 1. 1.  
where  
we ought  
to doe anie  
thing con-  
trarie vnto  
the decree  
of god  
knowe vnto  
vs.

Mat. 13.

should be destroyed, and he lamentable be-  
wailed the ruine thereof. Here some saie, that the  
decree or pleasure of God, is either twofold  
to vs, or else vniuersall. When it shall be man-  
ifest vnto vs, we ought to bend our will vnto  
him; but if it be hidde from vs, we haue a leuio  
reuealed, which we may safelye followe. These  
then men saie somewhat, but yet this saying of  
theirs doth not suffice to suffice. For Ieremie and  
Christ haue berie well, that by the decree and  
will of God Ierusalem should be vterlie de-  
stroyed; yet neuertheless they wept for that cause,  
and in weeping they sinned not. Wherevnto,  
it cometh oftentimes to passe, that euen by the  
verie looks of God we knowe his will; where-  
in yet, we must not straightwaie repose our  
selues; for sometimes it happeneth, that the sonne  
seeth the father die, which sonne if he be godlie,  
he vnderstandeth withall, that Gods will is, that  
he should die. Shall he not therefore be forrow-  
full, and desire that his life may still be prolon-  
ged? What shall then be done, when such things  
do happen? Herein we must consider what is  
meant for the will of God, and what is conueni-  
ent for our will.

Trulie it agreeth with the will of God, that  
he should worke according to his goodnesse and  
righteousnes, to the end he may benefite the  
good, and punish the wicked; and it is fit for our  
will, that it should do those things which be a-  
greeable thereto. Also, what things are agree-  
able to our nature, we shall perceiue by the con-  
stitution thereof; that is, by the latue of nature  
and of God; and otherwhile also by an inward  
inspiration of the spirit; and thus, albeit we do  
in verie deed disfigure from the will of God, yet  
as touching the forme and efficient cause, we a-  
gree with the same. For as much as God some-  
timeth, willeth two things at once, namely to pu-  
nish a crime, a nation, and our parents; and also  
that we for that cause should moue; neither  
are these things repugnant one with another.  
3 times past God willed Sodom and Gomor-  
ra to be destroyed, which thing he declaring vnto  
to Abraham, Abraham was manie waies for-  
rowfull, and he intreated for them which should  
be destroyed; neither are we to thinke that A-  
braham pouered out his praiers without the spiritue  
all inspiration of God.

In 1. 1. 1.  
ver. 1. 1.  
where  
we ought  
to doe anie  
thing con-  
trarie vnto  
the decree  
of god  
knowe vnto  
vs.

44 Furthermore, to these things this also  
must be added; namely, that the things which  
we knowe that God would, may be two waies  
considered. First simple and absolute; in  
which respect we must do those things, which be  
agreeable to our will or nature rightlie intitu-  
ed; or else we must beholde them, with a iust  
comparison vnto the diuine providence, where-  
vnto if we conferre them, they must wholly re-  
therevpon; because (as Augustine in his *Enchi-  
ridion*

ridion saith) that It is a wicked thing to strine  
against the providence of God. Wherein it is  
our part in all things, to will that which God  
would he should will, and that to a right end;  
that is, with a god purpose : or (as men can  
monie speake) with a right intent; although as  
touching the matter, it behoouth not that that  
should alwaies like vs, which seemeth meet vnto  
God. But if thou demand what those things be,  
which agree with our nature well intutited; I  
answer, things holie, honest and iust. Where-  
fore the apostle said to the Philippians; What-  
soeuer things be true, honest, iust, pure, Probable,  
of good report; if there be anie vertue, or  
if there be anie praise, those things thinke vpon  
and doo. And therefore Dauid, when he be-  
trayned to build the temple, although God would  
not haue it done; yet was Dauid still allowed  
as iust and right. Out of doubt, the god king  
knew that God was willing to haue a temple  
built vnto him, and he vnderstandeth that it should  
be done at Ierusalem; therefore his will dis-  
tinct not from godlines. Wherevnto, seeing he was  
a child of God, and was stirred by by his spirit,  
no doubt, but God inspired him with that will.

Phil. 4. 8.

1 Sam. 7. 1

Phil. 1. 13.

Further must we marke that God doth out-  
wardlie, but consider what he doth within vs,  
and then we must followe that. He worketh in  
vs both to will and performe; indeed not alwaies  
a perfection of the worke, or a will that is per-  
fect and sound; neither are these two alwaies  
so ioined together, as he toucheth once both to  
will and to performe. For sometime he enche-  
loseth to will, and granteth not that the thing  
which we will, shall come to effect. And not one  
while our will ought to be conformable to the will  
of God, but also our vnderstanding; for we  
ought to vnderstand those things onelie, which  
God would reueale vnto vs, and no further. For  
man therefore hath said; I will vnderstand  
those things which God himselfe knoweth. These  
things are largelie intreated of in the first booke  
of sentences, the 48. distinction; and in Augu-  
stines *Enchiridion*.

where  
we ought  
to doe anie  
thing con-  
trarie vnto  
the decree  
of god  
knowe vnto  
vs.

### An other discourse of the same argument.

I affirme the cause of mans sin to be the will  
of the first will of our first parents, who fell of  
their owne accord, and obeyed rather the sug-  
gestion of the diuill than the commandment  
of God; from thence afterward was deriued  
originall finne vnto all the posteritie; wherev-  
on we haue vice and corruption inough in our  
owne felows. Wherefore God inflicteth not in  
vs a new naughtines vnto sinning, neither  
doth he bring in corruption; and therefore I do  
affirme our wills to be the causes of sinne, and  
not



not God.

Rom. 1, 26.  
1. 28.

2. Sam. 4, 1

2. Sam. 16,  
ver. 11.

ver. 11.

But the scripture saith in the epistle to the Romans, that God deliuered vp the Ethnikes vnto a reprobate mind, and vnto vile affecti-  
ons. And in the second of Samuel it is said, that God stirred vp David to number the people. And in the same hystorie David said, that God commanded Semei to curse David. In the same booke the twelfth chapter, God said vnto David by the prophet, I will take thy wives, and give them to thy neighbour, and he shall peece with them: for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and in the open sunne light. It is said by others, that these things must be referred vnto the permission, which thing I do not absolutely denie: for God, (the world, might haue left these mischiefs, but he would not hinder them. Volubrit 3 adde, that such a permission must not be granted, whereby some may affirme, that God dealeth so delicately, and so leaue the gouernement of things, as he doth nothing about sinnes themselves.

Phil. 1, 9.

Rom. 1, 24.

First, he saitheth his gifts and his grace from certaine men, because they abused the same: which grace being remoued, and that foolish, for a punishment of their former sinnes, must beac destitute of that helpe, do fall into more grauous crimes. And that God doth sometime withholde his grace, David knoweth well enough, when he sometime said; Turne not thy face from me, nor take awaie thine holie spirit from me.

Secondlie, God doth punish sinnes with sinnes; as it appereth in the epistle to the Romans, and in the places now alledged. And sinnes, so far forth as they be punishments, do belong vnto iustice, and in that respect are good. Therefore it is not vnfit for God, thus by sinnes to punish for former sinnes.

3

Thirdlie, he ruleth and gouerneth sinnes themselves; for he suffereth them not to rage so far out of measure, as the euill will of man desireth: he reſtreinteth them, he heapeeth them backe, neither doth he suffer them to rage against euery man, and at all times: also, he directeth them to the performance of his coun- cels; namely, to the triall of iust men, and to the scourge of the wicked, & such like purposes. Wherefore the scripture saith, that force and cru- elty tyrants are in the hand of God, as flauers, hammers, and sawes.

Esaie. 10, 5.

4

Fourthlie, God sendeth in other occasions, which if they shuld light vpon good men, they would prouoke them vnto good things: but be- cause they light vpon euill men, they are by those means fault, some taken in euill part, and are made occasions of sinne. So Paule saith, that By the lawne sinne was increased. And the words of God, spoken vnto Pharaos by Moses,

Rom. 7, 8.

were an occasion to expelle out of him blas- phemies and barones of his hart. Which thing God saue would come to passe, yet did he not reſtreint his owne word, when he knew that Pharaos would become the worse ther by; yea neuertheles had the naughtines in his owne selfe, and toke not the fame of God.

Finally, since that the defect of sinne is one- lie in humane actions, the which are deuiated of right gouernement; the vicio action of man cannot be sustained, preferred, and stirred vp, without the common influence of God, by which all things are gouerned and preferred: for trulie it is said; In God we be, we liue, and are moued. Therefore the defect, which proper- lie is sinne, procedeth not of God: but the ac- tion, which is a natural thing, wherein the defect lieth, cannot be diuine forth; but by the common influence of God.

These be the things, which I said that God doth by his preſcience and gouernement a- bout sinnes; although he be not the true and proper cause of sinnes. By which interpretation we may rightly vnderstand, what these spe- ches of the holie scriptures, and sayings of the fathers do meane, wherein God seemes to be made the cause of author of sinne.

### The xxviii. Chapter.

How it may be said, that God dooth repent, and dooth tempt.



Interpreters la-  
bor earnestlie to vnder-  
stand how repentance  
may happen vnto  
God: and say; I am  
God, and am not chan-  
ged. And in the first  
of Samuel, The triumph  
of Israel is not changed.  
And Balaam in the booke  
of Isumbers saith; I  
god is not as a man, that  
he should be changed: nei-  
ther as the sonne of man  
that he should be a lier. Yet in Genesis he  
saith; I repented me that I haue made man.  
For so much as these places seeme to be repug-  
nant, they must be accorded together. Some  
after this sort expound these places, that Euen  
as the holie Ghost is said To call and make re-  
quest for vs, with signes that cannot be ex-  
pressed; so it may be said, that God dooth re-  
pent. But the spirit saith not, requesteth not, sigh-  
eth not; for he is God: but because he stirreth vs  
to request, to make request, and to sigh, he him-  
selfe is said to do the same. And according to  
this sense Paule biddeth vs, that we should not  
make

makinge for to will the spirit of God: that is to  
saie, we should not with our wicked acts offend  
the saints, in whom is the spirit of God. Euen  
so, because the wickednes of Saule was a grie-  
uous griefe vnto god men, and that God stirred vp that af-  
fection in them; therefore God himselfe is said  
to be led with repentance. This reason Luther  
followeth in his treatise vpon Genesis. But  
Augustine in his booke of 83. questions, the 52.  
question, where of set purpose he handleth this  
question, saith, that the scripture is accustomed  
to humble it selfe to our capacitie,  
offentimes to humble it selfe to our capacitie,  
to attribute those things vnto God, which  
we see done in the life and conuersation of men;  
for that the same cannot otherwise be vnder-  
stood.

God is said  
to repent  
to be an-  
gry.

God is said  
to be to be  
griuous.

God is  
by chan-  
ging his  
being to be  
gent.

1. Sam. 15,  
ver. 11.

God is said  
to repent  
when the  
thing is  
changed.

2. The first opinion, although it may haue  
some shew, yet it cannot be allowed in euery re-  
spect. And yet it may be said, that God doth that  
which he bringeth to passe in vs; and also cau-  
th vs to do it, but yet this holdeth not alwaies.  
For he burned Sodom, he destroyed Pharaos, and  
yet he did not meane euery man to do these things.  
And we read that God repented him, and yet it is  
not written that Samuel repented him. Augu-  
stines iudgement is both plaine and probable.  
The second opinion also may not be forsaaken,  
wherein neuertheles it must be considered, that  
the change is said to be in the thing it selfe, and  
not in God. Ieremie saith; If they shall repent

Iere. 18, 3.

them of their waies, I also will repent me of all  
the euill that I haue threatened them. Therefore  
vnto this changing in man, there followeth also a  
change of Gods intention; whereby the same  
aperture vnto the promise, or vnto the change.  
For so often as a sinner doth repent him vnto a  
true faith, he is by and by deliuered from euery  
lasting destruction. But the sentence of tempo-  
ral punishments is not alwaies changed, al-  
though he repent him neuer for much. David was  
penitent for his adulterie, yet the iudgement of  
God, which Nathan pronounced, remained sta-  
ble. Moles repented, and yet he might not en-  
ter into the land of promise. True therefore is  
this saying, as concerning the iudgement of e-  
uerlasting death; but not alwaies touching tem-  
poral punishments.

Moreover, that change cometh not of our  
felices, but of God: for Paule writeth vnto  
Timothie; If God peradventure shall give them  
repentance. And vnto the Philippians; It is he,  
that worketh in vs to will and performe. We  
cannot once thinke a good thought, of our  
felices, as of our felices. And vnto the Corinthi-  
ans, the 15. chapter; I haue laboured more than  
all, and yet not I, but the grace of God that is in  
me. But it is vs (they saie) to consent. Say  
rather, the assent it selfe is also of God: for we  
haue a stone hart, and vnlesse the same be chan-  
ged and made fleshy, nothing is brought to  
passe. And although they thinke it a small mat-  
ter, while they saie there is a consent of ours; yet  
if the same be attributed vnto vs, we shall haue  
whereof to glorie: for Who hath leuered thee  
(saith Paule) 2 what hast thou which thou hast  
not received? And if thou haue received, what  
dost thou boast, as though thou hadst not re-  
ceived? And; I is neither of him that wil-  
leth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hat-  
eth mercie. Here Augustine saith; If anie thing be  
left vnto vs, Paule concludeth nothing: for the  
proposition might be so turned, as it should be  
read on this wise; It is not of God to haue mer-  
cie; but of man, that wil- leth & runneth. I knowe  
(saith Paule) where dwelleth not in me, that is, in  
my flesh, anie good thing. And Christ saith;  
I haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you.  
David also saith; I incline my heart vnto thy re-  
stimonies. And; A cleane heart create within  
me, o God. But no man can create himselfe.  
It is said we be regenerated, but no man is re-  
generated as stocks, stones, or blocks; for he  
vnderstand, the percelue, and we will; but it is  
God, which bringeth to passe that we vnder-  
stand, percelue, and will. Therefore there must  
be put a difference of men; for some be regene-  
rate, and some be not. He that is not regene-  
rate, can of himselfe do nothing: but after we

whither  
God al-  
waies  
changed  
his purpose,  
when man  
changed.

The change  
of man  
cometh of  
God.

1. Cor. 15,  
ver. 10.  
Whether  
manne  
consent  
be of  
himselfe.

1. Cor. 4, 7.

Rom. 9, 16.

Rom. 8, 17.

Ioh. 17, 16.  
Phil. 1, 13.

21, 11. 18

be once regenerate, our strength is renewed, and we become workers together with God.  
 2 But in my judgement, we shall make easily understand what this shale of Gods repeating betwixt one, if we remember that his secret will is one, and his revealed will another: for the secret will of God is steadfast and immutable. Therefore, inasmuch as it is said; God is not changed; that ought to be referred to his secret will. God decreed from the beginning, that Saule should be king. That is his eternal and stable will, and without the which nothing is done. But he doth not alwaies reveale the same fall and whole; it is enough that he sheweth some part thereof through the lawe and the prophets. That will may be changed; not that there can any mutation happen unto God, but because that may be changed, which men thought would have continued for ever. The revealed will of God was, that the kingdome should alwaies be in the stocke of Saule; for so it was like to have bene: but yet the other part of his will was secret and hidden. Ezechias saileth sicke, Elia warneth him that he should die; for saule was the nature of that disease, that it might seeme he should die: this will was changed; the other which was secret, could not be changed.  
 3 But they obiect that there we saie; The will of God was for everlasting: it is but a mere deuse; for that in God, there is nothing either past, or to come. But we alledge nothing strange from the scriptures. Paul saith; that God hath predestinated vs before the foundations of the world were laid. If they believe not vs, let them looke upon the prophetes. Jacob fore-shewed that Dauid should be king. How might this have bene, unlesse the will of God have respect unto the time to come? But Paul in the 11. to the Romans saith; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. But the sentences of the scriptures must not be more largelie understood, than the place it selfe, wherein they be written, may beare: for otherwise we may be sooner lead to error. Paul strengtheneth in that place of the covenant, which God made with the Jewes, and saith, that these promises cannot be void; and that it cannot be, but that manie of the Jewes should be at length converted unto Christ, because The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. Although others understand that place as touching the gifts, which depend upon the eternal predestination of God; for that they be true and steadfast. And so other gifts, whether they belong to the welfare of this life, or to things which be temporal, may both be given and taken awaye. For there be manie, who having once believed, do afterward fall to destruction. The

odoreus saith; Gifts be without repentance, if the nature of the things themselves be considered: but if men fall from them, and be deprived of them, the fault is their owne.

*How it could be said to Saule, that his kingdome would be established for ever, the same being before appointed to the tribe of Iuda.*

4 But let vs see how Samuel said; The Lord would have established thy kingdome for ever. 13. 1. Sam. 13. 14. 15. for how could the kingdome have remained for ever, in the familie of Saule, seeing it was fore-told before of Jacob, that the kingdome should be in the tribe of Iuda: and that God decreed from all eternitie, that he would give the kingly right unto the house of Dauid? Here we may not answer, that God indeed had decreed at the first; but that he afterward changed his mind: for God is not changed. Rabbi Leui Ben Gerion thinketh, that this Hebrew word *Adalam*, signifieth not eternitie, but some certaine space of time; and that so Saule might reigne, according to the meaning of that word *Adalam*, that is, for a long time, and afterward that Dauid might succeed him. But this judgement I do not much allow; for Dauid was now not onlie borne, but was also of ripe age, so as Saule might not reigne for anye long time. But that God is not changed, all men confesse; yet all men not after one and the same maner: for some saie, that we feigne, that God both predestinate somewhat from everlasting, which yet he executeth afterward. That (saie they) is absurd; for all things are present unto God. Howbeit, we saie not that God is moved for a time, but his counsels are from everlasting. But this we saie, that when a thing is come to passe, he doth not appoint anye new counsels.

Paul saith, that He was chosen from his mothers wombe, and that we were predestinated before the foundations of the world. These things no doubt are everlasting in God, but in the things themselves they were predestinate long before they were made. But if they be caused as touching predestination, we will obiect prophetes, in the which they cannot causell; When they had done neither good nor euill, Rom. 9. 11. that the purpose of God, according to the election, might abide, it was said; Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated. So, as touching the kingdome to be established in the tribe of Iuda, it was fore-shewed long before Dauid was borne, who first reigned in that tribe. How then doth Samuel saie; God would have established

thy kingdome for ever? It is a potentiall maner of speaking. But what potencie is this? There be also manie such formes of speaking in the hebre scriptures; If they had knowen (saith Paule) they would never have crucified the Lord of glorie: but it was predestinated from the beginning, that Christ should die. So are they commonlie wont to saie; If Adam had not sinned, Christ had not suffered. But let vs passe over those things, and let vs examine that sentence which we have in hand, whereby the same being well understood, all other like may be understood.

5 And first let vs see, whether the predestination of God touching Dauid, were the cause why Saule was cast out of the kingdome. It seemes to me that there were two causes of that casting out; one, the punishing of God, to wit, the sinne of Saule; and the other was the will of God, but provoked & stirred up by sinne: to which of these causes therefore shall we rather ascribe the casting out? Certainlie, unto sinne: for it was met that he which had behaved himself ill, should be removed from his place. Therefore Olaus saith; Of the 3 of Israel cometh thy euill. And so we cannot deny, but that the will of God was after some maner the cause; but the true and certaine cause was sin. Also another, no small difference it shall be, if we compare our sinnes unto the punishments, and our good works unto the reward: for our sinnes deserve punishment; but good works deserve no reward. Why is witt thou saie? Because there is a proportion betwixt sin & punishment; but betwixt good works and reward, there is none: for the passions of this life are not worthe of the glorie to come, which shall be revealed unto vs. After our, all works are properlie of foure kinds; but good works are not but of God. Therefore eternal death may be called the reward of sinne; but contrariwise, eternall life cannot be called the reward of our righteousness. So that we saie, that the sinne of Saule was the true cause why he fell from the kingdome; but his good works could never have bene a cause for him to have continued. But whether did this counsell and decree laie a necessitie upon Saule? Whereof there was no absolute necessitie in him: for as touching the inward originall of sinning, that had Saule in himselfe; and that which he did, he did it willingly, and of his owne accord. And so God decreed the kingdome unto Dauid, and to the tribe of Iuda; but yet so, as the same should be first taken from him selfe. And if God fore-saw that Dauid should be king, he also fore-saw the sinne of Saule: therefore he saue the one thing and the other, both that the one should sinne, and the other should reigne: in this order there is no sinne committed by God.

True indeed it is, that God might in such sort have punished Saule, as he would not take the kingdome from him. For he manie waies punished the posteritie of Dauid, when they became idolaters; but yet he left the kingdome whole unto them. But it was in the hand of God to punish Saule after what maner he would: for he was the kingdome given to Saule, by the same covenant, that it was unto Dauid. For when Ieroboam did invade Iuda with four hundred thousand soldiers, Abias the king of Iuda ascended unto a hill, & made an oration vnto the ten tribes; Doe ye not knowe (saith he) that God gave the kingdome unto Dauid with a covenant of salt? Salt doth not putrifie, nor suffereth corruption; further it was used in sacrifices. One thing [therein] signified that covenant made with Dauid never to be violated, & another thing that the same was confirmed in a manner by sacrifice, and so now to become an holie thing. He did not promise the kingdome unto Saule; for if he had promised it, it could not have bene taken from him. Therefore, although God had decreed these things as touching Saule and Dauid, yet Saule himselfe through original sin in himselfe, and of his owne accord. But if thou have a respect unto the foreknowledge of God, some necessitie indeed is in it; but yet (as they saie) by supposition onlie, for the foreknowledge of God cannot be deceived. But yet God intercepteth not the course of things, but suffereth that whatsoever is done, is done naturallie, and of his owne accord.

6 But come we nether; He would have established thy kingdome for ever. How? Because he would have ordained, by an everlasting decree, that his kingdome should have abidden with his posteritie for ever: and so this power shall stand in the decree of God. Quere this, so far as concerneth the nature of Saule, God might have established unto him the kingdome for ever; which he perforce was done in other kings, whom God cast not out when they had sinned. But there is another solution far more easilie saie, that these things were spoken after the maner of men; for men are wont to saie, that some thing is done, or may be done, when it is apereeth to be done, or seemeth that it may be done. For so Christ speaketh, when he saith; Reioice and be glad, because your names be written in heaven, and yet in the meane time Iudas was there, & the fenitive disciples were there, who afterward departed from Christ. How then were their names written in heaven? Because so they seemed to be, and of those principles they had now a beginning. So it is written in the Apocalypse; Hold thy place, least another receive thy crowne. How was that a crowne, which might be forgoen? Because unto

Paral. 13.

Matt. 5. 19.

Apoc. 3. 11.

God cannot touch his secret will.

In what for the revealed will of God may be changed.

Ezek. 38. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Ephes. 1. 4.

Gen. 49. 10.

That sinne doth corrupt the heart, and so it is the cause of all our sinnes.

Malach. 3. 1.

men so it seemed to be; and because they blessed those outward means, whereby we come unto the crowne. For the crowne is either of predestination, and that is certaine and cannot be lost; or else of inchoation; or else because so it may seeme to be, and that may be prevented.

Matt.25, 29

Hebr. 6, 5.

Ibidem.

Job.24, 24.

Jerem. 18, 8.

*Of Temptation.*

In Gen. 22,

### A definition

8 This dooth Iames ſeeme to denie, when he ſaith; that Euerie man is tempted by his owne Iam.1. 13. proper concupiſcence. and that **GOD** is no

tempter of cull things. And Paul seemeth to consent therunto, at the leasttime that all temptations proceed not of God : for he saith, that he with temptations maketh a waie to get out. But there be manie temptations, whereun poore soules be catched : neither is there any waie for them to escape, yea rather they perish in them. Besides this, we cannot perceive by any reason, how it comes to passe, that God can punish sinnes ; y<sup>t</sup> by tempting is becoming an author of them. But all this notwithstanding, we must leane surelie to the holie Scriptures, which eue where ascribe temptation vnto God. In the eight of Deuteronomie thou readest, that God Deut. 8. 2. tempted the children of Israel in the desert, that he might knowe whether they would heare his commandments or no : in which place thou hast the end of temptation. In the psalme Da-

I.S. 18.10.

2000.0000

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Elai. 53, 1.

There be some, which would thus resolve the doubt; God tempteth, (that is to saie) he suffereth and permitte to tempt. But this puaileth nothing, we must not turn the phrase of the scriptures. If the scripture speake thus, why should not we also speake it? Moreover, this cannot expound all the places of scripture alledged by vs: for the Lord himselfe sent Elisha, and

and repenting.

and God himself sent the Heng Spirit into A-  
chab; neither was Abraham tempted by anie  
other than God. And also, that in permittion  
on there is the will of God; and fixing it is ma-  
nifest concerning the thing it selfe, what both  
the changing of the word profit; But go to, let  
vs see what ill comes of it, if tempting be attribu-  
ted unto God. There is no euill, naye rather it is  
meet for him, and it becometh his nature, who  
inwardly to reueale his righte ouerselfe and  
mercie in all things. They that be tempted,  
do belong either unto the chosen, or vnto the  
damned; either they be goodlie, or else vngodlie.  
If [they be] vngodlie, as their finnes may be  
punished by other finnes (which is declared in  
the first chapter to the Romans) so they may be  
punished with temptations, that through them  
they may fall into diuers kinds, whereby  
they may be hedged about w<sup>th</sup> euersliding pu-  
nishment. If [they be] goodlie, God by tempt-  
ing them declareth vnto richly what account  
be maketh of them; & vs is present forthwith,  
be deliuereth them, & reuolunt them, and rewar-  
deth them like conquerours, with manie and  
honorable gifts; or else if they fall, that fall is but  
for a time, and at last (euen as Paule said) it hath  
an happy issue. Thereby their faith, hope, &  
charitie is increased, while they perceiue them-  
selves to be holpen, and by the great fauour of  
God to overcome their enemies; or else because  
they be lightened from the burden of their  
sinnes.

9 But in the mean time time be make an  
 answer to these reasons, which seemed to persuade  
 us otherwise. I mean, when the denicity that God  
 doth temper, doth not utter the denie it; but he  
 denicth him to tempt after that manner, which  
 those carnall dyabols of his time affirmed him  
 to tempt: as who should saie, when they sinne,  
 they should haue bene without blame: as our  
 Libertines are reported to saie at this daie,  
 namelie that God doth all things in vs; and  
 that therefore sinne is nothing: y<sup>e</sup> no not robbe-  
 ries, murders, adulteries, and such like. And so  
 we grant, that God doth all things; but the  
 respect of Gods doing, and our doing of them is  
 diuers. Men, in that they do those things, they  
 sinne; as they which are not led into those things  
 of an intent that they may worke together with  
 God; neither are they constrained or compelled  
 vnto those things against their wills: nae rat-  
 her, they would be angry with them that should  
 let them from sinning. Therefore let them after  
 their own confidence, & then the small plaints  
 be, whether they sinne against their will, or  
 the intent they may gratifie God, or else not  
 rather to satisfie their own huddylid self.

lam.1. 13.

things, which yet do naughtie and wickedne,  
thoſe be layd againſt him. He be tempted by  
your alone conſcience: that is, yet theſe  
fall into your owne wickedneſſe, to the intent  
ye may ſatisfie your grieuſe lye. Wherefore that  
which the apoſtle there ment, and ſound in ſome  
reſpect to beueneſe, he uttered by an abſolute  
deniall. But Paule, when he ſaith, that *1 Cor.* 10.  
maketh a waie to eſcape with the temptation, *verſe 13.*  
certainly he ſpeaketh of thoſe temptations,  
wherewith the goodlie and clea are ſometimes  
vered, whereby doubtleſſe they haue to the moſt  
part, not onlie an eſcaping, but alſo a reward.  
But in that we do not ſo well perceiue, how it is  
not repugnant with the iuſtice of God, to pu-  
niſh ſins, and to diuine iuren iure them by cun-  
ting, that is no maruail for God can be more  
than we can vnderſtand. David ſaid once, as  
touching the knowiſh of theſe ſecret iudgements  
in the 7. psalme; that he was verie peni-  
tent, and that his grieſe was intolerable, untill he en-  
tered into the ſanctuarie of God. Wherefore let  
vs conſtantly beleue, that whateuer God  
doth, he doth it iuſtly; neither let vs be ſatiſfied  
from his preſcience or power, one of thoſe  
things that be done: but if we vnderſtand  
not how they be agreeable vnto his iuſtice, or how  
they be repugnant therewith, let vs both humi-  
ly beſeech.

10 But let us proceed. Since they that of **C**od,  
whether map be made to be in of them: 2. It is  
distinguishing temptations; either they be aduer-  
sities; or else they be suggestions into wicked  
deeds: if they be aduersities, we must not paine  
to be puffed with no aduersities, seeing it is  
plainely taught vs by Paule; They that will live  
godlie in Christ must passe persecutions. And  
Christ offereth the crosse unto his to be borne,  
in a manner all their life long: but if we doubt of  
fainting in those persecutions, or that the glorie  
of **C**od be hindered by them, we may pae,  
that he will remove them from vs. Paul praied,  
and would haue it paid for, that he might be  
delivered from the persecutions, which were  
ready for him in Iudea. Howoeuer, if our flesh  
be frail, while affliction lasteth, and we pae the  
father deuoutly, that he will deliver vs, if it be  
his pleasure; yet neuertheless, in preferring  
his will before our owne will, we offend not by  
such a request: which thing Christ taught vs,  
when he praied to his father in the garden. But  
if we consider the saints, while they continue,  
through the grace of **C**od, behauing themselves in  
these temptations, we shall perceive, that they  
reioice in them: so; Tribulation worketh patience,  
patience experience. And Peter in the  
first chapter of his first epistle, saith, that There  
is paine to the liants in temptations: but what  
saule doth glorie in his aduersities. The which

comparati-  
ous distin-  
guished.

he meanceth not, as they proceed from the diuell,  
or from wicked men; but as they come from the  
prouidence of God, and be the instruments  
of his reward and saluation. But if they tend  
vnto euill, that is, that they be prouocations vnto  
sin, then must they be distinguished; because  
therin is either fall or victorie. If victorie  
be found with them, this kind is desired of saints;  
to the intent the diuell, the flesh, and the world,  
may euerie daie more and more be vanquished  
in them. But if they be afraid of falling, it is ei-  
ther temporall or eternall: if it be temporall, we  
must praye for the auoiding of temptation, as  
we doe in the Lords prayer; And lead vs not in-  
to temptation.

This did Christ teach his apostles, when hee  
said; The spirit indeed is readie, but the flesh is  
fraile: watch and praye, that ye enter not into  
temptation. And reason leadeth vs therevnto;  
for we ought to detest all things that are contra-  
rie vnto the will of God, such is a fall against the

lawe of God: yea nothing ought to be more dis-  
pleasing vnto vs, euen as it appeareth by the  
commandement; Thou shalt loue the Lord, Deut. 6, 5,  
with all thine hart, and with all thy soule. To  
these things adde, that none ought to haue such  
confidence in his owne strength, as he should  
not feare in temptation. Wherefore in tem-  
ptation we must alwaies praye, but not that we  
may not be tempted at all, seeing God hath ap-  
pointed our life to be a warfare. But godlie  
men are not afraid of temptations, which haue  
a perpetuall and deadly end; for they knowe,  
that God is a father vnto them: which they  
would not beleue, if they misdoubted that they  
should be forsaken of him. Further, they ac-  
knowledge, that The calling and gifts of God Rom. 11, 9  
are without repentance, as it is said in the ep-  
istle to the Romans.

¶ Looke the propositions out of the 22. chap-  
ter of Genesis, at the end  
of this booke.

The end of the first part.



In Rom. 5.  
the cheefe  
points are  
intreated of.



First, we will  
see, whether there  
be any original  
sin or no: for there  
be some, which de-  
terlie denie the  
same to be: then  
we will declare,  
what it is; lastlie,  
what properties it  
hath, and how by succession it is conueighed to  
the posteritie, and by what means it is relea-  
sed. As touching the first, we must remember,  
that both in the holie scriptures, & also among  
the fathers, it hath diuers names; for in the  
xviii chapter of the epistle to the Romans, it  
is called sinne, and the lawe of the members,  
and concupiscence. Elsewhere, it is called the  
lawe of originall righteoulines, a corruption of  
nature, a lump of wickednes, a froth, a weak-  
nes naturall, the lawe of the flesh, and such  
other like. The Pelagians in old time denied this  
sinne; at this daie, the Anabaptists denie it.  
These in a manner may be accounted their ar-  
guments. First they saie, that the fall of Adam  
was sufficientlie punished in himselfe, and that  
there is no cause why God will reuenge it in  
his posteritie; especially seeing it is written in  
the prophet Nahum, that God doeth not twi-  
fold punish one and the selfe-same thing: for it suf-

verse. 8, 23  
The names  
by which the  
sinne is called.

The Pelagi-  
ans and  
Anabap-  
tists denie  
originall  
sinne.

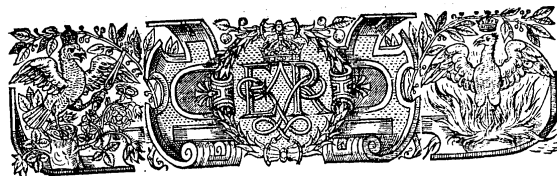
The argu-  
ments of  
them that  
denie originall  
sinne.

Nahum. 1, 9.

# T H E

## Second Part of the Common Places of PETER MARTYR,

Wherein is intreated of the woonderfull  
knowledge of God the  
Redeemer.



The first Chapter.

Of Sinne, especiallye originall sinne; and of the vniuersall  
corrupting of mans nature.

¶ Looke the like place in Gen. 8. at the end.

First, we will  
see, whether there  
be any original  
sin or no: for there  
be some, which de-  
terlie denie the  
same to be: then  
we will declare,  
what it is; lastlie,  
what properties it  
hath, and how by succession it is conueighed to  
the posteritie, and by what means it is relea-  
sed. As touching the first, we must remember,  
that both in the holie scriptures, & also among  
the fathers, it hath diuers names; for in the  
xviii chapter of the epistle to the Romans, it  
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and concupiscence. Elsewhere, it is called the  
lawe of originall righteoulines, a corruption of  
nature, a lump of wickednes, a froth, a weak-  
nes naturall, the lawe of the flesh, and such  
other like. The Pelagians in old time denied this  
sinne; at this daie, the Anabaptists denie it.  
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guments. First they saie, that the fall of Adam  
was sufficientlie punished in himselfe, and that  
there is no cause why God will reuenge it in  
his posteritie; especially seeing it is written in  
the prophet Nahum, that God doeth not twi-  
fold punish one and the selfe-same thing: for it suf-

fieth him that he had once punished. Where-  
uer, it is also written, that The soules shall not  
beare the fathers iniquitie, but the soules that sin-  
ne, the same shall die. Further, that the bodie,  
when it is formed in the wombe, is the work  
manship of God, and hath nothing that ought  
to be blamed; naie rather, which is not worthy  
of great admiration: that the soules are ei-  
ther created or infused by God: and that the  
meanes of propagation cannot be accounted  
euill; because marriage in the holie scriptures  
is commended, and that from the beginning  
God commanded man to beget children. Where-  
fore among so manie defenses of innocencie,  
they demand by what entrances sinne could  
infect it selfe.

They adde also, that Paule in his first epistle  
to the Corinthians, when he exhorteth the be-  
leuing wife to abide with her unbelieuing hus-  
band, if he will abide with her, among other  
things saith; Your children are holie. But they  
saie, that they cannot be holie, if they be borne  
in sinne; and that therefore they which be borne  
of faithfull parents, cannot dyne with them  
originall sinne. They asserme withall, that it is  
commonlie said, that sinne is a thing spoken,  
done, or iudged against the lawe of God; and  
that it is not sinne, vnles it be voluntarie. And  
(as Iohn saith in his first epistle the fourth chap-  
ter) Sinne is iniquitie, contrarie wherevnto is  
rightie

2 A. 1.

1, Iohn. 3, 4.

equite; or right; and that this can be no other thing, than is contained in the lawe, and so that sinne is a transgression of the lawe. All which things cannot fall into infants, when they be borne. And they saie further, that it seemeth not convenient which is spoken of some; namelye, that this sinne is by the flesh; or bodie; poynted out from one to another: for that the flesh and the bodie are in their owne nature senselesse things, neither can they seeme to be a meete subject for sinne. And to establish their feigned device, they say besides, that those things which are spoken by Paule, in the first to the Romans, must be extended unto the finnes, which be called actual. But they saie, that it is therefore said, that sinne entered by one man into the world, because of the imitation and example which the posteritie followed.

ver. 12.

2. By these and such other like arguments they being led, denie that there is anye original sinne. But as for death, and the afflictions of this life, which are commonlie brought as tokens whereby original sinne is confirmed, they say that those consist of naturall causes, such as is the temperature of the elements and of the humors. And therefore they saie, it is a baine fable, that we receiue them to the fall of Adam. And they thinke it to be a thing most absurd, to affirme, that to be sinne, which by no manner of means can be auoided. Lastly they saie, that if by that meanes we shall be said to sinne in Adam, because we were in his loines, according as it is said of Leuie in the epistle to the Hebrewes, that He paid tythes in the loines of Abraham; by the like and selfe-same reason we may saie, that we were in the loines of other our forefathers, from whom we haue descended by procreation; and that therefore there is no cause why the sinne of Adam hath bene deuised vnto vs, rather than the sinne of our grandfather, great grandfather, his father, or of any other our progenitors. And that by this means the state of them, which shall be borne in the latter daies, would seeme to be most vnpaie; for that they must beare the offences of all their forefathers. These things altogether they, to proue that there is no original sinne.

He. 7. 2.

Original sinne is proued by testimonies of the scriptures. Gen. 3. and 1. Gen. 8. 22.

Phil. 3. 7.

3. But we, on the contrarye part, will proue by manie testimonies of the holie scriptures, that there is such a sinne. Thus God saith in the first of Genesis; My spirit shall not alwaies stieue with man, because he is flesh. And againe; All the imagination of their hearts is onlie euill; euerie daie. And in the eight chapter; The imagination of their heart is euill, euen from their verie childhood. These things declare, that there sticketh some vice in our nature, when we be borne. Also Dauid saith; Behold, I was conceived in iniquitie, and in finnes my mother

hath conceived me. Nothing can be plainer than this testimonie. Also Ieremie in the 17. <sup>17. 17. 18. 19.</sup> chapter saith, that The heart of man is wicked, peruerse, and stubborne. <sup>10. 30. 31. 32.</sup> And the same Ieremie and Iob also do curse the day wherein they were borne into the world, because they perceived that the verie original and fountaine of vices sprang by together with them. <sup>10. 14. 15.</sup> But Iob hath a most manifest testimonie of the vicienes of our naturitie, for thus he saith; Who can make that cleane, which is conceived of vndeane seed? And our sauiour saith; Except man be borne againe of water, & of the holie Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heauen. And euen as the potter doth not make anye vessel auile, vnlesse he perceiue the same to be fashioned before: euen to Christ would not be to regenerate a creature, vnlesse he saue that we were first vnpaie begotten. Which he also testified in another place, saying; That which is borne of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is borne of the spirit, is spirit. <sup>10. 14. 15.</sup> Why which would he would signifie vnto vs, that therefore regeneration by the spirit is necessarie, because we had before but onlie a carnall generation.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

Cela. 11.

Gen. 17. 14.

Ephes. 3.

Paule in the first chapter to the Romans saith; <sup>10. 14. 15.</sup> For we must not abide in sinne, because we are dead vnto it. Which thing he proueth by baptism. <sup>10. 14. 15.</sup> For he saith; That All we which haue bene baptized into Christ Iesus, haue bene baptized into his death, to the end we should die vnto sinne, and that our old man should be crucified, and the bodie of sinne abolished. And so much as young children be baptized, euen thereby we haue a testimonie, that sinne is in them; for otherwise, the nature of baptism, as it is there described by Paule, should not consist. Also he followeth the same reason in the epistle to the Colossians, where he saith; That We be circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, by putting off the filthy bodie of the flesh, being buried together with Christ in baptism. We compare baptism with circumcision, and saith, that those which are baptized, haue put off the bodie of sinne. Neither is it to be doubted of, but that those which be baptized, are baptized into the remission of finnes. And therefore, the circumcision, which in the old lawe was giuen vnto children, was correspondent vnto our baptism. And as touching circumcision, it is written; The foule, whose flesh of the foreskinne shall not be circumcised the eight daie, shall die the death. Wherefore, seeing children haue need of the sacrament of regeneration, it followeth necessarie, that they be borne vnto the power of sinne. Paule vnto the Ephesians the 2. chapter saith; That We are by nature the children of wrath. But our nature could not be hateful vnto God, vnlesse it were defiled with sinne.

Ibidem.

1. Cor. 15. ver. 22.

Rom. 5. 6. and 8.

ver. 14. & 19. 23.

ver. 7.

ver. 12. 13. & 19.

Rom. 11. 17.

Rom. 3. 10.

sinne. And in the same place, Paule with most weightie words describeth the fiercenes of this wrath; how that We walke according to the prince of this world, which is of strength in our hearts, by reason of our disobedience, and therefore we do the will of the flesh, and of our mind. Augustine also citeth a place out of the first epistle to the Corinthians, that Christ died for all men: therefore it followeth, that all men were dead, and had need of his death. But it is a wicked thing, to exclude children out of the number of them, for whom Christ died. But if you shall demand what kind of persons they were, for whom Christ suffered; this did the apostle sufficientlie declare, in the epistle to the Romans, when he said, that they were weak, Gods enemies, vngodlike, and sinners. Among whom, we must reckon young children, if we will grant that Christ died for them.

Besides this, it seemeth that original sinne is most manifestlie taught out of the tenth chapter of the epistle to the Romans: for thus it is written; The lawe is spirituall, but I am carnall, sold vnder sinne. Whereunto is added; The good which I would do, that do I not; but the euill which I would not do, that do I: it is not I then that do it, but it is sinne that dwelleth in me. He also maketh mention of the lawe of the members, lamenting that he was thereby become captiue and against his will. And in the eighth chapter he saith; That The wisdom of the flesh is enemie against God, and that is not subject to the lawe of God, nor yet can it be. For the death, which young children haue, doth sufficientlie beare record, that sinne sticketh in them; vnlesse we will saie, that God punisheth them vnder the lawe. Wherefore, the place in the first to the Romans, containeth a most euident testimonie of original sinne: for thus it is written; That By one man sin entered into the world, and that all men without exception haue sinned, and that the sinne of one man spread ouer all men, and that for the disobedience of one man manie are made sinners. Further, they which are grafted in Christ, as towards the end of the same epistle, called wild olue trees: by which metaphor is signified, that man degenerated from the good institution of his owne nature. But if we haue departed from our owne nature, vndoubtedly we haue gotten original sinne. And Paule before, so accused all mankind, as he said; There is none iust, there is none that vnderstandeth or seeketh after God: all haue declined, and are altogether become vnprofeable, there is none that doth good, nor one, &c. All which things sufficientlie declare the depauation of mans nature. By these testimonies of the scriptures it sufficientie appeereth, as I thinke, that there is original sin.

4. Next of all I should confute the arguments of the aduersaries; but first I thought it good to shew the definition of original sinne; for the same being diligentlie weighed & known, manie things will in the meane time be known, which serue to the confutation of their reasons. First, we will recite the opinions of other men, then we will declare what we thinke thereof. The Pelagians affirmed, that the sinne of Adam did not spread abroad into the posteritie, but by imitation onlie. Against these Augustine disputed vehementlie, and by manie arguments shewed, that original sinne is not onlie by the imitation of Adams sinne. For if Paule would haue said, that the first sin had bin spread abroad after this manner, he would not haue said that it came from Adam, but rather from the diuell; for he was the first that gaue a forme and example of sinning. Wherefore Christ in the Gospel of Iohn said, that the Iewes, which boasted that they came of their father Abraham, were rather the sonnes of the diuell, because they did his works. For the diuell was a manqueller, euen from the beginning; and they sought to kill him, which had not bene euill at their hands. And here withall Augustine citeth that, which is in the second chapter of the booke of Ecclesiastes; That Through the enue of the diuell, sinne entered into the world, and that they which are of his part do imitate him.

The Pelagians saie, that the first of Adam is imitated by imitation onlie. From Adams sinne floweth death, and from the diuell came the example of sinning. Rom. 5. 12. and 44.

ver. 24.

Rom. 5. 19.

We must not onlie imitate Adams rightnes, but we must be changed in mind.

ver. 23.

ver. 16.

Vnto which saying neuertheless I do not attribute much, partlye because that booke is not of the canonical scriptures; and partlye because in the Greke text there is some ambiguous. For this verbe Do imitate, is not there written, but *imitationem*, that is, Haue experience of that death. Wherby the reason is firme, that of the diuell came the first example of sinning. Further, this opinion is hereby confuted, in that Paule maketh an Antithese between Christ and Adam. But the righteousness of Christ is not onlie set forth vnto vs to be imitated, but also that they, which beleeue in him, should be changed in mind, corrected in spirit, and amended in all their strength. Wherefore on the other side, it is required by the nature of contraries, that besides the ill example, which Adam gaue vnto his posteritie, he hath also infected their nature: and (as Augustine writeth in his booke *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*) hath vnto a certaine corruption bequeathed. Wherby, this also to maketh against the Pelagians, that euen the verie infants do die. For as Paule saith vnto the Romans, the first chapter; The reward of sinne is death, but the gift of God is eternall life through Iesus Christ our Lord. And in the 15. chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, The weapons (saith he) of death is sinne. Lastly, the

A. A.

the

The Sinne  
of imitation  
cannot be  
wiped out  
by baptisme

Pighius  
murther  
original  
sinne  
rather  
a  
bond,  
than  
a  
finne.  
But he  
saith  
con-  
trary  
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origi-  
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He  
delect-  
eth  
that  
this  
finne  
shall  
be  
pur-  
ged  
without  
finne  
paine.

the baptisme, which is given to young children,  
cannot blot out their the Sinne of imitation.  
Therefore we ought of necessity to asserme  
some other kind of Sinne to be in them, besides  
the will that they be baptised in vaine.

Another opinion was that, which the Spa-  
ter of the sentences citeth in 2. booke the 3.  
distinction of them which thought, that original  
sinne is onelie a guilt, & trespass, & bond,  
whereunto we are tied by the Sinne of Adam.  
So they acknowledge not, that there is trulie,  
as in verbe dicitur ante fault of Sinne in those which  
are borne, but onelie a certaine offense, and ob-  
ligation, the which might cause them to die, &  
be condemned for the Sinne of Adam. This opini-  
on Pighius seemeth in a manner to have reuiced;  
for he denieth, that original sinne is Sinne in-  
deed, because it is neither a transgression of the  
lawe, nor yet voluntarie; & therefore he as-  
sermed the same to be nothing else, but the Sinne  
of Adam, for the which we that be his posteritie  
are made subiect vnto damnation and death,  
& are become exiles from the kingdom of hea-  
uen. But as so death and afflictions of this life,  
and lusts of the flesh, and other such like affec-  
tions, he saith that they come of the well-spring  
of nature. All which things, so far as be from cal-  
ling Sinne, as he pronounceth them to be the  
workes of God; for he saith, that G D is  
the author of nature, and that these things fol-  
lowe the humors and temperature of the bo-  
die; and that which we see happeneth in brute  
beasts, happeneth also in men, as touching the  
flesh and grosser powers of the mind, & for they  
do desire such things as are peruerfative, plea-  
sant, and profitable, whether they be agreeable  
to reason, or against it; & to avoid those things  
that be contrarie. Therefore he affirmed origi-  
nall sinne to be the onelie transgression of A-  
dam, in the danger of which one transgression,  
he would haue vs all to be borne; not for anie  
finne; or fault; or corruption that we haue in our  
felues.

And he saith moreover, that those which die on-  
lie in the danger of that Sinne of Adam, shall not  
be afflicted in an other life with sensible paine;  
for he imagineth (although he dare not boldlie  
asserme it) that they shall either in this world,  
or else in some other pleasant place be hap-  
py, with a certaine naturall blessednesse, where-  
in they shall liue, praising of God, and giuing  
of thanks, although they be banished from the  
kingdome of heauen. Which diuicommoditie  
newerkes (as he dreameth) they shall nothing  
complain, or be sorrowfull for it: for this were  
to strue against the will of God, which a man  
cannot do without Sinne. But so much as  
while they liued here, they had no naughty will,  
it is not to be thought, that they shall haue it in

an other life. And that they shall not be pestered  
with sensible paine, it seemeth to himselfe, that he  
verie well pauereth, and that by two reasons;  
first, because they committed no euill, nor yet  
contaminated themselves with any naughty-  
nesse; secondlie, because there is required in this  
life no repentance, or contrition for; original  
sinne. And for this feigned deuse, he hath this  
colour, to wit, that Sinne should not be under-  
stood, but after the true proper manner: that is,  
that it be a thing, spoken, done, or lusted against  
the lawe of God, and that it be voluntarie; be-  
cause it is not forced vpon anie against their  
will, but may be avoided: but forasmuch as  
these things take no place in young infants, there-  
fore Sinne cannot be in them. Howbeit he saith,  
that he denieth not original sinne; for he saith  
that it is the Sinne of Adam, for the which all we  
are condemned, and do die. But therefore I  
saie, that this man feigneth puerities; because I  
see in verbe dicit, that he was moued to speake  
these things for some other cause. For whereas  
he attributeth so much vnto free will, and hath  
written to manie things touching that matter  
againe; & as he being that the same might  
not consist, if he should plainlie grant original  
sinne, in such sort as it is taught of all the god-  
lie; therefore he found out this naughty finne  
deuiled doctrine, the which (as I said) is not al-  
together so new; for it is both touched and reiect-  
ed by the Spasser of the sentences.

But to giue a more colourable shew to this  
his deuse, he bringeth a similitude of a most li-  
berall prince, who not onelie giueth freedom to  
a seruant of his; but also inueth him with lord-  
ship, and heapes of riches, the which also should  
come to his posteritie. And he onelie chargeth  
him faithfullly to obserue certaine command-  
mentes of his, the which he transgressing, know-  
eth that all those riches and prefermentes shall  
be taken from him, and he to returne to his old  
bondage againe. This seruant, as an indiffer-  
ent and ingratefull person, heatech the princes  
commandement; whereby not onlie himselfe is  
become a seruant, as before he was, but also his  
free borne to him become bond-slaves. He  
saith, that those children haue nothing wherefore  
they should complain of bondage to their  
prince; but rather to give thanks, that he haue  
liberalitie thev do himselfe to their fathers; but that  
as concerning their father, they may graueu-  
lie forgoe, because he lost those benefits, as well  
from himselfe, as from his posteritie. And, & what  
if this also be added; namely, that the prince li-  
berallitie was so great, as he inuited the posteri-  
tie of that ingratefull seruant, to the verie lame,  
& much greater prefermentes; & so inuited them,  
as frantick he sent his owne sonne to pzoouke  
them: Euen so (saith he) standeth our matter.

Here two  
reasones  
of Pighius  
on the be-  
half of in-  
fants.

We will  
not  
haue Sinne  
to be vnder-  
stood, but in  
that true and  
proper na-  
ture.

Pighius  
would not  
plainlie  
grant origi-  
nall sinne,  
least he  
should be-  
come lame.

A simi-  
tude  
of  
Pighius.

Adam was so created of God, that he was ca-  
pable of that supernaturall felicitie; who neuer-  
theless setting light by the commandmentes of  
God, was depouled of all those supernaturall  
gifts, and was left to the first state of his owne  
nature. And in the same state we also are pro-  
created, and so for his Sinne are we damned, do-  
die, and are banished out of the kingdom of  
heauen, suffering manie diuicommodities, which  
are deriued from the originals of our nature.  
Therefore we may complaine of our first pa-  
rents, but not of God; for he was most liberal-  
tie vnto him; and especially, seeing he calleth vs  
againe vnto himselfe (which is the highest felici-  
tie by his onelie Sinne, and him would haue to  
suffer death for) our saluation.

But that which I haue now those spoken  
of, hath made verie much against this opinion;  
to wit, that infants do die. For death hath no  
right where there is no fault; besides we will  
iust, that God punisheth the innocent; and this  
reason is confirmed by the argument of saint  
Paule, whereby he proueth Sinne to be before the  
lawe. For death (saith he) reigned from Adam  
euen vnto Moses. But according to Pighius  
opinion, this reason might seeme to be verie  
blunt. If so Sinne might haue; Although they died,  
yet it followeth not thereby, that they had Sinne;  
for Sinne happened vnto them by reason of A-  
dam, for whose Sinne sake they became mortall.

He  
denies  
conscience  
finne  
to dwell  
in  
him.  
Rom.7,17  
and 23.

He  
denies  
the  
origi-  
nals  
of  
nature  
pre-  
fect, but  
of  
nature  
corrupt.

He  
repro-  
ues  
his  
oppor-  
tunitie  
in  
man,  
than  
in  
beasts.

He  
denies  
that  
the  
beasts  
should  
be  
miserable  
for  
finne.

He  
is  
ple-  
phoric  
to  
make  
God  
the  
author  
of  
all  
afflic-  
tions.

Moreover, doth not Paule grant corruption to  
be in nature, when he declareth that Sinne both  
dwell in him, and consisteth that the lawe of his  
members both dzatur him auaie captiue, and  
other like things; But let not Pighius ob-  
iect against me, that these things come of the  
originals of nature; for these originals be not  
of nature that is perfect, but of nature corrupt  
and decayed. Either ought he in this matter  
to bring a similitude of brute beasts; for man is  
created to be farre more excellent than brute  
beasts, and to be the ruler ouer them. Indeed  
man had in himselfe originals, whereby he  
might desire things pleasant and commodious,  
but not against reason and the word of God;  
for, to haue such forceable and violent affections,  
is not the propriete of men, but of beasts. Where  
this, seeing our soule was immortall, and giuen  
from G D, it requirith a bodie meet for the  
same; namely, such as might be preferred for  
ouer, least the soule should at anie time be con-  
strained to be without the same. So as we must  
not file to the first grounds of nature; for it  
was not so quined at the first, as we now  
haue it.

But if that Pighius will imagine, that God  
created these wicked lusts and affections in vs,  
he shall deale both blasphemouslie and reproba-  
tiouslie against him; the which faults hee goeth

about to laie to our charge without a cause. For  
seeing God is both the best, the wisest, and the  
most iust, and hath created man vnto the chie-  
fest felicitie; he would not haue inuied him  
with these things, whereby he should be dzature  
backe from that felicitie, which would inuice  
him to that which is contrarie vnto his com-  
mandmentes; which things of themselves  
would be vile, and would lead vs captive vnder  
the lawe of Sinne and death. For if these affec-  
tions should be mortified and crucified in vs, as  
indeed they ought to be, we must confesse, that  
they be vices, and be hateful vnto God. Fel-  
tier maketh it a great matter that he saith, that  
those things properlie be not finnes; & namely,  
euen as cold is called floure, because it briceth  
men stouffull; so these things, because they fit  
vs meet to Sinne, that therefore after a sort they  
may be called finnes. As else in like manner as  
the scripture is named a hand, because it is writ-  
ten with the hand; & that the speech is called a  
tongue, because it is uttered by the ministrie  
thereof: so these may be called finnes, because  
they haue proceeded from Sinne. These simi-  
tudes do nothing at all further Pighus cause;  
for although Augustine tied vs now and then to  
speake after that sort, yet his will was to be vnder-  
stood, concerning those defects and imperfec-  
tions, which are remaining in man after bap-  
tisme.

But Augustine saith, that in anie tolie they  
be Sinne before baptisme; yea, the whole Chrest  
also by Paule calleth them finnes; and the na-  
ture of Sinne is agreeable vnto them. For  
finne haue defined Sinne in such sort, as it appeereth  
vnto all things, whatsoeuer do strue against  
the lawe of God; for as Iohn faith; Sinne is vi-  
righteousnes, and who percerueth it not to be a  
thing vnjust, that the flesh should make the spir-  
it subiect vnto it, and that our fault will not re-  
pote it false in the word of God; Seeing there-  
fore all these things do strue vs vp, to transgresse  
and rebell against the word of God, both they  
are vniighteous, and must be called finnes. Be-  
hold, I am conceived in iniquities; & in  
finnes my mother hath conceived mee. For  
naughtie desire, and the vices were the workes  
of nature, surely the man of God would not  
complaine of them. And that did Paule the apo-  
stle otherwise meane, when he wrote these  
wordes vnto the Ephesians; We are by nature  
the children of wrath, but that Sinne is in euery  
one of vs. But Pighius goeth about by a per-  
uerse interpretation, to twist this testimonie  
from vs, saying; that To be the children of  
wrath by nature, is no other thing, than to be  
the children of wrath by a certaine condition of  
our birth, because we are so brought forth into

Seeing ill  
affections  
should be  
mortified,  
they be  
finnes.

Rom. 7, 5.

1 John. 3, 4.

The nature  
of Sinne is  
crudeu  
into  
all  
things  
which  
are  
against  
the  
lawe  
of  
God.

Psal. 51, 7.

2m  
John.

Ephes. 3.

the world. And he allegeth, that some be called  
servants by nature, which is no other thing, but  
that they be borne into such a state as they doe  
serve. But neither can no ought to rest by  
this enforced devise: for the wrath of God is  
not stirred up but upon iust cause: for it is no  
iust thing, as can be kindled either rashly or by  
chance. So as it becometh, that in our nature  
there be some thing amiss, whereby Gods  
wrath is provoked to revenge. And that similitu-  
tude of his wrath not to his purpose: for those  
which are said to be borne bond-men by nature,  
have even by nature something in them apt for  
bondage: for we give credit to Aristotle in his  
Ethicks; they are bond-men by nature, which  
exceed in strength of the bodie, but increase be  
slow and dull. And thereby it comes to passe,  
that they are more meet to serve, than to com-  
mand others, or to live at libertie.

Also the apostle doth sufficientlie declare,  
wherefore he calleth vs by nature the children of  
wrath: even because we by nature, seeme to be  
prone to stir up Gods wrath, and doe walke ac-  
cording to the pynce of this world; and also for  
that the diuall can do much in our hearts, by rea-  
son of incredulitie; and that we fulfill the will of  
our flesh, and of our mind. These be the things  
which make vs the children of wrath. And how  
can it be denied, that sinne is in our nature, lea-  
ving Christ would haue vs to be regenerate: for  
vniuers we are framed amiss, what need were  
it to be falsified anew? Besides this, in  
the right chapter of the booke of Genesis, it is  
plainlie spoken, That the imagination of mans  
heart is evil, even from his childhood. And how  
bare Pighius be so bold, to call that a good thing,  
and the worke of God, which the holie Ghost in  
plaine termes hath called euill? But least he  
should seeme to say nothing, he imagineth that  
the same was spoken by God of his mercie: as  
though he would to excuse men, and testifie that  
he would not destroye the world any more by  
water; because that men were made on that  
sort, and that the cogitations of them did tend  
vnto euill, yea, even from their childhood. But  
while he iudgeth this to be an excuse, he is far  
deceiued: for this is thought to be the better and  
more naturall sense of this place; namely, that  
God would enter into a couenant with Noah,  
that he would neuer destroye the world againe  
with water; though otherwise men were such  
as they deserued the same, and the imagination  
of their hearts was euill even from their child-  
hood. These things do not cleare mans nature  
from sinne, but rather signifie the same to be  
more vicious and corrupt: which neuertheless  
God will spare for his mercie sake.

8 And he, we read in Paul, that By the  
disobedience of one man, many were made sin-  
ners: which the twelfth, that there is sinne in them,  
which be borne of Adam; for the which they may  
be called sinners. But Pighius thinketh him-  
selfe able by this to auoid this, because that sin-  
ners are sometimes so called, by reason of the  
guilt; or fault, although the act of sinning be past,  
and they it selfe no more. For this reasoning it  
be so, yet is he neuer able to shew out of the  
scriptures, that any man is called a sinner; but  
that either he hath sinne in him, or else hath for-  
saken committed sinne before: vniuers he will  
call that God maketh men guilty without any sin  
[committed] by them. Moreover, Pighius con-  
fesseth not that by this his reasoning is brought  
in a middle opinion, touching the state of them  
which die onlie in the guiltinesse of Adam;  
whereas the scriptures doe plainlie teach vs,  
that in the last iudgement there shall be no  
merit, but that men shall either be commit-  
ted to euiling, or else shall minie eter-  
nall felicitie. And it is a rash part to poyne for-  
ther in such things, than is cruciell in the holie  
scriptures: therefore they deale with more mo-  
deration, and greater tolesomene, which refer  
all this whole matter to Gods diuine puden-  
cence. But it is a godlike matter, to see by  
what reasons our Pighius is moued; they shall  
not be grieued (saith he) with any sensible paine,  
because they did not contaminate themselves in  
this life with any lewd purpose. What matter  
maketh this? It sufficeth that they had a natu-  
re nature: for they were prone vnto sinne, al-  
though in respect of their age they could not  
sinne. The worlde itselfe is false, which neuer-  
theless might excuse it, if that it had not as yet  
tweared any reason, or done any damage to the  
soule; yet the reason therefore he is killed, is  
god: because he hath a wofull nature, a world  
doe those things, if he were suffered to liue.

Herinto Pighius addeeth another argument;  
namely, that forsooke contention is not requi-  
red for originall sin. But how is he able to proue  
this? For all good men haue greuouslie la-  
mented for being opposit with this vice. David,  
at what time as he occupied himselfe in peni-  
tencie, brake out into these words; Behold how  
I am conceiued in iniquitie. Paule both in Ro-  
mans for this offense, as he crieth out; O vn-  
happy man that I am! Who shall deliver me  
from this bodie subiect vnto death? And there-  
as Pighius saith, that these will be content with  
their state, he vniuers no other reason, than because  
if they should strive against the will of God, and  
should be forsooke for the engendement borne up  
on them, they should sinne: which thing is not  
needfull to furnish of them, because they com-  
mitted no sinne in this life. But here Pighius  
must be demanded, Whether infants haue had  
that right will in this life: the must of neces-  
sity

Rom.5, 19.

tie denie it, seeing by reason of their age they  
could not haue it. Which being so, how daue  
allicke the same to them in another life? It is  
much more probable, that they shall there haue  
an euill will, whereof there was a beginning in  
this world, while they were here, than any good will,  
whereof they possessed no token in this life. But  
that similitude, which be sought of a liberrall  
pynce, who not onlie first his seruant, but also  
so advanced him to great honours, is none of  
his owne proper inuention: for it is borrowed  
out of Aegidius Romanus, the Schole-diuite,  
who neuertheless acknowlegeth with vs  
the corruption of nature, and naughtinesse natu-  
rall ingrafted in vs from the beginning.

But yet this similitude must be examined;  
least, as tapestrie hangings couer the blemishes  
of bare walls, so the same, with the shew and  
colour cast vpon it, may cloke some error,  
and dangerous deceite and abuse vs. We seeeth  
foorth vnto vs Adam as a bond-man, which from  
the beginning, was both set at libertie by God,  
and also indue with excellent gifts; and so fur-  
nished, as those things should also haue bene  
extended vnto his posteritie, so that he had obey-  
ed the commandment and lawe of God: but  
if he neglected to doe the same, then he with all  
his posteritie should returne to the former state  
of his bondage. Wherein lieth him the error of Pig-  
hius; for he feigneth to himselfe a man, which  
from the very beginning had a nature that was  
subiect to corruption, a bound fast vnto the ser-  
uitude of vniuersall afflictions. Which thing  
is not true: for he was made perfect by God,  
not that he should be like vnto a brute beast. But  
that he had desires vnto things, which were  
both pleasant, and might preferre; yet yet vnto  
no such things, as should stir him by against the  
will of God, and right reason. And there  
was a bodie giuen vnto him, which might haue  
endured for euer. Therefore when he sinned, he  
felt not in his first state, but procured to him-  
selfe a new infirmitie. These things shall suffice  
at this present concerning that second opinion.

9 The third is, that lust or concupiscence  
dispersed in the flesh and members is originall  
sinne. Of which opinion was Augustine, as ap-  
pareth by his booke De peccatorum meritis et re-  
missione, and by many other places. Whom the  
Schole-men do interpret, that he meant not al-  
onlie of the concupiscence of the greater parts of  
the mind, but also of the naughtines of the will.  
But Pighius repugneth, saying; that Augustine  
affirmed, that onlie concupiscence of the flesh  
and members is originall sinne; as though  
Augustine meant not, that by the wickednes of  
the affections, both the mind is blinded, and the  
will corrupted. For seeing these vices are ioined  
one with another, he would vnder one name

comprehend them all; and he used the name of  
concupiscence, because in it the force of this vice  
eate doth more plainlie and manifestlie appeare.  
Where Hugo De sacramentis, wrot, that Adul-  
lall sinne is that, which we from our natu-  
ritie into our mind through ignorance, and  
into our flesh through concupiscence. A like,  
whereas Christ faith, that None can be saved,  
except he be regenerated; he meant, not onlie  
as touching the flesh, or lustful part of the  
mind: for it chiefe be heuier, that our reason  
and will be borne anew; then followeth regene-  
ration of the affections and of the bodie, whereby  
(as meet it is) all things are subdued to the spi-  
rit and word of God. Neither did Augustine  
by concupiscence vnderstand the vice not of  
lustfulness; but the ableness, pronenesse, and readie  
indisposition vnto ill doing; which vices are not  
alwaies knowne in children, but so far forth, as  
they deserue themselves by their age. For so in  
deeper darknes, there is no difference betwene  
a blind man, and him that faith; but so farre as  
light cometh, so the date is present, the imper-  
uiment of the blind man is easily perceried.  
Before that the soule be past the age of a  
childhe, he feleth not his nature and rauen-  
ning. The corruption doth not alwaies pierce, yet  
doth he alwaies carrie a sting. The serpent,  
while he is numb through cold in the winter,  
is safely handled, not because he hath no venom,  
but for that he is not able to poyson it out.

And he faith, that this concupiscence is  
brought vnto vs by generation, because all we  
haue sinned vnto Adam; for he iudgeth, that all  
mankind was in Adam, as in one lump; and  
that, because nature was corrupted in him the  
rough sinne, we came from that nature  
rather than a corrupt nature; for Grapes are not  
gathered of chittles, nor figs of thorns. But he  
faith, that this concupiscence is speciallie deli-  
uered vnto the posteritie, though the force of lust  
which happeneth in puerocence. Yet some of the  
louer sort of Schole-men haue iudgeth, that al-  
though there should happen no wantonnes of  
lust in the continuation of the parents, yet that  
the child should be without originall sinne;  
because the same was in the first man, as it  
were in Seminali ratione (as they speake that is,  
the nature of the seed). But it is for them demand  
of Augustine, whether he thinke that this con-  
cupiscence, which he saith is originall sinne, be  
voluntarie? We will answer, that it may be  
called voluntarie; because the sinne commit-  
ted by our first parents was voluntarie: but in  
vs, it cannot be said voluntarie; because we  
haue not taken it vpon vs by our owne choice,  
vniuers perhaps it may be so called, for that it is  
not by violence put into vs. Against this opini-  
on Pighius intergeth, for thus he saith; If so be

Our reason  
and will  
must be  
first regene-  
rated.

What thus  
gubert  
ment by  
concupiscence.

Amillitudo.

Amillitudo.

Amillitudo.

Amillitudo.

Amillitudo.



be that the sinne of Adam corrupted mans nature, it becometh such a naturall effect to be in sinne; for there was not any thing at all in that first transgression, that had a propriety to corrupt nature more than other finnes have. Therefore it shall be necessarie to confesse, that our nature is corrupted; not onlie by the fault of our first parents, but also by the finnes of all our progenitors. Which thing seemeth verie absurd vnto Pighius, that we should be so much more corrupt than others, as we are later borne than they.

But this is the point to wit, whether the finnes of all parents be deriue from one to another vnto the posteritie, I will for this time omit; and will speake thereof towarde the end, so much as shall be thought meet. In the meane while I bene, that which this man takeeth for a ground; namely, that corruption is the naturall effect of sinne. For the reason thereof proceedeth rather of diuine iustice, by which the grace of the spirit, and heauenly gifts, wherewithall man was indued before his fall, was remoued from him, when he had sinned. And this withdrawing of grace proceeded of Gods iustice, although the blame must be ascribed to the transgression of the first man, least thou shouldst straitwaie saie; that God is the cause of sinne. For when he had once withdrawn his gifts, wherewith he beautified man, forthwith infused vices and corruptions of their owne accord, the which before were strange from the state and condition of man. This man remains both, how sinne can haue the power to corrupt mans nature: whether by means of priuation; or by reason of the matter of corruption; or by reason of priuation, he thinketh it impossible to be; for that being nothing, can worke nothing: neither that it can be by reason of that action, which is subiect vnto priuation, as was the wicked choise, through the will of the first man. For he saith that Adam, when he did eate the forbidden fruit, behest not this; neither was it his will to corrupt his owne nature, and the nature of his posteritie. This is a perie loue argument; for offendentes uis facit that many things do followe man against their wills, and vnto waies, which things, though they would not, yet are they ioined together with their actions. As they which load themselves in moderate liuing with meate and drinke, do it not vnto any such cause, as to procure vnto them selves the gout; but the gout followeth of it owne accord. Euen so, although Adam would not haue had these things happen, yet when he had sinned, they happened of themselves.

But he saith, that seeing this consequence happeneth of a certeine necessitie of birth, and not by choise or election, it cannot haue the nature either of a fault or sinne. But this cometh to passe, by reason that he maketh a lesse higher matter of sinne, than he ought to do: for he would make it to be voluntarie, and a thing spoken, done, or taken against the lawe of God. But if he liued the same to be iniquitie, as Iohn hath described it; he shall perceiue that the nature of sinne is to be found in consequence. For it is an vniuersall thing, that the borne should not obey the mind in honest things; & that the iusts should be at variance with the mind, and forsake to haue dominion ouer it; that reason should striue against God, and despise his commandments. These things being vniuersall, come they willingly, or come they necessarilie doubtlesse they be finnes. But both not this Pighius, which obiecieth these things, perceiue that it is necessarie also for him, to appoint that the posteritie of Adam is guiltie of his sinne, and that whether they will or no; which thing is speciall against the word of God: for it is written in the prophet Ezechiel: The soune shall not beare the fathers iniquitie: And The soule that sinneth, the same shall die. Which doubtlesse will be false, if we beleue Pighius; seeing that dyen bo die, and are guiltie of eternal damnation, although they haue sinned nothing at all. Vnto which absurditie we be not diuine, which we do put, in euery man that is borne, the fault and the cause wherewith he dieth and is condemned.

Also vnto Pighius it seemeth a repugnall and blasphemous thing against God, that he suffereth sinne to be found in new borne babies, seeing they cannot do so, shall, but be borne and ascribed in such sort as we see all other men to be borne and affected. But let Paule make answer to this obiection, which saith in his epistle to the Romans; O man, who art thou that makest answer vnto God? Hath not the potter power of the claie, to make of one lumpie one vessell to honour, & another to dishonour. Let Asa also answer, which saith; that I am not conuenient for one postherd to dispute with another touding the workmanship of their maker. God is not such a one, as ought to be brought into order by our reason; which would come to passe, if we should measure his iustice by the rule of our iudgement. Seeing there is no date pasterly ouer, wherein there happeneth not somewhat in the government of inuoluntarie things, that we blame, and that doth not conuient and fitteth our owne wisdom; when I praise that we count God to be iust: for thou shalt not declare the cause, that we are not to much giuen vnto him which perfectly excelluntly, as to another which is fauour.

I knowe that these men haue bene accustomed to saie, that God doth nothing then vnjustly;

But he saith, that seeing this consequence happeneth of a certeine necessitie of birth, and not by choise or election, it cannot haue the nature either of a fault or sinne.

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For it is an vniuersall thing, that the borne should not obey the mind in honest things; & that the iusts should be at variance with the mind, and forsake to haue dominion ouer it; that reason should striue against God, and despise his commandments.

These things being vniuersall, come they willingly, or come they necessarilie doubtlesse they be finnes.

But both not this Pighius, which obiecieth these things, perceiue that it is necessarie also for him, to appoint that the posteritie of Adam is guiltie of his sinne, and that whether they will or no; which thing is speciall against the word of God.

For it is written in the prophet Ezechiel: The soune shall not beare the fathers iniquitie: And The soule that sinneth, the same shall die.

Which doubtlesse will be false, if we beleue Pighius; seeing that dyen bo die, and are guiltie of eternal damnation, although they haue sinned nothing at all.

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Hath not the potter power of the claie, to make of one lumpie one vessell to honour, & another to dishonour.

Let Asa also answer, which saith; that I am not conuenient for one postherd to dispute with another touding the workmanship of their maker.

God is not such a one, as ought to be brought into order by our reason; which would come to passe, if we should measure his iustice by the rule of our iudgement.

Seeing there is no date pasterly ouer, wherein there happeneth not somewhat in the government of inuoluntarie things, that we blame, and that doth not conuient and fitteth our owne wisdom;

when I praise that we count God to be iust: for thou shalt not declare the cause, that we are not to much giuen vnto him which perfectly excelluntly, as to another which is fauour.

vnjustly; because he is not bound to anye lawe; vnto all men. But here certeinlie humane wisdom will not staie it selfe; for it will complaine and faile, that he ought to deale alike towards all, although not by the precept of mans lawe, yet by the lawe of his owne goodnes.

Spoke our, what humane wisdom can see, what the iustice of God is, that sinne are taken aboue, while they be yet infants of children, least afterward their hearts should be peruerced with lecheries; and by this meanes do attaine vnto saluation; whereas others be preferred safe vnto their ripe yeeres, at which time they deserue their owne destruction; where otherwise they might haue bene saved, if they had died in their infancy.

Here ought we to haue in honour and estimation the secrets of Gods iudgement, and not to be of the mind to correct and amende them, according to the precept of our lawe.

Cato, an ethnikie man, taking part with Pompeie, because he iudged that part to be iust than Cæsar's part; at the last, when victorie was inclined vnto Cæsar; and that Pompeis side was discomfited and died; he looked vp to heauen, and cried out, that there is great obliuion in diuine things; for he thought it a thing vnworthy of Gods prouidence, that Cæsar should haue the victorie.

And Iurie, when I thinke vnto these things, I am much delighted with the answer of Auguline, which he vied against the Pelagians, when he intreated of the verie same matter that we haue now in hand. For two arguments somewhat subtil & vniuersall, were obiected vnto him by the Pelagians. One was; how it might be, that God, which for his goodnes sake, doth forgive vs our owne finnes, will impute other mens finnes vnto vs.

Another was; that Adam, by original sinne, condemneth those which sinne vniuersallie, and against their wills, why doth not Christ also, (least he should giue place to Adam in any thing) saue the vniuersall? To these Auguline maketh answer. What if I were somewhat dull, and could not confute these reasons vpon the forehand; should I therefore giue the lesse credit vnto the scriptures? Saie rather, it is much more meete that I should acknowledge mine owne simplicitie, than to laie any falshood vnto the scripture.

But afterward he dishonour both the arguments; for vnto the first he answereth, that God is exceeding good, and doth not impute the finnes of others vnto vs (as these affirm) that he doth; in original sinne; but the iniquitie of our owne selues, which cleaue to our owne nature, euen from the first beginning of all. Vnto the other he saith, that Christ saue them that be vniuersall, for that they eagerly not them till they be willing; but of

his owne accord cometh vnto sinners, when they be both vniuersall and refusing, and also whereto they be bingetie infants vnto felicitie, because they as yet beleue; neither by reason of their age can haue faith, wherby they should beleue.

These things I thought good to bring in, to shew that it is lawfull for me, if I will, to vse the answer, which this father first vied, & to laie vnto Pighius; & let vs leaue vnto God the defence of his owne cause, he hath no need of vs to defend him, that he should not be counted vnjust or cruel. Let vs beleue the scriptures, which Erie out euery where; that We be borne in sinne and corruption. Which thing also both death, and an infinite heape of calamities do shew; which in verie deed should not be laid vpon the children of Adam, vnlesse there were some sinne in them to be punished.

But they which defend not vnto themselves, nor looke into their owne nature, how yone it is vnto all naughtines, do not knowe what this consequence meaneth.

Yet no small number of the ethnikie philosophers perceived the same; for they marvelled how, in so excellent a nature, to great lecheries, and lechouse, and desire of voluptuousnes can be; and they acknowledged these evils, that they also aduocated it most needfull for their children, to haue chastisement and discipline.

And for the repelling of this ingendred naughtines, they counselled vs to take in hand labours, and exercises, and other weightie and hard enterprises; but indeed they perceived not the cause and fountain of these evils; for that is onlie to be perceived by the word of God.

Furthermore Pighius disputeth, that this iusting, which Auguline calleth conscience, is the worke of nature and of God, and therefore can not seeme to be sinne. But it is answered before, that it proceedeth not from the originals of nature, as the same was instituted by God; but from it being corrupted, for when man was created, he was made iust, and as the scripture speaketh) vnto the image of God.

And therefore that same appetite in Adam, of things pleasant and preternatural, when he was first created, was not raging and vehement, that he should do against right reason and the word of God; for that followed afterward.

Wherefore the same must not (as Pighius saith) be called the worke of God, but the naughtines of sinne, and corrupting of affections. And therefore Auguline calleth Iulian the Pelagian, a shamelesse praier of conscience; for he comendeth it, euen as Pighius doth, to be a notable worke of God.

Spoke our, Pighius is against Auguline, for the same verie cause, that he faith conscience is sinne before baptism, and becometh it [to be] after baptism; whereas (saith he)

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the iustice had hath no part of our nature.

the briefe ethnikes wondered at the corruption of our nature.

then false the euill, but precede not the cause and fountain thereof.

Adams appetite of pleasant things was moderate in his first creation.

Iulian the Pelagian praised conscience.

How we  
are changed  
in regene-  
ration.

he) concupiscence is all one, God all one, and his lawe all one: wherefore he concludeth; that either sinne must be in both, or else in neither of them. But here Pighius greatlie erreth in two respects; first, because he thinketh that in regeneration, there is become no change: especially seeing he cannot deny, but that Christs remedie is addeed, his righteousness applied, and our guiltines taken away: for God doth not impute that concupiscence, which remaineth after regeneration.

Rom.8. 13.

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Moreover, the spirit is given, wherewith the strength of concupiscence maie be broken; that although it dwelleth within vs, yet that it shall not reigne ouer vs: for to this end Paule exhorteth vs, when he saith; Let not sinne reigne in your mortal bodies. Again in the other part he is deceiued, in that he thinketh Augustine to iudge, that the concupiscence which remaineth after baptisme is no sinne at all; but most effectualle, if the sinne be conserued alone, (as it is) by it selfe: for in most plaine wordes he declareth it in his owne nature to be sinne; because it is disobedience, against the which we must continually fight. And where he denieth the same to be sinne, it must be understood as concerning guiltines; for that out of all doubt, is taken away in regeneration. For by that means it comes to passe, that although it be yet in inward, yet God doth not impute it for sin. Moreover, Augustine doth compare concupiscence with those finnes, which are called actually; by the comparison whereof, it may be said, to be no sinne: for to be so far from the grievousnes of them. But I marvell how Pighius dare say, that Augustine determineth without testimony of the scriptures, that concupiscence is original sin; seeing he, in his disputations against the Pelagians, defendeth his opinion chieflye out of the holie scriptures. And the cause which he calleth original sinne concupiscence, is, for that original corruption doth chieflye declare it selfe, through the impure desires of the mind, and of the flesh.

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13. Now it is expedient to see, what others haue said concerning this matter: for besides this, there is also another opinion of them, which say that original sin is a lacke of original righteousness. Which thing Anselmus affirmed in his booke *De partu virginis*; and he doeth manie other scholasticall authoris vnto his opinion. And these men mean no other thing by original sinne, or righteousness, but the right institution of man, whereby as the bodie obeyeth the mind, and the inferior parts of the mind are subiect to the superiour; & when the mind is subiect vnto God, and to his lawe. In this righteousness was Adam created; and if he had so continued, all we should haue liued in it: but seeing he fell,

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all we were deuiated thereof. And they would haue the lacke of this righteousness to be original sinne. But that they may then their opinion the better, they say that euery defect is sinne; for although a stone do lacke righteousness, yet it shall not be said that a stone is vnrighteous or euill; but when as a thing shall be fit and meet to possesse that whereof it is destitute; then such a defect is said to be euill: as it happeneth in the eye, when it is bereft of abilitie to see well; we do not say therefore, that there is a fault or blame in the eye. For then sinne cometh, when by reason of such a lacke, there followeth a contending and rebelling against the lawe of God. And this opinion is also condemned by Pighius; for he saith, that it is no sinne, if one keepe not the gift which he hath receiued. For it may be, that one which is borne in perfect health, and in a good state of the bodie, may fall into a disease, or be maintained in some member, or else become lame; yet there is none that will call those defects offenses or sinnes. But this similitude is not agreeable to the purpose; for a disease or maime of the bodie doth not make either to the performing or violating of Gods lawe; but that which they call a want of original righteousness, doth of necessity bring with it the breach of Gods lawe. Moreover, he labourerth to proue, that the lacke of original righteousness in young children is not sinne; because the same was not forgiven by their fault: but this againe is to call God to an account. But God is not requirred among the decrees of men, he is not to be brought into the order of manes lawes.

Let Pighius confer that opinion with this, which he reasoneth against. This affirmes, that God doth condemne the faultines and vncleannes, which he appointed and the deed to be in one borne babes: Pighius maketh guiltie and condemnes children of that vice and sinne which is not in them; but onelie is that which Adam the first parent of all committed in himselfe: for otherwise he taketh those children to be most innocent. But whether of these is the further from reason, and both different from the lawes of men: so punish an innocent for the sinne of another? Or else, to condemne him, which hath cause in himselfe why he should be condemned? We doubtles, vnto them which shall diligently consider of the thing it selfe, the saying of Anselme is better in manie respects, than this opinion of Pighius. We knowe it to be true, which Ecclesiastes saith, that God made man upright: but when he had once sinned, he fell by and by into wickednesse. We doth not want to hold God and heauenlie things any more, but he bendeth himselfe continually downe to earthlie and to carnall things, and is subiect to the necessitie

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necessitie of concupiscence: and this is to want original righteousness. For actions be not punished away from man, but the power of well vnto them is taken away: as we see happen by experience, in such as are taken with the palfie; whereby they moue their hand, but because the power is hurt, whereby they might rule that palfie, they moue the same faultie, and deformed. This also happeneth in vs; for seeing diuine righteousness is wanting, the ground is corrupted, whereby our works should be righteous and perfected. But (which Pighius) it cannot be sinne in young children, to be destitute of this gift; for they are not bound by any due or obligation to haue it. But if (saith he) our aduersaries shall faile otherwise, let them shew a lawe, whereby we that are borne free bound; which (saith he) because they cannot do, let them cease to say, that this want of original righteousness is sin. But we not onlie will shew one, but three lawes. The first is the institution of man; God made man according to his owne image and likenesse, wherefore such it behooueth vs to be: for God doth iustlie require that which he made in our nature. And the image of God hath therein theie consist, that we be adorned with diuine properties; namely, iustice, wisdom, goodness, and patience. But contrariwise Pighius crieth out, that this is not the nature of the image of God; for that (he saith) consisteth in vnderstanding, memorie, and will: as Augustine in his booke *De trinitate*, and in manie other places hath taught. These things indeed are said of the schollie-men. But we will proue the matter to be farre otherwise, both by the scriptures, and sayings of the fathers.

14. First, it is thus written in the epistle to the Ephelians; Put ye off the old man, according to the conuersation in times past, which is corrupt, according to the deceitfull lulls; and be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put yee on the new man, which according to God is created in righteousness and true holiness. And in the third chapter to the Colossians; Ye haue put on the new man, which is renewed to the knowledge and image of him that created him. And a little after he sheweth the properties of this image; Put ye on the bowels of mercies, goodness, modestie, meekenes, gentleness, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another. And in the third chapter to the Romans; Whom he before knew, he also predestinated, to be made like vnto the image of his sonne. All these things do sufficiently declare, that maner of image of God the holie scriptures set forth vnto vs in the creation and infaturation of man: neither do the fathers milke of this opinion. Irenaeus in his first booke saith, that by the infusion of the holie Ghost, man is made

spirituall, euen in such sort as he was created by God. And Tertullian against Marcion faith, that that is the image of God, which hath the selfe-same motions and senses with God; and the reason which perswadeeth vs hereto is, that man was therefore made at the beginning like vnto the image of God, because he should be the gouernour of all things created, as if he had bene a certaine depute of God. And no man can doubt, but that God will haue his creatures to be well gouerned; for he continuallie viddeth vs, that we should not abuse them. And we are bound by a lawe, to ascribe vnto God all those things, whereby we are holpen, as from whom all things do flowe. But a good vse, and right administration of things cannot appere, vntill we be furnished with those conditions, which (we haue said) do belong to the image of God. And whereas Augustine assigned the image of God to be in the vnderstanding, memorie, and will; we say he did it, to the intent he might set forth vnto vs some forme or example of the diuine persons, how one of them do reflect another. But he must not be to vnderstood, as though he would make these faculties of the mind to be the image of God; they being naturall, and without of those vertues, which we haue declared.

Wherefore we haue a lawe given vnto vs, either by the institution, or by the restitution of man; which Paule commandeth; and by this bond we are bound, to haue the original righteousness, which we haue lost. We haue also the lawe of nature, and to liue agreeable vnto it: as Cicero faith in his third booke *De finibus* is the principall and last end of mans estate: and this liue dependeth of that other, which we before spake of. For of no other thing doth it come, that we in cogitations haue our mind, which are, and defend one another; but they are taken from the weaknes of nature, as it was first instituted by God. For whatsoever either the philosophers, or lawe-giues haue commanded, as touching the duties of mans life, the same doth wholly depend of the fountaines of our regeneration. For those precepts cannot come out of corrupt nature, out of selfe-love, and out of malice; whereof it comes, that we are prone vnto euill; but they come from that kind of most by right nature, which they feigne to be done by the weaknes of man, and which we knowe out of the holie scriptures to be instituted by God, and commanded to be renewed by vs. And herewith (as some will haue it) doth appertine that lawe of the mind, which the lawe of the members doth resist. There is also a third lawe, which God would haue to be put in writing, namely; Thou shalt not lust: which commandement, although our aduersaries do

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work into actual finnes, yet we have thought that the same belongeth also unto original sin: and that God, by his commandment, would have all kind of naughty concupiscence to be utterly cut off from men.

Infants  
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Rom.7.9.

In obli-  
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As law  
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be fulfilled.  
Rom.8.4.

Offences  
of the  
law.

Rom.3.20.  
Rom.7.20.  
Rom.7.21.  
1.Cor.15.  
verse.56.  
Gal.3.24.

All these things tend to this end, that man, as by a schoolmaster should be brought unto Christ, and should crave his helpe, and praise that strength may be given unto him: that at the least, wife in part, and with an obedience

begin, we may execute those things which are commanded; and that such things as he faileth in, may not be imputed unto him, but may be supplied by the righteousness of Christ. Augustine, in his first booke against Iulian, reprehendeth the Pelagians; because they thought, that they knew some great matter, when they banded that God commandeth not those things, which be impossible; and he sheweth, that these, which we have now declared, are the ends of the law. And the same Augustine, in his booke of Confessions, maketh mention also of those finnes, which young children, while they be yet sucking, do commit: yet none will saie that they could resist them. But they should be no finnes, unless they might be referred to some lawe violated by them. Neither dooth it anie thing helpe Pighius, or yet take awaye their finnes, because they are not felt by them: for a thing that is dishonest, although it seeme not to be so, yet in his owne nature it is dishonest. What (saith he) which is dishonest, is dishonest, whether it seeme so or no. This opinion of Anselme, as touching the lacke and want of original righteousness, differeth in verie deed nothing from the saying of Augustine, wherein he calleth original sin concupiscence; but that it is there spoken somewhat more expressely, which in the word concupiscence is touched by more obscurely. But because this want of original righteousness, might to be taken, although we understand from the piation of the gifts of God, without anie fault of nature; therefore it shall be very well to let downe a more full definition.

The Pel-  
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16 Original sinne therefore, is a corrupting of the whole nature of man, derived by generation from the fall of our first parent by his posteritie; which (were it not for the benefit of Christ) subdueth all that are borne therein in a manner to infinite miseries, and eternal damnation. In this definition all the kinds of causes are contained. For the matter; to wit, we have all the parts and powers of man; the forme is, the corrupting of them all; the efficient cause is the sinfull will of Adam; the instrument is the spreading of deterioration, which is done through the flesh; the end and effect, is eternal damnation, together with all the discomforts belonging to this life. And hereof have risen divers names of this sinne; so that sometime it is called a defect, sometime peruerfion, sometime vice, sometime a disafe, sometime a contagion; and by Augustine, an affected qualitie, and a rude lump. And that the whole man is corrupted, herein it appeareth; because he was created, to the end he should cleaue unto God, as unto the chief good thing. But now he understandeth not diuine things, he patientlie waiteth for the promises of the scripture,

scripture, he heareth with greafe the commandments of God, and he continueth punishments and rewards: his tedious affects do impudently deride right reason and the word of God; the bodie refuseth to obey the mind.

1.Cor.14.  
A proof  
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The blind-  
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Gal.3.7.

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Although all these things be experimentes of natural corruption, yet they be also confirmed by testimonies of the scriptures. As touching the impediments of the understanding, Paule saith: That the carnall man perceiueh not those things which be of the spirit of God: no verelie, nor cannot, because they be foolishness vnto him. In which words we note by the vnto, against Pighius, that the lawe was made concerning that which could not be done: for first of all the lawe willety us to knowe diuine things; which neuertheless Paule affirmeth plainelie, that a carnall man cannot perceiue. And as touching our purpose, we see that Paule affirmeth, that this blindness or ignorance is ingrafted in men; and that by nature: for it cannot be imagined, that the same hath come vnto vs by reason either of time or age. For the other that curie man inwardly, the more and more he is instructed as concerning God: wherefore in that he is a carnall man, and vnapt to perceiue heauenlie things, that hath he gotten by nature corrupted.

17 This corrupting also is of great importance, (as Augustine saith in the third booke against Iulianus the twelfth chapter;) that by the same, the image of God is become a stranger vnto the life of man, through the blindness of the heart; which blindness (saith he) is sinne, and dooth not sufficientlie agree with mans nature. The same father, in his first booke De peccatorum meritis & remissione, the 36. chapter, where he allegeth that those words of Dauid; Remember not the finnes and ignorances of my youth, maketh mention of most thick darkness of ignorance, that is in the minds of young children, while as yet they be in their mothers wombes: which knoweth not wherefore, from whence, or when they were there inclosed. For these lieth the pore infant vnlearned, vnapt to be taught, vnable to concieue what a commandment is, being ignorant where he is, what he is, of whom he was created, and of whom he was begotten: all which things do nothing agree with the nature of man, as it was first created, but be rather corruptions of nature. For Adam was not to be created, but he was able both to understand the commandment of God, and to giue names to his wife, and to all liuing creatures: but in infants, a long time must be expected, whereby they may by little and little passe out of this kind of bysmes. Moreover, that this kind of ignorance is to be accounted sinne, Reliclus the most ancient bishop of

Aulston beareth record, as Augustine testifieth in his first booke against Iulianus. For when he speaketh of baptism, thus he writeth; It is a principal indulgence in the church, wherein we cast awaye all the burthen of the old crime, and do blot out the old wicked acts of our ignorance, and do put off the old man with his natural vncleanness. By these words we vnderstand, that wickednes is natural vnto vs; that the finnes of ignorance are taken aboue in baptism. Therefore, seeing infants are baptised; they by the authoritie of this father are pward to haue finnes, and that their old ignorance is abolished in baptism.

The will  
of this  
chap.  
Rom.8.7.

verse.8.&9.

verse.3.

Now as concerning the will, let vs be wether that also be corrupted or no. Whereof the apostle gaue an excellent testimonie, to wit, that The sense and wisdom of the flesh is enemie against God: and vnder this sentence be comprehendeth all the affections of men not yet regenerate. But 3. maruell at the impudence of Pighius, who to wound himselfe out by some meanes or other, saith that this place must be understood as touching the sense of the letter, which he affirmeth to be against God, and can not be indubited vnto him. For, as well that which goeth before, as that which followeth, dooth manifestlie reproue him; for Paule saith both addeith the difference betweene men that be in the flesh, and those which be in the spirit. Wherefore it appeareth sufficientlie, that he treateth not of the diuerfitee of the sense of the scripture; but of the diuerfitee of men themselves. And the next words before that sentence are; That which was vnpossible to the lawe, inasmuch as it was weak, because of the flesh, God sending his owne sonne in the similitude of sinfull flesh, by sinne condemned sinne in the flesh, that the righteousness of the lawe might be fulfilled in vs. These words also do testifie, that Paule spake of vs; not of the spirit, or the letter of the scriptures. For in vs is the infirmitee, whereby the lawe is weakened, that it could not bring vs to saluation; and by Christ the righteousness of the lawe becometh to be fulfilled in vs.

18 Neither must we barken vnto them, which both in this place, & in manie other, will that by flesh should be vnderstood the greater parts of the mind. For when Paule to the Galatians reckoneth by the works of the flesh, he putteth in that number, not onelie abruteries, fornications and wantonnes; but also idolatrie: which no man can denie, but that it doth appertaine to the mind, not vnto the flesh. And Christ, when he saith; That which is borne of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is borne of the spirit, is spirit, exhorteth to regeneration: which in verie deed appertaineth not onelie to the substance of the bodie, & greater parts of the mind; but also to the

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Gal.5.19.

John.3.6.

cialle also unto the will and mind. And when he said unto Peter ; Blessed art thou Simon, the sonne of Iona, for flesh & blood hath not reuealed it vnto thee: the ment, that he had not learned those things by naturall knowledge, but by the spirit of God. For vnder the name of flesh, he comprehendeth those things which apperteyne to the mind and reason. But yet we late not (as Pighius fondlie cauleth) that in the nobler part of the mind there is nothing but flesh ; for we knowe, although Pighius had not told vs, that the soule is a spirit, which neuertheless in the scriptures is called flesh, because it is regenerated ; because whereas it ought to make the flesh, that is to say, the greater part of it self spiritual, and ought to reduce the same to the obedience of a mind instructed by the word of God, it will rather bend vnto the pleasures thereof, and so is made carnall.

But they object against vs, that [saing] vnto the Galatians ; The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh : as though this may not be, if in the minds of men, we leaue nothing that is found. But we will easilie answer to this objection ; for first, those words are pronounced by Paule, as touching believers, which be alreadie regenerated : which thing those words do followe, & do sufficientlie declare ; That ye do not those things which yee would. By which words be declareth, that yee obtained a right will by the spirit of Christ ; which neuertheless they could not accomplish, by reason of the continuall concits of the mind, and their great infirmities. And therefore the apostle ment no other thing in that place, than that whatsoever is in vs not pertaine regenerated, all that doth straine against the spirit of God. For do we denie, but that some such conflict is otherwhile in men, which be not yet regenerated : but that their mind is not carnall, and prone vnto naughtines, but because the lawes of nature are as yet ingrauen therein, and that also there is some illumination of Gods spirit in the same, although it be not such as either can iustifie, or bying in amie change to saluation.

Forouer, that reason is corrupted in vs, Paules words do sufficientlie declare, wherein he exhorteth To put on the new man, which must be continually renewed in vs. Seeing he willeth that man be to be holie changed ; and that man consisteth not only of the bodie & affections of the flesh, but also, and that much more, of the mind, will, and reason ; it is necessarie gathered, that those things were also corrupted in him. For otherwhile, what neede have they to be renewed ? And it maketh no great matter, if thou saie, that these things must be undertaken of such as be come to ripe yeeres, who of their owne choise, and voluntarie finnes, haue cor-

rupted these things in themselves. For 3 will alie, whereof all in general, which be not regenerated, did so contaminate themselves, as there was not one innocent to be found among them all. Truie there can be nothing else answered to this question, but that the verie fontaines were corrupted and defiled in their cur, from the beginning. Augustine teacheth also, that he be so far forth onlie regenerated, in how much we are become like vnto Christ : for in that we be vnlike vnto him, therein we are not borne amie, but retaine fill the old man in vs. Wherefore let vs see, whether from the beginning we haue a mind, will, and reason like vnto Christ ; for if they be found vnlike, we must needs conclude, that they be corrupt, and do apperteyne vnto the old man : & as touching the corruption of the baser parts of the mind, batic experience sufficientlie teacheth vs.

Again, this propertie belongeth vnto the baser parts of the mind, that they be spinkeled abroad in the members, & do spized themselves abroad vnto all the parts of the flesh ; which can not be agreeable vnto the mind and reasonable part, being things spiritual and inuisible. That the bodie also and parts thereof haue fallen from their dutie, to become rebellions and repugnant to the mind, Paule teacheth, when he crieth out ; O vnhappy man that I am ! Who shall deliver me from the bodie of this death ? And as againe, when he saith ; Ife else another lawe in my members. Finally, that the whole man, how much seuer he be, is corrupted, the commandment of Christ doth sufficientlie proue, wherein he willeth vs to denie our selues. But that our nature were innocent and perfect, there would be no need why we should renounce the same ; for things that be god should be retained, and not abandoned from vs. With this definition, which we haue made of originall sinne, agreeth the Augustine definition, wherein he saith, that the lawe is conscience of the flesh ; so that both the one and the other be rightlie vnderstood.

Those which were chaste among the Scholem, acknowledged this doctrine as Thomas, Scotus, and especially Bonauentura : these as firme the materiall part in this sinne, to be the corruption of nature or concupiscence ; the fozmall part to be the want of righteouines ; and so of those two opinions, which I now spake of, they make one. But there be some of our men, which would haue the fozmall part to be guiltines, or the imputation of sinne ; but seeing that this is an outward thing from God, I had rather incline to that sentence, which maketh those fozmall parts to be the light and working against the lawe of God ; for that is the principall

reason, why the corruptions of nature must be called sinnes. And there must be no credit giuen vnto them, which crye out, that our nature is god. And 3 would grant it to be true, as concerning our first creation of nature ; but not as the same is fallen : for god it is indeed, but yet so god, as it hath foue corruption ioined therewith. But whereas these men saie, that lusting is god ; they must giue me leaue, if I giue more credit vnto Paule, than vnto them. But be faith I knowe that in me, that is, in my flesh, there dwellen no good thing ; and a little after, I find by the lawe, that when I would do good, euil is present with me. In this place be faith, that concupiscence is euil. To the Galatians also he sufficientlie poueth it to be euil, when as he willeth the same to be crucified. It is also false, which they say, that it both alwaies desire things which be possible, and which tend to perfection ; for we find by experience, that the same is continuallie prone to offenses, and to those things which be enemies vnto life. Apocouer, if nature were as innocent & god, as they imagin it to be ; wherefore should it be so grieuoullie punished by God ? Among all the kinds of liuing creatures, we see in a manner none more miserable than man. If we respect either his birth, infancie, childhood, education, and discipline ; all things are replenished with teares, with sorrow, with lamentation, with infirmitie, and with paines taking. The bodie must labour to get his liuing ; the mind is continuallie disquieted with troublesome affections, the hart is stirred by with perturbations, the whole bodie is tormentid with diseases ; all which things some considering with themselves, haue faid, that nature is not a mother, but a step-mother. I passe ouer, that the bodie and soules also of children and infants, are some deliuered into the diuill to be viced ; so we read in the Gospel, that a young man was in such fast tormentid by the diuill, that he cast himselfe sometime into the fire, and sometime into the water : so as the seruente of God doth so account of the innocencie of mans nature, as he grieuoullie punisheth the same. And it should appere, that the verie Children men perceiued more concerning this thing, than their diuines ; for Plato in his second booke De republica saith, that spent by nature are euil, as those which cannot be led by their owne accord to imbrace righteouines, but onlie to be discontent with iniurie. And Socrates sheweth, that vnlike men be inspired ; as it is said the poets were, with some diuine power, vertues cannot be had. And Cicero in his third booke De republica (as Augustine alledgech in his 4. booke against Iulian) saith, that span is brought into light by nature his step-mother, with a na-

ked, fralle, and weakie bodie ; hauing & mind viced with greafe, subiect to feares, feeble vnto labours, prone vnto lusts, in whom is hidden the seruente loue of God, and also his mind and his wit. Also the ecclesiasticall writers haue confederated to this opinion, manie of whose conkes Augustine hath gathered together in his booke against Iulian. Touching Irenaeus and Terullian, I haue alreadie spoken. Cyprion also saith, that Christ healed the wounds which Adam made, and the venom wherewith the diuill infected our nature. Cyprion acknowledgeth infirmitie to be deriued from the sin of our first parent, wherewith we be so poysoned vnto sinne, as no man can slatter himselfe in his owne innocencie ; for who can boast that he hath a cleane heart ? For as Iohn faith, If we shall saie that we haue no sinne, we decieue our selues, and there is no truth in vs. Againe, Cyprion in his epistle vnto Fidus teacheth, that Children must be baptised, least they perishe eternallie. Also Augustine citheth Reticus, the bishop, whose words we recited before, he citheth also Olympius an bishop of Spaine, who saith, That the sinne of Adam the first framed man was so spinkeled among the young plants, that sinne is borne together with man. He also citheth Hilarius, which thus wrote concerning the flesh of Christ ; Therefore beeing tent in the similitude of sinfull flesh, euen so he had finne. But because all flesh is of sinne, namelie of the sinne deriued from Adam the first parent, he was tent in the similitude of sinfull flesh ; so that there was no sinne in him, but the similitude of sinfull flesh. The same father in another place expounding the 8. psalme, together this sentence of Dauid ; Behold how I was shapen in wickednes, and in sinne my mother hath concieued me. The same father in another place vnto the booke of Iob saith, that The bodie is a matter of naughtines, which could not be so fad to be at the first creation. And Ambrose vpon Iake saith, that The bodie is a fowle poble, and harborow of sinnes ; but by the benefice of Christ it is changed into the temple of God, and a holie place of vertues. The same father writing against the Nouationians saith, that Our beginning was in sinne ; againe, in his apologet ; Dauid saith that aspe we be borne, we are spotted with contagion ; and before we haue the life of light, we receive originall vnrightheouines, & be concerned in iniquitie. And he saith of Christ, It was not requisite for him, in whose bodie no sinne should be, to feele amie naturall contagiousness of generation. Justlie therefore did Dauid bewaile in himselfe the foule wilkinnes of his nature, and that infections began to be in a manner before he had life. The same Ambrose, in his booke De

The soule in the pictures is called flesh.

Gal. 5, 17.

In the number of men not yet regenerated by the lawes of nature and illumination of gods spirit.

Col. 3, 10.

Although things to be renewed to haue bene first corrupted.

goleme ture is good & not good.

Rom. 7, 18. So good is the flesh, as in it dwelleth no good thing ver. 14. Gal. 5, 17. spiritual concupiscence is not alwaies with profitable things.

The base parts of the mind are spinkeled among the members.

An argument is taken from the punishment and griefs of men.

Rom. 7, 14.

Ibidem 17.

Mat. 16, 24.

We must not denie the things that be god.

Augustine & Bonauentura agree with our opinion.

whether guiltines in this sinne the fozmall part.

Strieking a working against the law of god seems to be the fozmall part.

the epint.

Cyprian.

1. Ioh. 1, 19.

Ambrose.

Ps. 51, 7.

The sanctification of Christ.

Textus

Impu-  
ration of  
fault.

Job 14, 4.

Nazian-  
zen.

Augustine  
defendeth  
Basil.

Whether  
could be an  
essential  
thing.

The opin-  
ion of the  
Spaniards.

Will may  
be separa-  
ted from  
us by the  
merit of  
God.

A perfect  
separation  
from evil  
is hoped for  
in the life  
to come.

Mat. 9, 12.

Origin.

areas Noe; Which then hath he now called just, but him that is free from their bonds, upon the common bonds of nature cannot hold. Also upon the gospel of Luke; Although the totally of the healthful ministerie, those infants, which have bene baptised, are now cleaved from wickedness. Ierom upon the prophet Isaiah saith, that young children are subject to the sinne of Adam. And least thou shouldst thinke he onely spake of the guiltines of Adams fault, upon the 18. and 19. chapters of Ezechiel, he saith; Not so much as the child of a date old is without sin, vnging also that sentence; Who can make that cleane, which was conceived of an vncleane feed? Gregorie Nazianzen saith, The image of God hath cleaue the blemishes of bodilie inuention. And afterward; Recurrence the birth, by which thou art deliuered from the chains of carnall nature. And intreating of baptism he saith; Whv this man the spots of our nature are taken away, by which the we were couered in iniquitie, and in finnes our parents began vs.

22 Basilus Magnus is defended by Augustine; for the Pelagians would haue had him seme to be of their parts. He wryteth against the Manicheis, that euill is not a substance; but a conuerfation, which cometh onlie of the will. Which saying he ment of those, which procured the infection of conuerfation by their owne proper will; which conuerfation (saith he) may easilie be leuered from the will of them that be diseased; for it could not be leuered from the same, euill should be a substantiall part thereof. All these things Augustine affirmeth to be rightlie spoken; for the Manicheis decreed, that euill is a creature substance, and that the same is the beginning of wofullie affaires. But contrariwise Basil saith, that that euill is in a good thing, and that it hapned through the will of the man and of the woman that sinned. And whereas he saith, that it may easilie be leuered from the will, he ascribeth not that into our strength, but vnto the merite of God. And in that he saith, there shalbe no token therof left, we also do hope the same; though not in this life, yet in the life to come. But that he acknowledged originall finne, his owne sermon of fasting doth sufficientlie beare witness; for thus he saith; If Eue had absteined from the tree, we should not haue had any need of this fasting; for Sound men haue no need of the physician, but sicke men. We became sicke, though that time, let vs be healed by repentance; but repentance without fasting is vaine. Whv these words Basil determined, that we by reason of the sinne of Adam are now found.

Spencer, he clyeth the twelue bishops of the eail, which condemned Pelagus. To whom we should adde Origin, who interpreting that senten-

tence of Paule, which he haue spoken of; Death came vpon all men; he saith, that Abel, Enoch, Methusala, and Noah sinned: other fathers he saith he will not rectie, because they sinned all euerie one, and that none is cleane from corruption, though he haue liued but one day. But vpon the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans, he speaketh more plainlie, when he saith, that Baptisme was appointed by tradition from the apostles, to be giuen vnto infants; but cause the apostles hiew, that the naturall corruption of sinne is in all men, which ought to be washed away by water and the spirit. And Chrylosome vpon Genesiss, intreating of the question; Wherefore men vnto a daies be afflicted of beads, and be hurt by them, seeing they be created lords our them: This saith he happens by reason of sinne, and because he depart from our confidence and honour. And therby Augustine p. 20. that the naturall gift of young children is fallen away, in that the beards do not spare them. The same Chrylosome, expounding that place of the first to the Romans, saith how that sinne, which remained through the disobedience of Adam, hath polluted all things. He hath also manie other places to the same effect.

23 But yet the Pelagians, and especially Iulianus, were not ashamed to cite this father for a witness, as though he had made for him; because in his sermon De baptisati, he reciting manie gifts of baptism, saith; that they which be baptised, do not onlie receiue forgiveness of their finnes, but also are made the children and heires of God, the brethren of Christ, and iointheires with him, the members and temple of God, and instruments of the holie Ghost. He addeth at the end; Woulst thou see what a sort of liberalities there be of baptism? And some do thinke, that becausie grace consisteth in remission of finnes; and so; that cause we do baptise young children, when as neuertheles they be not polluted with sinne, that vnto them should be giuen or adde, righteousness, holiness, adoption, inheritance, brotherhood of Christ, that they may be his members. Whv these words Iulian thought, that Chrylosome giueth not his consent, that there is originall finne. But Augustine saith, that his words must be vnderstood concerning finne committed vpon their owne aduiseiment, from which sinne afterward they be exempt; and by this reason they may be called innocent. According to which meaning, Paule wryteth of those two brethren; Before they had done either good or euill: when neuerthelesse there is none altogether exempted from that which the apostle saith; By the sinne of one, condemnation came vpon all men. And by one mans disobedience, manie are made sinners.

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Rom. 11.

Rom. 14.

Heretec it appereth, how varrelle it becometh vs to be in reading of the fathers; for sometimes we read in them, that young children haue no sinne proper of their owne, when neuerthelesse they speciallie acknowledge the corruption of nature; that is, originall sinne to be in them.

But to haue finnes proper, may be two waies vnderstood; either concerning things which they haue done of their owne will and free election, and in this respect that sentence of Chrylosome concerning infants, is allowed; or else finnes are called proper corruptions of nature, whereby we are both defiled and condemned; which cannot be removed from young children, seeing they be borne in them, as Dauid plainlie p. 20. wherinto Augustine noted in Chrylosomes words, which be extant in Græke, that there is set downe finnes, in the plural number; and not sinne, in the singular; in such wise as Iulian had cited them; for thus it is read in the Græke, *ἡ ἁμαρτία καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα*, which word *ἁμαρτία*, in the plural number, (as Augustine thinketh) is most properlie applied vnto finnes, which they name actual. And he addeth, that the more ancient fathers did not to compound dispen of originall sinne; because the Pelagians were not yet sprung by to impugn the same. These to many sayings of the fathers, Pighius should haue weighed; speciallie seeing he accounts them for eagles, which see most sharplie, and alwaies flie vnto the carcase. But it seemes to me that he esteemes them as counters to reckon with, which being set in sunstie places, may sometimes signifie a talent, and at another time but a bandicapt as it pleaseth him that calls the account: so Pighius will sometimes haue the fathers authoritie to be exceeding large, sometimes (if they content him not sufficientlie) to be none at all; and thus at one time he extols them as eagles, and another time belitteth them as asses.

And herein he seemeth not to regard the iudgement of his Romane church, which otherwise in every place he maketh equall with God himselfe; for that church so acknowledge originall sinne, as it doth not vouchsafe to much as the churchyard for burying of those infants, which die without baptism; a requiereth, that the deuil be by exorcismes expelled from young infants when that they be brought to baptism, becausie it saith they be bondslaves of the deuil. Which I do not therefore speake, becausie I would either allow those exorcismes, or would haue them to be retained still; for this must be obtained of God by prayers, and we must not deale as if we would seeme by miracles to heale a man polluted with the deuil: and seeing at this daie there is no such gift extant in the church, there is

no cause why we should imitate the same. And thereto we grant, that the infants not yet baptised, are afflicted of the deuil. Allo Innocentius the bishop of Rome, who liued in the time of Augustine, condemning Pelagus, was of the verie same mind that we be of, concerning originall sinne. We ought not to extenuate this euill, otherwise we shall extenuate the benefit of Christ; and they which will not acknowledge this sinne, they be neither forsoothful for us nor yet her remedie of Christ. For Pighius herein went further also than the Pelagians; for he onlie denie the propagation of sin by the birth. But Pighius crieth out, that that opinion is wicked and blasphemous, a reprochfull against God. Again, they thought this enough, to saie that infants, being without baptism, shall both be excluded from the kingdom of heauen, & also be placed in the paines of hell. But this man dreameth, that they shall be baptie through a certaine naturall blessedness; and so hope, as they shall blisse, praise, and loue the Lord with all their mind, with all their heart, and with all their strength.

24 But now let vs see how obscure he indeuoreth to make the definition alleged. First he saith by the darknes and corruptions of nature, we vnderstand either more p. 21. uations of Gods gifts, or else certaine positive finnes. If you appoint them to be p. 22. uations, I vnderstand what you saie. But your cautions are nothing else, but tragicall names, and vaine termes. But if you will haue these things to be positive: seeing in the infant new borne, there is not aunte thing but the soule and the bodie, which be cleane, and haue God and nature to be their author, from whence or by what meanes do these mischiefs arise in, which you do make mention of? First we assure, that the p. 23. uations, which I here set downe, be not as though they were mere negatives, which take away the whole: as when we saie there is no Centaure nor Scylla; but we saie, they be such names of things as leaue their subject maimed, blemished, and deformed; as appereth in the case destitute of sight, and in the trembling hand of him that is taken with the palsy: euen so farre originall sinne with vs. And the pointers of the mind and actions do remaine, but yet destitute of their right gouernment, and therefore euill and corrupted. But Pighius crieth still, becausie he signeth the nature of man to haue a certaine naturall integrity of selfe, whereto haue come these supernaturall gifts, which were planted in the first parent; but that after sinne committed, those gifts being taken away, man fell into his old state.

But this is a mere dreaime, for such a nature of man was instituted by God as was conuenient

Innocentius  
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Augustinus  
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touching original sin.

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What p. 23  
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venient for him; therefore his gifts being taken away, it is corrupted, and verie much marred: as being he swayed from his creation, he is in sinne. *Aggrewer*, we doe not onelie faile, that original sinne is this pollution, but also that it doth comprehend things positive; as is piouslie vnto euill, a violence of nature against the word of God, and such other like: and therefore Barnard saith, that In the contamination of the soule with the bodie, it is euill as if it should fall vpon a heape of most hard pothearnes and burning stones. And among the Schoole-men Guillemus Parisiensis, in his booke calles *Summa de vitio et contritiis*, bringeth this similitude; namelye, that a soule is so let downe into the bodie, as if a man should fall into a nettie, deepe, and stonie place; and so should both sinke in, be defiled, and hurt. In like manner (saith he) we through original sinne are plunged in the darknes of ignorance, we are defiled with lusts, and as touching the powers and faculties of the mind we are wounded.

25 And whereas Pighius saith, that Both the bodie and the soule are good things, and haue God for their author; I grant it. And when he afterward denieth, how they are they corrupted; I answer with Paule; By one man, which fell; and by pcorration, as a little after shall be theued. But in that he saith, that they can by no means be corrupted; because God is the author of them; it is no firme reason. For euery thing which be of ripe yeres haue both a bodie and a soule, which be the workes of God, and are continuallie preferred by his power, and yet may they be defiled and corrupted. But if he shall faile, that this cometh of mans will and free choice; so will we answer, that the same may come of other causes; to wit, through propagation and seed. And so Pighius reasoneth from that which is not the cause, as though it were the cause; for his meaning is, that if men be corrupted, it cannot otherwise be than by the will and free choice; which is not true. All the arguments, which he obiecteth against vs, arise hereof; that he saith, he vnderstandeth not how this corruption can be deuied to the posteritie; and how it is possible that infants should be bound by aine labe; and how a labe can be made of that, which we are not able to auoid. But seeing the holie scriptures declare, teach, and shew the things, it maketh no matter how much Pighius either vnderstandeth, or not vnderstandeth; for we beleeue manie things, which we perceiue not, nor knowe not by aine certaine reason. Which neuertheles ought not to be of aine such force, as euery man should intrude vnto vs to beleeue that things seuerer they shall thinke good; vnder this pretence, that although they cannot be perceived by reason,

yet they ought to be comprehended by faith; seeing God is also able, to make things which be far greater. For first, that which the tooles haue to be beleeued, might to be theued out of the holie scriptures; then afterward, if we cannot attaine vnto it, let vs cleaue vnto faith, and let reason asleepe.

But it followeth not by our definition, that there is no god thing left either in nature or in thinge man. Dreile this we affirme, that this sinne would defile all, if God (through Chrift) brought not a remedie vnto the regenerate. All so God is present sometime in them which be not regenerate, and aduoceth them with excellent & noble vertues, whereby original sinne is restrained, and Common-locales and empiries are kept at the least-losse in some ciuill order. Socrates would not go forth of prison, when he might. Aristides, being driuen into banishment, wished vnto his citizens that they might neuer be in ill case, as they should call him to their remembrance. Phocion, being denieth a little before his death, whether he would haue aine message to be done vnto his sinne; I let him neuer (saith he) remember the iniurie done vnto me. The Common-locale of Rome had his Curios, Scipios, and Catos, men of ciuill habellie, and verie great louers of vpright dealing. Which duties, albeit, as they were in men which knew not God, were finnes; and yet were they brydes of original sinne, and of nature corrupted, least all things should be confounded, and good labors fall to ruine, and the light of nature be in a manner extinguished.

26 Now, seeing we haue confirmed original sinne, by the testimony of the scriptures, and haue confirmed the opinion of Pighius; and haue reuoked the opinion of them, which thinke original sinne to be a guiltines and bond, procured through the sinne of Adam; and haue alledged the definition of Augustine, that Original sinne is concupiscence of the flesh; and of Anselme, that It is a want of original righteounes; and last of all, seeing we haue large lie, and by manie testimonies proued our obone definition: now it remaineth, that we prosecute those things, which we purposed to intreat of in the third place; namelye, of the conditions and properties of original sinne. how it is spread aboia, how it is abolished, how the remnants thereof are in men reuened, and also that punishment is due thereto. Inbese, as touching the manner how it is pouised through into the posteritie, manie opinions are recited. The first of them is, of the propagation of soules, which we will thinke, by the iudgement of Augustine, to be a more readye waye than the rest, although it be not recieued of all men. Another opinion is, which Augustine followeth, to wit, that origi-

In humane nature, as in driueth out from good thing is left.

God suffereth not, small sinne to rage as much as it might, nor the small as much as he desireth.

where the conditions and properties of original sinne.

What the face is of original sinne.

Seed is the instrument to conuerse this sinne.

In the first to not the sinne.

Not onlie the billes of the bodie but of the min also are derived from the parents to the children.

A similitude.

Whether God be the

all sinne is conuered from one to another, by the lust and inordinate delight of the parents. Thus reason hath two errors; first, because it saith, that this euill is in pcorration, as a matter of necessitie, which neuertheles may be separated from the same. And the Schoole-men themselves confesse, that he which should be begotten, without a vicious desire of the parents; yet shall be a true original sinne: for they saile that it is sufficient thereto that it was in Adam, as in the first principall seed. Another absurditie is, that then original sinne should onelie consist in the soule affection of the lust, where, in verie deed, it comprehendeth (as hath bene said) the whole corrupting of nature.

Others haue thought, that the soule was created cull by God; because it should be a part of man, created and put vnder the curse. But because this seemeth to be against the nature of creation, that it should be called a depauration; therefore that opinion is also recited. The last opinion is commonlie receiued; namelye, that The soule gathereth original sinne, through communication with the bodie, that is already infected and corrupted by the parents. Whereupon it is demanded, what is the seate thereof, or (as they commonlie speake) what is the subiect? The answer, that it hath place in the flesh, as in the root and beginning; then out of that fountain, it also possesseth the soule, & so is extended throughout the whole man: so as the seed is the instrument, whereby this sinne is conuered from the parents vnto their children. Pighius obiecteth, that since cannot be deuied by seed vnto the posteritie, vnlesse perhaps those vices, which cleane and sticke in the bodie of the parents; as we haue hapeneth in the leprouse, in the falling sickness, and other diseases of the bodie: neither doth nature suffer, that sinne should take place in the verie substance of the seed, so as it can be conuered by it vnto the children. Here we answer; first, that it is not true, that onelie the vicioues of the bodie of the parents are deuied vnto the children. For we also see, that manie conditions of the mind are deuied from the parents vnto their children; as wit, furie, ambition, gentleness, pride, and such other like. As to the other, we grant indeed, that the ill qualitie of corruption, which is brought by the seed, as it is in the seed, is not sinne. But yet this letteth not, but that the corruption brought into the children by seed, as by an instrument, may haue in it a respect of sinne; euery as the qualities, which I haue now recited, doe not make the seed to be witty, docible, or courteous; but yet those qualities, deuied vnto the child, do make him such a one.

27 Howbeit, whether it may be affirmed that God is author thereof; they commonlie

saile, that the deformitie and viciouesness which is in this sinne, is vicioues out of nature at this corruption of the seed, which, as it was created by God, was not so depaured. And so they affirme, that whatsoever is in the nature of godnes, the same is of God; but whatsoever is cull therein, howlong as it is nothing else but a defect; or want, there needs to be no efficient cause in it. For that which is but a want is not of necessitie that it should be made; for if it should be made, it should be also in it. Howbeit, this is not enough, indeed we agree with them, that God is the author of the substance, or of the substance, wherein the defect is; but in that they say that the defect is selfe hath no efficient cause, therein we agree not with them. For somewhat there must be to remove or prohibit that perfection which is requisite, and to withhold the grace and gifts wherewith our nature was indued at the beginning. So as we must of necessitie reuere this pollution; or defect vnto God, which giueth not perfection vnto the without a defect: which is alwaies done of him by his lust iudgment, although it be not alwaies manifest vnto vs. And by the scriptures it is most certaine, I cannot be denied, that God punisheth finnes by finnes; but yet they are not so laid vpon vs by God, as they should be finnes, in respect that they depend vpon him: for whatsoever God doth, is without all controuersie both right and iust.

And punishments themselves, so far forth as they be punishments, doe pertaine to the nature of godnes; howbeit, as they proceed from vs, they are finnes. For we affirme not, that God himselfe doth by himselfe pollute the soule, when he createth it; for it doth with the filthinesse of sinne from the corrupted bodie, whereinto it is adioined. But man is wiseome in this thing is verie much offended; for it thinketh that in no wise there ought to be made such a communication: for it seemeth to be like, as if a man should cast a pious thing into an vncleane vessel. Also it appeareth an vnjust thing, that the soule, which hath done neither good nor ill, should be ioined with a bodie; and to be vnto it of original sinne; yea rather, that if it be ioined thither, should be free from pcorration. As those alie, which haue the leprouse, are persuaded to refrain if it be possible from pcorration, least they might proceed thereby to infect mankinde. And becauise the end, whereto man is instituted, is eternall felicitie; it seemeth not comenient, that the soule should be placed in that bodie, whereby it should be called backe from the end prescribed. And as it is vnjust, that that soule, which hath not finnes, should be punished in hell fire; euen so it seemeth vnjust, that the same should be cast into that bodie, wherein it incurreth not paine,

author of this corruption of the seed.

God in creating the soule doth not offend.

whereas humane wisdome is herein offended.

The end whereto man is instituted.



as in hell, but sinne, and the hatred of God, which be more grievous, and doth so incurre, as it can by no means avoid it.

28 These things be so difficult and obscure, as they cannot fully be satisfied by mans iudgement. And thus be certaine consolations gathered out of the ecclesiasticall writers, which do so mitigate and qualifie the objections, as may suffice goodly minde; but not so much as mans reason would require. For the soule is tainted with an infected and uncleanse bodie, that consideration may be had of the whole world; least that mankind, which is the principall, should be wanting therein. God himselfe is in this office, he hindereth not the course of nature; but the bodie being made, he createth the soule according to his other pleasure; and rather will, that a man shall be, although he be not borne without sinne, than that he should not be at all. And although he do not bountifully give all things, which he gave at the beginning; yet of his mercie he giveth manie things.

God had rather that man after a sort should be corrupt, than not at all.

God gives manie things that he gave at the beginning.

Further, he hath let forth the remedie, which is Christ our mediator; by whom the sinne, which we have by nature, shall be cleansed. Which sinne, before conversion, dyeth the elect unto Christ; that they feeling the force of their disease, may receive the medicin of him; and then, after that they be once grafted into Christ, they have this sinne remaining till, that they having battell and wrestling may at the last beare away victories and triumphs.

God might by other means than by Christ, have healed us if he would.

By God we see this force of remedie.

His sentence of exco- muni- cation.

Our good in Christ must not be ascribed to Adams fault.

not proceeded otherwise, than by accident.

29 These things, although they cannot be fullie answer to those objections, which we have put, as humane reason would require; yet by them we have, what after a sort we may answer. The continuation of the soule with the corrupt bodie, maketh nothing to the destruction of the bodie; for in Christ, as well the bodie as the soule is renewed. And as the soule is infected by the bodie; so by the faith of Christ, which is in the soule, the same, together with the bodie, is repaired. And whereas the innocent soule, which hath done nothing, either good or evil, is tainted with a bodie corrupted; this the order of nature doth require; unless the bodie should be left without life, and to be forgotten, as dead things of all mankind. But if we shall stand in dispute with God, there will be no measure nor end. Innumerable soules would complain, because they were created, not predestinated (to salvation); who nevertheless be saved not the same. A great manie would complain, that they have bene borne of wicked in- fathers, and barbarous parents, and that they died in their tender age, by means whereof they could not come by the knowledge; and a thousand complaints more they might imagin.

The feeling of the soule being infected by the corrupt bodie in life we cleave.

The soule is infected by the corrupt bodie in life we cleave.

By this reason we are infected with sin.

And as concerning procreation, we see that it is commendable, when it consisteth of lawfull matrimony: therein must be considered man that is begotten; that is, (as the Scholome- terne) the effect proper and of it selfe. But man is the good creature of God, vice and corruption is added by accidental means. And this evil hath a remedie; which thing happeneth not in leprous, and other incurable diseases. As to we do grant, that man is made, to the end he should attaine unto eternall felicitie. And there- as it is observed, that he is renewed from this end, through the corruption of the bodie: we contractually do say, that he by the verte same meanes is invited unto Christ. Lastly, we grant, that it may seeme to be a thing contrary to this, that the innocent soule should be placed in hell; seeing no hope of redemption is there to be looked for; but being left in a bodie, although it be a corrupt bodie, yet it may obtaine salvation and redemption.

The good of procreation must not be considered, if it may be.

30 Now must the reasons be brought, which a goodly minde and soundie pience, that originall corruption is spread in men by seed and generation; and this we will shew by the holie scriptures, because that manie do repugne it openly, and think that all the matter is feined. First Paule saith, that Sinne by one man came into the world: therefore we must see how men do depend of Adam, in such sort, as they can be partakers of his sinne. But other waie can there be none found, than [by meanes of] seed and generation.

Eph. 2. 3.

Phil. 3. 7.

Job. 14. 4.

What this sinne is is to be taken away.

In men of ripe age the inward seed is necessary requi- sit, and the outward seed is the ordinary instrument whereby they are called.

Baptisme must not be contemned, if it may be.

Baptisme, blood, and the spirit.

ration. Moreover, when the apostle saith unto the Christians, that We by nature are the children of wrath; and nature (as the naturall philosophers ascribe) is the originall of motion; we must have recourse unto seed and generation; for they are the foundation of our motion and beginning. But Adam doth more evidently shew this, when he saith; Behold how I am conceived in wickednes, and in sinne my mother hath conceived me: in which words he plainlie teacheth, that this sinne is derived by generation; but most manifest of all is that saying of Job; Who can make that cleane, which is borne of vncleane seed? Now this place the infected seed of our forefathers is promised to be uncleanse, though Pighius denie it never so much.

31 But now on the contrary part, let us cry minde by what meanes this sin is taken away. Given as by one man it was brought in; even so by one man it is removed alwaie; and even as sinne is from Adam spread over all, though seed and generation; so on the other side, in that multitude, which appertene unto Christ, there are some things which may have the respect of seed: as be election, predestination, grace, the spirit, the word of God, and baptisme. These two latter instruments, God useth for to regenerate such as be his. But if any demand, Whether the outward word of visible signe of baptisme be altogether necessary? We answer, that indeed the inward word, whereby men be moved unto Christ, and reformed, is wholy necessary, if the speake of such as be of perfect age, but in young infants, neither the inward word, nor yet the outward, hath any place. But undoubtedly the outward word is the ordinary instrument, whereby God doth call them of ripe yeres unto salvation; although in some he useth only the inward word, after an extraordinary sort. For so he called Abraham out of his owne native country, and instructed Adam immediately (as the Scholome- terne it) without any outward ministration. The sacrament also of baptisme must not for any cause be contemned; for they which despise that, where they may attaine unto it, shall not obtaine regeneration. But if there be no opportunity to come unto it, it shall be no danger unto the goodly man, which is converted unto Christ, although he be not baptised. And upon this occasion among the fathers, there was mention made of baptisme, of blood, and of the spirit. And Ambrose writing of the death of Valentinus the Emperour, saith that he was not without the grace of baptisme (seeing he burned in the desire thereof) although he were not baptised.

32 Whosoever, if I should be asked concerning

the infants of Christians, which depart without this sacrament: mine answer should be, that we must have a good hope of them, a little last unto the word of God; namely, to the covenant made with Abraham, wherein God promised himselfe, not onlie that he would be a God unto him, but also unto his seed. Which promise, seeing it is not so general, as it comprehendeth all; therefore I dare not promise certeinly salvation particularely unto any that depart hereafter. For there be some children of the saints, which belong not unto predestination; such we read to be Elia, Imael, and others more, whose saluation is not hindered, in respect that they were not baptised. But yet, whilst we live here, the reliques of this sinne remaine even in them that be regenerate: for originall sinne is not utterly rid alwaie, nor by regeneration; indeed the guiltines is taken away, and those things which remaine, are not imputed unto us to our eternall destruction. But curing they ought to be considered, by that which it is of it selfe; therefore if it be demanded of us, whether it be sinne, that remaineth in the persons regenerate? We will answer it is sinne. And as if you shall at any time read, that it is not sinne; that thou must understand it to be spoken of the guiltines of sinne; but of this matter we will speake more at large in another place. Now at the time of death, this kind of sinne shall altogether be abolished; for in the blessed resurrection we shall have a new made bodie, and a bodie made fit for eternall felicitie. And in the meane time, while we live here, our old man and naturall corruption doth continually pine away, that finally at the time of death it cease to be at all. Now have we seen these things; how originall sinne is derived, whereby it is taken away, and what we are to determine touching the remnant of the sinne.

of the infants of Christians which depart without baptism.

Some of the children of the saints belong not to predestination.

Whether which remaineth after regeneration is sinne, but is not imputed to us.

Nowe part, 2. p. 233.

33 Now let us speake of the punishment. Some of the Scholome- terne think the same that be without feeling. The Pelagians iudge, that such should onlie be punished out of the kingdom of heaven; and appointed nothing else but that. But Pighius addeth this also, that those should be blessed with a certein naturall happiness, which be having but this sinne onlie; and that they shall love the Lord, with all their hart, with all their mind, and with all their strength, and shall set forth his name and praise. And although he dare not teach these things for any certeinly, yet he alloweth them as verie libere. But Augustine De file ad Petr- um, and elsewhere, not once notwithstanding young infants to be left fire, if they be not regenerate. And the holie scriptures do seeme to favour his part; for in the last iudgement, there shall be not onlie a double sentence pronounced. There

that punishment is for originall sinne.



There is no third place appointed betwene the saved and condemned. The Papists also, notwithstanding that they thinke there shall be a purgatorie, untill the daie of iudgements; yet do not appoint anie meane place betwene both, after that daie. And it is written euidentlie, *Iohn 3. 36.* that they which beleeue not in Christ, nor aniele shall not haue eternall life, but also that the wrath of God resteth vpon them. And while we enuities vnto Christ, we be called the children of wrath: and there is no doubt, but God doth punish those, with whom he is angrie. *Tit 2.* will therefore saie with Augustine, and with the holie scriptures, that they must be punished. But of the kind and manner of punishment Iue be able to diuers nothing; but that whereas there be diuers sorts of punishments in hell, (so for the scriptures affirme that it shall be easier for some than for other some) it is credible concerning these, that seeing vnto original corruption they ioined not actual sin, they shall be the easier punished. It alwaies except the children of the elect; for we doubt not to number them among the companie of beleeuers, although they as yet beleeued not by reason of their age: euen as they which be borne of infidels, are reckoned among the vniuersall, although of themselves they withstand not the faith. So as the children of the godlie, departing without baptism, by reason of the cōuicant that God hath made with their parents, may be saved; if they appertene to the number of such as be predestinate. Also I do except all others, if anie there be, which by the secret counsell of God belong vnto predestination.

*Argument of the Pelagians against original sinne.* *Nahum. 1. 9.* *34.* Nowe these things thus ordered, we will come to the arguments of the Pelagians, whereby they thought themselves able to proue, that there is no original sinne. The first of their arguments is, that it is not likelie, that God will still persecute the sinne of Adam, seeing he punished the same sufficientlie long ago; except alie for that the prophet Nahum saith, that God will not twise iudge for one and the selfe same thing. I knowe some do answer, that God did not twise giue iudgement vpon that sinne, but once onlie; for that vnder one iudgement, he comprehended Adam, and all his posteritie. But that the matter may be the more plainelie declared, I saie, that in euerie one of vs, so often as we be punished, there is a cause whie we ought to be punished; and that therefore in euerie person is condemned not the fault of any other, but his owne proper fault. But and if we read that God doth reuenge Adams fault in vs, that must be so vnderstood, because our corruption had the original from him. Euen as if one being sicke of the plague, doth infect others and they die: but if a man will saie that they peri-

shed through the contagion of him, from whom they did drawe their infection: that must be so vnderstood, because he was the first which brought the plague, and infected others with the same. But that sentence of the prophet Nahum maketh nothing vnto this purpose. *Amos 1. 9.* when he interpreteth that place, saith, that by those words Marion of the heretike Iudas confessed, for he falselie accused God, that he seemed in the old testament to be cruell, & a reuenger; because he did bring most cruell punishments vpon men. That thing Ierom saith must not be ascribed vnto crueltie, but vnto benignitie: for it was not for anie other cause, that God did to grieuouse punishment men, among the Sodomites, in the general drow, and at other times; but to the end they should not perishe euertie stingles; for he was once for all reuenged vpon them, least afterward he should punish them againe. But the same Ierom, because perhaps he feared that these things were not verie firme, obiected against himselfe; *Wp* they woos it may seme, that it is well with adulterers, if they be taken tarde; so it shall come to passe, that while they receiue tempozall punishment, they escape the euertlasting paines of hell. *Cher* fore be answereth, that the iudge of this world cannot percede the iudgement of God; neither that it must be thought, that sinnes be blotied out by an easie punishment, which do deferre a grieuous and long continued paine.

In these woos of Ierom, two things are to be noted; one is, that in those daies aduiterie was punished with death; another is, that that first interpretation seemed not to satisfie him. *Cher* fore vpon he bringeth another exposition of the *34* verses; that God would signifie vnto vs by these woos, that the Assyrians should not blyng to passe, that after the leading awap of ten tribes, they should also inioie the kingdome of Iuda, as they had attempted to do vnder Ezechias. God (saith he) will not permit, that a double trouble should arise; he is satisfide that he hath destroyed ten tribes, he will haue the kingdome of Iuda to be saved. Although this exposition be nothing against pietie, yet it seemeth not to agree with the mind of the prophet; for he prophesied against Ninurie, the threatnings of God, and the subuertion that should ensue. And when he was minded to exaggerate the punishment that was at hand, he saith, that such should be the violence of destruction to be brought by the Chaldeans, that there should be no need for the Lord to reuenge the same againe; for that he, by the first vengeance, would take sufficient punishment: for the empire of the Assyrians was vnto the end of the world, whereas the Chaldeans were but for a few daies. And we be com- monlye wont to saie of a man that is beaten euen vnto death, that he was so stricken dead with

with one blowe, as he needed not the second blowe. This is the scope, which the prophet saith, and the proper sense of this place. But touching the matter, Iue denie not, but that afflictions in godlie men do may not be condemned with this world; for they be fatherlie corrections, whereby men be called to reuerence. But here-hence must not be drawne a generall rule, to the intent a measure should be preferred vnto God, that when he hath begun to punish men in this life, he cannot also punish them in time to come, if they depart from hence without faith and repentance. If they returne vnto God, they shall suffer nothing in another life: howbeit, not for that they have satisfied God by their punishments in this life; but because Christ paid for their price of their redemption. Therefore euen as certeine good things be giuen to the godlie men in this life, which be pledges and enticemes into another life; euen so in the wicked, euertlasting punishment is begun by the preparatives of afflictions in this life. *Cher* also Christ doth seeme to graunt, when he saith; *Fear* him which can bodie destroye the bodie, and sende the soule into hell-fire. *Wp* these things I suppose it needeth enough, that the oasle of the pruit, which we haue plainlie expounded, apperteneeth nothing vnto that matter, which we haue in hand.

*35* Another of their arguments is taken out of the prophet Ezechiel. The soune shall not beare the iniquitie of his father, &c. To this we might answer at a woos, as a little before we did; namely, that children do not beare the iniquitie of their parents, but their owne and proper iniquitie, which cleauech to euerie one from his natiuitie. But seeing that place is wont to be one waie expounded by some, and another waie by others, we will briefly declare what we thinke fit concerning the same. This was a common pzoerbe among the *34* verses; *34.* The fathers did eate fowle grapes, and the childrens teeth be on edge. *Cher* his pzoerbe was not onlie remembered by Ezechiel, but also by Ieremie in his 31. chapter. The meaning of which saying is this; Our fathers haue sinned, & we for them are punished. And as the Rabbins saie; They which were of the kingdome of the ten tribes, seemed to ascribe the things vnto Ieroboam the sonne of Nabat, which first made the golden calves. But they which were of the kingdome of Iuda, referred those things vnto Manasses; for whose vngodlines they thought that the captiuitie was to light vpon them, which the prophets had denounced. *Cher* his pzoerbe doth God reprove, and saith, that it should not be so hereafter. The foules (saith he) be mine: the soune shall not beare the iniquitie of his father,

but euerie one shall die in his owne sinne. *36* I would haue these things to be vnderstood concerning tempozall punishment, because God in the 24. of Deuteronomie commanded, that parents should not be blame for the childrens offence, nor yet the children for their parents. Which also Amazias the king of Iuda observed, as it is written in the 1. chapter of the second booke of kings; for he executed the murderers of his father: but he spared the children of them, according to the commandement of the lawe. Which neuertheless was not alwaies observed by the *34* verses; *34.* for we read in the tenth chapter of the booke of Iosua, that not onlie Achaz was blame, by reason of the cruelties which he had retained (against Gods commandement); but also together with him, both his sonnes, and daughters, and cattell. But this was done by the speciall commandement of God, neither is it preiudicial to the lawe giuen in general.

*36* Neuertheless, this exposition concerning the lawe ciuill, doth not concur with the prophets woos; for the *34* verses doth not complain of iudicial punishment, or of that, which the prince laid vpon them; but of those calamities, which God himselfe brought vnto them; namely, of the spoile of their gods, of the destruction of the *34* verses; *34.* of the Jewish kingdome, and of the captiuitie of Babylon. Here they accused the iudgements of the Lord, and made a muttering that his waies were not right; wherefore some did interpret that place [to be meant] of eternall punishments, of the losse of grace, and of the spoile; the which things they saie do happen to euerie one for his owne proper sinnes, and not for the sinnes of other. *Wp* in the meane time they asfirme, that both children, for their parents; and people, for their princes sake, do suffer tempozall punishments: for God (saith they) will punish the fathers in their children; & the children are a certeine part of their parents. And they saie, that it is no absurd thing, if the children, by their afflictions do profit their parents; seeing they also by this meane are called home to repentance, and that no inturie is done vnto them, if they die, seeing they be mortall. For that God doth wiselie dispose the times either of liuing, or of dieng; and that he doth plucke the children from their life, least either they should be corrupted with naughtines, or else if they be already in sinnes, and in the state of damnation, they should not be more and more burthened; and that they may at one time or other make an end of naughtie liuing. And vnto this opinion Augustine seemeth not a little to incline, in his questions vpon the booke of *34* verses; *34.* question the eight and ninth. And they which would not haue these remnants of original sinne

who is understood the reuenge of Adams fault in vs, as similis etc.

euertie one shall beare his owne fault.

*Iosua, contra traste to the common lawe, punished the sinnes with the father.*

*verse. 24.*



of all we answer with Paule; By one man. And whereas they affirme, that the ancestors were cleane and holie, that is false: for although that they were indeed vnto goodlines, and that original sinne is to be forgotten them, so far forth as belongeth vnto the guiltines; yet neuertheles there remaineth still a corrupt nature, and an vnrupure date in them. So that such a nature, as they themselves haue, such do they yeele vnto their posteritie: and that as hath bene said by sex and generation. Neither doth that hinder any thing, which some do imagine, that the bodie cannot worke vpon the spirit: for we saie not, that the soule is corrupted by the bodie, though a naturall action; but seeing the bodie is corrupted, it doth resist the soule. For the same, being not strengthened with those indowments, which it had at the beginning, is subiect to the inclination of the bodie; and doth not rule, as meet it should; but is ruled by it. Wherevnto, naturall reasons do also teary vs, that there is a naturall agreement betwene the bodie and the soule; for the soule is accustomed to be diuinely affected, according to the temperature of the bodie: for they that abound with choler & melancholie, are to be angry or sad. So that, seeing this manner of reasoning procedeth of false principles, it can conclude nothing.

Furthermore, there was brought a place out of the first to the Corinthians; Your children be holie. When it is not probable, that they drew vnto them original sinne: for that holiness hath no agreement with sinne. Some thus expound the [same], to wit, that the children of christians be holie, as touching ciuill action; that is to saie, that they are to be taken as lawfull begotten, and not as bastards. But this doth not hold; for the marriage of christians should haue no preeminence above the marriage of infidels: for euen the children of them, begotten through lawfull matrimony, are legitimate, and become heires. Others do interpret holiness to be goodlie education; for if a goodlie husband should depart from an vngodlike wife, perhaps the children would remaine vnto the vngodlike, and so they should be led from Christ. But if man and wife do liue both together, the goodlie parent will alwaies poure some goodlines vnto the children. But neither in verie deed doth this make vnto Pauls purpose: for goodlie education may also happen vnto them, which are begotten in adulterie and fornication; which wee perceiue was done in Aedeodatus the sonne of Augustine. Wherefore the apostle seemeth rather to meane, that some holiness doth rebound vnto the children from their parents, which neuertheles cannot depend of the flesh, but of the promise made in the cove-

nant. For God promised vnto Abraham, that he would not onlie be his God, but also the God of his seed. So as in the prophets, God doth name the young children of the prophets to be his owne, and complaine, that they did sacrifice his sonnes and daughters vnto Moloch. And wee thining to the hope of this promise, do offer our young infants to be baptised in the water, because they belong vnto God, and vnto Christ; that the promise, which wee haue now spoken of, may be confirmed with some outward seale.

But thou wilt saie, thou shalt be deceived; because perhaps the child shall not asperitue to the number of the elect. I answer, that the same difficultie may happen, euen to them of stripe yeres: for it may be, that one professeth faith vnto a feigned hart, or may be led onlie by the persuasion of man, or may haue faith but for a time; so that in verie deed be asperitue not to the elect. But the minister hath not respect vnto these things, but onlie regardeth the confession which the partie to be baptised doth profess: and he will saie, that Gods election is hidden vnto him, and that therefore he doth not much trouble himselfe thereabout: that concerning particular things, he is able to determine nothing, but waiteth vpon the generall promise; from the which, although manie be excluded, yet that it is none of his part to define which they be. So Paul speaketh of the Tewes; If the roote be holie, the branches also shall be holie. If the first fruits be holie, so is the whole batch or lump. By which words he sheweth, that Gods fauour was inclined vnto the Tewes, by reason of the promise, and for their fathers; and that for the same cause saluation was due vnto them. Although therefore this promise be indeed finite; and that manie be excluded from the same; yet neuertheles it remaineth stable: for there be alwaies some of them conuerter vnto Christ, and shall be conuerter euen vnto the end. Which appeareth in Isaac, vnto whose seed, although God promised that he would be gracious; yet the same promise took place in Jacob onlie, not in Esau: and yet was that no cause why Esau should not be circumcised.

Euen so, wee confesse that the children of the christians, which asperitue vnto the election of God, be holie; but yet they be infected with original sinne, because they are by nature the children of wrath, euen as others be. But if so be God do not put away the guiltines, and impute it not vnto them against their saluation; that haue they by the grace and free merrie of God, not of the purenes of their owne nature. Seeing then they be borne of a corrupted lump, and belong vnto the election; wee affirme both that they be holie, and are also by nature

The bodie worketh not against the spirit by a naturall action.

As Syme pedia be- cause the bodie and the soule.

1. Cor. 7. 14. 2. place in the first to the Corin- thians ex- pounded. 3. look part 4. place 8. art. 6.

When the children of infidels be borne in iust mari- mony be lawfull.

Adeodatus the sonne of Augustine.

Some holie- nes reboundeth vnto the children from the parents by the virtue of Gods co- uenent.

the children of wrath. Wherefore it appeareth in that fact this argument must now be discussed. But they adde, that in infants there is nothing goodly, done, or thought against the lawe of God; so they haue no sin. How shamefully they erre in this place, it appeareth by those things, which wee haue already said. This is euen as much as if they should saie; They haue no actual sin, therefore they haue no sin; for to argue from the particular to the generall by a negatiue, is the worst kind of reasoning. But they be deceived, because they followe not the generall nature of sin, which I haue before described, in such sort as it comprehendeth all things, which are by anie meanes repugnant to the lawe of God.

They object likewise, that it is not rightlie said, that original sinne is spered abroad by means of the seed & flesh; because those things haue a senseless and vull nature, and therefore be not capable of sinne. But I haue already said, that sinne is not in them, but by original as in the root; and then the nature of sinne is perfected, when the soule is once ioined thereto. We haue declared also, how wee are to answer the Pelagians, seeing they affirme, that those things, which are spoken by Paule to the Romans, should be vnderstood of imitation. For first of all, that cannot agree with all men; for saints of the apostle; for he saith, that All men haue sinned, and by the disobedience of one, manie are become sinners. And that which is the more firme, he hath proued; that Therefore sinne was in the world, before the lawe, because death reigned from Adam vnto Moles. Where reason teacheth Augustine vsed against the Pelagians, which now wee need not to repeat.

Seeing these, they adde, that mens afflictions, and death it selfe are naturall; for that wee haue those fountaines in vs, euen of nature, from whence they flowe. But wee answer, that these fountaines were not so ordered, when mans nature was first instituted; but were afterwards defiled and corrupted, in such sort as wee now perreue them to be. The philosophers resolve those effects which they see, into those principles which be now extant; but the christians do rather referre them vnto the word of God.

Seeing therefore the scripture teacheth, that death came by sinne, and that man, as he was created, might alwaies haue liued; let Pighius, and those which followe him, be slowe true; and godlie they affirme, that death comes vnto man by nature. And they adde, that that ought not to be accounted finne, which cannot be avoided. But this is found false; for that the lawe is propoed to vs, which no man is able perfectly to performe; so to auoid all offences against it. For considering of finnes, we must not inquir

whether anie thing be done casuallice, or neces- sarilie; but alwaies whether it the repugnant, or els agreeable with the lawe of God; and by this balance sinne must be weighed. Wherefore it is baue and triuelling, which they do bring in gainst vs, concerning needfulle. A list of all they be obiect, that if the sinne of our first parents be de- rived vnto the posteritie, there can be no reason found, why the finnes also of the next pa- rents should not in like manner be conueyed vnto the posteritie: which if we do grant, they thinke, that would followe, which is most ab- surd; namely, that the state of vs, which are borne in this latter time, would be most misera- ble; for that there should be laid to our charge, not onlie the finnes of our first parents, but also the finnes of all our progenitors.

The Schoole-men haue thought, that it cannot possible be, that the finnes of the next pa- rents can passe into the children; and they seeme to be induced to saie, for two causes speciallie. The first is, that the next parents do onlie communi- cate nature to their children; and such o- ther things as of themselves do accompanie nature; that they do not communicate speci- all properties, and things accidentall, vnto the children; which they perhaps accidentall, vnto the bodie. For oftentimes the diffeates that come by kind, as the leprouse, or the gout, do passe vnto the children; but the qualities of the mind be not berthed, neither do asperitue vnto pro- creation: for a Grammarian begeth not an Grammarian; no one Musician begeth not an other; and so they saie, that seeing finnes asper- tene vnto the mind, those cannot be deriued from the parents. Another reason is; The first parents had original righteousness, the which was not onlie plantid in the mind, but also in the bodie and members. And therefore in pro- creation they might infuse into their children, the want of this righteousness; seeing the same did thicke in the bodie and the flesh. But the actu- all finnes, which afterward followed, seeing they do asperitue vnto the mind, cannot be de- rived vnto the children; yet Augustine in his Enchiridion ad Laurentium, and in the 46. chap- ter, saith; It is probable, that the finnes, euen of the next parents, are communicated with the children; for the proofe whereof he compareth together the two places of the scripture before handled by vs.

In so much as God saith, that He will per- fect the finnes of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation: whereas he saith in another place, That the sonne shall not beare the iniquities of his fathers; (but his owne); and yet God willeth the sinne of the father in him, it must needs be, that the sonne hath

As selfe argu- ment. An argu- ment from the speciall kind to the generall by a negatiue.

Against the Pelagians.

Rom. 5. 19.

Rom. 5. 14.

The pro- mit of is inordin- and true.

An exam- ple in Isaac.

The elect infants, when they be borne, are in lunde- spee res- pected by the lawe of the children of wrath.

That com- munitie of

whether the finnes of the next parents be deriued vnto the posteritie.

the opini- on of the Schoole- men.

Augustine saith that the finnes of the next parents are communi- cated with their chil- dren.

Exod. 30. 5.

Exe. 38. 20.

hath



verfe.16.

Exod.12.17

In what  
foz the law  
is fulfilled  
in men re-  
generated.

They be  
perfect,  
which pre-  
serve their  
owne im-  
perfection.  
Matt.6.12.

The most  
godslike man  
hath not  
performed  
all vertues.

By Adam  
as by the  
common  
rootes and  
maile sinne  
entered.

They fault is  
ascribed to  
Adam not  
to vs.

faid to sinne, that is, to erre from the scope, and  
from the end appointed vnto vs. The like signifi-  
cation there is of the Hebrew word; for that  
which is in that tongue called *Chava*, is derived  
from the word *Chava*, which thou shalt find in the  
booke of 3 Judges, the 20. chapter vided in the selfe  
same sense, wherein 3 declared the Greke word  
*chavai* to be taken: that is, *to misse the*  
*marke*. For it is there written of the Iewen bun-  
dled of Benjamin, that they were bound  
to thyne stones out of a thing, as they could  
hit euen a heare, and would not misse one whit.  
Besides this experience it selfe teacheth, how  
greuous those evils are, euen in vs, which be re-  
generate: for we be so hindered by them, as we  
cannot fulfill the lawe; the which neuerthelesse  
we are bound to observe in euerie point. Wee  
are also commanded not to luff, to the which pre-  
cept euerie one gueth his secret content, and  
is twines to himselfe how much he doth with-  
stand, by reason of our pronesse vnto finnes,  
and first motions vnto vices.

But if the fathers doo same to write some-  
time, that the lawe may be fulfilled by men re-  
generated in Christ, they speake of an obedience  
begun, and of such a kind of fulfilling, as hath  
much imperfection ioined therewith. For they  
pronounce them to be perfect, and to performe  
the lawe of God, which can perceive their owne  
imperfection, that they maie daile saie with o-  
thers; Lord forgive vs our trespasses; and ac-  
knowledge vnto Paule, that they haue a great  
vaile further to go. Also the same fathers doo  
confesse, that there is found none, nor not the  
holiest, that hath most perfecte loved all ver-  
tues. For as Ierom saith, he that exccelleteth  
in one vertue, doth oftentimes faile in ano-  
ther. And he citeth Cicero, who saith, that there  
cannot easilie be found one, which is most excel-  
lent, either in the knowledge of the lawe, or in  
the art of Aethorike; but to find one that  
excelled in both kinds together, it was neuer  
heard of. Wherefore, that the apostle maie make  
famous and renowned the entire benefite  
of God, through Christ bestowed vpon vs; he  
not onely toucheth original sinne, but also compe-  
hendeth vnder one name of sinne, all kinds of  
vices, which doo floure from thence.

45. So hee we must see, by which one man it  
is, that Paule saith, sinne had such an entrance  
into the world. The same vnbondable was the  
first Adam, who was as a certaine common  
lumpe of misale, wherein was contained all  
mankind: which lumpe being corrupted, could  
not be brought forth into the world, but cor-  
rupted and defiled. And although Eve trans-  
gressed before the man, yet is the original of  
sinning ascribed vnto Adam; because the suc-  
cession is accomplished in men, and not in two

men. Wherewith Ambrose; by One man, under-  
stand it to be Eve. But seeing that word One [in  
that place] is the masculine gender, the signifi-  
cation thereof cannot but be male, and with much  
weighting be applied to the woman. Others doo  
thinke, that vnder the common name of man,  
both of them, as well Adam as Eve, are under-  
stood: so that this speech maie not differ much  
fro that, which is in the first chapter of the booke  
of Genesis. Male and female created he them,  
Neither do they much regard this adiectiue,  
One, because the scriptures testifie, that Adam  
and Eve weree all one flesh. The first interpre-  
tation is the more sincere and easie; therefore  
3 willingle followe the same. But we must re-  
member, that Paule twiteth vnto Timothee,  
that although both those two first parents sin-  
ned, yet there was not one manner of transgres-  
sion in them both: for he saith, that Adam was  
not deceived. Which is gathered by that, which  
they answered God, when he reproveth them:  
for the woman being asked therfore shee did it,  
this accused the serpent; The Serpent (saith) shee  
deceived me. But Adam, when he was deman-  
ded the same question, said not, that he was de-  
ceived: but he said, The woman, whom thou  
hast giuen me, deliuered me an apple, and I did  
eate. These things must not so be understood,  
as though hee affirmed, that no error; but happen  
vnto man, when hee transgressed: for as it is  
plainlie taught in the Scriptures; In euerie kind  
of sinne there is alwaies happened some error.

This onlie we be taught, that man was not  
seduced by to grose a guile, as the woman was.  
And this doo verie much further Paules reason;  
for in the same place, he twilled the woman to  
have silence in the church, because shee was an  
incontinent fit to deceive. And this be confir-  
med by the example of the first parents; for the  
that persuaded man to sinne, it is not likelie  
that shee can rightlie instruct him: and hee that  
could be seduced by the diuell, and deceived by  
the serpent, it is not meete for her to beare office  
in the church. Yet the booke of Ecclesiasticus  
saith, that sinne had his first beginning from the  
woman; which is not to be denied, if we confide-  
re the historie of the booke of Genesis. But Paule  
(as we haue already said) doth heere the vniuersal  
manner of the scriptures, which ascribeth inces-  
sant and procreation vnto men, and not vnto  
women. For his purpose was, not to teach at  
that time, whether of them did first sinne, Adam  
or Eve; but his meaning was to shew the root  
of that which sinne was spread in the world, and  
so is that likewise answered, which might be ob-  
jected out of the booke of wisdom: that Through  
the enuie of the diuell, sinne came into the  
world. Also Iohn twiteth, that The diuell did  
sinne from the beginning. For here is not

treated

Whence  
that Adam  
was not so  
deceiued.

Gen.3.13.

Gen.3.12.

In terro-  
r was in de-  
dam that  
transgre-  
ssion.

Eccle.1.21  
saith that  
sinne began  
at the wo-  
man.

24 place in  
the booke of  
wisdom. 12  
is discribed  
that sinne  
came first  
by the de-  
uill.

Adam by a  
certaine  
contagion  
infected vs  
all.  
An argu-  
ment of the  
Pelagians.

Two  
things to be  
confide-  
red in euery  
sin, wherein  
original sin  
differs from  
actual sinne.

The matter  
of original  
sinne is  
not aduile.

The quali-  
ties of origi-  
nal sinne  
is to begin  
in baptis-  
me.

treated of the imitation of the sin of another, or  
of the persuasion to sinning; otherwise it is  
true, that the first example of sin came from  
the diuell, and hee was the verie persuader & author  
of transgressions. But this is not the scope of  
the apostle, to teach out of that thing, as from  
the beginning, sin was conceived by propagation  
to mankind. And that this is the meaning of  
the apostle, it may be proued by that Antithe-  
sis [or contrarie comparison] which he maketh  
between Christ & the first Adam. For the Lord  
did not refuse vs, or make vs ill, onely by lay-  
ing an example before vs of following him, or  
by shewing himselfe to be a most faithfull a-  
monition; but by altogether changing vs, & ma-  
king vs new by the spirit and grace. Whereby  
on Augustine both seeme to haue rightlie expre-  
ssed the incommoditie brought by Adam, when  
he saith, that he brought mankind into a con-  
sumption; by which word hee significth, that he  
by a certaine contagion infected vs all.

47. But against this doctrine the Pelagians  
are wont to vse this argument; That which  
hath no hurt, cannot hurt; But original sinne  
(if it be) is already twised aduile by faith in  
Christ, and by baptisme, and doth not remaine;  
therefore it cannot hurt the children which are  
baptized. But that which they men take, as  
granted; namely, that original sinne is abo-  
lished in the belouers, and in them which be bap-  
tized, that is not perfectie true. For in euerie  
sin, two things must be twighed; the action, or  
lewd affection, which is as it were the matter &  
offense; or bond vnto punishment, which they  
call guiltinesse. But original sinne herein dif-  
fers from those finnes, which they call actual;  
because in them, the matter continueth not still;  
for asone as one hath committed either adul-  
terie, or hath spoken blasphemie, the thing being  
done, those actions doo fast with cease, and are  
no more crant: onely the offense against God,  
and the guiltinesse remaineth. Wherefore, seeing  
by faith and repentance the bond vnto punish-  
ment, or the offense against God is remitted;  
we may easilie grant, that the whole sinne is a  
bolished. But in original sinne, the considera-  
tion is otherwise; for euery one of vs hath ex-  
perience in himselfe, that the corruption of na-  
ture remaineth; seeing as yet also we run head-  
long continuallie into sinne: but vnto diuine  
things, we be bound both in bodie and in minde,  
which finnes notwithstanding are not imputed  
vnto the faithfull. For the guiltinesse and offense  
against God is forgiven in baptisme, though  
the fault in Christ, although the matter of sinne be  
still remaining; which matter, thought it be  
hidden, and made of slender force in the goulde; yet  
we shall not attaine to the perfect abolishing of

the same, vntill such time as we die.  
And seeing men which be regenerate, doo pro-  
create children; not in respect that they be rege-  
nerate, but by nature and flesh; therof it comes  
to passe, that the children also of belouers are  
borne subiect vnto original sinne. For in  
them is posseed the same defiled and corrupt na-  
ture that is in the parents; when as yet on the  
other side, forgiveness or imputation, which are  
apprehended by faith, cannot be posseed into  
them. For the expirating of this matter, Au-  
gustine wileth thus similitudes. One is of the  
gullines of come, which although they be solue  
into the ground, being purged of their small  
leaves, chaffe, strawe, & carces; yet they growe  
up againe with all those things: which hereof  
commeth to passe, because that cleasing com-  
meth not vnto those grains by nature, but by  
the art and industrie of men: and forsomuch  
as the come springeth out of these principles of art  
and industrie, but of nature; it must needs be,  
that when they are sowing by, they folloio the  
order of their owne nature, and not of humane  
industrie. The other similitude is, of a man  
circumcised, who neuerthelesse begetteth a child  
with his fleshlikeness; which commeth to passe,  
because circumcision was not in the father by  
nature, but by violence vnto vnworkable; and  
that which children are not begotten by: and  
being outward power, but by the inward strength  
of nature; it is of necessitie, that when they are be-  
gotten, they doo followe the order of nature:  
and therefore we being faulty no other children,  
but such as we our felices are. Seeing then we  
haue in vs the infection of original sinne,  
they cannot be without the same: but we cannot  
impute vnto our children, the remission and for-  
giveness of that sinne; for that must be hoped for  
at the barde of Gods onlie.

The verie same thing we see happeneth in sci-  
ences and vertues, which although they be in the  
parents; yet they are not deuied vnto their is-  
sue; whereby it appereth sufficiently, wherein  
the Pelagians were deceived. Neither can any  
man iustlie accuse vs for these things, as though  
we plucke ane thing awaye, either from faith,  
or baptisme. For vnto baptisme we grant plen-  
titude, that it sealeth vnto vs the remission of  
the guiltinesse, and of the offense; and also gra-  
ce, and the holie Ghost, and ingrafting into Christ,  
and that it sealeth vnto vs the right to eternall  
life. Yet it followeth not therof, that by it is  
abolished the corruption of nature, or the con-  
tinuall nonremission of sinne. Wherefore Paule  
rightlie saith, that By hope we are saved. But  
it is a great marrell, how the Pelagians can de-  
nie, that there is original sinne in infants; se-  
ing they perceiue them to die euery daie. For the  
scripture manifestlie teacheth, that The re-

ward

Why the  
children of  
the rege-  
nerate  
parents are  
borne with  
original  
sinne.

Two simi-  
litudes.

The sciences  
which  
be in pa-  
rents are  
not deuied  
vnto their  
children.

What is to  
be attribu-  
ed vnto  
baptisme.

Rom.8.24.

ward of sinne is death, and the sting of death is sinne. Therefore, whom to euer thou shalt exclude from sinne, him also thou must necessarily exclude from death: for by the testimony of the scripture, these are compared together, as the cause and the effect. But here we must expect Christ onely, who notwithstanding he knew not sinne, yet for our sakes he died: but death had no dominion over him; for he of his owne accord suffered it for our saluation. But to affirme, that there be soules without sinne, although all men doe die, is come to looke together things which be repugnant and contrarie one with another. But besides this place, there be a great many of others also, which make yssue, that infants be not without sinne: for Dauid saith; Behold I am conceived in iniquitie, and in sinne hath my mother conceived me. And Paule to the Ephesians calleth vs The children of wrath by nature. And in Genesis it is written; The hart of man is prone to euill cull from his infancy. Also there be many other places, which ferue for this purpose, besides these which be brought forth by vs.

My testimony is it is proved that infants are not without sinne. Psal.57.7. Ephes.2.3. Gen.8.21.

48 Now, seeing it hath bin declared of me, what the apostle meant by Sinne; and by what One man the same is entred into the world; there remaineth to consider, by what means the same hath bin spread abroad. The matter indeed is obscure and verie hard, and therefore I purpose the lesse to stand upon it. For seeing the word of God both plainly teach vs, that there is original sinne, and that it is conveyed over into the posteritie; although we understand not the manner and waie how it is yoked [into them], yet we must yeld vnto truth, and not to be careful, or to trouble our selues in reasoning more than is necessarie, as touching the waie and manner, which is hard to be knowne, and waie without damage be left vnknewen. Whomelst, I will not thinke much to rehearse those means, which I haue obserued amongst the Ecclesiasticall writers; whose opinions, touching this matter, are foure in number. The first is of them which suppose that we receive of the parents the soule, together with the bodie; that euens as God by humane seed, both frame the bodie; so of the same, he createth the soule. This opinion Augustine mentioneth, in his tenth booke vpon *Genesis ad litteram*, and in many other places; and did neuer so farre as I can remember, fall into the same yea rather he saith, that by this doctrine maie be dissolved this kind of original sinne. Tertullian, and many of the ancient writers, fauoured this opinion; whose arguments when I examine diligently, I iudge them probable, but yet not necessary: that which they alledge out of the 4.6. chapter of the booke of *Genesis*, touching the

Tertullian thought that men receive their soule from parents.

66. soules, which came forth of Jacobs thigh; it may be expounded not vniuall by the figure of *yebede*: so that by the soule, which is the cheite part of man, is understood the bodie, which vnto controuersie is begotten of the seed of parents. Also by the soule we may vnderstand the greater parts of the soule; such be the vegetative part, the sensitive part, which doubtles are procreated of the seed. And that the holie scriptures sometime vse this word Soule in that sense, Christ testifieth in the Gospell, where he saith; He that loseth his soule for my sake, shall find it.

Another of their reasons (as Augustine writeth in his tenth booke vpon *Genesis*) is this; In the creation of the woman, it is not written that God breathed into hir a liuing soule: where vpon they gather, that she had not onlie her bodie from Adam, but hir soule also. But this reason Augustine iudgeth weak: for it might be replied vpon, that it had bin once already said, that God breathed a soule into Adam, and that therefore there neede no repetition thereof. For if there had bin a new manner of procreation of soules brought in, the scripture would not haue passed it over with silence: but seeing the scripture maketh no mention at all of a new manner, we ought to vnderstand it as it had before expressed; especially, seeing we see that Adam said of his wife; This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: but did not adde, And soule of my soule; the which had bin more sweeter, and had rather serued to expresse the knitting of matrimoine. But Augustine confesseth, that the doubt is not therefore dissolued: for if we affirme that there be soules created euery daie, and so created, as in the bodies of them there goeth before, as means of God, which he calleth *Ratio feminalis*, then God shall not seeme to haue perfected created from all his workes the twentieth daie, seeing he still enerie daie createth soules of nothing. But vnto this argument it maie per adventure be answered; that in the bodie derived from parents, it is sufficient if there be found qualities and conditions, whereby it is able to receive a reasonable soule, and this is that *Seminalis ratio* here spoken of.

49 But whatsoever is to be said as touching these arguments and answers, so it is, that Augustine altogether inclineth this waie, that at the last we he thinke, that the soule of Christ proceeded not from the blessed virgine by propagation. Which he saith that others also iudge besides himselfe, and that they doe affirme that the same might be touched by the epistle to the Hebrewes; for there it is thus said, That the priesthood of Christ did excell the priesthood of Aaron, because Christ is a priest according to the order of Melchisedech. And the priesthood

Genesis.1. Why hee God by breathing a soule into Eua.

Genesis.2.4.

Whether God made the soule from daie from all his workes.

Augustine thought that the soule of Christ proceeded not from the virgine by propagation. Hebrew.7.

of Melchisedech was more excellent than the priesthood of Aaron, because Leui gave tithes vnto Melchisedech: for he was in the loines of Abraham, who paid tithes vnto Melchisedech. But Christ also should haue bene no lesse in the loines of Abraham, than was Leui; if he had receiued both his soule and his bodie from him. And so in this respect the dignitie of each priest should haue bene alike, seeing either of them in Abraham paid tithes to Melchisedech. But here they, which fauour that opinion, might answer; that there was besides, some other manner of difference betwixt Leui and Leui: because, albeit both of them were in the loines of Abraham, as well concerning the bodie, as touching the soule; yet did not both of them after one manner deriue their nature from him. For Christ was borne of the virgine, by the means of the holie Ghost; but Leui was begotten and borne, after the ordinarie manner that other men be procreated. Wherefore Augustine passeth over this reason, and bringeth another out of the booke of *Wisdomes*, wherein is written, as he thinketh, under the person of Christ; I haue by lot beinched a good soule. For he thinketh, that this phrase of speech can haue no place, if the soule of Christ had bene deriued by waie of propagation, through the latue of nature from his forefathers; vntill hee shall affirme, that nature doth worke by chance. And he thinketh, that this word [Lot] doth therefore take place in the soule of Christ, to the intent we should vnderstand, that those ornaments, which we knowe were most abundant and plentiful in it, were not bestowed there vpon for any merits going before, but that though the mere merite of God; and that this was a verie great ornament of the soule of Christ, to be ioined to one and the selfe same substance, and person with the word of God. But this testimony, for so much as it is not had out of the holie scriptures, which are reckoned canonically, it hath no great force.

Wisd.8.19.

What manner of lot was the place in the soule of Christ.

The booke of Wisdomes is not reckoned canonical.

Augustine teacheth indifferent the question of derivation of soules from parents. Psal.23.16. Christ himselfe saith he is the first be created, which are borne by nature. Gen.1.20.

Last of all, he leaueeth indifferent the question as touching the derivation of soules from parents; as a thing each waie probable. And because they, which are against it, are wont to cite this place out of the 3. psalme; Which fashioned the harts of them leuallie: this (saith he) is also weak, because euery they which defend the derivation of the soule from parents, write not, but that the soules be created by God, although they affirme that the same is borne by a means. For so we read in the booke of *Genesis*, that the harts were not created of nothing, but at the commandment of God they (saith he) were created out of the waters. And euery one of vs is said to be dissolved into the earth, from whence we were taken; when as neuertheless we haue not

bodies immediate out of the earth, but of the bodies of our parents. Thus this opinion cannot be confuted, and otherwise by the scriptures. Although I knowe, this is the opinion received in the church, that the soules are in creating, infused, and in infusing are created, rather haue I recited these things, to the intent that I should haue aie alteration concerning this doctrine; but that it may onlie be understood, what manner of propagation of original sinne seemed most easie vnto some of the ecclesiasticall writers. And surely the Scholame men, when they refuse this doctrine, they onlie vie natural reasons; to wit, that so much as the reasonable soule in nature is altogether spiritual and indissoluble, it cannot be furnished; nothing is required in derivation of the soules from parents. And so that they hold it to be the vnderstanding part, and a thing of more worthines, than that it can be deriued out of the matter, or substance it selfe; they earnestly affirme, that it must not haue his being by generation, but by creation.

50 Augustine addeth another waie in his booke *De uisibilibus & conuiscibilibus*; and in many other places, where he disputeth against the Pelagians touching this kind of sin: I thus he saith; that this vice is supposed to passe into the children through the pleasure, which the parents take in the fellowship of nature. But this reason of propagation leaueeth to a suspected ground, & in my iudgment an untrue: for that pleasure, which is taken of procreation, is not euill in his owne nature, vntill a naughty desire come into it. For if that action should of necessity haue sinne ioined therewith, the holie Ghost would not rebuke any man therewith; which yet he doth, when he persuadeth vs vnto matrimoine; and when as by Paule he admonisheth them, which be coupled in ybedeche, to yeld mutual beneuolence one to another. Whomelst admit it were so; grant we that though many infirmities there be some fault therein: it would folowe therof, that onlie this kind of lust be deriued into the children. But the infection of original sinne, can neither not onlie in those things, which appertene vnto carnall desires; but also in other likings, after riches, honours, reuengements, and allialie in the whole corruption of our nature.

The third waie is, that God doth therefore create the soule, with such an imperfection or defect; because it must become the soule of man now damned, and appointed to be vnder the curse. Such a soule (saith they) God createth, as vnto such a man is required; euery as we see, vnto the bodie of a dog is given such a life, as is meet for a dog; and vnto the bodie of an asse, such a life as is requisite for an asse. But this fauour

The opinion of creating the parents is approved onely by natural reasons.

1 Cor.7.2. and 3.

The infection of cause is not carnal desires, but in other law things also.







Ofc.29.

thanks, and him onlie they called upon. Wherefore God being angry, said; I will take away my wine, and mine oile, and I will cease from liberitie my woorl & my flax, that they should not cover thy shame. By which wordes the prophet sheweth, that when creatures are taken away from the bingolite, they are set at liberitie, that they should not be compelled to serve the wicked ante more.

Mar.16,15.

Augustine in his 83. booke of questions and 67. question, doth otherwise interpret this place; for by Euerie creature, he understandeth men, even as it is also taken in the Gospell; for so Christ saith; Preach ye the Gospell vnto euerie creature. And this therefore is conuenient vnto man, because in him, as in a certaine litle world, are comprehended all kinds of things. Although the same Augustine deneth not, but that these wordes maie be otherwise also expounded. But this he earnestly vs to be aware, that we do not foolishly thinke, that the sunne, moone, and starres, and the angels a boue, do sigh and grieve: which some haue not bin aduised to imagine. We must confesse (saith he) that the holie angels do serue vnto vs at the commandment of God: but seeing they be now in blessed state, and do behold the face of the father; doubtlesse mourning and sobbing for our sinnes, is not conuenient for them, lest peradventure they might seeme to be in trouble like that Lazarus in the bosome of Abraham. Where vnto adde, that Paul saith, Euerie creature is subiect vnto vanitie, and doth not onlie fight and grieve, but also shalbe deliuered from the bondage of corruption: all which things cannot fall vpon the nature of angels.

Rom.8,10.

But saith Augustine, We must not rashly pronounce aie thing: it sufficeth, if we be aware of the absurd and the fowle opinions of hereticks, which haue falselie and vnaduisable bittered manie things touching the greuing and mourning of creatures: in which wordes I thinke that the Manicheis among others are noted.

Ofc.29.

53 What to speake somewhat touching the opinion of Augustine, whereby he thought, that by Euerie creature, are to be vnderstood, Men: I confesse that all mankind is to be diuided into two parts; to that of men, some be godlie, and some be godlie. When it must be sought, whether of these do with to great a desire wait for the reuelation of the sonnes of God. I thinke it will not be said, that the bingolite do wait for it; for they be nothing careful for that which shall happen in the world to come. Wherefore there remaineth onlie the godlie; who seeing they be such, out of doubt they must be called the sonnes of God. And so it will follow, that those onlie be the sonnes of God, which do wait for the reuelation of the sonnes of

God: and so they shall be all one, which both desire, and be also desired. But it seemeth that Augustine was not herof ignorant; for he saith, The sons of God, seeing they be now oppressed with sundrie cares and troubles, do count earnestly for a better state, which they hope shall one daie reuealed. The which happeneth often times, that they which be in heauenlye, and haue state, do earnestly desire, that a quieter state maie once be granted vnto them. But if we consider those things, which Paul a little after adde; And not onlie it, but we also, which haue the first fruits of the spirit; &c. We shall perceiue, that godlie men, and such as are indued with the spirit of God, are distinguished from the multitude of other creatures; for so meaneeth this particule Not onlie.

Although I know there be some, that by those which are said to haue the first fruits of the spirit, do not vnderstand all christians in general, but onlie those which at that time did abound in great plentie of spirit; such as were the apostles, and Paul himselfe, and a few certene others, which were indued with the apostolical spirit. As if it had bin said; The reuelation of the glorie of the children of God is waited for, not onlie of all the godlie, but of us likewise, which are indued most plentifully with the spirit of Christ: so that the argument is taken from the iudgement of most excellent and wise men; which is of great force either to confirme or amplifie. But the apostle seemeth not in this place to vie that distinction: for he before pronounced vniuersallie, that we which be of Christ, haue his spirit dwelling in vs. Neither both he (in that he maketh mention of the first fruits of the spirit) meane to put a difference betwene the common lot of christians, and the apostles; but he called the first fruits of the spirit, that spirit, which we now haue; because we shall reape in an other life, the full fruits, and plentiful commodities thereof. And Ambrose, when he interpreteth that place; Not onlie it, but we our selues also, which haue the first fruits of the spirit, adde; that is to say, when he had now spoken of the vniuersal creature, then he speaketh of men themselves.

The arguments also, whereby vnto Augustine has been to sle the common interpretation of the matter, be not so weightie and firme, as there should be much attributed vnto them. For in that Paul maketh inensible things to beare our falsation, and for the cause thereof to grieve and be in trouble, he vides the figure Protopoecia, or Anthropopoeia. Altho which are of this opinion, are not farre off from the fondnesse of hereticks, to beleue things absurd concerning the sunne, the moone, and the starres. Here we are in doubt betwene two figures; for

What kind of figure is here to be allowed.

for Augustine followeth this figure, in that he thinketh euerie creature doth signify a man: hee thinketh it to be the figure Protopoecia. The controuerise is here, whether of these two figures is rather to be vied. That must be allowed, as I thinke) which best agreeth with the wordes of the apostle; which maketh his argument of more weight and force. And seeing the sense, that we take it in, may bring both to passe; I haue thought that the same is rather to be admitted. First indeed the apostle adde, as we did note, that for onlie it, but also we which haue the first fruits of the spirit, &c. Which wordes do sufficientlie declare, that he before intreated not of men, but of other creatures. Further, this reason is of great force to aduance our redemption, which we wait for, if we knowe the same to be expected of all sorts of creatures.

The first fruits of the spirit are to be vied of all kinds of creatures.

54 Touching the angels onlie, this exposition seemeth not so plaine: for they might seeme to be miserable, if they should for our sakes either grieve or traueil, vpon yet we must beleeue to be in blessed state. But their felicitie doth not proue, that they should be better rid of all kinds of affections. Peter in his first epistle, and first chapter saith, that They desire to looke vpon the promises of the prophet, which appertene vnto the Gospell. For that place is not to be read, as our interpreters hath turned it, to wit; In quem desiderant angeli profectores, that is, Vpon whom the angels desire to looke; but, In quem, &c. that is, Vpon which the angels desire to looke: therefore they be holden vnto a desire to see those promises fulfilled. In Zacharie we read, that they, among the mirrle trees, like a troupe of hostemen, paired with great affection for the holie cite, that it might be builded againe. I passe over that which we read in the gospell, that they be in great ioy, when they perceiue sinners to be conuerted to repentance: therefore it followeth by an argument of the contrarye, that of necessity they be grieved at the stubbornnes and obduracye of the wicked. Concerning the soules of godlie men departed, no man doubteth, but that they be indued with singular felicitie: and yet we read in the Apocalyphe, that they crye and weep vnto God, that he will reuenge the blood which hath bene shed, and labour with great affection, that the clothing of the bodie now corrupted may one daie be reformed.

Apoc.4,10.

So as both vnto angels and blessed soules, such a felicitie is to be ascribed, as encludeth not these kind of affections, which the scripture doth them to be conuenient for them. Which ought so much the lesse to be maruelled at, being we read in the scriptures, that God, the verie fountaine and head of all felicitie, is touched with repentance, & greeueth his mind, and suffereth man

nie other things, which same not to be agreeable vnto his diuine nature. But how those things are to be vnderstood, neither intend we now to declare, neither doth this place require the same of vs. But it shall be sufficient to saie, in a word, that such an affection may fall euen vnto the angels, as Paul doth make mention of in this place. And although we cannot as yet vnderstand, how the same should be no let vnto their beatitudes; yet there is no cause why we should denie, that the same can be so: but at the last, when they shall be come to that felicitie, then it shall be manifest vnto vs. In the meane time let vs beleue the holie scriptures, which beare witness that the holie angels haue such affections in them.

55 But how shall we vnderstand, that they be subiect vnto vanitie? As ife enough; inuend not according to the substance (as they termed it) of their ouine nature, but as touching those things, which God hath appointed to be done by them. As hee be first our cities, kingdomes, and prouinces, as Daniel plainelie testifieth: yea also, they are present with euerie private man, for Christ saith; Their angels shall alwaies behold the face of my heauenlye father. And the disciples in the acts of the apostles answered concerning Peter, when hee knokced at the doore; It is his angel. Wherewith there be some, which intend to expound the same to be Peters messenger. And in the 48. chapter of Genesius, His angel hath deliuered me from all euill. These things proue, that angels, by the commandment of God, do serue euen to private men. But if we shall inquire, vnto what end angels do gouerne kingdomes, prouinces, and cities, and also euerie particular man; and what their meaning is to be so great a care and diligence: we shall find, that their diligence is to no other end, but to bring all men to obeye their God and King, & to acknowledge, to worship, and to reuerence him as their God. Which when it doth not take place, and that manie leauing the true seruice of God, do giue themselves vnto impietie, superstition and idolatry, and dispoise themselves with sundrie crimes; the labour of the angels is disappointed of that end (wherevnto it was assigned) and so they after a sort are subiect vnto vanitie; which shall cease notwithstanding, when they shall be discharged of these their gouernments. But now we must see, how the angels at that time that be deliuered from the bondage of corruption. Albeit their nature, (as the schole-men saie) their substance be incorrupt and immortal; yet are their affaires continuallye amongst matters transitorye and mortal; those things they do continuallye behold and sustaine, or else endeavour that by the commandment of God they may be taken away,

What angels may be understood to be subiect vnto vanitie.

Dan.10,13.

Mat.18,10.

Act.12,15.

Gen.48,14.

What end angels do gouerne the government of angels.

The transitory nature of the second end.

What angels are said to be deliuered from the bondage of corruption.



Esaie 58, 8. bache for Ezechias. All which things we may plainly discern in Christ alone, in whom all things he after a wonderful sort reterated. At his birth the heaven rejoiced, and did shine by night, the angels were present and sang, a star conducted the wise men; at his death the sun was darkened, and all things were troubled with darkness, the stones dashed together, the baile was rent in sunder, the graves were opened; at his resurrection the earth quaked, and the angels were ready at hand; at his ascending into heaven, a cloud imbedded him; when he shall return againe, the whole world shall be shaken, and the powers of heaven shall be moved; and againe after his iudgement there shall be a great renewing of all things, as Esaie in the thirtieth chapter saith: It will come to passe, that the moone shall shine like the sun: and the light of the sunne being compared with that is now hath, shall be sevenfold greater than it is.

59 But is there anie iniurie done unto creatures, when without their fault they be to vered for the finnes of men? Chrysostome answers, that they have no iniurie done unto them: for if (saith he) they were made for my sake, there is no uniusdificedness, if for my sake they suffer. Further, he addeh, that the consideration of right and wrong, is not to be transferred unto things without life, and things void of reason. A lall of all, if for our sakes they be afflicted, they shall be also redressed with vs, when our felicitie shall appeare. The same Chrysostome, in his second homilie vpon Genesis, dashly plainlie declare; that it is neither vnusd nor alward, if so be the creature be constrained to suffer some calamities for mens sake. For if a man (saith he) happen to incur the displeasure of a king, not onlie he himselfe is punished, but also all his familie is oppressed. Again, by reason of sinne, is become subiect unto the curse, and to that of God: wherefore it is no marvell, if all creatures, which are the household of familie of man, do lament and sorow together with him. Wherefore, he allegeth out of the scriptures, that curie creature was adouned in the flood; that in Sodom all things together were burned with the vngodlike men; that in Aegypt, by reason of Pharaos obstinacie, all creatures were destroyed. And in his booke De reparandis lapsis vnto Theodoros, he sheweth, that after the iudgment day, all things shall be renewed; that the gloie of the Lord shall be revealed and made manifest, so as the same shall fill vnto all things. The Græke Chrysostom also acknowledge here, as we do, the figure *Proposuit*; and therefore assewe, that the creature shall be deliuered from the bondage of corruption, because for our sakes it was

made subiect to corruption. And they declare, that the adoption of the finnes of God shall be reueraled, for that the sons of God are now continued with the children of the diuine, and cannot easily be deliuered from them. Here vnto may be added, that he pressed with afflictions, compassed about with infirmities, and distressed with manie failes: all which things, notwithstanding they do not frustrate the adoption, which we haue by faith; yet they to shadowe and dimme the same, as without the inward testimony of the spirit, it cannot be knowne. But our gloie shall be reuealed in due time, and it shall not onlie appeare, but also be giuen vnto vs: for we haue the same end now presentie, but not as yet full and perfect; and then it shall be fully perfected, and shall obtaine whatsoeuer is now wanting.

The second Chapter.

Of Free will.

**N**ow it shall be good to treat somewhat of the libertie of our will. And at this present we will inquire how much free will the naturall corruption, which came by original sinne, hath left vnto vs: speciallie, seeing whatsoeuer we do well, all that is said to be attributed vnto the grace of God. And although this word Free will be not read in the holie scriptures, yet the thing it selfe must not seeme to be either imagined or deuised. The Grækes call it *libertas*, which is, Of his owne power, or Of his owne right: the which same power, or right, the liberie or the choise of will, that is free, which followeth not the will of another, but his owne will. But the choise semeth herein to consist, that we followe, as we thinke good, those things which be decreed by reason. Then doubtles the will is free when as it imbraceh those things, which be allowed of the considering part of the mind. Wherefore the nature of free choise, although it doo moost of all declare it selfe in the will, yet doth the will thereof consist in reason. But they which will be free this power might, must haue a special regard, that there fall no error into reason. Which error commonlie is tomt to come two manner of waies: for either it is vnknowne to vs what is true, or what is knowne in the doings of things; or else if we doo knowe it, yet we faile in giuing iudgement of the reason, which are tomt to be allegored on both parts. For euery, in a manner,

In Rom. 7. as they say of the ship.

Chrysostom saith that the will is free.

What is free.

our lust ioineh it selfe vnto the weaker argument. Whereof it comes to passe: oftentimes that the stronger and the better reason is neglected and forsaken.

And this we see doth oftentimes happen in disputations: for they which take vpon them to defend the weaker part, are wont to fet a shew vpon the same, with all the ornaments and colours that they can: to the intent the hearers being allured with eloquence a counterfetched speech, may not thoughtle weigh wherein the strength or weight of the argument doth consist. Wherefore, it is to be understood, that men do not comonlie deliberate concerning all manner of things; but of those onlie, which of the Grækes be called *λογισματα*, that is; Which are to be done of vs. And in werte deo, all the things, which either we prosecute or refuse, haue not need of deliberation: for there be some things so manifest and vnbondable god, (or euill) as it is vnseely that they be named; for they be forthwith either chosen or refused: such are felicitie, infelicitie, life, death, and whatsoeuer is of the like sort. But there be certeine other more obscure of indifferent, vpon which things men are wont to deliberate. That God is to be worshipped, all men consent, without anie doubting; but after what manner, and with what rites and ceremonies he must be worshipped; there is in great doubt. That it is profitable for men to be together in cities, and to mainteine fellowship, all men doo knowe: but by what lawes they must be ruled, or what kind of Commonwealth ought to be vnder; here men manie times doo doubt verie much. In these, and such other like things is free will occupied.

2. Therefore first vnder this sort; free will is a facultie or power, whereby we either take or refuse, as we lust our felices, those things, which be vnderged by reason. But whether this a kind of power be in men, or no, how it is in them, cannot with anie answer be defined. First we must of needfullie distinguish the state and condition of man. There be verie found in man four differences of state at the least: for the state of Adam, when he was created in the beginning, was farre differing from the state after his fall; such as is now also the state of all his posteritie. Wherefore, we thinke he regenerate in Christ, be in farre better state, than they which live without Christ; for we shall become most happy, and most free, when we haue put off this mortall bodie: wherefore we will make answer vnto the proposed question, according to these four states. We will beleeue, that Adam in his first creation, had free will: which thing, before I shall declare, these kinds of words, that be in vs, are to be noted. Of the which some doo asperit vnto nature; as to be sicke, to be in

health, to be nourished, to digest our meate, and such other like: in the which things, albeit the first man was a great deal more happy, than we be at this present; yet he was subdued vnto some needfullie: for he behoud him both to rate, to be nourished, and to take meate. Wherefore, he was free from all calamities, which might bring death. There are other wayes also, which after a ciuill or morall consideration, be either lust or vnusd. The third kind is of those wayes, which be liking and acceptable to God. As concerning all these, man was free from the beginning: for He was created vnto the image of God, vnto whom nothing doth better agree, than true & perfect libertie. And of him it is thus written: God hath crowned him with glorie, & honor: and againe; When he was in honor, he knewe it not. And what honour can there be, where libertie wanteth? Lastly, God made subiect vnto him all things which he had created: the which out of doubt he could not trauell, and according to right reason haue gouerned, if he himselfe had bene created a slave vnto afflictions and lulls. But in what sort that state was, seeing there wanteth scripture to shew vs, there can nothing be defined for certainte.

Augustine in his booke De corruptione & gratia, saith, that the helpe of the grace of God was bestowed vpon Adam: a such an helpe it was, as both he might forsake it when he would, and therein might remaine, if he would; but not that it should be as he would. And as touching this thing, Augustine better preferre the grace which we emioie by Christ, above that grace, which Adam had in paradise: for notwithstanding the grace of Christ, not onlie we abide, if we will, but also (as Paule saith) We haue both to will, and to performe: for the part of belaters is changed, so as of not willing, they be made willing. And this same, To will, was in the be re choise of the first man, neither was it the grace of God that wrought this in him. But why God gaue free will vnto Adam, in his first creation; Augustine biyeth this reason, in his second booke De libero arbitrio; for that God had decreed to declare vnto him both his goodnes & his iustitie. And he would haue declared towards him his goodnes, if he had done well; which thing vnbondable he could not haue done, if he had not bene free. But if so be he should haue himselfe of his owne and nonghtie will, God was to be towards him the creature of his iudice. But he, when he was free, fell into miserable. And euen as Christ describeth the man coming downe from Ierusalem to Iericho, to haue fallen among them, to be ill instructed of them: so he to wit Adam, not onlie hating his garment taken away, lost all his ornaments; but also having receiued manie woundes, was

Gen. 1, 27.

Psal. 8, 6.

Psal. 49, 13.

Gen. 1, 28.

The grace that we haue by Christ is preferred before Adams grace in paradise.

Phil. 13.

Why God at the creation gaue free will.

Luk. 10, 30.

The creature in suffering for man haue no iniurie.

A familii rouse.

All creatures be affected after a sort the household of man.

Gen. 3, 11.

Gen. 39, 25.

Exo. 14, 28.

De reparandis lapsis vnto Theodoros.

left for halfe dead, and destitute of hope.

little free-  
dom re-  
maineth  
to them  
that be not  
regene-  
rate.

that free-  
dom is  
lent to the  
not regene-  
rate.

Rom.23.

God wish  
the will of  
men to his  
owne ends.

Ier.10.23.

The successe  
of things is  
governed  
by the will  
of God not  
by our will.

verfe.10.

Part.2. The Common places.

Cap.2.

Of Free will.

on Iurie, and leaving the Ammonites, he be-  
sieged Ierusalem. These two things are not hid-  
den into the gable, namely, that God is the  
author of counsell, and chiefly such a successe to  
things as he will. And therefore they determine  
nothing with themselves, but they adde this  
condition; If God will: which thing Iames boar-  
ned vs to do. And Paule in his epistle to the  
Romans saith, that He deliveth to have a  
prosperous issue vnto them, buyet by the will  
of God. Therefore, if the thing happen other-  
wise than they looked for, they are comforted in  
themselves; because they knowe, that God their  
most loving father, better prouideth both for  
his owne handsome, and their saluation. Then  
they could haue prouided for themselves. And  
they haue alwayes in their mouth that which  
David sang; Vnto the Lord build the house, in  
vaine doe they labour which build it. Therefore  
it is their care, that they make frame, and applie  
their counsels vnto the word of God; and the  
event they commit vnto God: and so they  
worke surelie on euery part.

4 But in those worke, which be acceptable  
and gratefull vnto God, such men as are fran-  
gers from God, haue no freedom at all: there-  
vpon came that saying of Augustine in his *Ex-  
cursion*; that when abusing his freewill, hath  
lost both himselfe, and also the libertie of his  
will: for when sinne gat the upper hand, in bat-  
tell, it brought man into bondage. I knowe here  
by some, which thus interpret this sentence of  
Augustine: that Adam lost freewill, as tou-  
ching grace and glorie, wherewith he was a-  
doyned; but not as touching nature. Where-  
fore will not much labour here, to denie that the  
reason and will, which belong vnto nature, were  
left vnto man after his fall: but that the same  
nature is imperfect and wounded, they them-  
selves cannot denie. For this the *Spauler* of the  
sentences also affirmeth in his second booke  
vs 25. distinction; for he saith, that I man now  
after his fall is in such a case as he cannot time;  
and that it is to last with him, as he cannot die;  
time. And although Augustine, and others,  
doe not so affirme; yet most sound reason might  
teach it vs: for holie worke depend vpon two  
principles; namely of knowledge, and of  
appetite. Concerning knowledge, Paule saith,  
The natural man doeth not vnderstand those  
things which be of the spirit of God, yea verelie  
no more he cannot; for they be foolishness vn-  
to him. But now, if we knowe not what is to  
be done, and what is pleasing vnto God: by  
what means may we shew the same in our  
worke?

Therefore, in that sort our appetite and cogi-  
tations are toward those holie worke, which ap-  
pearth by the first chapter of Genesis; My spirit  
(saith

God is the  
author of  
counsaile,  
and such  
successe as  
he will.  
The gods  
determine  
alwayes  
with this  
condition;  
If God will.  
Iam.4.11.  
Rom.1.18.

Psalm.127.

In worke  
acceptable  
vnto God,  
freedom  
from God  
is no freedom.

Therefore  
will not  
much labour  
here, to denie  
that the reason  
and will, but  
for imper-  
fect and  
wounded.

21 reason  
why we  
cannot  
doubt but  
time.

1 Cor.2.14

Of Free will.

Gen.2.8

verfe.11.  
condition  
our strength  
our nature  
creato  
must be  
best bette-  
nor.  
verfe.12.

without the  
grace of  
God we be  
bond-  
men.  
Ioh.8.34.

verfe.36.  
Rom.7.14.  
8.18.33.

Gal.5.18.

Ioh.8.44.  
stone can  
come vnto  
Christ vn-  
lesse he be  
dynamite.

Rom.8.7.

Gal.3.12.  
polares to  
proue the  
worke by  
rege-  
neration  
he be not  
free.

(saith God) shall not trise in man for euery  
cause he is flesh. And a little after; God saue  
thar the malice of man was great, and all the  
omagination of the thought of his hart was o-  
nigination of euill euery daie. And in the eight chap-  
ter; The imagination of mans hart is euill euen  
from his infancie. And those things doth God  
himselfe speake; and there is none to be be-  
lieued better than that made vs, when he gi-  
ueth a testimonie of his owne worke. In the 18.  
chapter of Ieremie, the people saith; We will fol-  
lowe our owne imaginations. Which place  
Ierom expounding, wrieth thus; Where is there  
fore the power of freewill, and the iudgement of  
mans owne will, without the grace of God;  
is following it is a great offense vnto God for a man  
is followe his owne thoughts, and to do the will  
of his wicked hart? That we be subiect vnto  
feruente, Christ teacheth vs in Iohn, saying;  
He that doth sinne, is the seruant of sinne.  
Wherefore, seeing we commit manie things,  
and haue sinnes cleauing vnto vs from our  
mothers wombe; we must of neede esse grant  
that we be seruants: But then we shall be free  
indeed, if the sonne shall set vs at libertie; other-  
wise we serue in a most bitter bondage. Where-  
vpon Paule saith, that he was sold vnder sinne,  
and so sold, as in his flesh, he confessed that  
there would no good thing; and that he did the  
things which he would not, and which he hated;  
and that he set another lawe in his members,  
restraining the lawe of the mind, and leading  
him alwaie captiue to the lawe of sinne. And  
vnto the Galathians he saith; that The flesh  
doth thine against the spirit, and the spirit a-  
gainst the flesh, so that we cannot do what we  
would.

Which things being true, touching to wor-  
ke, an apostle, and touching holie men rege-  
nerated by Christ; that shall be thought of the  
wicked, which belong not vnto Christ; And  
vnto him they cannot come, vnlesse they be  
baptized: for Christ saith; None can come vnto  
me, vnlesse my father shall drawe him. Me-  
ments which are set vnto vs in the holie  
scriptures; for they serue to signifie, that it is  
in our felues to obserue those things, which  
we be commanded. For Elia saith; If we will,  
and will hearken vnto me, we shall doe the good  
things of the land. And the 32. chapter oftentimes  
commandeth vs, that we should conuert our  
felues vnto him; Beye conuerted (saith he) vn-  
to me, I will not the death of a sinner. And had  
he that he conuerted and Hue. And then he  
thar hath published the lawe, he said; that he had set  
before their life and death, blessing and cursing.  
And an infinite sort of other such like testi-  
monies might be brought. But here it must be  
considered, that these things in verbe be deare  
commanded vnto men: but we are no where  
taught,

that willesh, nor of him that runneth, but of  
God that hath mercie. For our saluation is  
his worke, and not the worke of our strength;  
It is he that worketh in vs, both to will, and to  
performe. Before he do that, whatsoeuer he  
doth with vs, either by the lawe, or by the in-  
struction of his word; he doeth with stones:  
for our harts be stonie, vnlesse God do change  
them into fleshe harts; which he promisheth in  
Ezechiel that he would do, and would bring to  
passe, that we should walke in his lawes.

And surelie, if we might live well and righte-  
lie without grace, we should also be iustified by  
our owne worke: which doctrine is vtterlie con-  
demned, both by Paule, and all the holie scrip-  
ture. Ieremie saith; Conuert me, O Lord, and I  
shall be conuerted. And David saith; A pure  
hart create in me, O God. The which thing  
it cometh not to passe in all men, we perceiue  
by the 29. chapter of Deuteronomie, where it is  
thus written; The Lord hath not goren vnto  
you eyes to see, nor an eare to heare, nor an hart  
to vnderstand. And in the thirtieth chapter, God  
promisheth, that he would circumcise their harts,  
and the harts of their feed, that they should walke  
in his commandments. For he both regene-  
theth; I thinke our saluation: for this Paule  
saith to the Philippians; I hope that he who hath  
began in you, will performe it euen vnto the  
daie of Christ. This thing the holie men right  
well vnderstanding, do praeise with David; In-  
cline my hart vnto thy testimonies: and with  
Salomon; The Lord shall incline our harts, that  
we may walke in his waies; and with Paule vnto  
the Ephesians; The Lord direct your harts  
into patience, and in the expectation of Christ.  
And Salomon in his powerfull sayth; The hart  
of the king is in the hand of God, and he incli-  
neth it to what he will. These testimonies  
do sufficiently declare, that it is Gods worke,  
and not ours, to be conuerted vnto him, and  
to be vnguiltie.

Where some obiect vnto vs the commande-  
ments, which are set vnto vs in the holie  
scriptures; for they serue to signifie, that it is  
in our felues to obserue those things, which  
we be commanded. For Elia saith; If we will,  
and will hearken vnto me, we shall doe the good  
things of the land. And the 32. chapter oftentimes  
commandeth vs, that we should conuert our  
felues vnto him; Beye conuerted (saith he) vn-  
to me, I will not the death of a sinner. And had  
he that he conuerted and Hue. And then he  
thar hath published the lawe, he said; that he had set  
before their life and death, blessing and cursing.  
And an infinite sort of other such like testi-  
monies might be brought. But here it must be  
considered, that these things in verbe be deare  
commanded vnto men: but we are no where  
taught,

Eze.11.12.

Ier.31.11.

Psalm.51.18.

verfe.4.

Phil.1.6.

Psalm.119.36.

2. The.3.5.

Pro.11.1.  
It is the  
work of  
God, not  
our owne.

that we be  
conuerted  
vnto God,  
that is the  
life of the  
lawe.

Elia.1.19.

Eze.18.30.  
and 32.

Deu.30.15.

2. Pet. 1.10.

1. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne  
2. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne  
3. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

4. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne  
5. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

Rom. 7. 13.

Why God  
is not to be  
accused of  
injustice.

1. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne  
2. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne  
3. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

taught; that a man is able to performe them of his owne proper strength. Neither is it meet, that we measure the greatness of our owne strength by the precepts of Gods lawe; as though so much can be done of our owne accord, as Gods lawe hath commanded: *ne sciretur* our infirmities is to be measured hereby; that when we see the excellencie and *infirmities* of Gods commandments to exell our strength by unnumerable degrees, we may remember, that the lawe hath a certaine other end, than that it should be performed of vs.

Pauls theueth that end to be manifest. By the lawe (saith he) cometh the knowledge of sin: which by this means, The lawe is become a school-master to lead men vnto Christ; that when they see themselves ouercharged with the heauie burden of the commandments, and the greatness of their finnes, they may perceiue their saluati- on to consist onlie in the mercie of God, and redemption of Christ. For the weakenes and vntowrthines of our selues being considered, we forthwith begin to paie vnto God; that both he will fo: Christs sake pardon our finnes, and giue vs sufficiency of his spirit, that we may inuicour to follothe his will. One that thou commandest (saith Augulline) and command what thou wilt. Further, another vse of the lawe is, that we should be whereunto we must applie our selues. Also it may be, that if through the grace of God there be an accesse of obedience begun, men may applie themselves vnto the lawe. Lastly, though in this life it be not giuen vnto vs, that men can in euerie condition satisfie the lawe; yet we shall fullie ob- taine the same in another life, when we shall call vnto all this corruption. Yet God ought not to be accused of iniustice by reason hereof: for he is not in fault, that men be not able to keepe his commandments. Neither can anie of vs be excused, because that willinglie and grieuouly we doe breake the lawe, that is appoint- ed vnto vs. The same was giuen in such sort, as it might best agree with our nature, when the same was first instituted: for the image of God could not be anie other meanes more plainelike and effectualitie be expressed. And as if by rea- son of sinne we be not able to accomplish the lawe; yet this at the least will be free, namelye, that manner of persons we ought to be.

But that sentence, which is commonlie objected; that Nothing is to be counted sinne, which dependeth not of election, must be under- stood (as Augulline doth interpret it) of that kind of sinne, which is not the punishment of sinne: for otherwise, original sinne is neither voluntarie, nor receiued by election. But thou

willst say; Soeing the matter standeth thus, the shall seeme of necessity to stick fast in sinne: which thing indeed I denie not; although such is this necessity, as it hath no compulsion al- loyed therewith. God is of necessity good, and cannot sinne by anie meanes: and yet is he not diuine by force to be good. Which thing Augu- line, in his 2. booke *De diuinitate Dei*, and thirtieth chapter, doth verie well declare. Because God himselfe (saith he) cannot sinne, therefore shall we denie that he hath free will: Ambrose, in his second booke, and third chapter, *De fide*, vnto Gratian the Emperour, testifieth, that God is free, when he saith; that One and the same spirit breatheth all things, diuiding vnto all as please him, according to the choise of his free will, and not for to obey necessity. In these senten- ces of these fathers, free will is to taken, that it is contrarie vnto violence and compulsion; not that it is equallie bent to either part. Whereupon Ieron in his homilie of the prodigall sonne, which he wrote vnto Damasus, because he toke free will in another sense, therefore he wrote otherwise; It is onlie God (saith he) on whom sinne falleth not, nor can fall: but others, so- much as they haue free will, may be bounde e- rone. Also it is agreeable vnto blessed spi- rits and angels, that they cannot sinne; seeing their felicitie is already confirmed.

Wherefore Augulline in his 2. booke *De diuinitate Dei*, and thirtieth chapter, saith; Euen as the first immortallitie, which Adam through sinne lost, was, that it was possible he should not die: euen so the first free will was, that it was possi- ble he should not sinne; but the last free will shall be, that he shall not possiblie sinne. Yet ne- uertheless, there is granted a certaine kind of li- berty vnto them: not whereby they can be bounde to either part; but such, as (although that which they doe is of necessity) yet thereby they be not compelled, or violentlie diuined. For euen as there be certaine true things to manifest, as the mind cannot but consent vnto them; so the pre- sence of God now reuealed and made manifest, is so good a thing, as the saints cannot faile of: so shall the same. So likewise, although the use of necessity do sinne, before we be regenerated in Christ; yet are not therefore the powers of the will libtious; for whatsoever we doe, both we doe it willingly; and also we are led to doe it vpon some hope.

And yet we must not be therefore accounted to differ nothing from brute beasts: for we know, notwithstanding they be moued with a certaine kind of indgement; yet it is not a free indgement. But in men, although they be not yet re- newed, there is (as we haue said) much liberty remaining, as touching ciuill & morall works. Forther, among the verie finnes, wherein they

of necessity  
of sinne  
is without  
constraint.

1. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

2. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

3. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

4. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

5. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

6. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

7. *non est in-  
digne* in-  
digne

Chite ma-  
ner of free-  
doms.

What is  
free will,  
and  
willing.

Definition  
of free will.

The will  
of the rege-  
nerate is  
greater re-  
sistance.

Why they  
cannot  
aspire.

The will  
cannot be  
compelled.

The neces-  
sity of the  
will is not  
absolute in  
the wicked.

Augulline  
saith that  
the will  
is of nature  
to be able  
to haue  
faith.

The opini-  
on of Au-  
gulline

he of necessity conseruat, they haue a choise to chuse one, and refuse an other; though they cannot attaine vnto those things which please God. These things doe not accord with brute beasts: for they be rather diuined by the force of nature, than that they can doe anie thing by anie libertie of free choise. Then may be said to be free, either in respect of compulsion, or in respect of sinne, in respect of miserie. The first li- berty from compulsion, is giuen vnto all men; yotobeth, vnto sinne and miserie all men, which haue not attained vnto Christ, are altogether subiect. But after what sort men, which be rege- nerate, be subiect either to sinne, or to miserie, we shall here see, I will afterward declare. In the meane time we ought to be sure, that the will is not constrained to sinne, through this necessity which we speake of.

But that we map with the more perspi- cuitie and plainenesse, declare all this whole matter, it must be first determined what these words Free, Violent, and Willing do signifie. We call that free, which hauing two, or more things set before it, can chuse, as it listeth, what it will. And therefore we denie, that the will of men not regenerate is vniuersallie free: for it cannot chuse those things which do belong to saluation. Violent is that, which is so moued of an outward beginning, that it of it selfe no- thing helpeth vnto that motion, but rather re- sisteth it: as when a stone is cast on high. That is said to worke of his owne accord, or wil- linglie, which hath an inward beginning in- clining to that motion, whereby it is diuined. By these things it is manifest, that to doe of his owne accord, and to doe of necessity, are not contrarie one to another: for they may be ioi- ned together, as it is plain in our will, which of necessity embraceth felicitie; yet it embrac- eth it not against his will, or by compulsion; but of his owne accord, and gladiie. Neither is it possible, that the will should be compelled, to that which it will not. Then, Augulline thinketh it to be absurd, that a man should will that which he will not; as some should say, that anie thing can be hot without heat.

Yet that necessity, whereby the wicked are said to sinne, is not absolute and perfect; so as it cannot be otherwise: for so lone as the grace and spirit of Christ cometh, that neces- sity is straitwaile lost. Wherefore Augulline saith; that it is of nature to be able to haue faith, hope, and charitie; but to haue them indeed, is altogether the gift of grace: for that power of abilitie beareth not forth into act, vntill grace be giuen from God. Herein Augulline agreed with the Pelagians; that so be able, is of nature. But this Augulline added, which Pe- lagius did not allow; that so will well, and to

line bypocrite, is to be attributed vnto grace com- parati- uely. But I thinke, that as touching this power of nature, there must be made a distinc- tion: for if they meene this, that our nature is so made of God, as neither faith, nor hope, nor charitie doe striue with the same, if they be giuen of God, but rather accomplish it, make it perfect, and adorne it; I confesse it to be true that they saie: but if they will haue the power of nature to signifie some strength of the same, whereby it can challenge to it selfe these things; I wold not to them in anie wiile; for it is a wicked and damnable opinion.

Wile I saie therefore, that the will of man hath respect both vnto God, and vnto euill; but after a sundrie fashion: for it may embrace cuill of his owne accord; but it cannot embrace God, vntill it be reioiced by the grace of God. For the haue need of a certaine diuine inspiration, to performe those things which are good; which thing indeed the verie Schisme writers also, be- ing forced by the truth, haue sometimes declar- ed. For Aristotle, in his first booke of *Ethicks* definition of felicitie. saith; If there be anie gift of God, we must be- lieue thinke, that it is felicitie. And felicitie he defineth to be nothing else, but a most excellent action, proceeding from the cheif & power of the mind, by a most notable vertue. And Plato confesseth in a certaine place, that vertues are ingendred in men by diuine inspiration. The Scholme-men also, if there were anie somewhat sounder than the rest, confessed, that the grace of God is necessary to assist mans strength, vnto euerie good worke. Yotobeth, afterward they forgetting themselves, I wot not how, decreed; that a man, not being reioiced, may doe some good deeds, which may please God, and which may merit the grace of Christ, of congru- itie (as they terme it).

But they call congruities, which we call con- gruitie. And this is, when the rigour and sharpnes of the lawe is remitted: but con- gruitie they call that, which is of right due. But they which first inuented these termes, confide- red not, that those goodlie ciuill virtues, though in vnto they seeme good vnto men, yet before God they be sinne; as Augulline by most ca- reful reasonings proueth. For before we be con- uerted vnto God, we be the children of wrath. And Iohn faith; He that beleeueth not in the sonne of God, hath not life euertlasting, but the wrath of God abideth vpon him. And what can be offer- red vnto God by his enemies, and by such as hate him, that may be acceptable vnto him? Paul to the Ephesians saith, that We, before we did come vnto Christ, were dead in our of- fences and finnes. But the dead, as they feele no- thing, so can they bring nothing to passe, where- by they should be called backe vnto life. Paul

What then  
of the  
power of  
nature  
is in  
nature.

Aristoteles  
definition  
of felicitie.

What they  
call con-  
gruitie.

What con-  
gruitie.

Eph. 2. 3.

Iohn 3. 36.

Eph. 2. 1.

Paul

Philipp. 3, 8. *to doze re- generation we can doo nothing that should please God.* *to doze re- generation we can doo nothing that should please God.* *to doze re- generation we can doo nothing that should please God.*

Mat. 7, 18.

Rom. 6, 5.

Rom. 1, 4, 13.

Mat. 6, 22.

Rom. 11, 6.

Col. 1, 1.

Rom. 1, 17.

unto the Philippians counted all things, whatsoeuer he did before he was converted into Christ, but losse and dung; so farre off was he from placing any merit in them. God in the first chapter of Epistle testifieth, that he did abhor, detest, and counted abominable those oblations, which the Iewes offered without faith and godliness. The same prophet compareth all our righteousnesses unto moile and filthie raggs; And our saviour Christ saith; I am the vine, and ye are the branches. And euen as the branch cannot beare fruit, vlesse it abide in the vine; so ye can bring forth no fruit, vlesse ye abide in me. And straitwaie he addeth; Without me ye can doo nothing. And in another place he saith, that An euill tree cannot beare good fruit; for the roote must first be good, before any good fruit can be hoped to come from it; but good trees we can beare, before we be grafted in Christ. This ingrafting in the holy scriptures is called regeneration. And euen as no man helpeth arie thing to the generation of himselfe; so no man can helpe arie thing to the regeneration of himselfe. Paule also saith, that Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Seeing therefore the wicked be without faith, whatsoeuer they do, is to be reckoned for sinne. If so be diuine eie be single, thy whole bodie shal beingle; but if thy light be darknesse, how great shall that darknesse be? Vnlesse faith be present, we be conseruant in darknesse; and of necessitie do cleane into sinne.

Whereouer, if we followe the opinion of the men, who utterly overthrowe the nature of grace; For grace, if it should be of works (as Paule saith) now ceaseth to be grace. Paule also addeth, That the Israelites following after the lawe of righteousness, attained not into righteousness; for that they sought it by works, and not by faith. Also vnto the Colossians he teacheth plainlie, what we be before we be iustified; We be alienated (saith he) from God, enemies in mind, and conseruant in euill works. And in the epistle to the Romans; men not yet ingrafted in Christ, he saith toild ouer time; and we knowe, that toild ouer time be barren, neither can beare arie fruit. Besides this, woordes cannot be good, vnlesse they either fastie the latue; or els if they striate arie thing from the latue, it is not imputed vnto them, because of Christ. But men, that are not renewed, cannot fastie the latue; for euen the regenerate cannot do it. For seeing they be not ioined vnto Christ by faith, they cannot attaine vnto the benefit of Christ, whereby these imperfections be made whole and sound.

And be that teacheth, that a man is able, without the grace of God, to do woordes which be acceptable vnto God; must also of necessitie

teach, that Christ is not the redeemer of the whole man. For he which teacheth that we, without the grace of Christ, do worke well, and liue bygratitie; the same afterward vnto our nature no small part of saluation without Christ. Paule also in the epistle to the Romans saith; When we were seruants vnto sinne, we were free vnto righteousness; which is nothing else, but that we had no trace nor acquaintance with righteousness. Furthermore, he priuethly saith, that Euen as we haue sinned sinne, so we will be now seruants vnto righteousness. And he also teacheth, that we should now altogether forgoe righteousness without any sinne, insomuch as we sinned sinne before altogether without righteousness. Lastly, he hath left no meane at all betwix the seruitude of sinne and righteousness. But their men cannot loose sine a foot (I knowe not vnto) which al though they be not yet iustified; yet notwith standing do good; with woordes, which may be acceptable vnto God. All these things sufficientlie teach, how absurd & fond these mens opinion is.

Yet in the meane time they crye out, that we be blaspheinous, which auouch the whole nature of man to be euill. But as Augustine both prouideth by the; Under the prailes of nature, lie hidden the enities of grace. It were meet, that they should consider, vnto what ground we refferre that euill, whereof we complaine; for we ascribe not the same euill to nature, as it was created; or vnto God; but vnto time, whereinto there was an entrance laid open by the first man. For we, by all manner of means, do disfigure from the Manichee; for they beamed, that both our nature is euill, and that it was created euill by God. But we confesse and acknowledge; that man was created free; and in that he hath noio lost his freedom, we ascribe not God to be the author thereof, but mans owne fault. They which beate free will haue bin called hereticks by the church. But this must be vnderstood concerning the first creation of our nature; for otherwise there is none of the fathers, which (if the truth be well weighed) beleseth not the calamitie of man, whereinto he fell through sinne.

Our aduersaries rather come nere vnto the Manichee, which affirme, that Our corrupt affens as they are now, were fo created by God; for so they affirme, that he created them euill. But we, insomuch as we perceiue that these troublefome affections be not doo of sinne, deeme that they were fo created by God; but that through our owne default they are become vniuersall, and be repugnant to the word of God. Certaine it is, that man at the beginning was made vnto the image of God; and there is nothing more beferming vnto it, than libertie.

A famili- nati.

A compar- tion of our aduer- saries with the Pelagians.

To be with- out faith in Christ, and without grace, in Augustine's iudgement is all one thing.

Ad. 1, 1, 2, 3, 4.

Of Cornelius and his woordes.

Comparing defend- before hap- tation.

ver. 23.

libertie. But seeing that image was in a manner blotted out in us, so as there was need to haue the same restored by Christ; what marvell is it, if our libertie be also for; the most part taken away from it? When they reason that man is free, they doo as if they should say, that man is a two-fold creature, and therefore he is able to do right. But if they would conclude of a lame man, it should easlie appere how much they be deceiued; for the properties of man, which would be agreeable vnto his nature, being per- fect, when they be applied vnto the same nature being corrupt, do not agree.

Neither be the opinions of our aduersaries much differing from the Pelagians; for they teach, that nature being holpen by the grace of creation, and doctrine of the lawe, may liue by rightie. And these men saie, that nature being holpen by grace preuenting and knocking, is able to do good woordes, which may please God. The catholike church rethors the Pelagians, nee ther do it contend about the grace of creation, or of the latue; neither about the grace preuent- ing; but it taught, that without the grace of Christ, whereunto we be iustified, none is able to do rightie. And by the iudgement of Augu- stine, who beheremently contended against these men, there is no difference betwix those being rightie without grace, and being rightie with- out the faith of Christ. He, vpon the 1. plane, to them that there is no god worke without faith, wrighteth thus; A god intent matcheth the looke good, but faith giueth that intent: there- fore consider not what a man doth, but what he hath respect vnto while he is doing.

And whereas in all the holie scriptures, there is not one sentence repugnant to our doctrine; yet they continuallie obiect vnto base example of Cornelius, who being not yet (as they thinke) regenerate, neither beleeuing in Christ, yet did such woordes as were acceptable vnto God. Indeede we grant, that both the almes and praies of Cornelius were pleasing vnto God; for the angel affirmed the same. But they men abde of their owne; that Cornelius, when he did these things, was not yet iustified, nor yet beleeued in Christ. But they marke not that the scripture in that place call him reli- gious, and one that feared God: wherefore Cor- nelius beleeued, and in Melias beleeued he, being instructed in the Actes learning; but the- res IESVS of Nazareth were that Melias, he knew not for a certainte, and therefore Peter was sent to instruct him more fully. But here, to beare our euill they saie, that Paule, in the 17. of the Actes, attributeth some godlines vnto the people of Athens, when as notwithstanding they were idolaters; for thus he saith; Ye men of Athens, I shew vnto you, that God, whom you

ignorantlie worship. But euen as if a man that can handle himselfe base one letter, shall not therefore be straitwaie counted a good writer; neither he that can sing one of two verses, shall for that caule be taken for a singing man; (so these names require consideration and art, and it may come to passe by chance, that a man may vaine well, or sing well once or twice;) euen so none is to be counted heretic and out of doubt god, which testifieth forth one good wo; he or two, that haue some few of godlines. But Paule called not the Atheniens godlie, without adding some termes of spech, which should vniuersally godlines; Whom ye ignorandlie (saith he) worship. But what picie can that be, which is ioined with the ignorance of the true God? Whereouer, a little before he had called them A- theists, quoniam, that is, Verie impious: by these two woordes he much diminished their picie.

But Luke absolutelie calleth Cornelius re- ligious, and adbeth; that He feared God: which addition is of so great force, that in the booke of Iob, a man fearing God, is translated of the se- nientic interpreters, *admiror* *ex* *non* *scio* *quid* *est* *Deus*. That is, A true and religious man. And David faith; Blessed is that man that search the Lord. And if so be he be blessed which feareth God, how is not the same man also iustified? But besides these things, which after a sort, by the causes, declare the iustification of Cornelius, we haue also an- other testimonie of the effects; for that he gaue almes, which were acceptable vnto God. We haue alreadye, by many reasons proued, that none can do woordes acceptable vnto God, but he which is iustified and regenerate. Fur- ther, he distributed these almes vnto the people of the Iewes, as of whom he hauing bene in- structed in the skill of godlines, would impart vnto them in like manner some of his temporal goods, for so is mee; (as Paule faith) vnto the Ca- lathians, that he which is instructed, should be communicant vnto him, which doeth instruct him in all good things. Whereouer, that soldier, which was sent vnto Peter, declaredly, that he had a good testimonie of all the Iewes. All which things do sufficientlie shew, that although he read not that he was iustified; yet he came to nere vnto the doctrine of the people of God, that all men commended his picie. It is iustice besides, that he praied; and that conti- nualle. And if so be we diligently weigh the whole historie, we shall find, that he observed the same lawe, which the Iewes had appointed for common praie; for it saith, that At the ninth hour he saue an angel standing by, that his praier was heard. But out of the first chapter of Epie, and a 5. of Iohannes; and many other places, we be taught;

True god- lines can- not be iou- ned with ignorance.

Job. 1. you great a dignitie it is to feare God.

Psal. 112, 1.

Ad. 10. The effects are a testimo- nium of Cornelius iustifica- tion.

Galas. 6.

Ad. 10, 22.

ver. 30. he praies continu- ally.



taught; that The vngodlie and finfull sort be not heard of God. Which neuertheless must be understood, so long as they would be sinners, and receive with them a will to sinne.

11. Neither is that, which Augustine writeth against the Donatists, repugnant to this doctrine; namely, that The prayers of wicked persons be heard of God: for he addeth, that it cometh to passe, by reason of the peoples devotion. But Cornelius, when he praid, was holpen by his owne faith, and not through the faith of others which stood by. And Augustine in his epistle vnto Sixtus, saith, that God in iustifying a man, is wont to giue his spirit, whereby he may pray for those things which be profitable for saluation. And seeing Cornelius was praiſe for those things, there can be no doubt, but he was iustified. Whereunto add, that no man can righteous praiſe vnto God, but hee haue faith. And that we be iustified by faith, it hath bin sufficient testimonie and declared alreadie. Peter also, before he began to preach vnto him, saith; that He perceived in verie truth that God is no acceptor of persons; but that he is accepted by him, of what nation so euer he be, which worketh righteousness: which words teach vs plainlie enough, that Cornelius was euen alreadie accepted of God, before Peter came vnto him. But 3. martell, that there be anie, which dare affirme, that he had not the faith of Christ; when as Christ himselfe, in the right chapter of Iohn faith, that He knoweth not God, which beleuech not in the sonne of God. And in the 14. chapter he admonisheth his disciples; Iyfe beleue in God, because al in me: and if so by beleueed Moses, ye would also beleue in me.

These things assure vs, that Cornelius be- lieued verelie in God, and therefore did also be- lieue in the Messias which should come; euen as he had bin instructed by the Iewes: although he knew not that he was alreadie come, and that Iesus of Nazareth, whom the Iewes had crucified, was the same Messias. We had the same faith, wherewith the fathers beleued that Christ should come; wherefore seeing they were iustified by the same faith, how dare we be so bold as denie the verie same vnto Cornelius? Nathaniel, which beleued that Messias should come, and thought that he was not yet come, is by Christ pronounced to be a true 3. Israelit, in whom there was no guile: which two things cannot con- cur in a man not yet iustified. But Peter was therefore sent to Cornelius, that he might more plainlie and expressely knowe that thing, which he had before intricate beleueed of Christ. Wherewith mind was Gregorie in the 29. homilie vpon Ezechiel: for he saith, that faith is the en- trie whereby we come to good woobes; but not contrariwise, that by good woobes we can come

vnto faith. And so he concludeth, that Cornelius did first beleue, before he could bring forth anie laudable woobes. And he critech that place vnto the Ihebrues: It is vnpossible without faith to please God. Which sentence, as it appeareth by the selfe, same place, cannot be otherwise under- stood, than of faith iustifying. Beda, expounding the third chapter of the act, is of the same mind; and critech the woobes of Gregorie. Neither is the spiriter of the sentences of anie other iudge- ment, in his second booke, and 25. distinction.

But our aduersaries obiect vnto vs Augu- stine, in his 7. chapter De predestinatione sanctorum, where he reasoneth against those, which taught, that faith is of our selues; when yet in the meane time they confessed, that the woobes which followe, be of God; but yet obtained by faith. And Augustine conſenteth, that the woobes, which followe faith, be of God; but denieth that faith is of our selues. For he saith, that Paule writeth to the Ephesians; By grace ye are saved, through faith, and that not of your felues: for it is the gift of God. But that is a bare saying, which he ad- deth; namely, that the fathers and almes of Cornelius were accepted of God, before he be- lieued in Christ. But we must here weigh the things which followe: for he addeth; And yet praid he not, neither gaue he almes without some faith: for how did he call vpon him, in whom he beleued not? These words be plainlie declared, that Augustine toke not aduante from Cornelius all manner of faith in Christ; but on- lie an vnbroken and distinct faith. Which thing that place declareth declareth, which is cited out of the epistle to the Romans; How shall they call vpon him, in whom they haue not beleued? for those words be written of the faith and in- uocation of men regenerate, as the next sen- tence following plainlie declareth. Euerie one which calleth vpon the name of the Lord, shall be saved: for we cannot attribute saluation, but to them which be iustified. But Peter was sent first to Cornelius, to build up, and not to late the foundation; for the foundations of faith were laid in him before.

12. But those things, which Augustine addeth, seeme to bring a greater difficultie: for he saith; But he could, without the faith, namely of Christ be saved, that singular word; herian the apostle should not haue bene sent to edifie him. But seeing he alreadie before attributed vnto him faith and inuocation, after which of necessi- tie follooth saluation, wherof the apostle pre- sareth in the epistle to the Romans; how can he take saluation from him: vnlesse we perau- menture understand, that faith and saluation in men iustified is not perfect, while they live here: for our saluation cometh not in this life to that degree, nor to that quantitie, which Christ re- quireth

in his elect: for no man maie doubt, but that we shall not attaine to perfect saluation, before the resurrection and eternall saluation; although we haue begun to enioie the same al- ready after a sort. Paule to the Ephesians al- firmeth; that We be now saved by faith. And yet the Iohannians be exposted vs, With feare and trembling to worke our owne saluation. Which places cannot be brought to one consent, vnlesse we saie, that the saluation begun in vs, through iustification, is butle to be made perfect in vs: for we are alwaies more and more encreased, and faith is made more full, more ex- pectation, of more efficacie. These woobes of Augu- stine, vnlesse we interpret them on this sort; e- uer of necessitie they must be none of his, if else he is repugnant to himselfe. That the booke is Augustine, we cannot denie: but that he is re- pugnant vnto himselfe, that is not likelie. But

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Yet the verie historie of the Gospell sufficientlie declareth, that they were ignorant of manie things: for it is shewed oftentimes, that either they had their eyes closed, that they should not see; or else, that they understood not those things which were spoken. Wherefore Augustine deni- eth, that Cornelius had saluation before Peter was sent vnto him: yet not altogether, but that he had no perfect and absolute saluation.

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Rom. 10, 14 **call vpon him, vpon whom they haue not bele-  
ued? Wherefore he was iustified, euen at the  
same time that he prayed. Neither must thou se-  
nder in and those words, as though he was there  
First it is a good thought, that the first time we pray,**

If he be iu-  
 stified, why  
 dooth hee  
 call him-  
 selfe a  
 sinner?  
 The iustifi-  
 ed doo yet  
 still praie  
 for their  
 finnes.  
 Math. 6, 12

And goodlie men ought theſſie to conſider,  
whyle they be praieng, how great the burthen of  
their ſinnes is : ſo when they come vnto God  
with their prayers, they be moued with true re-  
pentance to ſaie with Dauid: My bones are con-

*ibidem*, 19.

ioie and gladnes, that my bruised bones may re-  
ioife; hide thy face from my finnes, and blot out  
all my wickednes; a cleane hart create in me,  
ô God, and a perfect spirit renew within me;  
cast me not awaie from thy face; take not thy  
holie spirit from me.

Psal. 31, 3. fumed awaie in my crieng out; continually  
daie & night thy hand is laid heauie vpon me;  
my iuice is dried vp, as the moisture of the earth

Plal. 51. 6.

against me; against thee, against thee haue I sinned, and done euill before thee. And to the end that godlie men shoulde the better beware of sins afterward, God doth sticke by in them the sharper feele of his wrath; that they may knowe what they haue deferred, vnlasse God had holpen them by his sonne. Also he openeth the eyes of them, that they may perceiue what his fatherli chastitie is tolinging them: and that the

*ibidem*, 10.  
*Therefore they cry; Make me to heare thy  
 ioye and gladnes; that my bruised bones may re-  
 ioyce hide thy face from my finnes, and blot out  
 all my wickednes; a cleane hart create in me,  
 o God, and a perfect spirit renew within me;  
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we did not  
so call him-  
self a sin-

will receive his old purpose to time; but the true life and from his part converted into God. But our adversaries imagine, that they, which kill professors in their flames, and have not determined to damage their life; yet that they do some good thing which pleases God. But he was taught, out of the holy scriptures, that He which believeth in God, hath eternal life, and therefore is justified; but as for other things, neither be they good, nor yet do please God. Wherefore, seeing the publican prayed, and that faithfully; it is certaine that he had eternal life; and was not destitute of justification.

19 But that all these things may be the per-  
fecter vnderstanding, it shall not be from the pur-  
pose, to knowe what things are required vnto a  
good worke, to make it acceptable vnto God.  
First of all, be that nothing is good thing, is be-

3. *Secondlie*, it becometh, that faith be present; by  
 which it is understood for a certeinie, that the  
 twofold which we take in hand, is of thofe kind  
 of things, which God willet, and by his lawe

hath commanded to be done: For whatsoever is Rom. 14, 11  
not of faith, the same is sine. Neither ought we  
to handle the matter, that our owne hart  
should accuse vs in that thing which we do.  
Thirdlie, whatsoever we doe, the same must be  
typic directed to the glorie of God: that beco-  
minto chiefe and above all things we haue re-  
gard, that the praise and glorie of God may be  
set forth in our thinking: Whether (saith Paulus) 1 Co. 10, 31

ye eate, or whether ye drinke, or what other thing  
 fouer ye doe, doo it in the glorie of God.  
 Fourthlie, so much as, by reason of thy infirmi-  
 tie, which is grafted in vs, there is alwaies some  
 want in our woorks ; yea even in those woorks,  
 which seeme to be done well, it is necessarie that  
 the grace and mercie of God, through Christ, be  
 present with vs, whereby that defect or want may  
 be supplied.

**For this cause Dauid saith;** Blessed are they **Psal; 34.**  
whose iniquities be forgiven; blessed is the man  
vnto whom the Lord hath not imputed sinne.  
**And Paule saith;** There is now no condemnati- **Rom. 8.**  
on to them which be in Christ Iesus. **Again;** **Ibidem-3.**  
That which was vnpossible to the lawe, in-  
formuch as it was made weake through the flesh,  
God sending his owne sonne, &c. **These testi-**

mones humbly to declare, that our works  
doe faile of their perfection and last end : and  
that also it cometh through Christ, and the  
mercie of God, that that blame mingled with  
our works is not imputed vnto vs. Lastlie, this  
also is required, that no man glorie of that which  
he by his selfe doth ; but that he glorie in GOD  
onely ;

Ierem. 9. 23.  
1. Cor. 1. 31.

*Of Free will.*

1 Cor. 7. 1  
one; and as knowledge that thou wast the body,  
by his goodness; not of his own freewill  
for who hath separated thee (saith Paul to thy  
Conjunctians) What hast thou that thou hast not  
received? But if thou hast received it, what  
doest thou glorie, as though thou hadst not re-  
ceived it? When all these things, which I have  
here recited, shall take place: the bodies knit  
into all controuersie will be good and acceptable  
unto God.

where may be gathered the definition of good works.

Here may the diligent reader, out of these conditions of a good work, gather the definition thereof. On the contrary part, if we have respect unto the nature of man, not regenerate, we shall easily perceive, that these conditions which we have said to be necessary unto a good work, cannot be found in him. For he is altogether void of the Spirit of God, and of faith; and is infected with the love of himself, that ma-

but vnto his owne profit: & moreover, forasmuch  
as he is a stranger from Christ; it must needs  
be, that he is left vnder the law: so that there  
defect; fault fouler there be in his works, (as  
of necessity there must be much) the same can  
not by any other meanes be recompensed. I  
conclude, if perhaps he haue done any notable

How far the wicked are from the condition of good

from *two* berries strong places, which we bles-  
so; the confirmation of this matter. The first is  
that we say; An euill tree cannot bring forth  
good fruit; the other is; Euerie thing that is not  
of faith, is finne: of which things somewhat mu-  
be saie in this place. That is metaphoz of an eni-  
tree, which cannot bring forth good fruit, Chri-  
bles not onelic in the seventh chapter of Ma-

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to clothe  
the naked  
without  
faith is sin.

nancie, to clothe a naked man : and he demandeth, whether this wooke may be called a sinne. Surely, unless this wooke be of that kind that pleaseth God, I perceiue not, that anie other wooke of an infibell can be acceptable to him. And Anguiline affirmeth, and proueth, that it

r Martyr. Cap.2. Pag.267.

faine is fume: and leaſt that he might ſeeme to ſpeake this without reaſon, he ſaith; It is therefore ſinne, becauſe he that doth that godlie togethe, gloryeth in his wickedne: ſo; he doth not by faith acknowledge either God or Chriſt; to whom he ſhould aſcribe his doing thereof. **16.** **17.** **18.** **19.** **20.** **21.** **22.** **23.** **24.** **25.** **26.** **27.** **28.** **29.** **30.** **31.** **32.** **33.** **34.** **35.** **36.** **37.** **38.** **39.** **40.** **41.** **42.** **43.** **44.** **45.** **46.** **47.** **48.** **49.** **50.** **51.** **52.** **53.** **54.** **55.** **56.** **57.** **58.** **59.** **60.** **61.** **62.** **63.** **64.** **65.** **66.** **67.** **68.** **69.** **70.** **71.** **72.** **73.** **74.** **75.** **76.** **77.** **78.** **79.** **80.** **81.** **82.** **83.** **84.** **85.** **86.** **87.** **88.** **89.** **90.** **91.** **92.** **93.** **94.** **95.** **96.** **97.** **98.** **99.** **100.** **101.** **102.** **103.** **104.** **105.** **106.** **107.** **108.** **109.** **110.** **111.** **112.** **113.** **114.** **115.** **116.** **117.** **118.** **119.** **120.** **121.** **122.** **123.** **124.** **125.** **126.** **127.** **128.** **129.** **130.** **131.** **132.** **133.** **134.** **135.** **136.** **137.** **138.** **139.** **140.** **141.** **142.** **143.** **144.** **145.** **146.** **147.** **148.** **149.** **150.** **151.** **152.** **153.** **154.** **155.** **156.** **157.** **158.** **159.** **160.** **161.** **162.** **163.** **164.** **165.** **166.** **167.** **168.** **169.** **170.** **171.** **172.** **173.** **174.** **175.** **176.** **177.** **178.** **179.** **180.** **181.** **182.** **183.** **184.** **185.** **186.** **187.** **188.** **189.** **190.** **191.** **192.** **193.** **194.** **195.** **196.** **197.** **198.** **199.** **200.** **201.** **202.** **203.** **204.** **205.** **206.** **207.** **208.** **209.** **210.** **211.** **212.** **213.** **214.** **215.** **216.** **217.** **218.** **219.** **220.** **221.** **222.** **223.** **224.** **225.** **226.** **227.** **228.** **229.** **230.** **231.** **232.** **233.** **234.** **235.** **236.** **237.** **238.** **239.** **240.** **241.** **242.** **243.** **244.** **245.** **246.** **247.** **248.** **249.** **250.** **251.** **252.** **253.** **254.** **255.** **256.** **257.** **258.** **259.** **260.** **261.** **262.** **263.** **264.** **265.** **266.** **267.** **268.** **269.** **270.** **271.** **272.** **273.** **274.** **275.** **276.** **277.** **278.** **279.** **280.** **281.** **282.** **283.** **284.** **285.** **286.** **287.** **288.** **289.** **290.** **291.** **292.** **293.** **294.** **295.** **296.** **297.** **298.** **299.** **300.** **301.** **302.** **303.** **304.** **305.** **306.** **307.** **308.** **309.** **310.** **311.** **312.** **313.** **314.** **315.** **316.** **317.** **318.** **319.** **320.** **321.** **322.** **323.** **324.** **325.** **326.** **327.** **328.** **329.** **330.** **331.** **332.** **333.** **334.** **335.** **336.** **337.** **338.** **339.** **340.** **341.** **342.** **343.** **344.** **345.** **346.** **347.** **348.** **349.** **350.** **351.** **352.** **353.** **354.** **355.** **356.** **357.** **358.** **359.** **360.** **361.** **362.** **363.** **364.** **365.** **366.** **367.** **368.** **369.** **370.** **371.** **372.** **373.** **374.** **375.** **376.** **377.** **378.** **379.** **380.** **381.** **382.** **383.** **384.** **385.** **386.** **387.** **388.** **389.** **390.** **391.** **392.** **393.** **394.** **395.** **396.** **397.** **398.** **399.** **400.** **401.** **402.** **403.** **404.** **405.** **406.** **407.** **408.** **409.** **410.** **411.** **412.** **413.** **414.** **415.** **416.** **417.** **418.** **419.** **420.** **421.** **422.** **423.** **424.** **425.** **426.** **427.** **428.** **429.** **430.** **431.** **432.** **433.** **434.** **435.** **436.** **437.** **438.** **439.** **440.** **441.** **442.** **443.** **444.** **445.** **446.** **447.** **448.** **449.** **450.** **451.** **452.** **453.** **454.** **455.** **456.** **457.** **458.** **459.** **460.** **461.** **462.** **463.** **464.** **465.** **466.** **467.** **468.**

¶ Shall we then say that an offence hath done  
a good worke, and brought us to life? If we  
grant not this, therefore confesse the sinners.  
But if we do grant it, then we confesse the  
fault to be good; whereas the infidel without  
Christ, being evilly te. Ep. this means we  
shall grant, that an euill tree both bring forth  
good fruit; which thing neuertheless Christ teach  
impossible to denie. ¶ Our aduersaries therefore

are diuine to such a poſſe, that now they do not fight againſt vs onely, but euen againſt Chriſt himſelfe alſo : vnde peraduenture they will ſaie, that a man beeing faithfull, an inſider, and a ſtranger from G D, is a good tre. But if they affirme this, how do they denie, that he pleaſeth God : ſeing that which is good, cannot be but acceptable vnto our good God : But he

faith: for unto the Hebrews it is written: Without faith it is impossible to please God. But these men, by this their heresy, will obtrude unto vs, that which the same epistle denieth can be done. **A man (saie they) in that he is a man, is not still true.** But Augustine saith; For to consider the natures onelie, then shall there be no there any euill tree: for both anell and

man were created by God, and received god  
natures. But these natures must not be mea-  
sured by us, according to that which they were  
made by God; but according to the state which  
came unto them afterward. A man indue-  
d with a god will, shall be called a god tree: but  
an evil tree shall be the man, which is indue-  
d with an evil will. And use fate, that after the

fall of Adam, and the first ruine of our kind, to them also men be such, as they are not moved with a good will; but with an evil.

But to returne to the almes of an infidel, wherof we began to speake; we may demand whether this mercie, which is theued, be of faith, or be faithlesse: And forasmuch as it is done without faith, it must needs be faithlesse: wherefore it cannot be without vice & sinne. It is not

Species  
doome to a  
neighbours  
without  
faith is  
faithlesse.

sufficient to haue mercie of our neighbour, but  
lesse the same be also done faithfullie and right-  
lie: for mercie is not of it selfe alone good. For  
God hath disallowed manie benefits bestowed  
vpon our neighbours: as when the king of Is-  
raell spared the king of Syria: and Saule, Agag  
the king of Amaleck. But faith which woortheth  
by

by lone, is alwaies god, and can neuer be cruci-  
fied. But so much as merite is not of that kind;  
therefore it is necessarie, that there be vnto  
an vngifted, whereby it may be done faith-  
fully to receiue commendation. *¶* When erie out  
of this naturall affliction of the feeling merite  
is gone; which thing peradventure we will not  
denie; *¶* But they should haue understood that  
men not regenerate, about the god thing, when  
they are tried it to god, who is the onlie end  
of all our actions: neither fortie they can  
mit a light time, which peruerse abusi-  
ty great a gift of God.

The wicked  
about natu-  
rall afflic-  
tion.

21. Furthermore, the same Augustine affirmeth, that whatsoever good thing can be pre-  
cend to be in the work of an infidel, the pre-  
is vholie of God. Wherefore, in that our neigh-  
bour is holpen, and some ordinance of reason  
obscured, and some ciuill honestie reteneid, that  
connecteth not and otherwise, than of God;  
but so farre forth as it proceedeth from an in-  
fidel, and a man corrupt, it is sinne, and displeas-  
eth God. *¶* By these, and such other reasons, Pelagius  
was led to confesse, that these men, which la-  
by nature beane themselves argute, are god  
indeed, but yet without fruit. Augustine against  
replied against them, saying, that such is the  
nature of barren trees, that either they bring  
forth no fruit at all, or else cullie fruit. But Pelagius  
still endeavourd to cleare himselfe, and  
therefore he saith, that these men are to be called  
barren: for that, although those things, which  
they doe be god; yet helpe they nothing to the  
attainment of the kingdom of heauen. But in  
saying thus, he saith nothing; yea rather, he  
hindereth his owne selfe. *¶* Trueth the Scholes  
men of our time haue euen the worse faine opi-  
nion, the which thing Augustine withstanding by  
all the might he can: fo he saith; *¶* This means  
the Lord, which is god, shall cut downe and cast  
into the fire a good tree bring forth (as ye say)  
good fruit. What manner of iudice is this, which  
ye so feruently defend euerture? Upon this  
opinion of yours there followe manie vaine  
and absurd things. Thus much hidereth out of  
Augustine.

Pelagius  
and the  
Scholes  
men affirme  
good works  
but not such  
as furthere  
to the king-  
dome of  
heauen.

As grace  
preuailing  
and knock-  
ing.

As inill-  
tude.

But our men boast, that they differ much  
from Pelagius: for we put (saie they) a certaine  
grace preuenting and knocking, whereby in the  
harts of men may be inclosed some good trea-  
sure, by which they may worke some good thing;  
wherefore they are not plants vntill dead; for  
after a sort they bring forth fruit. And although  
that which they do bring forth, cannot bud forth  
into flowers, and into tried fruit; yet are there  
boughes, which may and doe come forth of some  
lappe of the grace of God; whereof, euen they  
which be strangers into the grace of God, be al-  
together destitute. But Pelagius confesse

that the tree be same things: for he saith that not  
the name of grace, then as neuertheless, by the  
same name (as Augustine doth pauerdly dis-  
cuss him) he understood what he listeth, rather  
than that he ought: and a farre other matter,  
that that word signifieth among the catholike  
writers, as in the church of Christ, as in the holie  
Scriptures. These men, in their similitude,  
haue small consideration: for they remember  
not, that the Lord in the gospell did curse the tree  
which brought forth leaues without fruit, and alio  
commanded, that the same should be cut off, and  
cast into the fire. *¶* *Against the  
Scholes  
men.*

But there is nothing in the danger of Gods  
curse, and of hell-fire, but sinne. But they haue  
yet another colour, where by they would auoid  
this place: for they saie, that the tree which be  
cut off, yet not vntill the head; for in them there  
is found out lappe of grace. For they affirme,  
that there is in wax a certaine grace, which  
knocketh and preuenteth; whereby in the harts  
of men not regenerate, some good treasure may  
be inclosed, out of which may spring some blis-  
soms from a man not penitent. For although  
they be not able to make that (which they bring  
forth) prosper into a perfect and ripe fruit, or to  
beare flowers; yet at the least will they bring  
forth boughes and leaues, which doubtlesse be  
a token of secret grace and life. It is a wonder to  
see, how these men stand in their owne conceit,  
concerning this knocking and preuenting  
grace: whereof we haue declared before what  
it is to be thought. But they, which speake and  
iudge after this sort, are too much without con-  
sideration: for they make not, that this grace of  
things is no other, but a certaine inuiting vnto  
Christ, but yet not efficacie; for men there-  
withall are left vnder the tyth of God, neither  
are their harts changed. What good treasure then  
can be in them, from whence may bud forth  
works acceptable vnto God?

But because we will not lie from their simi-  
litude: Whereas they saie, that there be plants,  
which bring forth boughes and leaues, although  
they haue no fruit; yet they should haue remem-  
bered, that Christ (as we before haue said) cursed  
those sort of trees; and when as he had thought  
fruit vpon the figge tree, and found nothing but  
leaves; he smote the same with a staffe as with  
a curse, as it is written. We denie not, but that by  
men may be done some ciuill and morall good  
thing, which proceedeth through that power of  
God, where with all things are preferred: for as  
the Church alio confesse. In him we liue, we  
moue, and haue our being. But that power,  
where with God doth governeth and moueth all  
things, doth nothing at all further men vnto  
eternall life, which be not regenerate. But the  
state of our cause is; whether they, which be as  
yet

Against the  
Scholes  
men.

Against the  
Scholes  
men.

We must  
afford our  
fellowes of  
the same  
work;  
that is to  
be accept-  
able vnto  
God.

Pauls by a  
particular  
proposition  
proueth a  
general.

Against J.

yet aliens from Christ, can doe aunc thing,  
which may be allowed and acceptable vnto  
God: that is it which we denie, and they affirme.  
But how much the place maketh for vs, which  
is brought concerning the cut tree, which can-  
not make good fruit, there hath bin sufficientlie  
spoken.

Rom. 4. 23

Augustine  
sheweth  
good Pelagius,  
whereas  
are is not  
of faith is  
sinne.

22. Now let vs examine the other place,  
which they men go out to wrest from vs;  
Whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. This place  
did Augustine in a manner alwaies obiect a-  
gainst Pelagius. Pelagius made answer, that  
this is no other, than a particular reason, which  
was spoken onlie of meats; and so; that cause  
ought not to be extended vnto other works, el-  
pecially of infidels. And he confesse, that  
that question spang first by reason of meats.  
But after vs that the, alon therof is al-  
lowed, vs consider by the words of Paule; he  
which iudgeth (saie he) that is, [he which put-  
teth doubt in each part, and catch] is condem-  
ned to this to be pained. *¶* As reason which  
be gone, was; For that it is not of faith. But  
seeing this saying is not of faith, which  
that, which he had spoken, he reduced to a Syllo-  
gisme, vntill there should be added an vniuer-  
sal proposition, therefore he added; that What-  
soever is not of faith, is sinne. *¶* By this sentence  
Paules meaning is, that to often as we attempt  
aunc thing, he would haue vs to be thoroughlie  
assured, that the same shall be acceptable vnto  
God, and is of him required by some com-  
mendement of the lawe: which certeinlie if it want,  
he saith, that whatsoever we doe, it is sinne.

And Paules faine argument may thus be  
hant thought; Whatsoever is not of faith,  
is sinne; To eate meates prohibited in the lawe  
tuto a doubting, whether the same be lawfull or  
no, is not of faith; Therefore it is sinne. Al-  
though the apostle piously a particular propo-  
sition, yet he useth an vniuersall reason: the which  
is it applied vnto meates; euen so it may be  
applied vnto all other actions, so as all things  
thatsoever we want this faith, be sinnes. Where-  
fore, neither we, nor Augustine do abuse that  
sentence, when we apply the same to the works  
of misbelievers. But in these places manie  
crie out, that faith in this place signifieth the  
perfession of the confidence, and that Paule re-  
fused not that faith, which we saie doth iudice.  
But these men take too much vpon them, which  
bring in a new signification of faith, without  
any testimonie of the scriptures: wherefore we  
might well denie this vnto them. But howso-  
much as, if we grant them that which they  
wound, yet are they still compellid to returne to  
our opinion; therefore we will not much con-  
tend with them about the same.

Admitt it be as they would haue it; grant

we that faith be the confidence. But what per-  
suasion should there be of confidence, concern-  
ing works, that the same may be understood  
which be god, and which be euill? Doubtlesse  
other rule can we not haue; (if we be godlie) than  
the lawe of God: for that is the rule, where with  
the god and the euill must be iudged. From  
thence must appeare the perfession of our con-  
fidence; but by faith it may be understood that  
we be to god, which it taketh in hand: and  
contrarietie to be euill, if it trise against the  
lawe of God. And this is nothing else, but that  
which we before spake concerning faith. Where-  
fore, let vs leaue these men, who, when they  
would be seeme to speake things differing from  
vs, do fall before they be aware into one and  
the selfe-faine opinion with vs.

But we be here taught, that whatsoever we  
saie in this place, a special regard must be had,  
that we be assured of the will of God. And the  
thing taught Paule, when he saith; Let vs trie  
what is the good will of God. And as the same  
apostle writeth vnto the Ephesians; Let vs not  
walke as vnskillful, which vnderstand not what  
Rom. 17. 2  
the will of God is. And that it be not thought,  
that this interpretation is of our owne deuise;  
I bidde the reader to looke vpon Origin, vpon  
Primasus the discipule of Augustine, and vpon  
those Commentaries, which be ascribed to Ie-  
rom: whom thus haik and to be of the same  
iudgement, when they expound euen that place,  
which we haue now alleaged; for they acknow-  
ledge no other faith than that, which all men ac-  
knowledge.

23. But now to come to the principall point  
of this controuersie: I thinke, that it is plenti-  
fully confirmed out of the holie scriptures, that  
all the works of infidels be sinnes. *¶* By which  
mind not onlie is Augustine against Iulian,  
but also Ambrose in his booke De uocatione Gen-  
tium, the third chapter; for he saith, that Whith-  
out the true worshiping of God, those things  
which seeme to be vertues, are sinnes. Basil, in  
his second booke De baptismo, and fourthly chap-  
ter, of purpose moueth this question, and ma-  
keth on our side. And he citeth places out of  
the scriptures: as out of Eliae; A finner, when he  
sacrificeth, doth all one, as if he should offer vp  
a dog; and when he offereth sweet cakes, it is all  
one, as if he offered vp swines flesh. And he ad-  
deth; He which committeth finne, is the seruant  
of finne, and seerch it onlie. Again; No man  
can serue two masters, God & mammon. *¶* What  
agreement is there betweene light and dark-  
ness, betweene God and Belial? Finally, he ci-  
teth that testimonie, whereof we intreated be-  
fore at large; An ill tree cannot bring forth good  
fruit: vpon all these testimonies we conclude  
the verie same thing, which we teach. *¶* By these  
things

The lawe  
of god is  
the rule of  
the confes-  
ence.

Comment-  
aries as-  
cribed vnto  
Ierom.

Ambrose &  
Basil saie  
that the  
works of  
infidels  
are sinne.

Eliae 6. 3.

John 8. 34.

Math. 6. 14.

Mat. 7. 18.

things 3 I thinke it is most plaine, what we are to indurge of the state of men not yet regenerate; first, they are free from the servitude of compulsion; secondly, in mayall and civill lawes they be able to do manie things by their free will; lastlie, among sinners, they have some choise, and sometimes imbace this sinne, and sometimes that sinne, as their will serveth them: but yet they be not so free, as to do those things, which may please God: also they be bound to the miseries and calamities of this life, till they are no.

Now must we speake of the libertie of men regenerate, which beides that it is not lesse than the free, which we have declared to be in the lawes, yet in this point it goeth beyond it, that it can attaine unto god lawes, which be acceptable unto God. For who is ignorant, that the woelke of Abraham, therein he was prepared to sacrifice his owne sonne, was most acceptable unto God: for he was therefore highly commended by God himselfe. Paule unto the

Phil. 4, 18. Philippians callethe their almes, sacrifices having a god favour. And unto the Hebrewes he taught, that God is marvelloullie delighted with such sacrifices. And herewith cometh, that

Heb. 13, 16. Paule warrmeth the Philippians, that with feare and trembling they should worke their owne salvation. But what need is there of auncient testimonies, when as the Judge himselfe, in the

Phil. 2, 12. latter daye, shall reckon up the god lawes which godlie men have bestowed upon the members of Christ: shewing therefore that men regenerate be good triers, it is agreeable, that they both can, and do bring forth good fruits. Whobest, they which be thus regenerate, must never forget, that they obtained not this freedom by their owne merits; but by the benefit of God: so hee fashioned them anew, in the flesh of his sonne, which hee hath put into them a hart of flesh. Finally, it came not of themselves, but of the heavenly father, that they should be become to Christ: for, unlesse they had bene with great efficacie perswaded inwardlie in their minds by God the father, they had no lesse fled awaie from Christ, than other men. Therefore, in that first change of impression of the holie Ghost, our mind onlie suffereth, as we live to speake; but after that we be once perswaded and changed, we are to restore, that we be able to worke together with the holie Ghost, and with grace.

24. And in what sort this restoring of free will is, it must be considered by two principall points: out of which we at the beginning (when we described the nature of will) declared that euerie sinne, and euerie error that is in elect on of choise, doth come; because that when we deliberate touching auncie matter, either we are betterlie ignorant what is iust or uniuise; or if eke,

for that though we see what is iust and uniuise, yet lust and perturbation intermingling it selfe, which by their great force cause us to preferre the weaker reasons before sure and strong reasons. Wherefore, the knowledge of that which is right cannot take place. For the violence of the affections, and the whole attention of the mind, is fastened upon those reasons, which serue for pleasure and lust; and the honestier arguments are not considered, and therefore do not breake forth to effect. But by the benefit of regenerati on, both these difcommodities are holpen: for, as touching the first, the light of faith is present, which by adding the rule of the lawe of God, manifestlie understandeth in the practising of things, what things are iust and uniuise.

Furthermore, by the power of the holie Ghost, although all corruption of the affections be not taken awaie; yet is it to be spoken a made feeble, that it is not able, as before, to hinder the making of a right choise. Whobest, for this lust, so long as we live here, cannot utterly be consumed; therefore it comes to passe, that this libertie, which is giuen unto the godlie, to do things which may please God, is not perfect and absolute; but weak and mained: and in this sort it is set forth in the holie scriptures. For touching those lawes, which be acceptable to God, manie men are greatly letted manie waies, that they cannot do them as they would, as as the lawe requireth: for they alwaies feele a lawe in their members, which fighteth against the lawe of the mind; that whether they will or no, they be led captive vnto the lawe of sin. For euen as we read to the Galathians; The flesh Gal. 5, 17. so lusteth against the spirit, as they do not the things which they would. And Paule complained, that he did not the good, which he would desire, but rather the euill, which he hated. Good men no doubt do in mind see the lawe of God, but in their flesh the lawe of sin: in whom yet this is a notable gift of God, that they exceedingly beuail and lament these impediments; that although they doubt not, but that they haue the first fruits of the spirit; yet they grieve, and seruientlie wish for the perfect restitution.

Moreover, there happeneth failings vnto them euerie daye, which do aduonitly be how weaketh this our libertie is. For this cause Iohn saith; If we saie that we haue no sinne, we de- 1. Ioh. 4, 10. cease our selues, and there is no truth in vs. Also James saith; We all offend in manie things. And the Lord hath taught vs in our daily practice, that the Lord hath taught vs in our daily practice, to cry vnto the father; Forgiue vs our trespasses. But neuertheless, we are not hindered by this imperfect libertie, but that that we may worke together with God, and to frame our selues as apt instruments vnto the holie Ghost. Wherefore

Paule learned Timothee to stirre up the grace that he had in him. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians, he admonished them to applye themselves to the free gifts of God, and to giue more excellent; as though their wiligence were required to be able to take rather this gift of the spirit than that.

But those which are able to haue these things, are not simple and bare men; but when they be indured with the grace and the spirit of God, they be called the men of God; and because they be the men of God, they be also called perfect, and instructe to euerie god worke. Wherefore we grant, that men borne anew in Christ, haue all that freedom which we grant unto the true godlie; and moreover, that they be also able to do things which be acceptable vnto God, although they be not free, neither from sinne, nor yet from the calamities and miseries of this life. For should we also speake of the fourth state of man; but we may answer in one word touching the same; That seeing in our heauy habitation we shall inioie the chiefe libertie, no hit of libertie can there be found wanting: unlesse a man will call that a libertie, to be able to sinne, and to fall awaie from God, that is, from the chiefe god thing which they cannot be. But because that is a chiefe libertie, therefore we hope well, that in that countie we shall be most free.

But now there is another question to be intreated of, to wit whether this consequence, and those corrupt motions, which remaine in the regenerate, be sinnes, and to ought to be called sinne; and the lawe of the members. And by an example of himselfe he taught, that they remaine in godlie men after regeneration. But whether these be sinnes or no, cannot rightly be determined, unlesse we first understand what sinne is. Augustine saith, that sinne is whatsoever is spoken, done, or coveted against the lawe of God. But whether this definition belong unto all sinnes, or to those sinnes onlie, which be commonly called actual; it is vncertaine, by the ambiguity of this word, Coueted or Lusted. For if the same be referred vnto the full assent of the will, whereby we assent to corrupt beires, then is the definition stretched vnto actual sinnes; but if this word Coueted, be so largelie taken, as is the last precept; Thou shalt not co- uet, the definition may be vniuersall, and may comprehend all sinnes. The spanner of the sentences, in his second booke, and 35. distinction, cited that definition, when he had now largelie intreated of original sinne, and had disposed himselfe to the searching forth of other natural sinnes; therefore it seemeth, that he thought the same definition to pertaine onlie vnto actu

all sinnes. But whobetter it be, touching this matter 3 I will not much contend. Ambrose, in his booke De paradiso, and eighth chapter, setteth forth indeed a most large definition of sinne; Sinne (saith he) is nothing else than a transgression of the lawe of God, and a disobedience of the heavenly commandments. But to passe ouer the sentences of the Fathers, the matter must be brought to the triall of the scriptures, that by them we may certeinlie knowe and understand what sinne is.

In Iohn, in the first epistle, and third chapter, verse 4. Sinne (saith he) is iniquitie, that is, Iniquitie. A definition of sinne out of the words of the lawe. Here the nature of sinne is verie well declared; for it is said to be a pitiuation or want, whereby is taken from it the good thing which it ought to haue. If thou inquire what that good thing is, which by sinne is remoued, this Greke word *iniquitie* expresseth it: for that good thing is taken awaie, which is expressed by the lawe of God. Wherefore we may saie, that it is sinne, whatsoever withstandeth the lawe of God. Now we are to see, whether this definition, which is taken out of the holie scriptures, be correspondent to and agreeable vnto that corruption, which remaineth in the godlie, after regeneration. This we doe asseme, but our aduersaries do not. Whobest the scripture, without all controuersie is of our side: for Paule saith expresselie, that The lawe of the members warreth against Rom. 7, 23. the lawe of God, and of the mind, and that the wilidome of the flesh is enimitie against God, so Rom. 8, 7. as neither it, nor can be subdued vnto the lawe of God. And it is to be striven against the first and greatest commandment; Thou shalt loue Mat. 22, 37. the Lord thy God with all thy mind, with all thy hart, and with all thy strength. For if all our strength and abilitie, as matter it were, would yeeld vnto God; this coueting would neuer be resident in vs. Furthermore, the better frame coueting, or lusting doth also twerle against the last precept; Thou shalt not couet. And Augustine testifieth, that these two precepts cannot fullie be observed: and that the cause is, why they be giuen, seeing they cannot be kept, he altogether godlie reasons, which shall not here be needfull to recite.

26. We haue declared by the definition of sinne, that this coueting, whereof we speake, is the. Now let us confidere of other arguments. One is taken of the institution of man; for Man is made to the image and likenesse of God; and, We be predestinated, that we might be made conformable vnto the image of the sonne of God. And we are commanded To put on the new man, which (as Paule saith in the third to the Colossians) is renewed to the knowledge and

Of the freedom of men regenerate.

The godlie can attaine unto worke acceptable vnto God.

Phil. 4, 18. Heb. 13, 16. Phil. 2, 12.

Mat. 25, 35.

The regenerate haue their freedom by the benefit of God, not by their owne merit.

At the first impression of the holie Ghost the mind suffereth.

1. Tim. 4, 6. 1. Cor. 14, 7.

The regenerate are called men of God, not men of the world.

The difference between the freedom of the godlie and of the ungodlie.

Of the freedom in our heauy habitation.

These parts are taken out of the booke De viciis.

Whobest contem-plate the nature of sinne, and how it is in the regenerate.

A definition of sinne.

Whobest consider the definition to be vniuersall.

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Sinne is called a pitiuation of that good thing which the lawe of God requireth.

Sinne is called a pitiuation of that good thing which the lawe of God requireth.

Rom. 7, 23. Rom. 8, 7.

Mat. 22, 37.

Exod. 10, 17. Augustine.

Gen. 1, 27. Rom. 8, 29.

verse. 10.

and image of him, which hath created him: and which new man (as it is written in the epistle to the Ephesians) doth consist in righteousness and holines of truth. And the image of God, which we are commended to put on (as Terullian saith) herein consisteth, that we have one and the selfe same motions with Christ. And Paule, to the Philippians, exhorteth vs to be of one and the same mind with Christ. But these motions and lusts do most shamefully corrupt and blot the image of God in vs. Furthermore, that which we ought to crucifie, mortifie, and put off; the same of necessity must be finne: for if they were good things, the holie Ghost would rather haue admonished vs to nourish & maintain them. But Paule to the Colossians saith; Colo. 3. 5. Mortifie your members, which bee vpon the earth. And vnto the Galatians; They which be of Christ, haue crucified the flesh, with the concupiscences thereof. And in another place; Eph. 4. 22. Put off (saith he) the old man. But and if so these motions doe so displease God, it is in no other respect, than because they be finnes: for God is to beerie good, that there is nothing displeaseth him, vnlesse it be finne.

Rom. 6. 23. A litle, vnto finne death is due as a reward: wherefore, where no finne is, there death can haue no place. For this onelie apperteyneth vnto the sonne of God, to die an innocent: For he died for our finnes: but we therefore die, because we be not without finne. And if it be so, then let vs see what our aduerariies can allege; why infants, which be not borne anew in Christ, doe die. For actual finnes they haue not, and the guiltines of blame of original finne is taken aboue: there remaineth onelie lust and corruption of nature, not whole amended: & corrupt motions, which Augustine in his eleuenth booke of Confessions saith, are found in infants; and he both confesseth, and accuseth them as finnes: and therefore, seeing these be finnes, they do not vntill die of them.

For Iohn then as it appereth, by most substantiall reasons, that the corrupt lusts, which remaine in vs after baptisme, are finnes; not only I rellay, that we see, vnto what kind of part of finnes they belong. For finne may seme thus to be diuided; that there is one thing, which may be forgiven; and another thing, which cannot. Remission against the lusts of God, which is neuer forgiven, is finne against the holie Ghost. But if finne may be forgiven, that may be of two manner of waies: for either it is forgiven, as we must of necessity altogether depart from it; which we see come to passe in foze and greuous finnes, which Paule saith, Doe separate vs from the kingdom of God, and commonlie be called mortall: or else be forgiven, as we depart not from them; partie, though igno-

rance ingrafted in vs, and partie, by reason of the infirmities, whereby we be infected.

And those be called small or veniall finnes, without the which manliue cannot here be lea. Paule hath put a notable difference betwene these finnes, when he exhorteth vs, that we should not suffer finne to reigne in vs. And of this kind of finnes the apostle complained, when he said; O vnhappie man that I am! Who shall deliuer me from the bodie of this death? And of these finnes doe we meane, when we teach, that the works of men, notwithstanding they be goodlie men, be not without deable finnes; for that we doe nothing without this kind of defects. And such kind of defects be deable, because in their owne nature they deserue death: for The reward of finne, is death. Further also, for that so long as we carrie about with vs theseblemishes of corruption, we cannot enioie the life eternall: for so long are we excluded from it, untill by death we haue put off all corruption. Spospouer, it is written; Cursed be euerie one, which abideth not in all the things, which are written in the words of this lawe. And he which complaieth with Paule, that he doth not the good which he would, doeth not performe all the things, which the lawe requirith; nay is not to be terrie without curse; though the lawe, through the merite of Christ, be not imputed vnto him vnto eternall destruction.

27 And so doe the men of our part speake of the good works of goodlie persons; not that either we beerie good works, or that we thinke not that the good works, which are done by the men regenerate, are pleasing vnto God: but that our vncleanneesse and impuritie may be acknowledged, to the perceiving whereof we are bloudish, and more than blind. Wherefore, setting aside finne against the holie Ghost; other finnes are diuided into three degrees. In the first is conuincing of lust, which is ingrafted in vs; secondly, out of it both spring continually the first motions and impulsions vnto diuers sorts of wickednesse; thirdly, cometh a consent of the will, and beareth forth into act. Paule assigned these three degrees, when he saith; Let not mine reigne in your mortal bodies, that ye should obey the lusts thereof. Sinne, which ought not to reigne in vs, is the ingrafted lust and corruption of nature. The first motions are the lusts of concupiscence, which spring from thence, the which we are admonished not to obey. When is added obedience, which both consummate and make perfect the finne, which is commonlie called actual finne.

It is not to be doubted, but that the corruption of nature apperteyneth to originall finne. Again, that finne, vnto the which cometh the consent of the will, be called actual. But there is

is a doubt touching those first motions, by means whereof we, through the benefit of Christ, be not tied to a new blaine and bond of the iudgment of God: whether they be to be referred vnto originall finne, or vnto actuall finne. Surely they are betwene both, and they take somewhat of each part: for, so farre forth as by them we doe worke, conuict, or desire anie thing; they haue forme consideration of actuall finne. And Paule vnto the words, *malis xai negi-los*, which out of all doubt signifye forme action. But on the other part, because we suffer this kind of motion against our will; therefore therein they communicate with originall finne: for that finne is not taken by choice, and of our owne accord.

Ierom vpon the sixteenth chapter of Matthew, maketh a distinction betwene *malis xai negi-los*, *malis* (saith he) both signifye the first motions, after that the consent of will is come vnto them: and *negi-los*, when they doe moue and stirre vp from the beginning. And he adueth, that although they haue a fault in them; yet are they not held for great faults: but the passion is to be counted for a finne. Where thou must note, that Ierom confesseth, that the first motions haue the blame of finne; although they be not counted for crimes; that is, although by the benefit of Christ they are not imputed vnto death: or else, although in mans iudgement they be not counted for a crime. And finne is againe diuided into that which is onelie finne, and into that which is both finne, & also the punishment of finne. Of which distinction Augustine maketh mention, *libro 57. psalme*: for he saith, that The first falling awaie from God is finne onelie; but these finnes which follow, are both finnes, and the punishments of finnes, untill the time that men come vnto hell fire. Wherefore, what can sooner are committed betwene the first apostatie, or falling awaie, and the time of hell fire, the same as well be finnes, as also the punishment taken for other finnes. As hath Paule vnto the Romans be- lieue declared: for first he saith; that The Eddicks (no doubt) knew God, but they glorified him not as God. And for that cause he adueth, that They were deliuered vnto wicked desires, being filled with all corruption and conuincousnesse, &c. And at last he maketh mention of the condemnation of hell fire, saying; But thou, according to thy hardnes and vnpentant hart, heapest vp to thy selfe wrath, against the daie of wrath, and of the reuelation of the iust iudgement of God, wherein he shall render to euerie man according to his works.

But there be maie which thinke not that these finnes be the punishments of finne; because, of them men take no small pleasure.

Whoeit, vnlesse they were able, they might easilie vnderstand; by the apostle, that they are punishments, and such indeed as are most greuous. For he saith, that Their hart was blinded, and that they were made folles, although they boasted that they were wise men, and were giuen ouer by God vnto a reprobate sentie, to defile their bodies with shamefulness. And what are all these, but most greuous punishments? If when one hath committed them, his hands though straitwaie be cut off, & his eyes plucked out; we would saie that he were grieuouly punished by God. Paule saith, that These men were depeued of their mind, that their heart was made folish, and that their bodies were most shamefully defiled. And shall not these sentie to be punishments?

How can we exasme our mind to be safe, sound, and unconuict, if finne doe reigne there in Salomon saith; Cananie man nourish fire in his bosome, and not burne his garments? Or can a man go vpon hot burning coles, & yet not burne his owne feet? And therefore finne is called a punishment; because it burneth and corrupteth nature: for the unhappinesse of originall finne hath so marred the same, as it can scarcely seme to be halfe on liue. And the corrupt motions, and violent rages, which often times spring out of that unhappinesse; vnlesse they be kept short, and mortified, doe make it the more raging. Finally, if thou woldst giue thy consent to them, they euenmore become stronger and stronger; and to nature runneth euen more healding to the worse.

28 All these things haue respect herevnto, that we may vnderstand, that lust grased in vs, and corrupt motions, which still remaine in our minds, belong to this kind of finnes; but yet so, as they are punishments of an other finne going before; namely, of originall finne; if it be not of some other finne that is more greuous. Yet neuertheless this is to be noted, that the first falling awaie also is in facti foze, as it is also a punishment: for as we haue said, there is no finne, which doth not most greuously hurt the nature of man; and so at the last while it hath a punishment of it selfe folloied with it. But euerie finne is not the punishment of an other finne going before it: but those, whereof we now treat, we asseme to be punishments of finne going before; yea, and we abide by it, that they be finnes. But it seemeth a wonder vnto manie, that seeing there be of necessity, how they can be finnes.

But touching this matter, let vs heare what Augustine saith in his third booke De libero arbitrio, and 18. chapter. Some things also (saith he) done of necessity, are not to be allowed: as when a man would do well and can

Eph. 4. 24.

wherein consisteth the image of God.

Phil. 4. 5.

Colo. 3. 5.

Gal. 5. 24.

Eph. 4. 22.

Rom. 6. 23.

Rom. 4. 15.

unto what kind of sin naturall lust, and the first motions vnto euill is to be referred.

28 distinction of finne.

Mat. 13. 31.

1. Cor. 6. 9.

whereby we are conuict.

By this we see that the lawe is not to be terrie without curse.

An other distinction of finne.

whereby the great finnes are made manifest.

Rom. 11. 31.

wherein.

Rom. 1. 15.

whereby the nature is long time without originall finne.

A similitude.

whereby finne is said to be a punishment.

Falling from faith may be called the punishment of finne.

not.



Rom. 7, 15,  
and 18.

Gal. 5, 17.

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not. For otherwife, while were these words spoken: The good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do. To will is ready with me, but to performe the good, I find no abillie. And this; The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. For these words are one repugnant to the other, that the things which ye would not, do ye by the will. But all these things belong unto men, as is proved from that condemnation of death: for if they be not a punishment of man, but nature in man; then are they no finnes. For if we depart not from that state wherein man was naturallie made, so that he could not be better; then, when he doth these things, he doth that he ought to do. But if a man lovethe god, it should be otherwise: but now, since it is thus, he is not good, nor yet is it in his power to be good: either for, that he feyth not what manner of one he ought to be, or else if he that he feyth the same, and is not able to be such a one as he perceiveth he should be. Thus much Augustine.

In which words manie things are most worthy the noting. First of all he confesseth, that there be manie things which necessarilie happen; and it to be disallowed. Secondly, he alloweth a reason why they are called finnes, because we depart from that state wherein we are naturallie made. Thirdlie he saith, that a man is not good, neither hath it in his power to be good. Fourthlie, he bringeth two reasons why he cannot be good; either because he feyth not what is to be done; or else for that he feyth it, but by reason of infirmitee is not able to performe it. Lastly, this is to be noted, that he meaneth these things of men which be regenerate. For he citeth the words of Paule to the Galatians, and those places which we have now alleged; which things we have declared, cannot be understood otherwise than of the regenerate. But against this saying of Augustine, that seemeth to be, which Ierome teacheth in his interpretation of faith; I will saye, that they do erre, which saie with Manichæus: that a man can not eschew evil.

For such things may be reconciled easily enough: for Ierome speaketh of nature, as it was infirmited by God. For he teacheth against the Manichæis, which taught, that we therefore cannot resist sinne; for that we were by nature created evil, by an evil god. Yet there is none of us which doubteth, but that man, when he was created at the beginning, was most free. But that Augustine speaketh of nature after the fall, it is sufficient the appereth, in that he saith; All these things pertaine to men, and came from the condemnation of death. Besides, he confesseth, that this is the punishment of man being fallen. Moreover, if these things be referred unto the regenerate, we may saye, that the saying of

Ierome hath a respect onlie to the greater kinds of finnes, which do separate us from the kingdom of God; from which finnes we doubt not, but men beinge anchie in Christ may abstaine. But Augustine speaketh most largely, and by finnes understandeth those also, the which we are presentie in hand with; without the which we cannot here lead our life. And this latter solution is cited by the spallier of the sentences, in his second booke, and 6. distinction.

But yett will object unto vs, that we do injurie against baptisme, if we saie that sinne is not taken awaie thereby. But we cannot iustlie be accused of this crime: for we affirme, that the guiltinesse of imputation of fault is taken awaie by regeneration. For although these vices remaine, as both the scripture declareth, and experience teacheth; yet their bond [of punishment] and guiltinesse is disfigured. Therefore Augustine sunbrie things saith; that Concupiscence indeed remaineth, but the blame thereof is taken awaie by Christ. And he addeth, that sometime it cometh to passe, that the ad and woe of sinne passeth awaie, as we see it in itself, and in auerulie; but the guiltinesse nevertheless abideth. And sometime it cometh to passe, that the blame is taken awaie, but the fault remaineth: which is plaine to be seen touching this lust, whereto we speake. In deed the same remaineth, but yett we cannot there, therefore be accused as guilty of eternal destruction. If thou demand wherefore it is called sinne, seeing the blame is taken awaie; I answer, because that in so much as it is not imputed unto vs, hath not that of his owne nature: for touching his owne nature, (as we have before taught) it becometh death and damnation; but this cometh by another means, namely, by the merite of God through Christ.

But euerie thing ought to be iudged of, as it is in it selfe, and according to his owne nature. Wherefore, seeing the proper nature of sinne is to drive against the lawe of God; which thing we see cometh to passe in lust, and in these first motions, therefore they are to be called finnes. Neither do we by this our declaration, fall into that fall sheweth, wherewith the Pelagians reproved Augustine and other Catholikes; as though they should saie, that by regeneration is not blotted out sinne; but onlie rased. For when as he saith, he saith, yett there remaineth still under the skin, the rotes, whereby they growe by againe. For although we affirme that in men regenerate remaine still lust, and corrupt motions; yett do we not denie, but that God is perfectly reconciled unto vs. Wherefore, although these in their owne nature be finnes; yett by the merite of God we be so wiped out, that they cease to be imputed to vs at all. So then, if we have

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Last of all, they object unto vs, that we do inturbe unto Augustine, in that we saie he affirmeth, that these be finnes; seeing he interpreteth himselfe, that they be called finnes improprie. For as a scripture of writing is called a hand, because it is done with the hand: so these things are called finnes, because they come from original sinne. And as col is called fleshly, because it maketh vs fleshly; so these motions are called finnes, because they stirre vs up to finnes; but yett proprie they are not finnes. So (saie they) Augustine doth not onelie interpret himselfe, while he called these, finnes; but also hath giuen vs a waie how we ought to understand Paule, when he calleth them finnes. Whereunto we answer, that if Augustine, or anye other of the fathers, denie that these be finnes; the same must be understood by waie of comparison, if they be conferred with actual finnes; but not that the nature of sinne can whole be taken awaie from them. Which thing Augustine in an other place most plainlie declareth: for against Iulianus, in his first booke, and eight chapter, in one man either the superior parts; are after a vile sort servants unto the inferior parts; or the inferior parts after a vile manner resist the superior parts: although they be not suffered to get the upper hand. Seeing he calleth this sinne, iniquitie; he plainlie teacheth, that unto it is agreeable the nature of sinne, which we before described.

And in his first booke, and third chapter against the same Iulianus, he thus teacheth; The concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good spirit lusteth, is sinne: because in it is a disobedience against the government of the mind, and it is a punishment of sinne; for that it is rewarded unto the meritis of the disobedient person; and it is a cause of sinne, though the falling awaie of him that sinneth. Here we see, that concupiscence of lust, is by Augustine this manner of vices called sinne. Neither can it be said, that he writeth these things of a man not regenerate: for he saith expressely; Against whom the good spirit lusteth: for the spirit of God is not in the wicked, with whom he might drive. Wherefore we have out of Augustine these places; one, which we cited before, out of his first booke *De libero arbitrio*, and two against Iulianus, wherein he expressely confesseth, that concupiscence is sinne: and he bringeth a reason why he so thinketh. Neither ought our auerulies, as concerning the interpretati- on of Paule, to runne unto a figure, to saie, that this is not proprie to be called sinne; for both out of Paule, and out of other places of

the scripture is brought good reason, why concupiscence, or lust, is trulle and proprie called sinne. And it is to be wondered at, that these men, which are so ready else where in euery place with their figures, when as in this one proposition, This is my bodie, they to much contemne all kind of figures, where neuertheless a figure is most convenient for that sentence. And if thou desire other testimonies of the fathers, to prove that lust is sinne; we have before cited Ierom upon Matthew: and in Augustine against Iulianus, there are found cited manie other sentences of the ancient fathers; all which do make with vs.

*These things which followe are taken out of the like place vpon the first to the Corinthians, at the end of the second Chapter.*

Now must we search out, whether the libertie of the will be taken quite awaie, by means of those things which we have reherseed. But because Paule affirmeth, that a naturall man can not knowe those things which be of God: it seemeth a while to be against free will. For if we be not able, through our naturall power to comprehend spiritual things; how can it come to passe, that we expresse them in our actions; seeing we see by experience, that there is much more busines and labour in doing, than in understanding. And not onlie this, but also the predestination, or preescence, seemeth to be a hinderance to it. For if seemeth that this may be inferred; If God hath knowen all things, before they be brought to passe, and can not be deceived, the libertie of our will is quite gone, and all things happen of necessitie. Also, the power of God, wherein all things be wrought, causeth no small difficulty of this matter: for of such efficacie is the will of God, as Paule to the Romans said; Who is able to resist his will?

Opposeur, the scriptures affirme sinne to be of so great force, as by the same all things in a manner are corrupted and despoiled in vs: wherefore the strength which is left unto will, is verie feeble, the which is not able to do as reason hath appointed. Again, so much is attributed to the grace of Christ by diuine oracles, as without the same it is said, that we are able to do nothing, which either may be acceptable or gratefull unto God. And seeing the same is not equally giuen vnto all men, it is thought that their libertie is destroyed; so much as they have not this grace in their owne power. The mathematicians also extoll the powers celestiall, and in a manner persuade, that of them do be-  
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bertye of such things as are to come. If namely,  
there haue bene such also, who would affirme,  
that there be definite causes of things to be  
done; the which being ioined one with another,  
and tied with a sure knit, there is brought to  
them a certaine necessitie and definite, which  
cannot be withiohn.

32 But we need not stand much upon that ar-  
gument, which was taken fro the force of know-  
ledge; because it expressely appereth by those  
things, which we haue already spoken, that this  
libertye is not iudged to be in men not yet rege-  
nerate, as concerning works, which be in verie  
dead god, and doe please God: wherefore that kind  
of reasoning is not to be weakened, seeing it  
surely confirmeth the doctrine of the apostle. In  
the next reason there is a more difficulte and  
trouble: for there be few, which can perceiue how  
the prouidence of God, as (as they terme it) his  
prescience can suffer anye free choice to remaine  
in our will. And the place is so difficult and dan-  
gerous to be dealt in, as manie of the old wri-  
ters, in reasoning about this matter, were  
brought to such a passe, as they iudged alto-  
gether, that of those things, which be done, there  
arisech a necessitie: yea, and they supposed, that  
God himselfe is held with this necessitie. Where-  
of I haue a promise, that God also might not  
withstand necessitie, so as he durst not attempt  
any thing against the same.

Although this libertye of theirs, the poets went  
further, and said, that manie things be done, e-  
uen whether the gods will or no. And Homer  
brought in Iupiter to be sad, and to lament the  
necessitie, as definite, by the force whereof he  
was let from removing death, which approached  
vnto his sweet sonne Sarpedones. And he ma-  
theth Neptuneus to take verie grieuouly the  
chance of his lustie Cyclops; of whom he being  
stirred up with a lust to reuenge, would haue  
driven Vlysses altogether from home, and com-  
plained, that this was not granted to him by  
destinie. And in Virgil, Iuno doth no lesse ou-  
rageously beuaille; because she had kept vnto  
so long together with one nation, and yet could  
not remoue (as she desired) from the coast of I-  
talie the Trojan nauie. But we Christians do  
not in such sort speake of God: for we haue most  
certaine learned out of the holie scriptures,  
that there is nothing impossible to God; and we  
are taught by Christ himselfe, that all things are  
possible vnto God. And our faith, after the ex-  
ample of Abraham, doth chiefe cleane to this  
persuasion, that God can do whatsoeuer he hath  
promised. Neither must we conceine in our  
mind, that Christ was either condemned vnto  
the death, or forced to the crosse against his will,

or his father not willing. God would these  
things to be done, not being let thereto by an  
inevitable necessitie; but by a superabundant  
exceeding charitie towards men. So the scrip-  
ture teacheth vs, which faith, So God loueth the  
world, as he gaue his onely sonne, &c. And vnto  
the Romans it is written, Which spared not Rom. 8. 32,  
his owne sonne, but gaue him for vs all. Christ  
himselfe by the same loue, was moued to die  
for vs; and he taught vs, that a greater loue  
than this can none haue, that one putteth his life  
for his friends. And thereby he shewed himselfe  
to haue exceeded the measure of mans loue; be-  
cause he would suffer death for his enemies.  
And that he willinglie, and of his owne accord  
tooke death vpon him, he sufficientlie declared;  
when in the last banker which, according to the  
Iudaical custom, he kept with his apostles he  
said; I haue earnestlie desired to cate this passe.  
Luce. 24. 26  
out with you.

33 By these places vs perceiue, that the  
Lords death was thoughte forerhote, and  
understand, and did in no respect intinge the li-  
bertye, either of Christ, or of the father. Therefore  
Cicero, otherwise a verie learned man, is gra-  
tely to be wondered at: against whom Augu-  
stine, in his first booke De ciuitate Dei, especial-  
ly in the ninth, tenth chapters, earnestly disputeth  
concerning this question. The controuersie de-  
pendeth vpon this, that in the latter booke De di-  
uinatione, all things are refelied, which were  
brought by Quintus, Ciceros brother, in the  
former booke. And Cicero inuolued by all  
meanes, to overthrowe all predictions of things  
to come, and of the prescience of God. Therefore  
Augustine saith meth, that the Astrologians had  
reasons, which were better to be borne withall,  
than his; because, though they attribute ouer-  
much vnto the starres, yet they take not abate  
all diuination and prescience. And a certaine  
Africanus (as the same Augustine declareth in  
his booke of confessions) being a graue man, and  
one that detested Astrologie; when he was de-  
manded, how it came to passe that Spheamati-  
cians did prophesie so manie truths, he durst  
not (contrarie vnto all hidiozes and experience)  
denie euente diuination; but he answered, that  
a certaine destinie was spied ouer things; and  
he affirmed, that it was not incredible, but that  
reasonable soules did after a sort see it. Surely  
there is nothing to be found more repugnant,  
than of the one side to affirme God to be; and  
on the other side to take from him the prescience  
of things to come. The prophet Esai. would these  
things to be so firme as butt together, as he said;  
Shew vs what things shall come to passe, and  
we will declare you to be gods. But that Cicero  
had small knowledge, and no god indgement of  
God; it appereth by his booke, which he intitu-

Pal. 14. 1.

What byme  
Cicero vs  
carrellie to  
Roma  
with free  
will.

Selfe-loue  
is the prin-  
ciple of  
impietie.

Rom. 8. 29.

Ephes. 1. 4.

Mat. 10. 29.  
and 30.

Ecc. 4. 1.

ff. 1. 11.

led De natura deorum: wherein disputing vnder  
the person of Cato, he fructu vteric to take  
awaye the nature of God.  
And surely it is to be lamented, that so nota-  
ble a man is to be charged with that, which the  
psalme of David ascribeth vnto foales: for there  
it is written; That The foolish man hath said in  
his hart, There is no God. Upon which occasion  
he appointed those parts in the dialog vnto Co-  
cia, which was a bishop: I do not well vnder-  
stand; but surely perhaps be considered, that none  
in a manner are to be found, which both more free-  
ly speake, and worse doe extreme of God, than  
they do, to whose trust are committed ceremo-  
nies and holie things. And because it was not  
hidden to Tullius Cicero, that it is a verie abo-  
mable thing to profess an opinion, whereby God  
should be denied: therefore, when he had dispu-  
ted as much as he thought good in the end of his  
booke he shewed his opinion, yet in the behalfe  
of Lucius Balbus; and so as he saith to Velleius,  
that the opinion of Cato is to be allowed, Ci-  
cero was a man verie shifubious, as well of all  
kind of learning, as speciallie of the ciuill lawe.  
And whereas he thought, that the state of mans  
doings should be overthrowe, if free will were  
denied; and he not knowing by what meanes  
this libertye might be retained, with a prescience  
of things to come, he rather yielded, that Gods  
wisehede should be taken from him, than that  
we should be depeued of the freedom of our  
will.

Whereupon it may be gathered, into what  
darknesse and obscuritie of things the summe  
of the first man hath diuen mankind: for what  
a madnes is it to go about to theuise God, the  
creator of all things, out of the foreshete of his  
wisehede, that thou maist preuene man: This  
is that our selfe-loue, which curie where in the  
scriptures is condemned: we would that all  
things should perill, rather than our selues. This  
doth not goodly require. Therefore we, which  
be taught by the spirit of God, declare that both  
must be confessed; namely, that both God doth  
foreknow all things, and also that the freedom  
of our mind (as we haue shewed before) must be  
retained. So do the holie scriptures instrue vs,  
wherin we read; Whom he foreknew, them  
hath he predestinate to be made conformable  
to the image of his sonne: and that We were  
chosen by God before the foundations of the  
world were laid. In them do we learne, that  
The heares of our head curie one are numbe-  
red: That The little sparrows light not without  
the will of our heauenlie father. And seeing we  
iudge, that God doth all things rightlie and  
iustlie; we cannot thinke that he dealeth with  
our reason and vnderstanding.

34 But go to, let vs more nerelie confider

the manner of Ciceros reasoning, 35 (saith he) ciceros  
things to come are certeinlie knowne before, maner of  
things among themselves shall haue some cer-  
taine order: and so; howmuch as nothing is done  
without a cause, of necessitie also it shall be  
granted, that there is an order and knitting to-  
gether of causes. Whereby will come to passe,  
that all things, which be done, be borne of necessi-  
tie; by which meanes lute and vholone labors  
shall perill; and no admonitions or rebukings  
will be left, neither can there be any place for  
religion or prayers. Wherefore those thou must chuse,  
whether of these two euils thou wilt: either that  
there is diuination, and prescience of God; or  
else to maintain the free power of mans will.  
Both together cannot be had, they be repugnant  
one with another, as he thinketh. Therefore vnto  
him it seemeth altogether necessarie, that one  
of these be maintained and defended; and that  
the other be refused, as false and vnpossible.  
Which deliberation being taken, as Augustine  
no lesse wittilie, than goodly said; Cicero, other-  
wise a verie prudent man, which he coueteth to  
make vs free, maketh vs impious and wic-  
ked persons, who should rob God of the know-  
ledge, which he hath of things to come.

And we must diligentlie marke, that his ar-  
guments make no lesse against the foretellings  
of our prophets; than they impugn the diuina-  
tions of the Chiniis, whereof he said that time  
disputed. Wherefore thus I thinke best to an-  
swer his curious reason. 36 Let vs grant him  
what he would; to wit, that for the establishing  
of Gods prescience, we agree that there is a cer-  
taine and determinate order before God, as  
well of things, as of causes. But that which he  
bringeth in at last, namely, that all things will  
therefore come to passe of necessitie; that will  
we denie. For though there be an order of cau-  
ses appointed, yet both it not followe thereof, that  
there cannot be som causes found among them,  
which may keepe their libertie, as (as they call it)  
their contingencie. And in this point Cicero fea-  
meth to erre more than the Stoicks: for he, to  
saue the libertie of man, would that all order of  
causes, and foretelling of things to come,  
should be utterly taken awaye; which things  
saue to sure hold of the nature of God, that the  
same being spoiled of them, it cannot seeme to  
consist. But the Stoicks, because they would  
take nothing from the nature of God, do  
bring in their destinie: and that our entire and  
perfect will may haue a place, they altogether  
remoue the same from the order of causes in-  
ned together.

37 But here let vs ioine issue with him,  
that we may freehoulie denie, that the know-  
ledge of God doth nothing at all hinder our  
will; although it comprehend the things which  
are  
ff. 1. 11.

It is grant-  
ed that be-  
fore God is  
a necessi-  
tie of causes  
g things.

Cicero rea-  
soneth more  
than the  
Stoicks.

He sto-  
icks remou-  
e the will  
from the  
oper of  
causes.

Some things might be done, which are not done.

Two sorts of necessity.

Admonitions, laws, and precepts are not taken away.

are to come: for never shall the will of man bring any thing to effect, unless God have both foreknowledge it, and will it to be brought to effect. When he shall knowe before hand, that to morrowe I shall either runne or read; indeed I shall runne and read, yet not driven thereto of any necessity, but (as they speake) contrivgentle: for as farre as belongeth to my selfe, I might do neither one nor other. But if thou vage further, and saie; Yet nevertheless thou shalt do it, in such sort as God knowe that thou shouldst do it. I grant: but thereof it followeth not, that I could not otherwise do; because I do not not alwaies that which we can do: nay rather, many things might be done, which in no wise be done. And in that I shall read or runne, it proceedeth altogether of my owne choice: for of all things it is most in our power, to will, or not to will. Wherefore when they saie; Because God knowe before, that thou wilt read or runne; Therefore of necessity thou shalt read: we must demand of them againe, whether they der name of necessity, they meane a compelled and a repugnant will.

For if this be their mind, that we utterlie deny: because it may be, that God foreknowe that I would do some things, and that neither unwillingly, nor with a constrained mind; but that I would do it willingly. But if by necessity, they meane that this should in any wise be done of me, we will not deny it: for so much as the controuersie now is, not of the thing which is done, or is not done; but of the disposition betwixt me & onelie of the manner and forme of doing. Neither (as he thought) are admonitions, lawes, rebukings, or religious payers taken away: these things doubtles will be of force, and that more frequently than he could persuade himselfe; because God not onelie hath mans facultie in his foreknowledge, but also he comprehendeth in his understanding, the waies and means, whereby he will helpe them. Wherefore if we shall perceive our brother to have need of the remedies, which he hath here mentioned, we must bolde vnto us, for they haue to farre easily appeared, as God before hand knowe, and would, that they should be profitable. Neither must we desist from our dutie, although it may be, that all mortall men would asseme that we labour in vaine. For we must followe the lawe prescribed vnto vs, and not the secret presence of God, wherof we haue no sureritie what he hath decreed of things to come.

And seeing the presence of God is not the nature, or as they terme it the essence, or being of our mind; we must give iudgement of the actions which proceed from the same, according as they ought to be estimated by the nature of

the mind and will; and not by that which is placed out of the same. Wherefore, seeing the nature of will is, that it is moved, neither into willing nor by constraint: it cannot be excluded from it by any outward means. It may sooner be abolished not to be at all, than that the violent action can be taken thereon: even as thou maist caldier ride anie of vs from being men, than when we be men to make vs that we shall not be furnished with a reasonable soule; for it followeth immediately, that the soule being abandoned of reason, he cannot anie longer be a man.

But if thou demand yet further, whether it be a matter of necessity, that I shall read to morrowe; seeing God hath this foreknowledge: we answer, that upon condition, or supposition, some necessity may be granted; but not perfect and absolute. Wherefore with that necessity, which we grant, the choice of free will may verie well agree. For example, Aristotle in his Ethics, dispueth, and that learnicly (as he doth all other things) whether the casting forth, which is done in the sea, when shipwrecks is at hand, is to be appointed among things voluntarie. And although he there confectly a certeine action, that is mixed with willingnesse and untwillingnesse: yet nevertheless he concludeth, that those kind of actions belong vnto the voluntarie sense; seeing for that time, wherein the shipmen be in danger, they will them, and altogether make choice of them. And if to be that notable philosopher doubted not to place willingnesse in this kind of action, whereas men by a certeine force are tried to constrain themselves, to chose that thing, which otherwise (if that chance had not bene) they would never haue done; then how much rather shall not we take twillingnesse from our vsuall and common actions, when we perceive our selues, of our owne accord, and with a mind most willing, to do and indeuour those things, which we thinke good; although we doubt not, that God bid long before vnto us and of the same?

And that the necessity of this kind which we haue taught to be by supposition, doth not ascrip the free power of our will; I Chrysostome doth plainly shew, while he writing vpon the first epistle to the Corinthians, in interpreting the wordes; It behoued that heretics be, that they which be tried among vs, may be made manifest, faith: Not unlike this of speech Christ vied, when he said; It is necessary that offences doe come, but we be vnto that man by whom they shall happen. Also he said to his apostles, that It behoued Christ to haue suffered, and so to enter into his glorie. All these things in holie matters are so to be expounded, as when they be called things of necessity: yet nothing

Our will can be constrained.

A necessity upon condition may be granted, but not absolute. Aristotle.

Chrysost.

1 Cor. 13.

Matt. 13.

Luk. 24.

A necessity of the argument, not of consequence.

A similitude.

Let no man thinke himselfe faultie vpon God.

Let these parties be respected.

To the 3. reason.

nothing must be taken away from the nature of mans will. And this among the schole-men is to be called, A necessity not of the consequent, but of consequence.

There be some which commonlie saie, that doubtles these distinctions helpe to nothing at all; if God haue knowne before hand of things, those shall in any wise come to passe. Yes verily, they are profitable vnto vs, and that not meanele: for because thereby we vnderstand, that mans will is not compelled; but that twilling and without compulsion it desirith what soeuer it will. For otherwise I will aske thee againe, whether thou wouldest be saued against the will and content of God? I suppose not. But if thou wouldest be saued according to his will, he of necessity is not ignorant of thy saluation: for so it is ordeined, that none willeth that which he is ignorant of. It hapneth vnto vs verie often, that we together beholde platers; yet bare we not faile, that the sight and knowledge which we haue, bringeth anie necessity to them which plare; and yet while we see them in place, it is of necessity, that they do plare. Wherefore, that necessity infringeth not the nature of their will; even so the excellencie of God completly not the will of man.

Some ball at vs, and saie, that this similitude is farre from the question proposed; because none at anie time do beholde platers; which be not, and plaie not indeed. Whereas it is ascribed to God, that he hath had a knowledge before hand, of all our doings euen from the beginning: when as yet, neither we, nor anie of our actions appeared to be. To these men I might answer, that vnto God all things are no other wise present, than they which do plaie are conuerent in the sight of them which beholde. Let euerie one therefore take heed to himselfe, that he call not the causes of his finnes vpon God; and when such a kind of cogitation entred into his mind, let him haue respect vnto Iust, voluntuoullnesse, wrath, hatred, and other perturbations of the mind, wherewith he is soe diseased; and out of these fouintaines let him seeke for the causes of his finnes. Neither must there be much credit giuen vnto the Peripateticks in this matter, which denie, that God hath vnderstanding of particular affaires; least they should seeme to thinke, that the mind of God were a biele, if he should dalue his knowledge from fraile and transiurie things. This thing is not agreeable vnto our documents: for we do beleeue, that God of himselfe hath a perfect knowledge of all things; neither that he hath anie need to challenge knowledge else where to himselfe.

And whereas touching the third point, it was iudged, that the power of God is a hindrance to our will: the argument is neither yet

fect nor strong. For, although that God by his infinit power, wherewith he is indur, doth what he please; yet yet doth he suffer the state and nature of things to stand whole: neither doth he violate them; or wrest them anie other waie, than the condition of them doth be. Wherefore it is said in the booke of Ecclesiastes; that God thinketh much mightie read euen from one end to another, and doth pleasanlicly dispose all things: as (the Greek text faith) *νεκτατα*, is Profitable. (Which might not be said, if by the high power of God the natures of things were disturbed. The summe is, that God both here moderate his power in ruling of the world, that he may fitly plaie his action vnto all manner of things. In the fourth place some seeme to be a hindrance to the libertie of the will; as if it weakened the powers of man, that after a sort they might be able to do nothing anie more. But there needeth not now any man words about this matter; because there hath bene plentie inough spoken in those things which we haue declared, how much our libertie hath bene diminished by reason of sinne; and that speciallie as touching verie perfect and good actions, which might be acceptable and well pleasing vnto God. Besides, if hath bene declared, that our libertie is not by this means utterlie taken away; but rather, that there is as yet a great deale of it remaining.

Wherefore concerning the powers celestial, there shall be no great need to intreate; seeing the Astronomers do glorie in their owne bookes, that The wife shall beare rule among the starres. But and if it be that these things, which they yponounce, might not be escaped, all their games would fall away: for no man would bestowe cost vpon the skill of those things, which he thought he should not be able, neither to avoid, nor change, either by inducement or studie, which thing without controuersie would suffice, if so be they should ascribe a mere necessity vnto to their foreknowledge. By this meane all platers, pietie, and worshiping of God would be taken away: for who would paye to God for obtaining of anie thing, if he were already predestined, that the same should not be granted vnto him? Wherefore Augustine saith; They which thus thinke, do great wrong vnto heauen: for there they be, as a court appointed, wherein are notable acts decreed; which cannot be avoided; the which if it were in the earth, if should needs be taken away. How much lesse must we thinke, that the same is done by God in the celestial parts? I beseech you what iudgement would be left, if so we did all things vpon constraint?

This matter some excuse, saying, that it beauen is onelie signified what shall come to passe: yet

The power of God doth what he will; but it moderates not the nature of things. Wild. 1.

To the 4. reason.

To the 5. reason. Augustine.

Augustine.

The injuries are against heauen.

Gen. 1. 1.

Gen. 1. 1.

Gen. 1. 1.

Augustine.

Gen. 1. 1.

Hippocrates.

Pollidionus.

Cicero de Jure.

Gen. 1. 1.

Gen. 1. 1.

Gen. 1. 1.

yet that we be not thereby bitten by any necessity. And they being forth a place out of the books of Genesis, wherein it seemed to be spoken; that The farrer be put as signes. But that place is to be understood concerning seasons, winds, raines, tempests, and such like sort. But how can they affirme, that in heaven they see certaine signes of things to come? They shall hardly prove it, especially touching manes and fauces. For what answer can they make of twins, which being conceived at one time, and have all one aspect of the heavens; yet (as experience teacheth) the chance and successe of them is altogether differing?

Augustine, in his first booke *De civitate Dei*, and second chapter, is worth the reading; where he writeth, that sometime there happened two brothers to be like affectioned, that when one sickned, the other also was diseased: and when the one recovered, the other was also eased. Concerning which thing Hippocrates being demanded by his opinion, made answer, that he thought them to be twins; and that therefore they had the temperature of complexion of their bodye all of one nature. But Pollidionus the Epaphroditian did ascribe the whole cause unto the farrer, because in their nativitie they occupied all one aspect of the heavens. But what (saith Augustine) will these men saie of twins, and innumerable living creatures, which are borne in houses and moments alike; and yet attaine to such diversitie of offshoots; And And Augustine buttresseth, that this example was taken out of Cicero; the which nevertheless we read not in his books at this date extant, unless perhaps he found the same in his booke *De Jure*, which remaineth amongst us at this time, mangled and diminished.

Moreover, beclime, which the Stoicks appoint to have merite necessitie, hindereth our matter; for so much as we admit not the same to be. They feared it from the wills of men, because they thought that all things would go to naught, if together with other causes they comprehended will under beclime. Whobeyt, it seemed not good to them, utterlie to sever mans will from beclime; favouring in respect of the first choice, which they would have to be whole in our will. But whiles we shall chafe any cause that might be under beclime, they would have it followe of necessitie; that what things fower they were, they should be joined unto it. When as Empirides said unto Laius, that It was free for him not to procreate; but when he had procreated, then of necessitie he should suffer even those things, which Apollo prophesied to be contained under beclime.

But we, as we declared at the first, deny not, but that things are knit together, as God ordered, and knowe before hand; yet so, as the nature

and condition of them remaineth whole and sound. For unto whom fower a thing continueth (as the Schoole-buiness speake) is due, they have the same: and to whom fower necessitie becometh, will necessitie they be constrained. But in verie deed, grace, which finally setteth to rest free will, doth not take the same away; but rather helpeth and refresheth it. But how we will cease from these matters, least we dispute more curiously of them than becometh christians. Let euerie one followe their owne vocation; and let vs leave inquiring, more than is requisite, about the secret and hidden will of God, touching preclence and preclination: and let vs followe that doctrine of God, which is plainly laid out before vs in the holy scriptures. *¶* Look another place of the same argument in the addition at the end of this booke. Now we thinke it convenient to joine unto this disputation certaine other discourses; namely, of Voluntarye and Not-voluntarye, and also of mans choice, and such like.

Of Voluntarye and Not-voluntarye.

1. Aristotle in his first booke of *Ethicks* treateth at large of that which is voluntarye, and of that which is not voluntarye: the reason whereof is, because praise, dispraise, pardon, and sometimes merite be voluntarie. The argument is taken from the consequents. Wholesse and dispraises fower unto morall knowledge: for as commendable manners and actions are to be desired, so those which are blame-worthy are to be avoided. Whobeyt, such praises and dispraises cannot be iudged of, unless we knowe whether they be done with a willing or unwilling mind. Further, he added another cause, to wit, that this doctrine is a part of the civill facultie, whereby to belongeth the making of lawes. And lawes set forth rewards and punishments to the observers and transgressors of them: it is needfull therefore that they knowe which be voluntarie things, and which be not voluntarie. For men that be unwilling, do not obtaine rewards; and they which flye by compulsion, should not suffer punishments. Some tyme this reason of lawe-makers hereunto, as though they ought to regard this, that they command not those things, which of necessitie must be done; nor those things, which are impossible to be done; but onlie those, which be in our owne power: and that therefore it behoveth them to knowe what is the nature of voluntarie and not voluntarie. I knowe in verie deed, that this is the definition of lawe; that It is a reason commanding honest things, and callinge backe from things that be dishonest. But that which these men saie, to wit,

Out of the Commonplaces Aristotle Ethic.

Deu. 19.

where lawes are things not possible to be done.

A definition of not-voluntarye.

but, that it commandeth things which be possible, I would onlie grant: it as touching cruelties, but not of vntue lawes: for those require things that be impossible, especially in respect of the state of nature, corrupt & defiled. Whobeyt, Aristotle did not this reason; he onlie touched these things which I have mentioned of punishment & rewards. But what should he speake of the affaires, since those be not voluntarie, but are naturallie planted in our minde. The Schoole scholers answer; that, albeit as touching libtance and not they be of nature, yet may they some kind of lawe be called voluntarie, inso much as by life & exercise they may be enlarged or repressed. I will thus answer, that Aristotle made mention of both, of affects I meane and of actions; but voluntarie must onlie be referred to the actions. The which thing being done, it will also belonge unto the vertues, which are conuerfant in the affections: for those also are gotten by actions, which when they be right and commendable, must be accounted voluntarie. Moreover, whio doth Aristotle saie, that sometime pardon, sometime merite must be thereto: Whio can we do not alwaies take merite on them whom we pardon; for a man in defending himself, killed him which he tooke him; he did it not willingly, he is forgiven, but we take not pittie on him.

2. But how the knowledge of that which is Voluntarye and Not-voluntarye, may be to moderate the punishments which lawes appoint, it may many waies be shewed. They which have committed any thing against their wills, or of compulsion, are they punished: And in the civill lawes there be verie manie things, which provide remedie in the case of ignorance or compulsion: euen as they do likewise concerning those things which be done for feare, and by erradic collusion, and touching them which be under 25. yerres of age, &c. Also he that is taken with madnesse or stensie is forgiven; yea and a mad man, although he kill his father, shall not be punished. The lawes of God give the helper of wood, which by chance and not willingly shall kill an other, because perhaps the are might fall out of the helve, and certaine cities were appointed for refuge. Also Plato in his ninth booke of lawes, sheweth that manie things are to be forgiven, where the will doth not consent. So as it greatlye aduanceth lawe-makers and iudges of the lawes, because of giuing punishments and rewards, to knowe what is done voluntarie, and what is not done voluntarie. I will thus speake first of Not-voluntarye: for in this matter the pntation seemeth to be better known, than the thing it selfe. Epicharmus saie is the light better known, and scholers doth make the goodnes of health the more manifest. This definition of Not-voluntarye ap-

pereth by the reckoning up of the parts thereof, so that it is rather a diuision than a definition; albeit that full and full diuisions haue sometime the place of a definition. And we then chiefe life them, when that which is common to the parts, cannot be expessed by any one certaine point thereof. Whobeyt, we must understand, that it is called Not-voluntarye, of these two formes of kinds, which be of one signification: for euen that which is done violentlie and unwillingly, is not voluntarie. And we proue, that the diuision of these two parts is rightlie made; for Voluntarye, which is contrarie to Not-voluntarye, standeth of two things; of knowledge, and desire. First we must knowe that which we must desire, then are we thrust by thereto by a motion of the desire. But either of these two may be hindered: ignorance taketh away knowledge, and violence letteth the desire. For god cause therefore be these two part contrarie to that which is voluntarie. Violence is defined what it is after this manner: It is a vehement enforcing, which either not at all, or verie difficultlie can be adden. But some man will marvel, how two things may be let or gainst one: for against Voluntarye is set that which is done by violence, and also that which is done unwillingly. Hereunto we answer, that there is but one set against one: constraint of Not-voluntarye, is set against willingnesse of voluntarie. But this unwillingnesse of not voluntarie, is afterward distributed into two parts: for it is one thing that is done by violence, and another which is done by unskillfulness.

3. And as touching violence, Aristotle saith that the beginning of the motion thereof must be outward: for those things which be moved by an inward beginning, are moved naturallie, not violentlie. But some out of the latter part of cle which Aristotle hath in that place, to as that which suffereth of death, bringeth not ante helpe to that beginning. Whobeyt, those which so late are deceived: for as we perceive of a waycke that is made in a great tempest, the beginning thereof is outward; namely, there be winds, waues, and fumes; but the waycke would not be broken if the shipmen themselves would take out of the ship those things which are to be cast away. And they which under a tyrant, are forced to do things that be shameful, they have the beginning of their actions from within; namely, the commandement of the tyrant: but yet those things would not be done, if they themselves would not yeld to the doing of them. Whio saie it appeareth, that these things have their beginning outwardly; yet neuertheless that they bring some helpe thereto. Others thinke, that [Doing] is there added in waie: for if the beginning be an outward motion,

That the original of that which is violent, is from without.

The definition of not-voluntarye.

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tion, then should it be enough if he were named a sufferer: for that which is moved, suffereth, but doth not: &c. And answer: It may well be, that the selfe same things which are moved violently, may also have a being, as instruments: for a staffe moved by us, doth also move a stone. And in some such things, where men be pressed, when a man is there choled, he is crushed by those which stand about him; so as they are said to thrust against him, although they thrust not of their owne accord, but are driven by others, and informed by the rest of the companie. The examples byought by Aristotle are such, as one of them is of a living creature, when against our will we be carried away by men, in whose power we are. Another is of things which have no life, as when we be carried with the wind whether we would not, which oftentimes happeneth to them that be sailors. If any shall demand, whether voluntarie & without constraint, be all one: we will answer, that without constraint extendeth further than voluntarie. For without constraint, agreed even to things that be without life, but doth not voluntarie. Neither is it required, that the first beginning should be a motion in us: for our knowledge commeth of an outward object, albeit that the same motion, therewith the sense is brought to passe by the object, is of another order. The beginning whereof Aristotle spake, is the cause; yet not anie cause by will, but onlie the efficient cause. And that is understood to be the same, which is enough to move by it selfe.

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44 There is moved a question, as touching certaine actions, which seeme, to be as it were meane, and it is doubted whether they be voluntarie, or not voluntarie. And the question propounded may either be simple, or of two parts. It is simple, if thou shalt saie: Whether be those things voluntarie, which are done for the feare of greater evils, rather than the obtaining of some good honest thing? And they declare that such a thing happened unto Socrates, who would not obey the thirtie tyrants, which required of him to kill a certaine citizen of Athens: which he would not do, when nevertheless they threatened him, that they would kill his father and children. And this they sought, to the intent they might make him to be a companion and partaker of their most cruell purposes. The question also (which liketh me better) might be of two parts; namely, whether those things be voluntarie things, which are done for feare of greater evils; or for the obtaining of some honest thing, which other wise would not be done. As if a lie be spoken, which in his owne nature is dishonest: it is doubtful whether it be voluntarie or not voluntarie, when it is made for the defense either of his owne life, or the life of another man. Also ad-

ulterie is a shameful thing, which no man of himselfe should chuse: but if one, for the daunger of a tyrant, should to win favour, by the tyrants wife, have carnall copulation with her, that by her he might have a ready waie to kill the tyrant; the question is, whether that adulterie should be called voluntarie. And all we knowe that great princes merchant men do take, that things the ambitious sort, and those which be light in pleasure, do enforce, that they make enioie their ends. And they would not abide those things which they do, unless it were for their commoditie. Wherefore it is doubted, whether those things be voluntarie. But if any man do doubt which be called great evils, let him looke on those things which be their contraries, & he shall see that there be greater good things, namely, life, chastitie, libertie, and goodlines: and he shall perceive that death, breach of chastitie, bondage, ungoodlines, and such like, are the great evils: which things be so greivous, as many times some shameful things are committed to, the avoiding of them.

What detestable things are oftentimes done for the escape of death, may easilie be knowne. Cato slew himselfe, because he would not come in subjection. Regulus, least he should breake his faith, returned unto his death to Carthage. Virginus returned sle to his daughter, than he would suffer her to live violated and a bond-woman. And many such like things have the holie scriptures. Let rather offered his daughters to be drowned, than he would suffer his ghefts to have iniurie done unto them; on the other side, his daughters rather defiled themselves by incest with their father, than that the world should want [posteritie.] Abraham to Quyn death commanded Sara to saie that he was his brother, and put her dishonest in open banger. [In like manner] Judith, with the danger of her chastitie, went to Holophernes for the deliverance of his people. We dispute not here whether these things were well or wickedly done, but we onlie saie whether they ought to be called voluntarie, or not voluntarie. And there is a great difference betwene wicked men, which either to flatter tyrants, or else because they be delighted in shamefull and euill works, offer themselves of their owne accord to do these things: and betwene others which for honeste sake cannot be induced to commit these things, unless there be laid before their eyes great and most greivous calamities, or else great rewards. And thou must heare of some, which having proposed some great good unto themselves, will saie, that for the obtaining thereof, they are constrained to attempt anie thing. And on the other part it is also said of many (that whereas they cruelly oppress the people, and breake rule for their owne

Gen. 29.

Gen. 29.

Gen. 29.

Judith.

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sakes

sakes onlie) they are constrained by tyrants to do that which is wicked. And at this date there be a great sort which fall awaie from the christiantie, being constrained by the most cruell persecution of tyrants. There is also brought a similitude of the casting forth of things from a ship, which is done when the tempest of weather constraineth; not that this seemeth anie thing at all unto maners, but that by the euidence of the matter, that which is now in question, may the better appere.

45 These actions, which we have rehearsed, are mixed actions: for in respect that they may be omitted, and are not of such necessity as they must in anie wise be done, they seeme to be voluntarie; but in respect no man could chuse them for themselves, they seeme, not voluntarie; but rather due more to the nature of those things that be voluntarie, because in them is a certaine comparison of euill things. Two evils are proposed, to wit, either perieritie with the loss of goods, or else with those goods a present death: the will choseth the lesse euill, and cometh to a woe the greater. Wherefore when the will both his part in those actions, these things cannot chuse but be called voluntarie. Besides this, Aristotle in his Metaphisics admonished, that the lesse euill hath the consideration of the good, and is greater to be wished for, since that which is desired, is good: and there is no doubt, but it is the will that choseth the end. But the end of these actions whereof we dispute, is applied to the consideration of the time. For since the sacrifice which the mariners will, cannot be had, except by casting their goods into the sea, the will both choseth that casting of them at once. Wherefore the time in all this matter must be considered, if meane that that time which is past, or to come, (for before that chance, no man would chuse these things; & afterward when the mariners have escaped, they are sozie and discontented in their minds for those things which were cast awaie;) but the matter must be iudged of, according to the present time, while it is done. And therefore, since there is then made a chuse, and that the matter is called into deliberation, and that the original of the doing is in the doer of it, who either may do it, or may not do it; those things are said to be voluntarie. As touching the action, we cannot iudge in general, but we must have a respect to the circumstance of the time. And yet simple these things are called, not voluntarie, because for themselves no man would desire them: but nevertheless, since they be not considered simple, but are to be desired in this respect, and he that desireth them, is not without knowledge (for he knoweth what he doth) and his will or desire whereby he choseth these things is present: therefore be they actions voluntarie.

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for all things must be iudged of according as they be done; and done they cannot be, but at a certaine time, and therefore they must be iudged according to that time, and not as they are apprehended by reason, for so are they, not voluntarie. For while they be considered of simple, they are set aside from the consideration of time. For it is not to be doubted, but that here in commeth the content of the will: for those things would not be done, unless the will would give her assent. True indeed it is, that no man would those things for their owne sakes, but for some other thing: but yet this causeth not, but that they be voluntarie. If they were violent, the doer would not inferre anie infirmement thereunto: but the original of the doing and of the assenting thereto is in him that is the doer, and therefore may chuse whether he will do it or no. Seeing therefore they be called relatives and are referred unto the will, they must not be iudged of simple, but according to the respect they haue unto the will. Wherefore since the will (as hath bene declared) hath place in those things, they must be called, voluntarie.

46 Wee two reasons haue these mingled actions bene praued hitherto to be voluntarie. First, because they must be chosen according to the nature of the time present, wherein they be done; secondly, for that they be in the power of the doer. For unless the will should moue the instrumental parts, in these deed they would not be done. There is a third reason taken from praise and dispraise: for these men are sometime praised, and sometime dispraised in the suffering of these vile and shameful things. Wherefore doth this appere to be voluntarie: for praise and dispraise speaketh not but of things voluntarie. And Aristotle saith; that when are sometime praised or dispraised herein, because they are not to themselves, as we shall percelle: for otherwise praise is not given to these men, but pardon is granted them; but on the other side (saith he) they be dispraised. That same particle [On the other side] signified two things: either men will not abide reprochfull things, for the love of great and excellent things; or else they suffer instead such things, but yet for light and unworthy causes: in which causes they are reprehended. Aristotle onlie mentioned one of these, the other he kept in silence. That great good and honest things, for the which men must endure cruelties and hard saps, are iudged to be our countries, our parents, children, wife, libertie, and such like. Zopyrus the Persian, as Herodotus reporteth, mangled his owne nose, his eares, and his lips, that he might better escape the rage of Babylon unto his king Darius. Virgiles (as it is said of Homer) suffered his boole to be broken, and to be deforimed with stripes, and

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apparelled himselfe in vile clothes, and in that habit, as if he had bene a runninge servant, went unto the Trojans, and entering into the citie, thoughtlie spied out the same. But on the other side, all men dispaile Dolo, because he revealed the secrets of his owne countrie, that he might not be constrained to abide anie toymes. But it is to be considered, that when it is said, we must sometime suffer shamefull things, that must not be referred unto wickednesse, or unto horrible crimes; for those things must not be committed for anie manner of vtilitie or honor; but it is onelie said, that those things should sometime be suffered, which haue some griefe and repproh. As if a magistrate should be bidden to run like a servant through the common streets, or to weare openlie a lowmans garment: if great preferment, and lawfull commoditie be laid before him, he will not refuse these things. So then, they must be verie great matters, for the which the like should be done, if a man will be praised for the same. I do not allowe the examples of the Scholies; for when they shew, that these vile things must be suffered, they teach that a lie must be made, or else that there must be carnall companie with a strangers wife, to the intent his husbands may be slaine. For these be sinfull things, neither (as I have said) doth Aristotle speake of them: neither yett can such things be commended, sith that praises do agree with vertues, and dispailes with vices. There be some found of so abstract and vile a mind, as they ought for iust cause to be dispaile; sith for a iust and honest matter they will not suffer anie thing at all. So are soldiers dispaile, which forsake their station, and they that without constraint do yeld up castles and strong holds. And in like manner are they dispaile, which are ready to do anie thing, rather than they will be compelled to paie anie summe of monie.

47 And it appereth euidentlie inough, why Aristotle said; that Sometime praise doth lowe the suffering of grievous things, because this cometh not to passe continually. For sometimes, neither praise nor dispaile do in that respect happen unto them which suffer repprochfull things, but they are pardoned. And this happeneth, when (by reason of these things) a man doth that which becometh him not: as when tyrants do threaten those things, or else they shall light upon vs, vntlesse we suffer such repproches, as are beyond the power of mans nature: there Aristotle saith, that we pardon him. It is offered unto men, that they shall be burned, or be cut in tinnen: there, if they yeld, either in disclosing of secrets, or in suffering of anie vile thing, they are pardoned. And some thinke, that in these cases it is lawfull to make a

lie. Aristotle addeeth, that neuertheless there be certaine things, wherunto no man ought to suffer himselfe to be compelled: he ought rather to abide anie thing, when he perceiue, he shall not be pardoned nor excused. Wherfore, our martyrs be in the right opinion, who haue determined rather to endure anie thing, than to depart from goodlienesse. Aristotle bringeth an example out of the tragicke of Euripides: for Alcemon was not pardoned, in that he killed his mother; because she was lead vnto so great a wickednesse, vnto a verie light or rather ridiculous cause. Since these actions, wherof we treat, be mixed (as we haue said) of spotte blearie & Voluntarie: when Voluntarie beareth rule, either praise or dispaile followeth them; but if spotte voluntarie haue the ouerhand, and that a man may seeme to haue done the thing against his will, he is forgotten. For those actions which be mixed, are so composed of two things; as either the one or the other of those things, wherof they be compounded, may surmount & ouercome. And rightlie both Aristotle make exception of grievous crimes, which shall not be pardoned: for who will forgive him which condemneth an innocent, which committeth adulterie, which betrayeth his countrie, which for the sharpnesse of torments denieth goodlienesse? These things can be ought by no means to be excused. Anaxarchus, because he would not pleasure the tyrant, when he was beaten in a murther with iron pectles, said: Xant on hardie Anaxarchus bag. So far was it off that he would change his will, or yeld vnto torments. And Zeno in his toymes bit off his owne tongue, least through the force of griefe he should be constrained to betraye the conspirators. Wherfore there be foure kinds of men, which Aristotle speaketh of, the first is, of them which are commended in their suffering of grievous things; the second, of them which are dispaile; the third, of them which obtaine pardon; the fourth is, of them which obtaine no pardon.

48 Aristotle beweth of two difficult and hard things which happen, in suffering; or in not suffering of grievous and cruell things for an honest cause. The first belongeth to the facultie of iudging; because we are oftentimes ignorant what things ought to be suffered for anie cause: whether anie thing must be suffered in the goods of the mind; whether in the bodie; or in the goods of fortune; and against what manner of things they ought to be that we should suffer, or that we should not suffer. And rightlie doth Aristotle saie, that this is sometime hard to be iudged: for other while, this difficultie doth not happen. For all men knowe, that wickednesse is not for anie cause to be suffered. But Achilles doubte, if rather he should rather haue

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withed for long life (but yet without glozie) by lurking at home; or else for famous glozie, together with short life, by warfaring at Troie. Al- so a forme will doubt, whether he ought to hold his peace; or to betraye his father, whom he knoweth to rob his countrie, to enter into the treasure by secret passages in the carth, and from thence to scale awaie the common treasure. In like manner I will doubt, whether he ought to counterfeit himselfe to be a foole; or rather suffer himselfe to be slaine of a barbarous king. The cause is hard to be iudged: for sorrowfull things are to be compared with dishonest things; neither is it easie for all men to discern betweene these things. And vertue consisteth in matters difficult. Therefore from hence come praises; or else, if we rise from vertue to vices, dispailes. Where both varietie of the circumstances increase the difficultie, which causeth that we cannot haue certaine rules in those things. The other kind of difficultie ariseth of the weaknesse of strength, not of iudgement; for when we be out of danger or sorrow, we see what is to be done, and oftentimes we discern that which is right. But when we come to the feeling and experience of griefe, paines and torments; we are then of an other mind. Wherof it is commonly to passe, that when we be in health, we give good counsell vnto them that be sicke; but yett we do not rightlie abuse our owne selues, when we are sicke. And they are verie much to be commended, which stand fast in their sound determination, and in their good purpose. And on the other part, they which shall fall from their sound determination, are to be dispaile. The multitudes is marvellouslie commended, who would rather die, than beare armes against his countrie. But they on the contrarye side are most worthy of dispaile, which would rather denie goodlienesse, than to suffer torments of death.

49 When Aristotle had set downe two kinds of the things which be spot voluntarie, then he consulted their opinion, which made a third kind of the same. For they said, that the wicked actions, which we commit for attein- ing of pleasure and profit, are violent: and they made onelie those to be voluntarie actions, which be rightlie consenting vnto reason. Why these reasons they are confuted. The first is, because then all our actions would be violent: for whither we do, we do for these causes; namely, for delectation and commoditie. The second reason is, because that which is violent, is ioined with fawlesse: but yett which deale for pleasure sake, are glad, not sad; so as it appereth that those actions are not violent. The third reason is, that then euery ciuil man would excuse his euill actions, transferring his fault

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unto outward things; that is to wit, such as are pleasant and profitable; and he would faile, that he were constrained by these things: which is a matter to be laughed at. The fourth reason; There is no greater cause why these men should make themselves authors of honest actions, than pleasant & profitable things to be the cause of shamefull actions; because they haue in themselves the originall as well of these as of those. Wherein, if the mens opinion were true, there would be no times nor wickednesse of men, which might not be excused vnder pretence that the same is borne against their will, or violentlie. The reason is alleged; because all men deale for these causes, namely, for delight and profit. Which in verie deed is true, if also vnder the word, καλῶς, though comprehend honest things; for there be manie, which for honeste faile do manie things.

But that will faile, that the auerfaries do not so use that word, as thereby they haue noted onelie delightfull & profitable things. I knowe it. But thus doth Aristotle argue, and saith, that They, which will rather blame deliightfull and profitable things, than themselves, which yeld themselves so ready to be allured thereby, deserve to be laughed at. This is it that they are iustlie to be blamed for, that they suffer themselves to come to be caught by these things, and to be called away from iust actions. Why should they attribute vnto themselves honest things, and ascribe that which is dishonest vnto outward things; seeing that those also are in our power? Euen as it appereth in men that be temperate and continent, which do some temper themselves from these things. And furthermore it may be wondered at, why they do not in like manner faile, that they are constrained by honest things; seeing that they chose them, and since those be no lesse outward, than be pleasures and commodities. Unquestionably, if we of god right ascribe to our selues honest things, the dishonest also shall belong vnto vs: for contractes bo both belong to the selfe- same general bind, and are to be measured by the selfe- same rule. Aristotle seemeth to speake those things against Plato: for I Plato say, that God

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is an helpe and aid given thereunto by vs, which do chuse and discern the same.

50 Now that we have spoken of Not voluntarie, which is done by violence; let vs now say what can be said of Not voluntarie, proceeding from them that be ignorant. And first Aristotle taketh away Voluntarie, from that which is done by ignorance; for nothing, done by him that is ignorant, can be called Voluntarie; seeing this requirith a knowledge of that which is done.

But Aristotle noteth a certain difference of those men, which do anie thing of ignorance: for some of them, when they have afterward perceived what they have done; it repenteth them: and there be others, which repent them not, but rather confirme that which hath bene done. These two kind of ignorant men, because they differ much one from another, do make diuers sayings and kinds of ignorance: and because they differ one from another in matter, it is meet also that they be called by diuise names.

Wherefore he that repenteth him, after he hath perceived his error, shall be called *hæc*, that is, One that doth against his will. And he which repenteth him not, shall be said to haue done it being not willing: for he reteineth still the name of the generall will; to wit, of Not voluntarie. At the beginning our actions were dimmed, that some of them are Voluntarie, & some Not voluntarie.

We began the discourse of the parts of this diuision, with that which is Not voluntarie; & that, Not voluntarie, we distinguished againe into that which is against the will, or violent which is done by force; and into that which is done by ignorance. Violent was defined to be that, whose giving is from without vs, and where in that, which is the doer of it suffereth, getteth no helpe thereunto.

Now is shewed the other part of Not voluntarie, whereby a thing is done through ignorance: and this is shewed to be of two sorts; namely, with repentance, or without repentance. That which is with repentance, is simple against the will; but that which is without repentance, is at the beginning Not voluntarie; but after the acknowledging of the fact, because he doth not repent him, he seemeth to be somewhat, yea to be verie far from doing of it against his will; naie rather, that he hath somewhat Voluntarie therein. These things therefore in name must be thus distinguished.

The first shall be called he that doth against his will, and the other shall be called, he that doth not with his will. Oedipus is said in the fables to haue slain his father, and to haue married his mother against his will: naie rather, that he hath somewhat Voluntarie therein. These things therefore in name must be thus distinguished.

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The first shall be called he that doth against his will, and the other shall be called, he that doth not with his will. Oedipus is said in the fables to haue slain his father, and to haue married his mother against his will: naie rather, that he hath somewhat Voluntarie therein. These things therefore in name must be thus distinguished.

force at the beginning, when he ratched him ignorantlie, he did it not with his will; but because afterward he did not repent him, he could not be said to haue done it against his will. And there may be brought another example. He that killeth a man, thinking he had been a wild beast, if he be afterward soie, he did it against his will. But if arie man, to whom balen mome was obliue, receiueh gold, and doth not repent him of his error, but rather reioiceth; he is said to haue done it not willing, but yet not against his will. Thus may the reason be made; What former is done violentlie, or against the will, it hath sorrow or repentance ioined therewith; But not all things that are done by him, which is ignorant, haue repentance or sorrow ioined therewith; Therefore all such kind of things are not violent or against the will.

51 There is shew also another distinction. It is one thing to do through ignorance, and another thing to be doer to be ignorant. They are said to do a thing through ignorance or unwittinglie, into whom ignorance is after a sort the cause that they do. In the other case, namely do things being ignorant, who by reason of some grievous perturbation, whereof themselves are the cause, do as it were bring an error into themselves. These things differ as the generall and the speciall kind, as a thing saye forth, and a thing done together. For whosoever doth a thing through ignorance, is ignorant; but not so on the contrary part, whosoever is ignorant, doth a thing through ignorance. Her of Aristotle bringeth examples, of such of whom men, whereto they are done by drunken men, whereto they know not what they do; yet are they not properly said to do anie thing unwittinglie, because they might haue abstained from too much wine: and they which drinke more than is requisite, do bying ignorance onto themselves. Wherefore such a vice causeth not that they should be said to haue done against their will. Another similitude is of anger: for they which shall be moved with a great furie of wrath, do oftentimes not knowe that they do, but yet they deale not against their will: for they ought to haue tempered their wrath, and to haue attained unto vertue, whereby they might haue moderated that perturbation. Which, sth they would not do, they are not excused of those things, which they through anger do amiss. And byaske it is said, that ignorance of that kind is the cause not of condemning the will, but of naughtiness; otherwise euery wicked man is ignorant, yet is he not excused to be excused. That euil men be ignorant, this doth proue it; namely, that they knowe not what to followe, or what to avoid. For they are beguiled of their owne lusts, for whose sake they are so deceived, as they perceive

Another distinction of ignorance.

Another distinction of ignorance.

Another distinction of ignorance.

Another distinction of ignorance.

perceive not what things are true or false, which, & true or false; and contrariwise, which be true or false, and which be true or false. Therefore they are corrupt in their iudgement, and knowe not the nature of the end for the which they worke.

52 The reason may be framed thus; Not euery euil man willingly through ignorance; But euery euil man willingly being ignorant; Therefore to worke being ignorant, and to worke through ignorance, are things different. The Minor proposition is manifest; because if a will men (as is said) if they wrought through ignorance, might be excused. And that, as is contained in the Minor proposition, they be ignorant, we haue declared a little before.

A generall ignorance (saith Aristotle) excuseth not. That is called generall, which is not of the circumstances; but of the whole thing it selfe. As if one would saye, that he is ignorant that fornication or adulterie be sinnes; he is not excused, because he ought to haue knowne these things; nay rather, he shall be the more grievously accused for this ignorance. But a particular ignorance, that is to wit, of circumstances, excuseth and deserueth pardon; because the circumstances could not be knowne. Otherwhile such chances fall out, as no man can for certainte knowe such circumstances. But contrariwise, the generall ignorance obtineth not merite; because it was in the power of them that are ignorant, to haue learned it. Wherefore if they be ignorant, they them selves are in the fault, that they knowe not; and they seeme to haue had a desire to be ignorant. Again, if the excuse of vniuersall ignorance were available, then should no wicked men be excused. The cause of their error is; that they onlie seeke for pleasure and profit, but neglect vertues and honestie; which neuertheless they do vnadvisedly.

Whereupon Plato in his treatise *Menon*, doth verie well expound this. First he teacheth this as granted, that there is no man which would be a miserable and vnhappie man. Which being granted, he addeth, that then there is no man which desireth euill things; since to be miserable, and to be vnhappie, is nothing else than to be conuertant in euill things, and to be delighted in them. So then it appereth, that euil men do chuse to themselves those things that be euill, unwittinglie. And this error (as saith Cicero) we haue sucked together euen with our suckes milke. But the reason why this generall ignorance inuadeth not a man; to do against his will, is, for that it hindereth not his choosing of things, naie rather it is ioined therewith; so it men chuse rather to scale than to labour, rather to be idle than to exercise arie

An ignorance generall, and an ignorance particular.

art, rather suffering than abstinance. It may be that otherwhile the whole matter may be generallie unknowne, and sometime generallie knowne, but vniuersallie pituitie and parturialle. As if arie man shall saie, he knoweth ad ulterioe to be sinne; but that he is ignorant particularie, that this adulterie is forbidden: neither of these ignorances is toothe of pardon. But if arie man do not knowe the circumstances in generall, and thinke that there is no consideration to be had of the end, nor of the place, nor of the time, nor of the matter that he is about to do; whether shall this man be toothe of merite or pardon? No veritie; for he ought to haue knownen this. And this common kind of perceiving belongeth to the vniuersall knowledge, which must in arie while be had; but the ignorance of this; that circumstance particularie may be excused, since no man either male or is able perfectlie to knowe all those circumstances in euery particular. Wherefore onelie the ignorance of them maketh the action to be an action done against the will.

53 And because such circumstances be of great weight (for they obtaine pardon and merite when they are not knowne), therefore Aristotle reckoneth them up, that they may be thought tried out and knowne. They are in number foure or eight; and there is a common verbe of them in the ffolowes;

Who, what, where, whereby: Wherefore, how, and when.

These are seuen, but yet one wanteth, that is, Whereabout; vnder which word is signified the matter or subiect of action. And when it is said of Aristotle, *Wherein*, there be signified two things; namely, place and time. So that, if we will haue the full number, there be eight; of which number this reason may be alleged. The cause either interpect the causes of the action; or else we consider the nature or substance of the action. The cause, if it be efficient, then it is named of this circumstance, *Who*. If it be the end, then we account it of the circumstance, *Wherefore*. If it be the matter, then we adde to it the circumstance, *Whereabout*. If it be the as touching instruments, *As the organs*, we reuerse it to the efficient cause (which before we called, *Who*). But if it be to be considered the action it selfe, the nature thereof is expessed by the circumstance, *Whereby*. But when we consider the measure thereof, then haue we the circumstance of time and place, which we call, *When* and *Where*. And last of all, we regard the proportion of the manner, which is a thing belonging to qualitie, and is the circumstance that we named, *How*. So man (saith Aristotle) is ignorant of all those circumstances (he meaneth) of them all at once. A man may be ignorant

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E.g.

rant

Two kinds of ignorance.

Examples of both sorts of ignorance.

some circumstances do excuse.

rant of one or other of them particularie, but none can be ignorant of them altogether, because he be a bevie soile: for how shall a man have no knowledge of himselfe? This is not generallie true, because a man may easilie be ignorant of the cause efficient. If himselfe be that efficient, it is not so hard, but to know himselfe. But even this also may haplie come to passe, that one, sometimes minding an other matter, may strike a thip; and yet murther that which he doth. But that we now speake of, is to be understood for the most part. Whoboeit, this subtil point faileth not in things that are morall. The matter is made plaine by examples.

What had the circumstances excuse Aechylus the tragick poet? He in a tragick did seeme to reveale certaine sacred mysteries of Ceres, which thing raised to great a tumult in the theatre, as he was well merite flaine. He fled unto the altar of Bacchus, from whence he was brought to the iudgement of the Areopagus: he pleaded his cause, he excused himselfe, that he knew not those things to be mysteries; and because he knew not what he did, he was quit. Al to another man made a certaine engine or instrument of warre, which did cast stones: the effect whereof when he was minded to throw, he discharged the peece, and by a stroke killed a certaine man: he excused himselfe that he knew not what he did. The circumstance, *Whereabout*, which is the matter or subject of action, appeareth by the example of Merope. She late in wait for her sonne, and killed him, thinking that he had bene his enemy, when he was his sonne. Here the error was in the circumstance, *Whereabout*. And this example is laid to be in Euripides in the tragédie of Crepentes, which is not extant. Sometimes we know not, and that is called the circumstance, *Whereunto*, as if a man think he runneth with a blunt speare, & the same shall be armed with a sharpe head. As a man thinking that he doth throw a pumice, when he hath throwne a stone, whereby some bodie is hit, or wounded, or flaine. Whetherwise we be ignorant of the end. A man for health, or for recovery from sickness, leteth blood; giveth a medicine, or lanceth the fleshy, and there followeth a contrarie effect; for either the partie dieth, or he is hurt: the ignorance of the end doth excuse him.

Also the manner of the action: as when a man doth a thing and would not, it holds him excused. They which contend one with another, with all the strength of their hands or fingers, (which is a kind of wrestling) and one unthinketh to reach the other; and thinking to strike but lightly, striketh grievously: he is excused, with that there is an ignorance in those things, that

which is done shall be counted against his will, especially, if those circumstances, which are the more principall, be hidden from vs. And these circumstances be, *Wherefore*, *Whereabout*, or *Wherein*. But Aristotle in his example seemeth to have omitted the circumstance of place, and time, that is, *Where* and *When*. Which is no marvell, since they might seeme to be knowne well enough, as those which needed no examples. Neither is it required, that when manie things of one sort be expounded, examples should be brought of all things. For it sufficeth, that some things be shewed to be: for the examples, which make plaine some of those things, do serve also for the declaring of other things. But least there should be found a lacke of them, we saie it may be, that some man knoweth not that the place wherein he committeth any euill is holie: or otherlike also the circumstance of the time; namely of a festiual daie, or of a holie daie, or of a birth daie, may be unknowne.

4. That which is done against the will, ought to be ascribed to the actions which are done unwittingly, while we be ignorant of these particular circumstances, there is required moreover, that the error bring knowle and discovered, the action should be grievous, and we should be loyie for that which happened to vs by accident. For if this greafe should not ensue upon it, the action may be called, not voluntarie, yet shall it not be against the will. But here it is worth the seeing, how ignorance can be called the cause of a thing done against the will. This is therefore, because it deprieth vs of knowlege, which if it had bene present, that which is now done, had not bene committed; or if it had bene committed, it had made the action voluntarie. Wherefore, either it deprieth vs of the knowlege, whereon voluntarie doth depend, or else it deprieth vs of that knowlege, which, if it had bene present, the action had not followed. And it may be, that he which doth unwittingly, hath ignorance joined together with the act which he doth; and yet he is not unwilling to that which is done, but rather desireth it: whereupon there followeth no forswore afterwards, when the thing is knowne.

And this kind of ignorance doth not excuse him, nor yet maketh him to have done it against his will. As when a man, thinking to kill a hart, killeth his enemy, whom he before wished to have bene flaine; and now beinge flaine, reioiceth, notwithstanding he then knew not what he did. Where is moreover, a certaine ignorance, which some of set purpose would have: for they desire and chuse, that they may be ignorant; least by knowlege they should be withdrawne from sinning, or from pleasures. And this kind of ignorance is greater

the definition of ignorance is, that which is done against the will.

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to be accused, much lesse excused. There is an other ignorance, which is so done, as a man knowing what is right and meet, when he cometh to the action, neglecteth that cogitation of honestie and right; and rather committeth his罪 in pleasure. And this cometh to passe, either of a some perturbation of the mind, or else of an ill habit. Neither also doth this ignorance excuse, for he that is ignorant for lacke of consideration, he doth not that which he ought and ought to have done. So do and then, ignorance commeth herce, that a man will neglect to learne, or else for that he turneth labour; or because he is so stord and dilligent. For euery man ought to knowe the generall lawes. Since therefore such this man doth not that which he can and ought, he is not to be excused. Whoboeit, in these actions there is something that is not voluntarie; for this ignorance preuenteth actions, or the motion of the will, which motion if it were present, knowlege would not followe. The last ignorance is that, whereof we treat: this excuseth, it obtineth pardon and merite; because the circumstances are not knowne, and for that after the action, for to love and greife do followe.

Of that which is Voluntary.

55 As touching Voluntary, the definition consisteth of two parts. First (saith Aristotle) the beginning thereof must be inward. Secondly, the circumstances must be knowne: for if voluntarie be contrary to that, which is against the will; and that which is against the will, consist of two parts: then it is necessarie, that the contraries to them must be placed in the definition of voluntarie. Whereupon we see the excellent method of Aristotle: for except he had before hand shewed the nature of violence and ignorance, he could not so easilie have defined that voluntarie was. Whereupon, Aristotle was the rather minded to write of these things, because that those things, which are done of angry men, or men that are moved with desire, are comprehended in the definition of voluntarie; for both the originall of the doing is in the man himself, which is the power, and they do understand and bevie well howe the particular: for they be deliberations, and therefore iudgement, either to reuenge or to compass that which they desire: which would not be won if they were ignorant of the circumstances. Whereupon it is concluded, that those things are voluntarie; and that those do erre, which haue thought such things to be done against the will. And what moued them to thinke, that those things are against the will,

it may easilie be perceived. They saue that it was altogether difficult, to resist those two affections; namely, anger and desire, as those which are more violent than the reason; and therefore they thought that men are constrained by them. Wherefore Heraclitus saith, *πονηρὸν δουλεύειν θεῶ, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις ἡ ἐν ἡμῖν*. And Plato in his second booke *Republicke*, saith, *ἀνθρώποι οὐκ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀντιτάσσονται*. That is, we are not to be driven with; nor to be subdued. But if there can be no striving against the same, nor that it can be conquered, it seemeth to compell, and to make that the actions be done against the will. For which cause the same Plato in his ninth booke *De legibus* saith, that Air are greiv man, *ὡς καὶ τὰ ζῷα, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος*. As like to one that both against his will. He saith not that he doth altogether against his will, but like unto him. And Cato the Censor saith, that which is angry, differently from a mad man one in time. And other men, as Hecates, haue bene bold to saie, that *Voluntas* is much worse than *Madness*. But Plato in his treatise of *Cratylus*, writing of desire, compared the same to a bevie strong bow. Wherefore we also doubt not, but that these two affections are vehement, and of great force; but yet that they are not so strong, as they cannot be ruled by reason. Which we see come to passe in temperate men, and those which be intemperate, weakenelle, and other vertues. But yet would I not wene, that those actions are more voluntarie, which be done without the indgement of any affections; which neuertheless is no cause, that they should be excused from the number of them.

56 Aristotle saith that none of the rest of the living creatures do any thing against their will, nor not children. The proposition is to be confirmed; These things that are done by enforcement, as by desire, be voluntarie. That was declared before by the definition. So do other reasons added herunto, whereof the first is this; If they were actions against the will, neither hute beasts nor children should do any thing of their owne accord; But those do manie things of their owne accord; Therefore these things are done against the will. The argument is conditional of the consequent, taken to overthrow the antecedent. The conclusion is proven; Beasts hute beasts and children, since they be without reason, therefore they do, they do it through those affects. But how should the consequent is, hereby it appeareth, inasmuch as we see, that these living creatures and children do certaine things against their will. As when they be overcome and shut by in any place; but on the other side, when they be loosed and set at libertie, they do manie things willinglie and of their owne accord. They chuse themselves

why some think that angry men do things against their will.

That children and brute creatures do things against their will, and some things against their will.

meat, when they will they enter into chambers & dens, & from thence, when it seemeth good, they go forth. They defend their young ones, they die to their nests; and infinite such other things they do willingly & of their own accord. They rejoice in liberty, and on the other side, when they are constrained to any thing, it grieves them, and they are not a little grieved. Alexander's horse Bucephalus admitted no man to sit upon him but Alexander, which without doubt he did not by constraint. The elephants do love their masters, they obey them, yea they handle down when they be commanded. But what should we speake of elephants? Dogs in a house do follow upon their masters, but do bark at strangers; they hunt cheerfully, they follow those which feed them: & all these things certifieth they do of their own accord. Some things belonging to this matter might be rehearsed of birds, fishes, and other brute creatures, which are to wonderful things, and are done of them with so great an inclination, that sometimes manke hath thought, that in brute beasts there is a will, whereby they chose those things which like them most, refusing other things, which do displease them. And some men have ascribed some reason unto them, because they say that those things which they do, they do them with great industrie. Which they would not grant, albeit as we have said, we must affirme, that they do those things of their own accord. And if thou wilt say, that they be called unto beasts, because they be led after a certaine violent sort, we will not deny it; and yet will we affirme, that they are not without an inward appetite, whereby they are moved: to performe the actions which issuing from them, must be said to be of their own accord. And it is no marvell, if Aristotle in this matter issue a children together with brute beasts: for those also, by reason of the infirmities of age, have not the use of reason, but are onely moved with the affects, especially with anger and desire. And yet will we deny, that they do those things willingly: They runne abroad, they play, they sleep, they make sport, and they follow on their parents. But if they did not things of their own accord, they should have great iniurie done them, when they be beaten of their masters. For what other thing do they feele, but that they should abstaine from those things, from which they knowe they are able to refrain? And as concerning the appetite, we must understand that the same is of two sorts: the one followeth the sense, and another the reason. Brute beasts and children are moved with that appetite, which followeth the sense; but other such appetite is not all one in both of them. Whereupon ariseth the difference; because brute

beasts are altogether destitute of reason, and therefore their desire is never obedient unto reason: but children have reason, yet not in age, although in power. Therefore, when through age, reason becometh not into act, their desire may be obedient unto reason. And thus Aristotle saith, that this Greek word *prohairesis* is more proper to man than beasts: for it is extended both unto brute beasts, and to children, unto whom voluntarie will not properly appertaine, saying (in the 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter) *prohairesis* that which is not will.

Whereas some which were against Aristotle, affirme that those things which are done by anger or lust, are done against the will; then it would follow, that either all such things are done against the will; or else that good things are with the will, and evil things against the will. But neither of these things may be granted. For this Aristotle overthrew, and saith: It is not a ridiculous thing to affirme, that these things are done with the will, and those by constraint and against the will; seeing that shamefull acts, which are done through anger or lust, have no lesse the selfe same beginning that honest acts have, which proceed of the selfe same affects: so doubt not those things, which have all one beginning, must be accounted of the selfe same order. And further he saith, as touching anger, that this, by the nature of honestie and iustice is required at our hands, that we should be angry against force; namely, against thieves, and against wicked men, whom we should chastise with blows, and magistrates should punish, they were to be blamed. Alls there be many things, which if a man do not desire, it is a great offence; as for example: health and doctrine. Shall we therefore say, that the lawe of honestie and iustice both require of us, things to be done against our will and by constraint, and such things as we are not able to performe; or from the which we are not able to abstaine? It is no doubt to be absurd as touching evil lawes. And againe, what lawes things are done against the will, they bring griefe and trouble with them. But those things that are done through anger and lust are beightfull and free in it off, that they bring trouble and heavinesse with them. As concerning lust, there is no doubt thereof. But as for anger, it may be doubted, because Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* intreating of those things which bring pleasure, in describing the affection of wrath, bringeth in the verse of Homer, which saith, that Anger unto Achilles was even as honie that melted under his tongue. And thus indeed is anger another thing than the desire of revenge. Whereupon (saith Aristotle) is the difference

difference is there betwene those things to be done against the will, which are according unto reason, or which be without reason according to reason, with either of them are things that may be avoided: This reason seemeth to stand on the nature of sinne: for seeing that sinne consisteth in those things, which ought to be avoided; and that this estate is found as well in those things, which are done amiss by reason, as in those, which are naughty done of anger with a desire, they ought to be both called voluntarie. Where then are these things, rather than those of other, accounted of the severities to be done against the will?

And as concerning humane affections, Aristotle doth thus argue: Because the unreasonable affections, which we have, be humane, and those be humane affections, which do arise of anger or desire, therefore are they also voluntarie, and are done without constraint. For whatsoever is humane, is voluntarie. But there is no man will say, that he desires and angers be in the minds of men, when as reason is in the selfe same man. Wherefore, if actions which flowe from reason be humane, but those which flowe from anger be humane, shall those be humane, which proceed from anger, or desire. For the powers of anger, and of desire, be in the minds of men. It may happen that this will be objected; to wit, that the actions which be of anger or desire, proceed from the part unreasonable. True it is (saith Aristotle) but yet these be powers of an humane mind, and therefore shall the acts proceeding from thence be humane. And these powers, although by essence they have no reason, yet are they partakers thereof, and may be ruled by the same: which thing cometh not to passe in brute beasts. Again, these affections and actions are the first beginnings done with the will; for they may be restrained by the will. And it standeth not with them, as it doth with the power that now rieth and increaseth, which without even they be will of no. And therefore we conclude, that it is absurd to affirme, that these things are done against the will, or by constraint.

Now let us see, how these things, which we have here treated of, do agree with the scriptures. Aristotle saith, that he would treat of voluntarie, and of voluntarie: because praises and dispenses, rewards, punishments, and merite, do accompanie those things which be voluntarie. Even so, in the 1<sup>st</sup> of Iohanne, the faithful are praised, because they be a willing people. Also Eunuchs are commended, not because they be to be done; but they which shall willingly chasten themselves for the kingdom of heaven sake, An helter of love, which by chance

hilleth his fellowe, is forgotten; because that action was not voluntarie. The devil is constrained to speake a truth; is compelled to depart from them which were possessed; but yet be desired no praise or rewards at all. Balaam is of the angel compelled by the sword, that he should not curse the people of God; he hath no praise at all, because he did it not willingly. The devils on of violent, as it hath an outward beginning, so doth it not give any helpe, as a thing that toucheth that which suffereth. And it declareth, that original sinne is no violent thing, because it is an inward corruption in us; and we further it by that naughty will, which will we add thereunto. But and if any man will say, that we are without knowledge and understanding, when the same is gotten; and that it cometh by occasion of the first naughty motions of our mind wherein is given no choice or deliberation: I answer, that those things which Aristotle saith, must be understood as touching moral and actual doings; for these indeed we do not knowe. But as touching those things which we can not be called violent, seeing they have their beginning from within. Also we grant, that there be mingled actions; and we affirme that they ought to be reckoned among those which be voluntarie: and therefore the holie scriptures do exhort us unto them, persuading us, that we must indure any thing, rather than to run into sinne. Paule saith, We must never do evil, that good may come off. We must rather obey God than men. And we are called To take our crosse, and to followe the Lord. And he is said, to have found his soule, which hath lost the same. Neither hath the death of a mans owne selfe any other respect. These actions be of the mingled sort, because no man would chose these things, except by chance: but these things we will and we do, partly to avoid sinne, and partly to be joined unto the Lord.

But what thou wilt say, that these things have an outward beginning; whereto they be rather violent. For unless the Lord bid these things in be, none of us would do them. We grant, that the beginning, whereby our wills are changed, is from without: but our wills being changed by the spirit of God, are inward unto us, and at their commandment we are moved unto these actions, and therefore they ought to be called voluntarie, for they are not done of God without us. And we be praised and dispraised for these mingled actions: for Christ saith, that He will denie before his father, which shall denie him before me. Neither (saith he) will be ashamed of him, which is not ashamed of me before men. And they in verte dead are commended, which for Christ his sake do suffer for gracious veragions; Blessed (saith he) are they,

Mat. 5, 29.

of Rom. 12, 11

Rom. 8, 8.

Acts. 5, 19.

Mat. 10, 38

and 16, 4.

Mat. 10, 39.

Mat. 10, 33

Mat. 5, 19.

the appetite of desire of two sorts.

When these things are done with the will (scilicet).

Phil. 2, 13.

Mat. 19, 12.

Don. 19, 5.



times abstine from wickedness, but that is for feare of punishments, not for the love of iustice. Could men forbear to sinne for the feare of punishment. Therefore in iudgements, when the fact is apparant, there is oftentimes iniquitie made of the will, mind, and purpose of him that doeth it. Neither at any time is the making of choise subject to fortune, as is action. Peca rather, they, which are found in anie crime, are oftentimes accustomed to sinne, that they ment to have done otherwise, and that they purposed not in their mind, that such things should happen. And we easilie grant, that the actions are more apparant, since they are laid open to evill mans eyes; but yet they make not the iudgement either surer, or more certaine. Open do iudgement of manners, by that which followeth, namely by the woeghe: but the iudgement of shewing proceedeth from the cause, and (as they use to speake) from that which went before. And sometimes it happeneth, that a man doth no action; so as it cannot be iudged by his actions, whether he be good, or evill: but immediately, so some as he sheweth that choise he hath made, although he do no action, yet men give a iudgement of him, either as touching his naughtinesse, or his goodnesse. But how can it be said, that yong children, and also brut beasts want the making of choise, when as they choise one meate before another, plaie before discipline; and thence some things more than other things? We must answer, that making of choise is of two sorts. One is common, whereby one thing is either preferred before an other, or else is more esteemed than an other: and this kind of choise neither brut beasts nor children have: for when they pursue one thing before an other, or avoid one thing rather than an other, they are not lead by reason; but by sense. Also those things, which we do in haste, and upon the sudden, are without making of choise, not that we want reason while we commit those things, but because we admit no space of time to deliberate on them. Also the counsell, and the iudgement, and deliberation of reason is hindered by the vehemencie of the perturbation.

Therefore there be reckoned up those things, that want the making of choise. First, brute beasts, because they are not capable of reason. Secondly, yong children; although they are not without reason, yet can they not use the same, because of their tender age: in the third place are counted sudden and hasty motions of the mind: wherein, although men have reason enough, and also peace, yet do they want time

of deliberation. Therefore they, which do any thing by the force of anie affection, are wont to sinne, but they do it not of purpose, or advisedly. Since that making of choise doth belong unto the mind, it is either of the power of knowing, or the power of appetite. All appetite is divided into three parts. Either it is of the more noble part of the mind, and is joined with reason, and is called the will; or else it is of the greater part, and then it is divided into the desiring power, and into the angrie power. Hereupon Aristotle saith, that some thought choise to be the will, others thought it to be anger, others thought it to be desire: but if it belong unto the knowledge, then come they which affirme choise to be an opinion, who perhaps were the Stoicks. But first Aristotle treateth of desire and anger, and reasoneth that their opinion is fond, because that then we should paine, that brute beasts have choise: for they are moved both with desire and anger, which he reiecteth, as an absurd and unworthy thing. Wherefore it plainelie appeareth, that Aristotle doth utterly remove before from choise, because we may not by any means saie, that desire is choise: which cannot so be iudged, as touching willingnesse. And do willingnesse differ from choise, but it cannot be sundred from the same; seeing evill choise is according to the will. And the argument which he used is this; If desire were choise, whatsoever thing woeketh by desire, should (no doubt) woeghe by desire: but not evill thing that woeketh by desire, doth woeghe by choise. The overthrow of the consequent appeareth in this, because an incontinent man woeketh by desire, but not by choise; for that he followeth it not. He determined to do well, but he stood not to his determination: therefore he doth not according to the choise, which he had conceived in his mind. Choise is an appetite, which is a counsell; but the incontinent man, while he is carried away by desire, heareth no counsell. And on the other side, the continent man giveth no care to desire, but followeth his right choise. And this reason may be applied unto anger; for he also that doth any thing by anger, doth it not by choise: and this we may see in angrie men. And herein it shall suffice to have said, that an incontinent man is not altogether without choise; but yet he followeth not that which he hath in his mind.

He is compared to a man that sleepe, to him that is drunken, & to a cite wherein good lawes are not regarded. Here Aristotle reasoneth; Choise is contrary to desire; but desire is not contrary to desire: Ergo desire is not choise. His argument is in the second figure. Therefore is this; Those things that agree in one thing, they also agree in themselves: Cuen so those things

whether choise be good or evil.

things that do not oppose themselves against one thing, do not agree together at once themselves. But there ariseth a doubt: because desire seemeth to be against desire. Some man desireth fame, and to have his name renowned, and the same man is much desirous of monie; one of these desires is repugnant to an other. Augustus desired fouretye, and pet was desirous to imitate Sulla, in giving by of fouretye. These things seeme to be repugnant. Pamphilus loved to be with his lover Glycric, and pet was desirous not to offend his father. These things declare, that desires be contrary. The answer is made twaies to be made. Contraries must allowe be contrary: but these things are not allowe contrary, as appeareth in the Sophister, which at one time hath both these desires; namely, the desire of glorie, and the desire of monie. Wherefore, it becometh that contraries have respect to one and the selfsame thing: but the one of these desires respecteth fame, the other monie. Those things that respect one thing, after a quite contrarie manner, are verie contraries, and cannot be both at once together. As, to desire to have fame, and to desire not to have fame, and not to be noble, and not to be maintained, and not to be maintained: these be contrary desires, and cannot be both at once together. Aristotle was not of the mind, that among desires there is no contrarie; but that contrarie desires cannot be together at once in one man. But evill desire is alwayes an enemy to found choise in one and the selfsame man, and at one and the selfsame time. Neither is evill choise alwayes an adversary to evill desire: for the desire of theft is not against the choise, whereby a man determineth to become rich, though it be by unjust means. And the desire of slaughter is not against the choise, which tyrant hath made. But a found choise (as it hath bene said) is evermore against an evill desire. But what manner of contrarie it is this of desire & choise? So proper contrarie, but such as is of contrarie kinds, or of two enemies. For it becometh that these contraries, which be proper contraries, be in one and the selfsame subject, and that from thence they drive away one another; as white and blacke, cold & heat: which thing agreed not with choise and will before, for they be placed in divers parts of the mind. For choise is placed in the mind or reason, but desire in the greater part of the soule.

Another argument is gathered from the objections, the which being contraries, do cause that the powers themselves are not the verie same. Desire is carried unto those things which we please, and which be unpleasant; namely, to obtaine the one lost, and to avoid the other. But choise hath not respect unto these things, but re-

garbely onelie that which is thankfull and honest, profitable and hurtfull. Holbert, here there is a doubt; because the choise seemeth to be of things pleasant, and of things grievous. Where yong men there is best vertue and pleasure, and they are said to be set as it were in the point of two waies; that when they shall be come unto the verres of mans state, they may bend either to the right hand, or to the left. Whereupon they are at their choise, to choise whether waie they will. Asus hanc Pythagoras scholers and the poets described the matter. And to Paris there was a choise given; Pallas offered him learning and good arts; Iuno offered him civill honours, a happy government of the common-wealth; Minerva, Venus offered him the greater sort of pleasures: wherefore the choise was in Paris, and he rather choise that which was pleasant. Peca, and our famous Quix leteth before us a broad and a narrow waie, a wide and a strait gate: so as it seemeth, that the choise is both of that which is grievous, and that which is pleasant. We answer; If by choise, thou understand the action of the mind, whereby one thing is preferred before another; we cannot denie, but that choise is both of that which is pleasant, and that which is grievous, seeing we preferre pleasant before grieffe. But deliberation concerneth not proper pleasure and grosse delights; for to those we are not bound. Wherefore those which preferre such pleasures before severe business, or sometimes take a grievous sense, are not said to choise, but rather to be led and bewitched carried by the desire. Yet is it not to be denied, but that it may sometimes be, that the honest and profitable things, which we choise, may be pleasant; holbert, that happeneth at all adventures, (as is the common folk speake) accidentally. Wherefore choise is exercised about that which is good, and about that which is evil: for by his choise we seek, even to obtaine good things, and to avoid evil. But if a man be bound, whereby there can be a choosing of evil; we must answer, that this cannot be, because we never make choise of that which is evil: for it becometh, that that which is chosen, either be good, or at the least worse than in itselfe a third and resemblance of goodnesse. But then will say; Are not the lesse evils oftentimes chosen before the greater? I grant they are: but Aristotle in his Rhetoriks saith, that the lesse evil in that case, hath a consideration of good. Finally, Aristotle saith, that anger pertaint much lesse to choise; because those things seeme not to be done deliberatively, which be done in anger.

Neither is the choise, saith Aristotle, our will, although it have an affinity thereto. In what words be propounded two things; the one, that will hath an affinity with choise: for both of them

whether there can be a choosing of evil.

that want is not choise.

that the will is not the choise, but these two be different.

whether children and brute beasts, be without choise.

Three things want of choise.

That the  
choise is  
not of  
things  
but  
possible.

them are placed in the chiefeſt part of the mind. And mozeover, the common people ſaie, that they will choſe things which they choſe. And yet neuer theſeſſe, how rare to euer they be, they will ſer one from another : for the will is moze at libertie, and ſtretheth further than choiſe and ſelection both. For will extendeth unto manie things, where unto the choiſe doth not attaine : as unto the end, unto things impoſſible, and to thoſe things which by vs cannot be performed. Nay common ſenſe it is manifeſt, that choiſe pertaineth not to things impoſſible : for he ſhould be counted a mad man, that would choiſe ſuch things, as can by no means be compaſſed. That the will extendeth to ſuch things, it appeareth by cauſe that thou maſt find manie men : which would not die : which in nature is impoſſible. Alſo there be, which would be monarchs of all the world, and beare rule over all men : which alſo is a thing impoſſible. Moreover, the will is the end, but the choiſe is rather of thoſe things which belong unto the end, and therefore they differ. Wherefore the end, eſpecially the chiefeſt end is of that nature, that forthwith, to ſome as it is ſet before vs, it cannot be reſuſed. Therefore ſince it is not in our power to ſlippe from the ſame, it belongeth not to the choiſe : for that concerneth thoſe things which are in our power. But yet we muſt underſtand, that there is a choiſe of ſuch ends as conſiſt betweene two extremes : for manie times is ſet before a poy man the choiſe of god learning, or of eccleſiaſtical function, or of the adminiſtration of the common-weale. Firſt, they choiſe to themſelves one of theſe things which liketh them beſt ; then alſo they choiſe the means, whereby they may excell therein. But we anſwer, that choiſe in thoſe ends hath no place, as they be ends, but as they be certeine means unto ſelicitie. For an end, ſo farre forth as it is an end, is (as Arilloſe ſaith) no choiſe.

That choiſe  
is not opinion.

Finallie, to prove that choiſe is not opinion, which was ſet downe in the fourth place, the reaſon is becauſe from the obiects. Opinion is of all things ; but choiſe is not of all things ; wherefore choiſe is not opinion. The argument is in the ſecond figure, taken from the nature of relations : for the power is referred unto his obiect. So let vs ſee what is opinion ; It is an aſſent of the mind, whereby we take upon vs to maintain the one part of a thing that is gainſaie ; yet we anſwer it not without all feare, but ſomewhat doubting, leaſt perhaps the other part of the contradiction ſhould be found true. And herein opinion differeth from knowledge : for knowledge is a moſt ſure and unmoveable aſſent. Wherefore let no man go about to perſwade one that hath knowledge, or is a profeſſor of the ſpeſymetrical ſciences, that a thing is other

twiſe than he knoweth it to be : for it is impoſſible to perſwade him thereto. But theſe do Diogenes inſinuate to raiſe opinions out of the minds of men, when they ſaie that iudges, or hearers do otherwiſe judge, than they themſelves would wot to have them. Arilloſe ſaith, that opinion is of all manner of things, becauſe men hold opinion euen of things eternall. For men have opinion of manie things concerning God, concerning angels, concerning heauen, and ſuch like things, which of the philoſophers are holden for eternall. Alſo men have an opinion of thoſe things, which cannot be : to wit, that there be Chimeras, Centaures, and ſuch like monſters : and that the diametre is equal to the ſide lines of the quadrangle, which cannot poſſible be. Alſo things neceſſarie be otherwiſe ſubiect unto opinion : for it may be, that what one hath perceived by knowledge, another be leaſeth by opinion. But when it is ſaid, that opinion is as touching all things, this muſt not be underſtood as concerning ſimple motions, or ſingle words ; but as touching propoſitions, which conſiſt of manie motions or words, as to them, that either a thing is, or is not. Neither yet is there opinion of all theſe things : for there be certeine things, which euen of themſelves are knowne either to the ſenſe, or to the mind. As, that fire is hot, we certeinly knowe by experiment of the ſenſe, we have not an opinion there of ; and that the whole is greater than the part thereof, or that we pronounce of euerie thing, either that it is, or is not (which things be called principles) we are not led by opinion, ſiſt of themſelves they are knowne to our underſtanding. Opinion therefore is of all things ; that is to wit, of all propoſitions, which of themſelves are not knowne unto vs. Alſo opinion is diſtinguiſhed from diuine faiſ : for faith ſignifieth a firme aſſent given unto the word of God, by the perſuaſion of the holy Ghoſt ; ſo that it ſaith, neither ſtaggereth nor wavereth as doth opinion. The ſecond propoſition of the argument aforeſaid is thus pꝛovēd : becauſe choiſe is one of thoſe things, which may be done of vs, wherefore it is not of all things, as opinion is.

Arilloſe hath another argument dyuine from the parts. Theſe two whole things, choiſe and opinion, have not the ſame parts, wherefore they might be diuine ; Ergo they are not all one. For the parts of choiſe are euill and good ; but the parts of opinion are falſe and true opinion. And yet this argument may ſeeme to be weak : for we commonly ſaie, that there be manie euill opinions ; as if a man thinke that our ſoules are mortall, or that God doth not by vs his pꝛovidence care for mens actions. Wherefore thinke theſe things, are ſaie to have ill opinions, firſt we anſwer hereto, that it is here underſtood

That no  
kind of op  
inion is all  
one with  
choiſe.

underſtood as it belongeth to maters : therefore Arilloſe ſaith, that opinion is neither euill nor good, becauſe it is not reckoned among maners. But the common ſort do call opinions, euill ; becauſe that which is falſe, is euill ; euen as that which is true, is good. For thoſe things, which are commonlie called tranſcendent, are loined one with another, that true, is good, and falſe, is euill. Alſo theſe opinions may ſometimes be called good or euill in a moꝛall ſenſe ; becauſe though thoſe falſe or true opinions, men are directed by either to good or unto euill maners. The next argument is taken from the effects, to pꝛovēd that it cannot be particulare ſaie, that one kind of opinion is all one with choiſe. Here we haue to deale with the particular part, becauſe it hath ben already declared in the whole, that opinion & choiſe do differ. Wherefore, leaſt any man might ſaie ; They differ generallie, and yet it may be, that ſome opinion is a particular choiſe ; Arilloſe pꝛovēd, that this cannot be : becauſe (ſaith he) this is the effect of choiſe, that though a luſt came we ſhall become men denominated of that qualitie ; to wit, luſt men. But this hath been not in opinion ; and therefore they are by no means all one. A ſhole things, which be here ſpoken, are moſt euident in an incontinent man : for he, becauſe he maiketh ar ill choiſe, is ſaie to be an euill man, whereas in other maters he may hold an opinion right enough. For as touching vertues, he iudgeth rightlie ; and thinkeſt, that it is good to temper himſelfe from viciouſſitie and diſhoneſtie, & yet both not choiſe this : he is not called a good man. But yet none can denie, but that euen by conceiting an opinion, we are become iudged with ſome certeine kind of qualitie, ſince opinion it ſelfe is a qualitie, and euen of opinions do arriſe ſome affects of the mind. But Arilloſe is to be underſtood as touching that qualitie, whereby we conceite an opinion, and do make our choiſe : for in choſing of chaſt things, we become chaſt ; by choſing of ſtrong things, we become ſtrong ; by choſing of liſt things, we become liſt. But it is not liſtlike true in general, as touching opinion ; for in conceiting an opinion of eternall things, we are not made eternall ; nor yet in conceiving an opinion of anye thing touching iuſtice, are we made iuſt. Wherefore this is true, that by true opinions we become moze apt unto vertues, and though falſe opinions, moze prone unto vices. But opinion it ſelfe doth ſtraiteſſe of it ſelfe, ſo ſome as it is preſent, communicate unto vs ſuch ſortes of denominations ; but yet it becometh that there be a choiſe had therein. Moreover, choiſe is occupied in purſuing of ſien, but ſo is not opinion : for when anye thing is offered unto vs, we begin to conceite an opinion what

it is, what commoditie may be gotten thereby, and how it muſt be uſed. But we do not to much conceite in our opinion, whether the thing ſhould be choiſed ; or followed : for that rather appertaineth to choiſe. Whereafter, betwene theſe things there ſeemeth, that there ſhould be a certeine order ſet : for firſt (as I ſaid) we conceite in opinion what it is, what poſſit it bringeth, and how it ſhall ſerue our turne. Which things being received in opinion, then we pꝛoceed either to purſue, or to eſchew the matter.

## The third Chapter.

Of the Lawe.

**H**ere I thought it good to ſpeak ſomewhat concerning the nature of the lawe, and therewithal to ſhew, how the Manichees and Pelagians have perverted it not ; and what the ſame woꝛth in vs, either before regeneration, or after we be iuſtified.

Firſt, as touching the forme thereof, the ſame muſt be affirmed, which Paule ſaith in his epiſtle to the Romans, when he ſaith, that it is ſpirituall. But the vniuerſall end thereof, and which appertaineth unto all men, is to bring men unto the knowledge of ſinne, which thing Paule ſignified, ſaieing ; that by the lawe cometh the knowledge of ſinne. Whereof thou deſiſt therefore the apoſtle ſaith not rather : By the lawe cometh the knowledge of ſinfullneſſe ; I anſwer, becauſe a man not yet regenerate, ſo long as he is without Chriſt, can not haue in himſelfe the ſeale of good woꝛks, or of true righteouſneſſe, which may ſatiſſie the lawe of God. Wherefore, when he compareth his dealings with the lawe, he perceiueſt them to be one ſailles and tranſgreſſions. But if we do ſpeak of the end of the lawe, as touching the elect ; that is Chriſt. And this doth alſo Paule ſaie, ſaieing ; The end of the lawe is Chriſt Iuſtification : which yet he ſpeaketh not vniuerſallie, but vniuerſallie one that beleuech. For the lawe it ſelfe, by it ſelfe doth not bring a man to this end. The heathen ſaie, that The end of the lawe is a knowledge, which it becometh as touching things to be done. Whereupon Chryſoſtomes (as he is cited in the Diſputes) ſaith ; that The lawe is the knowledge of things diuine and humane. Whereby, this end, and this definition be to largele extended : for all wiſedome, and all good art, do teach ſome knowledge of diuine and heauenly things.

Now there remaineth, that we diligentlie

In Rom. 3. Of the nature of the lawe, the ſpiritualitie and iuſtificatione thereof it not.

Rom. 3. 10.

Rom. 10. 4.

For the lawe by it ſelfe dooth not lead to Chriſt and to ſalutation.

conſi.





might not fulfill the lawe. Further, he saith, The wisdom of the flesh is inimic to towards God, for it is not subiect unto the lawe of God, neither can it be. For although the lawe hath power to teach, and to give light unto the mind; yet doth it not therefore minister strength, or change the will. Wherefore Ambrose in his booke *De fuga saeculi*, saith; that the lawe can stop the mouth of all men, but yet cannot convert the mind. And a little after; The lawe in deed maketh the fault evident, but taketh not away the naughtiness. Wherefore grace must be added thereto; to the which, because the Pelagians contemned, they wandered from salvation, and were iustlic condemned of the church.

4 As concerning then the office of the lawe, these few things must be observed; first, that the same is not altogether unprofitable, even without regeneration: for it may be available to some kind discipline. For, if men do the outward works of the lawe, in such sort as they may; although they be sinners unto them, which do them; yet though them, it will either may be preferred. For where there is no observation of the things, all things are confounded; wrongs be done, naughty lust rageth out of measure, the wrath of God is kindled; so as he suffereth those common vices, which be thus corrupted, not long to continue. Also there is an other use of the lawe, which is inward, appertaining to the conscience, that it should perpetually accuse, vex, whip, and condemn the same. And by this means, as we have said, God doth at the length bring men to iudification: which iudification being obtained, the lawe doth not yett lie idle; but is like unto a glaſſe, wherein the regenerate beholds what fruits of faith they ought to bring forth, how much they ought enerie day to profit, what they have to give thanks for, and how much they want of the lawe restitution, whereby they may the more earnestly piane unto God theretofore. Also, the lawe setteth a marche before our eyes, whereby they ought to leuell in all their actions: unto the which, although they cannot attaine in this life; yet they must apply their indevour to depart but a little from it. Where things it appereth, how much the lawe doth avale in outward works; what it worketh in the conscience, and how much it helpeth them which be regenerate.

Of Philosophie, and of the comparison  
hereof, speciallie morall, with Divi-  
nities taken out of the beginning  
of the Commentaries up-  
on Aristorles Ethiks.

5 All the knowledge that we have, is either

recrualed, or gotten by indevour: In the former part is divinitie, and in the latter is philosophie. The name of philosophie is compounded. Etymology of some is called a knowledge of all the things that be extant. But since that wisdom comprehendeth nothing but a certaine and undoubted knowledge, it cannot be as concerning all things; for some certaine things are vaine: things that come by chance and casuallie, cannot be knowle, because of their uncertainty. Others saie, that the same is a knowledge of divine and humane things; howbeit, betwixt divine and humane, there are found manie things; namely, the circles of heaven, starres, elements, meteoys, stones, mines, plants, herbes, and beaſt beaſts. But they referre heaven unto God; because it is a thing immortal: but inferiour things, they lay, belong unto men, so much as they be corruptible. But in what place will they account the science Mathematicall? Howbeit it fethmet that it is defined to wit, that it is an habit giuen to mens minds by God, increased by diligence & exercise, whereby by althings that be, are comprehended, so far forth as they can certainly & by firme reason be comprehended, that man may attaine unto felicitie. And here be all the kinds of causes. The forme, which is the habit. The matter, wherein it cleaveth; that is to wit, the mind and reason of man, and those things about which (as about objects) the same is occupied, namely, about all things that be extant, yet not simple and absolute, but so far forth as they can be certeinly knowle. The longer is specified; namely, in that God is appointed to be the author; for he hath planted light in our minds, and hath sowed in us the seeds, which are the originals of all sciences. Whereupon Cicero in the first booke of his *Tulcanian* questions, saith, that Philosophie is the gift and inuention of the gods. And this doth Lucretius also grant, although he were an Epicure. And so much as an assured knowledge of all things may rather be desired than hoped for, and is longer loved than possessed; and that the more we give ourselves to the same, how much the more are we directed towards it: therefore it is called philosophie. The author of this name was Pythagoras: he, when he was come to Philonza, and had spoken with Leontes, which in this place was a tyrant; marrelling at the wit and eloquence of the man, demanded of him what art or science he would profite: to who would not late, that he was a wise man, but one that desired wisdom, that is, a philosopher.

6 And this being defined on this wise, it is divided into three part active and contemplative: of which both which Aristotle in treatise of, according as the subject required. These do so differ, as contemplative

templative alone be beholdeth, and active practiseth those things that be knowen. So as they differ in their ends; for contemplation of things it selfe in the vertic contemplation of things; for it is not able to exercise them. But active doth theretofore behold, that it may in wayes perfect the thing which it knoweth. And we fee undoubtedly, that in man there be two wayes; for be understood, and afterwards he knoweth. And when as God not onlie understandeth himselfe, and is happy and perfect to himselfe; but also by his providence doth create, & things being brought forth, governeth them: so likewise is there two sorts of mans felicitie; the one, which we may call active, and therof doth Aristotle write in his first booke of Ethics; and the other, which is farre more perfect and exquisite, is contemplative, and of that he disputeth in the tenth booke. Whereby it appereth, that man, if he become perfect in this double felicitie, shall be more near unto the similitude of God. Wherefore Plato, in his booke of the immortality of the soule, saith; that Philosophie is the imitating of God, according to mans ability. Further is this distinction of active and speculative giuen (as some thinke) by the works of our owne understanding and will: for it ought not thus to be; because knowledges are distinguished by their objects. But if a man will somewhat more diligently consider of the matter, he shall see, that it must be taken according as those things be which are understood; for those either have God and nature for their causes, and then they belong to the kind speculative; because such things we cannot do by our owne choice. But there be other things, which have vs for their causes, in respect that we do build & dwell; and these be of the active facultie.

which part  
of wisdom  
exerciseth o-  
thers.

But let vs see whether of these is the more excellent. By the common and received opinion, the speculative is preferred before the active: for action is ordered unto contemplation; but not so on the other part. And no man doubteth, but that which is ordered to another thing, is of less worthiness than that thing. But they are gaine obiect, that the generall word of contemplation belongeth unto action; for therefore do we behold nature, that we may love the author thereof; and therefore do we seek to knowe God; to the intent we may honor him: and for this cause is our divinitie of some, called active. Howbeit, these men, in reasoning after this manner, are verie much deceived; for there is no science theretofore called active, because there followeth a worke of that knowledge, unless the selfe-same thing be performed which was first knowen. When we behold nature, and the heaven, albeit of the same there followe a worshipping and loving of God; yet must not such

a knowledge be called active, so much as that is not brought to passe which we do behold: for there is no man that can make nature and heaven, and other works that followe thereof. Accidentalitie they are said to be done: for not all they which do behold the things, do love and honor God; naie rather, they be offendentes further of all from him. And further, the works following that knowledge, & also our divinitie, have respect unto this; that we may knowe God more and more, until we behold him face to face in the kingdom of heaven.

And our famous Christ confirmed this opinion, when he said; This is eternall life, that they may knowe thee the onlie true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent. And not onlie do these two points entitle philosophie, but they also bind our understanding; whereupon the one is called active, and the other speculative; not as though there be two powers or faculties of the mind; but because the understanding, according as it is concerned about such and such other things, so is it called either speculative or active. That philosophie which is speculative, is divided into three parts. For there be some things even utterly fumbled and secured from the matter; so is God, and so are the intelligences, and they are called supernatural; or else they are things so inherent in the matter, as without it they can not so much as be defined, & in that sort they are natural: or else they are after a middle sort; for that they cannot be without a matter, either of iron, or wood, or such like, and yet may be defined, or understood without those things; as are the Mathematicals.

7 These things may be yet further distinguished; by 3 causes, and I will so divide active philosophie, as therein may be taught precepts touching the life and instruction either of one or of manie. If it be of one, it is a booke of morall philosophie; if of manie, they are either more in number, or fewer. If they be fewer, they concerneth household government: if they be more, they belong to the common weale. If it be in that place which we leave at: They are comprehended under the third active kind, and belong unto politike government; neither must they be excluded from the nature of wisdom. For art is *οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη, ἀλλὰ ἐργασμα*, which is *ἐκ τῆς τέχνης, διὰ τὴν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη*. In this definition there appeare two things. First, that art is an habit belonging to knowledge, whereby some things are certeinly comprehended; namely, though erroneous and experienced, so as it can not be excluded from wisdom. And it is not to be doubted, that the ancient called them, wise men, which found out these arts, or else did excell in them. Whereupon Bezeel and Aoliab in the holie Scriptures

Iohn. 6.

A blisfull  
of mans  
understand-  
ing.

A blisfull  
of speculati-  
ve philo-  
sophie.

A blisfull  
of active  
philosophie.

where these  
kind arts  
doe belong.



All men knowe what an excellent thing is the strength of herbes, stones, metals, and medicines; and this we not we also denie: but for all that, both it not followe, that this is a twofold facultie, whereby the acts, the offices, the arts, the methods, the wits, vertues and vices of men be perceived: What can be accounted more excellent, than for a man to knowe himselfe: And thus do we singularly well knowe herbe. And moreover, we must call to mind that which Plato saith; to wit, that it may easilie come to passe, that earnest loues toward vertue, may be stirred up in vs, if otherwhile some image thereof might be set before our eyes. And on the other side, we are a great deale to blame, that we do not where behold the same neere at hand. There ariseth no small pleasure by this science, to knowe within what bounds the light of nature ought to keepe it selfe, and how far in its owne right it may extend. And Christian religion is exceedinglie hindered, by considering the manners of the Ethniks: since by a comparison we perceive, how greaue those things, which be taught in the holie scriptures, do errell the philosophical precepts. For it is a common saying, that Contraries, when they are compared together, do shine with the greater light. And errors can not conveniently be humned, except they be first knowne. Wherefore, they that haue knowne both of these faculties, shall the easilier avoide the faults of the one; namely, of humane philosophic, especially, when they shall be thewed plainlie in their owne proper places.

*Necessary rules aswell for the expounding, as for obeying of the Lawe.*

12 First, we are to marke the order of the tables, which we see set forth in the ten commandments. For the first table is that, which treateth concerning God, without any meane; but the other is directed vnto our neighbour. And we must iudge, that the dignitie of the first table is the greater, because it containeth the other, and as a principall architecture hath the same vnder it; and further, that the end thereof is more noble, because the end of the latter table is rule and governed by the former. Therefore Luther in his catchpme, verie punctilie in cuerie one precept of the latter table, rehearsed the end of the first table. For example sake; Because God must be loued with all the heart, and with all the soule; therefore thou shalt not kill. Again; Because God must be loued with all the hart, and with all the soule, therefore thou must not commit adulterie. In the ten commandments onlie, the summe of the lawe is set forth, and that after the plainer and homelier sort; wherein we ought to understand all

the parts thereof. The head and summe of all deccitfull things is *avarice*, which significth, Immoderate coveting of more, or, To cause himselfe a greater part than is iust. Even as against all foule voluptuous pleasures, onlie adulterie is expressely named, vnder which is comprehended all kinds of uncleannes. And touching the commandment of solitarie, therein is forbidden all kind of false wooshipping, where as that onlie is expressely which is most grosse. Where two lawes are made one contrarie to an other; the obedience must be done vnto the latter. God commanded that the first fruits should be offered vnto him, and sacrifices to be made vnto his name: but he himselfe afterward commanded, that all the goods of the Amalechites should be utterly destroyed. Vnto this latter commandment Saule should haue obeyed.

13 This is to be observed in all precepts, as well ceremoniall, as iudiciall, and morall. When two precepts of God seme one to be repugnant to an other, so as the one is a hinderance to the other, that they cannot both at one time be observed; yea rather, it is necessarie that the one of them for the time being be omitted; then, that which shall be iudged weightier and greater, must be retained. But yet in the meane time, that other, which is reckoned to be lesse and lighter, is not violated, because in the same there is nothing done against the will of God. The lawe commanded, that euery one should haue respect to the sake of his neighbour; and if one be a magistrate, that he by armes defend his citie. The same lawe commandeth, that we must not labour on the sabbath daie: the enimie besiegeth the citie, and so on the sabbath daie; because he knoweth that that lawe was laid vpon the citizens. Here seemeth a contrarietie of the precepts: for on the one part, a sabbet must be maintained; and on the other part, the sabbet must be observed. The Madababes iudged it best to fight, because the sabbet of the common-weale seemed greater and better than the ceremonie of the sabbet.

Also the lawe is, that we should feed the hungry; and an other lawe commandeth, that the sheyn-beard should be eaten of none, but of the priests. Dauid came hungrie vnto the priest, nothing he had but the sheyn-beard: therefore here cometh together two contrarie precepts. The lawe requireth followeth and obeyeth that, which is the weightier; namely, to feed the hungry: he brought out the sheyn-beard, and helped Dauid. There is also another lawe, that we must furnish the prince with armes; for he is to be holpen by his subiects: and contrariwise, it is commanded, that things consecrated vnto God must not be translated vnto other uses. Dauid

the kings some in law, which thwarted for him as his generall lieutenant, was then unarmed: the priest had no weapon at hand, but the sword of Goliath. Here be two precepts, which seme contrarie; the priest followed the one, and delivered the sword vnto the magistrate: because he iudged it better, to arme the magistrate, than to observe the ceremonie.

Also there is a lawe, that the church must not be deprivate of ministers, so as it should be destitute of them: and Paul hath another lawe, that a nourse or man newlie entered into religion, should not be a bishop. The church of Milane was much troubled, because it could not find a meet bishop, that as well was free from the heresie of Arius, as also that had great authoritie and learning given him of God: onlie there was Ambrose; but yet a nourse, and newlie come to the faith. Here are two lawes met, in them contrarie one to another; but it was met for the latter lawe to give place to the greater: for Christ saith, when by the sentence of the prophet he saith, I will haue mercie, & not sacrifice, holobeth, he meant not, that he will not haue sacrifice; but that, if two commandments meet together, whereof the one belongeth vnto mercie, and the other vnto sacrifice; he testifieth, that he had rather haue mercie, than lawe sacrifice.

14 Whereto also may be referred, that Augustine vnto Publicola discreete and largelie diuinitie, whether it be lawfull for a christian man to receiue of an Ethnik one oath by false gods: and at the end he concludeth that it is lawfull. For when as the Romans had on euerie side neighbours that were idolaters, it was of necessitie, that they should keepe with them some ciuill faith and covenants. And so it becometh, that they should haue sworne by the true God; but when that might not be brought to passe, it remained, that the Romane christians should abuse their naughtinesse, and receiue that oath which was offered by the names of the idols. For so Iacob receiued an oath of Laban, when he doubted not, but that he woohipped the gods of Nadior his father. There is an excellent historie extant in the 41. chapter of Ieremie, when Iheraal had slaine Godolias, he encountered with certeine men going to woohip at Terusalem; those also he led out of the waie, and slue. Of these men there were ten that said; Slaue vs now, we haue honie, oile, and graine; if thou wilt pardon vs our life, we will thew thee where those things be. Those men may seme not to haue done rightlie, in seeking of their goods vnto theues; for that was to be willing to helpe manifest robbery. For they could not haue found no taken among those gods, vntill they had bene thewed vnto them; vntill they

in verie deed vnto the wickednesse of other to save their owne life.

So may be excused, which take by monie vpon interest; for that would be not, except be were constrained through want and necessitie; and when he is compelled to be at another mans deuotion, he suffereth iniurie, but doeth it not. So Paul vnto the Philippians saith; that There be some, which teach the Gospell through Phil. 1. 15. euill will: and yet (he saith) that Therin he reioiceth, yea, and will reioice; for that they, if they would an act of an ill will, shall render account vnto the Lord: but that he would warrant their offense. And here it must doubte be considered, whether the thing it selfe in his owne nature be euill. For if it be, then must it not in any wise allowe the same by our consent: if it be not, there is no let, but that being forced by necessitie, we may assent thereto, so as the same may be undertaken without any fault of ours. But yet in the meane time must be, with whom we in such wise do compact or consent, be admonished of his fault.

15 Yet there cometh a question, whether that old man, which is spoken of in the 19. of Iudas, and 14. verbe did right; when he promised his daughter, and the Lewis wife vnto the Gabionites, to the intent they should not be violence vnto his grandfather. All the iudges answere it not after one manner. Some saie, that he had respect vnto the greatnes and grauenesse of the crime, and preferred the lesse cuill before the greater; and that he would not breake the faith which he had giuen to his guest: and they thinke that by such reasons he was to be excused. Some otherwise iudge they as concerning Lot. And among the rest, Chrysostome greaue commenteth Lot in that matter. Which Ambrose also doth in his booke of Abraham the Patriarch; for that he made full account of the iniurie of his house, than of so great a villanie. But Augustine in his question vpon Genesis, both weigheth these things more diligetlie and narrowlie; and denieth altogether, that the recommending of one fault vnto another is to be suffered. In his iudgement it was not lawfull for him, so yeld his daughters to the lewd lust of the Sodomites, thereby to keepe them from a more graue sinne. Neither is it lawfull, that we in our owne felices, should commit a lesse fault to another a greater: for the apostle doth plainlie teach, that We must not do euill, that good may come of Rom. 3. 8. Therefore, when the matter cometh to sin, although it seme to be but light; yet it must be wholly forgoiue. And if any matter more heinous might seme to inue by the blame of sinne, the care thereof must be committed vnto God; but, we vnder that penence must not commit a sinne. This was Augustines opinion, which

In the Commentaries upon Aristotle's Ethics

In the 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

And verie well allow.

And leaſt we go from the hſtorie which we haue in hand : although this old man was to keepe his faith with his ghoſt : yet ſhould he alſo haue bin faithfullneſſe and protection towards his daughter, and the Leuites wiſe : & neither was it lawfull for him to ſhew a more faithfullneſſe vnto his ghoſt, than the word of God permitted. Wherefore, he could not in right, humble vnto them either his daughter, or the wiſe of his ghoſt : for the father hath not ſo much power over his daughter, as he may let her ſoſhly to be abuſed by other men : neither ought the daughter her ſelfe to obeye in aſie thing that is ſinne, although her father would will her, & command her. But they ſaie, that the leſſer cuill muſt be preferred before the greater. I knowe, that if it ſhould haue cuſtomable ſpoken. But it muſt be rightlie vnderſtood : namely, that it taketh place in outward affections, and in the troubles of the bodie, and of the life : becauſe in ſuch manner of diſcommodities, as often as we are to take deliberation what we ſhould preferre, the leſſer loſſe muſt be preferred before the greater : becauſe it hath a reſpect of god. But in ſinne there is no conſideration of god : and ſurelie whatſoeuer is ſinne, the ſame muſt ſtraightwaie be reſeard, let there afterward followe what will. But Auguſtine after a ſort excuſeth Lot, and that old man : becauſe they offered by reaſon of a ſoyrſall and troubled mind.

At ſometimes happeneth vnto wiſe men, that when their mind is diſquieted, they doe thoſe things, which afterward, when they come to themſelves, they doe not allow. What this excuſe doth not utterly diſcharge men of ſinne, although it ſomewhat releueth them. Whatbeit, if a man will ſaie, that Paul did prefer the leſſe ſinne before the greater, when he ſaie : that He would be accuſed from Chriſt for his brethren, rather than they ſhould continue in that blindneſſe and obſtinacie wherein they were holden : he that obiecteth this againſt vs, let him conſider that he doth not rightlie vnderſtand the place of Paul. He ſubſtitute the apoſtle deſired to redeeme the ſoules with the perill of his owne ſelfe : not vnderſtandeth with ſinne, but with his loſſe and hurt : namely to be accuſed of Chriſt : not that he meant to be an Apoſtata, or to forſake his belee in Chriſt : but onlie to be without the fruition of eternall and happy life. Auguſtine hath alſo manie things againſt this redeeming of ſinnes : and among other things ſaith : What if a man require either of a maiden fornication, or of a married woman adulterie, and threaten to kill himſelfe, vntleſſe he may obtaine his deſire : ſhall the pure and chaste woman giue aſie care vnto him : & ſo ſoſhly : neither if

he ſhall afterward kill himſelfe, muſt the chaste woman ſeeme to be guiltie of his death. What ought inſoed to be ſoyrſall for his milhap, and to beſmale his fate : but they ſhall not thinke themſelves to haue done amiſſe : becauſe they conſented not vnto him in vnlawfull things.

The ſame Auguſtine, vpon the 146. pſalme, ſaith : that if a man ſhall denie vnto his wiſe due beneuolence, to the end he may lue contentment, and in the meane time, his wiſe fall into adulterie : he committeth ſinne, and his beneuolence is not to be allowed : for that vice is not to be permitted in the wiſe, for exercising of his continence. God ſaith he doth not redeeme to great a loſſe, with ſuch a gaine. Wherefore the ſentence of Leo the firſt in diſtinction 46, chapter *Nemo* ſa, is to be liked, which ſaith : that it is an vnmet thing, that aſie ſhould direct their crime to other mens commodities. Auguſtine ſaith *De mendacio ad Conſentium* ſaith : that ſinne doth more what we can for the ſafety of others : but if the caſe ſo ſtand, that it cannot be holpen without committing of ſinne, then reſtey nothing elſe for vs to doe. And he addeth that none muſt be brought vnto heauen by making a lie. The ſame father ſaith in another place : if the poore ſee a rich man cruel and couetous, and would pynſſle ſome thing from him, to helpe either themſelves, or ſome other poore, they diminiſh not ſinne, but increaſe it. And Gregorie biſhop of Rome, in an epiſtle vnto Sigris, ſaith : that he commit a leſſe ſin, for to anſwer a greater : is to offer ſacrifice to God of a wicked act : as we read in the 27. chapter of the *Proverbs*. But where as Chryſoſtome and Ambroſe, in this reſpect do commend Lot, they muſt be thus vnderſtood : namely, that they allowed of his faith and charitie towards ſtrangers : and that they had a conſideration of the horribleſſes of that time, which the citizens were ready to commit : not that they allow the making of their women common.

Due this, we muſt obſerue, that all the commandments of God either command, or forbid ſome thing. And they command not, to the intent onlie that aſie thing ſhould be lightlie done : but that it ſhould be alſo done with all the hart, with all the mind, and with all the ſtrength, and that moſt readie : ſo as there be not one ſin in vs, but is obediēt vnto the will of God. And that they forbid, that do they not onlie to forbid, that it ſhall not be in vs : but alſo, that there be not left in vs ſo much as aſie motion or inclination thereto. And therefore God pronounced, Thou ſhalt not lue : to the intent, that thoſe things which God hath forbidden, we ſhould abhorre in mind, in will, & in deed, lie in all the parts, as well of the mind as of the bodie.

## Of Idolatrie.

Deut. 5.

Exod. 32.

And after this manner theſe two commandments anſwer one vnto another : Thou ſhalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy ſoule, and with all thy hart, &c. which is to be repeated in all the precepts that do command aſie thing : and the latter : Thou ſhalt not lue : which in like manner muſt be vnderſtood touching all things which be forbidden, the efficacy in theſe two commandments, of the lawe is vnderſtood, as without which the reſt of the commandments of God can not be full and perfect.

## The fourth Chapter.

Of Idolatrie, forbidden by the firſt Commandment.

In Job. 31. 11  
Look in  
Job. 15. 19



what an  
idoll is.

The word Idolatrie is a Graecike word, and a compoſit of *Idol* and *latreia*, which ſignifieth, a forme, or (as if we ſaid ſaie) A ſhape. But an idoll (as we now ſpeake of) is euerie forme or figure, which men haue inuented vnto themſelves, to reſemble and expreſſe God. And as there be found out ſundry and manifold matters of theſe formes : ſo there alſo diuers kinds of idols. Whereupon, if the matter be ſtones, wood, or metall, whereby God is outwardlie conſecrated, to the intent he ſhould be there worſhipped : thoſe be groſſe and moſt manifold idols. There may be viſed alſo a ſpiritual matter, which then happeneth, when theſe formes and images are nothing elſe, but conceits of the hart and mind : which men doe frame to themſelves to repreſent God himſelfe : not as the ſcripture declarath himſelfe, but according to their owne opinion and ratiſſe. Wherefore, according to the properties of the matter, an idoll is diuided into two kinds : the one is outward or viſible, and hath recourse to the outward ſenſes of men ; but the other is inward, that is, wrought in the inward parts of the mind. There be alſo two parts of religious worſhipping. The one is inward, whereby we beleeue in God himſelfe, truſt in him, giue him thanks, ſubmit our ſelues and all that he haue vnto him, and deuotionally call vpon him in our prayers : in theſe actions (no doubt) conſiſteth the inward worſhipping. But the other part hath outward tokens, wherein we giue a teſti-

monie of this mind of ours, by proſtrating the bodie, and bowing the knee, by vincturing the head, by ſpeaking, and by executing rites and ceremonies by God appointed. And this is an outward worſhipping or adoration.

But we muſt note, that ſuch outward kind of ſignes of bowing the bodie, or knees, and ſuch other like, are done alſo vnto creatures : I meane vnto princes and kings, which in earth doe repreſent vnto men the authoritie of God, and doe ſuplie his place in the adminiſtration of things. And beſide, then they are nothing elſe to be eſteemed, but certaine true teſtimonies, whereby, as manie as are ſubiecs, doe trulie and from the hart conſeſſe, that they in the name of God will be ſubiecs and obediēt vnto ſuch governors, ſo farre as pietie and the word of God ſhall permit. But we muſt beware, leſt in our inward ingagement we attribute more vnto them than is meet : or expect more of them than their power and might is able to performe : for otherwiſe we ſhould not ſcape idolatrie. Wherefore, if aſie, by bowing himſelfe to his prince, would ſignifie that he can not erre ; and that it is lawfull for him to doe whatſoeuer him lieth, to command aſie thing that ſouer his pleaſure is : doubtleſſe ſuch a one ſhould be counted an idolater, and ſhould commit the crime aſwell inwardly as outwardlie.

And whether the popes hirelings doe viſe this trade, we may hereby eaſilie gather : in that they to caſt themſelves at his feet, to teſtifie, that they will be ſubiecs vnto him ; as to the onelie vicar of Chriſt vpon earth, as to him that can not erre in decrees of doctrines concerning faith, and finally, as to whom onlie it is lawfull, as he lieth himſelfe, to determine of religion and diſcipline. Let it then then be euerie where a rule and ſtrike rule, that theſe outward ſubmiſſions of the bodie doe then appertene to idolatrie, when they ſhall be teſtimonies, that the mind attributeth more vnto the creature than is meet : or which are onelie proper vnto God. For they be not referred vnto God himſelfe, or to the obediēce of his commandments ; but to ſaine formes and ſimilitudes, which we our ſelues haue imagined to our ſelues, and conſecrated in our mind.

Whereby we may alſo gather, that the inuocations of ſaints, which are viſed by the popes, are idolatrous. For they attribute vnto ſaints, thoſe things which belong onelie vnto God : namely, that they being abſent, heare our prayers ; or that they can be preſent at one time, either euerie where, or elſe in manie places at once : whereby to be able to ſuccour thoſe, which call vpon their names in diuerſe parts of the world. Auguſtine in his epiſtle to Dardanus, Auguſtine.

duſt

Luce.23.44.

Bafil.  
Didymus.

A feigned  
tale of the  
glasse of the  
diuine effence.

Matt.24.36.

Chap.40.  
p.104.  
butte more

durst not thus asseme, no not of the soule of  
Christ; to wit, that it might at one time be in  
maie places. Whereof, that which Christ spake  
vnto the thefe; This daie shall thou be with me  
in paradise, the same he expounded shoulde be  
vnderstood as touching his diuine nature: seing  
the bodie of Christ shoulde the same be both in  
the sepulchre, and his soule in hell: neither could  
that soule be both in hell and in paradise all at  
one time. Basilus *De spiritus sancto*, and also Di-  
dymus would not grant this vnto the angels,  
that they may be in diuers places at one time;  
affirming, that that thing ought onlie to be  
granted to the sole nature of God. But they,  
which call vpon saints, beleue that they heare  
them, and that they are present with them: which  
(without doubt) is to attribute more vnto them  
than the power and course of a nature created  
can suffer.

4. But here they trifle, and saie, that they do  
not so thinke; but that God himselfe, which hea-  
reth their prayers, both open vnto the saints  
what is required of them. But thus I answer;  
They be come as well themselves, as others: for  
they knowe not, whether God will shew vnto  
the saints their petitions; whereof the prayers,  
which they pouce out, cannot be grounded vpon  
faith, which ought to be sure and vndoubted.  
They being also a feigned lie of the glasse (as they  
call it) of the diuine essence, wherein the saints  
behold all things: but their feigned deuse hath  
no ground at all in the holie Scriptures.ouer  
this, seing they will needs haue it so: admit it  
were so, as they feigne it to be; yet must they be  
compelled to grant, that the same their glasse  
hath not a naturall, but a voluntarie representa-  
tion; so as there is onlie to much faine of the  
saints, as God will haue to be knowe. For  
eke, without all exception, the saints shoulde be-  
hold all things therein. Which is both false, and  
manifestly repugnant to the holie Scriptures:

Matt.24.36. for; O that daie (saith the Lord) the verie angels  
shall not knowe, which neuertheless doe be-  
hold the face of the father, which is in heauen.  
Hocouet; the Papists do not after this man-  
ner call vpon saints: for by this reckoning they  
shoulde thus saie; Cause, O God, that this  
or that saint may knowe those things, which I re-  
quire of him; and that he may be with me, and  
grant me that which I desire. But they deale far  
otherwise; O holie Peter (saie they) O holie  
Paul, praye for me; bring this or that thing to  
passe for me. So as they thinke, that the saints  
doe altogether heare and vnderstand their pray-  
ers: which if they thought not, then were their  
doings vnto little faith.

5. They declare also by their titles and ad-  
ditions, which they ascribe vnto the blessed virgin,  
vnto the crosse, and other creatures, how far

more woorthie they esteeme and repute of them  
than their condition can beare. Neither are they  
afraid, to set by lightes, wax candles, and  
lamps, to cense, and do other things vnto them;  
which the Christians, and also the Iewes in the old  
lawe were wont to performe vnto God alone.  
What shall I laie more? Do they not build vpon  
altars vnto the images of saints? But to whom  
altars are built, those are confirmed by a sure  
testimonie to be gods. Augustine in his tenth  
Come, and first sermon, writeth thus; It is an  
altar, which testifieth that to be counted for god,  
to whom it is erected. For the altar doth testifie,  
that they; namely, the Christians haue a god, and  
do take that image for a god. What shoulde an  
altar doe there, if that were not taken for a god?  
Let no man tell me it is not a pious diuine, it  
is not a god. But I would to God they knew  
this so well as we doe knowe it. But that they  
account of it, for what purpose they haue it,  
about what they be there occupied; that altar  
doth testifie.

6. Howbeit our aduersaries saie; Wee therfore  
do these things, because we haue tried by ex-  
perience, that they do please God: for they be  
woorthie miracles. And so I knowe, that God  
hath sometime done miracles by saints, euen  
by such as were dead: for the bones of Eliazus,  
by the touching of them, restored a dead man to  
life. And the same Eliazus used the cloke of Eli-  
as to diuide the waters of the riuer, that he  
might make the more expedition in his iourne.  
But God doth therefore woorthie these things  
sometimes, that the doctrine of the prophets and  
apostles, which was the verie word of God,  
might be confirmed. And yet the Scripture de-  
clareth not, that there was anie innocation, ei-  
ther of Elias, or of Eliazus, when those miracles  
were done. But seing the Papists do not, by  
these their innocations, seeke the confirmation  
of the euangelical doctrine, but rather are bolde  
occupied to establish their superstitions, those  
miracles, which they boast of, must rather be re-  
ferred to the diuell than to God.

For I can seeke nothing more, than to lead  
men awaie from the sincere service of God.  
This doubtlesse he attempted by the iugendres  
of Pharaos; and that such things must sometime  
happen vnto vs by Antichrist, Paul hath mani-  
feste admonished the Athenians. And thus  
saith he; that the diuell hath no power to do  
these things, onlesse God will, and giue licence.  
I grant it. And why he will so haue it, there be  
two causes set forth in the Scriptures; whereof  
the one is gathered out of Deuteronomie;  
namely, to trie vs, to the end it may plainlie ap-  
peare, in what estimation we haue his word;  
and whether, by such illusions, we will suffer our  
selues to be dyatone from him. The second

Angelic.

ver. 22.

Comellus  
sall vnto  
fall at the  
feet of  
the

Apoc. 17.  
John pro-  
strates him  
saith bringe  
the angel

1. Cor. 14.  
1. Cor. 14.

Exod. 1.  
8. 17.

1. Thim. 2.

Deuter. 32.

Of Idolatry.

1. Thim. 2.

ver. 22.

Apoc. 17.

John pro-  
strates him  
saith bringe  
the angel

1. Cor. 14.  
1. Cor. 14.

Exod. 1.  
8. 17.

1. Thim. 2.

Deuter. 32.

cause, is to punish the unbelieuers: for so Paul  
teacheth vs vnto the Athenians; Because  
(saith he) they haue not receiued the loue of the  
truth, therefore they are deliuered vp to be be-  
guiled with strong illusions, and diuelish mi-  
racles.

7. But we meet with two places in the scrip-  
tures, which must be examined, whereby our oc-  
curre now in hand may be the more confirmed.  
The first is in the Acts of the apostles, the tenth  
chapter, touching Cornelius the Centurion;  
to whom when Peter came, he threw himselfe at  
his feet; but Peter would not suffer it; yea  
rather he reproued him, and said; Doe not so,  
rise vp. I also am a man. It is read likewise in the  
Apocalypse, that John prostrated himselfe be-  
fore the angel: but he admonished him, that he  
shoulde not do so; I am (saith he) thy fellowe ser-  
uant. These two places might thus be vnder-  
stood; that Peter and the angel condemneth their  
actions, as in a manner idolatrous; as though  
the Centurion and John shoulde attribute anie  
diuine nature, the one to Peter, and the other to  
the angel, and shoulde giue them more hono-  
ur than is due vnto creatures. But I seemeth,  
that this must not easily be belied as touching  
anie of both these. The Scripture testifieth with  
the Centurion, that he did feare and worship  
God. How can we then thinke, that he could be  
brought to beleue, that Peter was a god; or  
that he would attribute diuine honours vnto a  
creature? And it is verie like, that John, which  
was eicher an apostle, or else (as some will haue  
it) a notable diuine, did put no difference be-  
tweene an angel and God.

But it is to be neither of these would wor-  
ship the creature, in stead of the Creator; it may  
saue to remaine, that it is not lawfull to giue  
vnto creatures this kind of outward reuerence.  
Wherefore we shall seme, not to haue said well  
before, in affirming, that these things may be  
done to princes and kings. Vnto this I an-  
swer, that there must be a difference obserued  
betwene ciuill and worshippe honour, and a di-  
uine or religious worshiping; as we haue be-  
fore declared. Further, we must vnderstand,  
that these two men, Cornelius (I meane) and  
John, intended not by this their worshiping, to  
transfer the honour of God vnto creatures.  
Howbeit, it may easilie be, that they fell into an  
vmeasurable theie of reuerence, and so some-  
what offended in exerce.

8. But as touching kings and princes, we  
are in much little danger of offending, than to  
wards angels, or ministers of Christ: for they,  
in so much as they execute the spiritual function,  
the honour, which is giuen vnto them, dyeth  
nigher vnto religious worship. Wherefore,  
in those places, either the bowing of the knee, or

Angelic.

ver. 22.

Apoc. 17.

John pro-  
strates him  
saith bringe  
the angel

1. Cor. 14.  
1. Cor. 14.

Exod. 1.  
8. 17.

1. Thim. 2.

Deuter. 32.

of the boole are not of themselves to be condem-  
ned; but in respect that they be done for religi-  
on sake. Moderate honours therfore must be  
used, especiallie when they be done for religion.  
And thus much shall be sufficient for this time  
concerning this matter. But let me remember  
that, which we haue admonished before, that this  
also both belong vnto idolatry; when as we  
worship the true God by other means and rites  
than he hath willed and prescribed vnto vs. For  
if we otherwise do, we shall worship an idol,  
according to that second forme before described,  
by seigning to our selues in our mind or hart  
any god, which is delighted with the worship  
invented by men: and such a god is there  
none. Wherefore we shall not honour and wor-  
ship the true God, but an idoll, the which in our  
mind we haue fashioned. And beleeue to this ef-  
fect we ought to vnderstand Pauls; We be  
saith in the first epistle to the Corinthians; We  
knowe that an idoll is nothing in the world.  
Paul teacheth not, that an idoll is nothing, as  
touching the shape and outward forme: for no  
man doubteth, but that the idolls themselves haue  
place either in the outward matter, or else in-  
wardly in our minds. Yet an idoll then he ment,  
not the verie figure, but the thing whereunto  
the same hath relation. And he vnderstood, that  
the thing it selfe, which is signified in the idolls,  
is nothing at all: seing there is no where a god,  
which is eicher represented, or delighted with  
such images.

Whether it be lawfull for Christians  
to dwell among Infidels.

9. Seeing the Iherusalem fell, because they  
dwelt together among the unbelieuing nati-  
ons; and rather erased tributes of them, than ac-  
cording to the commandement of God, weeded  
them out: I thinke it good to intreate, and haue  
it be lawfull for godlie men to dwell and haue  
conueruation with the vngodlie. And surelie  
there be manie reasons, whereby the same might  
seeme to be indifferent. The first is, because  
Christ did not then the feasts of the Iherusalem,  
and Pharisees, and sinners. Secondly, Paul in the  
first epistle to the Corinthians admitted not,  
that the believing thing should depart from his  
unbelieuing husband, if so be that he be content  
to liue and dwell together with him. Hecouet,  
the same apostle writeth, that if anie infidell bid  
you to a feast, and ye be willing to go, then eat  
such things as are before you. These things  
therefore, he maketh it free. Further-  
more, the same apostle in the same epistle saith,  
that he warned the Corinthians, that they shoulde  
auoid thymongers, raueners, and cruel spae-  
kers.

To worship  
god others  
wile than  
he hath ap-  
pointed is  
idolatry.

1. Cor. 14.

1. Cor. 14.

1. Cor. 14.

1. Cor. 14.

1. Cor. 14.

1. Cor. 14.



hers, and such like: but not all (faith he), for so must ye go out of the world; but if any be called a brother, &c. Therefore it is not forbidden to do the fellowship of all the vngodly. Therefore this, Abraham was called out of Chaldaea, and was commanded to dwell as a stranger among nations, which were strange from true religion: and so he dwelt in the land of Chanaan, and in Egypt, which places were fraught with idolatries. Pea and Lot separated himself from the conuerfation and houfhold of Abraham his kinsman, & went to dwell at Sodom. Also Naaman the Syrian, returned to the idolaters his countrymen. In like manner, Christ did not retaine all those with him, which he had healed from diseases, but sometime he sent them home againe, that they might shew there what was done vnto them. Finally, by euill lawes certaine hereticks haue had places appointed vnto them: as the Nouarians in the cite of Constantinople. And it is granted at this date to the Iewes, to haue euerie where libertie to dwell among Christians.

Now this question as it is twofold, so hath it also verie manie difficulties. Therefore it seemeth that we shoulde first make a distinction what may be lawfull vnto magistrates, & what vnto private men. Then must we vnderstand, that the conuerfation with infidels is of two sorts; oneis, whereby men are compelled vnto idolatrous and impure worshipings; and another is whereby they remaine at libertie. For euer, it must be considered, that they which dwell together with the vngodlie, be sometimes, as concerning religion, lawfull and constant; and sometimes both lawles and also vnlabeled. If somewhat more therefore, that we declare (as touching private men) that if they be learned, and haue the vngodliness joined with learning, so they be not compelled to communicate with vngodlie ceremonies, may lawfullie haue their conuerfation with infidels: yet so, as there be viced certaine cautions. The first caution is, that they do it with this mind, to instruct those which be strangers from godlines, and to induce them to true religion. And therefore, while they be conuersant among them, they must not cease, but euer busie themselves about those things, for the which they dwell in those places. And that their instruction and doctrine may be fruitfull, it is a singular point of wisdom, that they be familiar, gentle, and courteous toward those whom they meane to win vnto Christ. For vnlabeled they shoulde perswade themselves, that they are beloued and greatlike of those, which teach and admonish them; the thing well purposed shall but vnprofitable proceed.

Furthermore, there must be had taken, that they lye godlie, iustlie, and honestlie: for if to be

that the infidels shoulde be offended at their behauiour, their ministerie would vtterlie become vnprofitable: for so much as it nothing auaileth to build that with one hand, which thou destroyest with the other. For euer, this must be speciallie be regarded, that vnto the close of the courtlesse and friendship, they mingle not themselves with vngodlie vices: no not although they were perswaded, that by such means they could with more ease allure them vnto Christ. For the rule of the apostle ought to remaine inuolate; that euill things must not be committed, that good things may come thereof. Let them also beware, that they feele not their owne comortie, while they be conuersant with them. For some there be, which although they make a pretence to haue the Gospell published abroad, yet in verie deed, do hunt after their owne pleasures, gaine, or aduantages. Therefore, if it be path hope of the saluation of these infidels (which thing neuertheless can seldome iustlie happen) we must no longer deale with them; but so far, as either their necessitie, or ours both require. That is, if peraduenture they shoulde be verie sore sick, and could not otherwise be holpen than by our trauell; or else, if we our selves shoulde be able to get such things as be necessarye for our sustentation, by any other means than a wrong them. Also it may be lawfull to be in the companie of them, so much as naturall and ciuill courtlesse require; or if they shall be our princes, parents, our iuiues, our maisters, and such like.

There remaineth, that we confirm this doctrine, either by testimonies, or by examples of the holie scriptures. So indeede Christ did, which for this cause kept companie with publicans, sinners, Pharisees, and Scribes; that he might instruct them concerning saluation, and conuert them from sinnes vnto godlines and vertues. Therefore Ierome upon the first chapter of Matthew hath this saying; Christ indeede went to the feasts of sinners, but to the end he might haue an occasion of teaching, and to recompense their inuities with spirituall banquets. For there is there anie mention made there, but of such things as Christ himselfe either spake of; or else what was the power of his doctrine. As the verie same waie did the prophets in old time, when they were conuersant with lawles people. For otherwile did the apostles, when they were sent by Christ to be conuersant among the Gentiles. Neither did Paule, when he came to Athens, disdaine to haunt by and down those idol temples, and there verie diligentlie and erudite to vnde the titles and inscriptions of the altars. Ignorantes ubi, that is, Vnto the vnknewen God; and therof be gathered matter for

for an excellent sermon, which be there made; that he might after a sort reprove the Aduertens out of their owne proper tables. These things I thinke are sufficient to confirme the doctrine before alleged. But before I remove from this matter, I thought good thus much to aduertise; namely, that these cautions being vied, it is lawfull for godlie men to be conuersant with them, which be erronious; namely, to call them into the right waie, so that they be not partakers with them in the offense, or haue dealing with them for affliction sake.

But let vs proceed, and declare what is to be thought touching men which be lawles and vnlabeled. They, although they be not compelled to pollute themselves with idolatrous customs, yet ought they not to dwell together with infidels, for seeing they be vnlabeled, they haue no pretence of teaching: for if they shoulde go about to instruct others, they might aslie, though they be vnskillfull, cause the doctrine of Christ to be had in derision. And furthe the ignorance of such men is sharplie to be reprobated: for so much as among christians there is none found to be vnlabeled, but he is bound to be able to yeld an account of his faith, and in some sort to instruct strangers. And doubtlesse, they shall be all able to do that, if they would suffer themselves to be euen meanlie informed in the Catechisme. Therefore, such as are infected with this ignorance, ought to separate themselves from the familiar conuerfation of infidels; so far as the meane of the bodie and other inuenient necessities will suffer. But that shall we saie of scholer-maisters? They be oftentimes appointed to teach; who neuertheless are appointed to that end, that they shoulde teach godly arts and philosophy. I saie that it is dangerous to the scholer, for oftentimes they inuill peruerse things into the minds of the hearers.

And seeing the scholers are accustomed to haue a maruelous opinion of a learned scholer-maister, it cometh easilie to passe afterwards, that they begin to haue them, and that highe in admiration; and so finding them eloquent, pregnant in liberrall sciences, and well traueled in philosophy, they can hardly perswade themselves, that such do erre, or be miserable deccelued in true religion. For on the contrarye part we see, that Origin Adamantius (being, besides the religion of Christ wherein he was instructed, wonderfullie indeede taught with godly arts and philosophy in teaching heathen arts, brought verie manie of his hearers vnto Christ. We know also, that Augustine when he twillingie gaue care vnto Ambrose for his eloquence sake, of a Manichee became a Catholike: so it may oftentimes happen (and that more easilie, in so much as we be more inclined to euill than to god)

that they which are lawles and vnlabeled in religion, may in vngodlienesse surer much increase vnder vngodlie scholer-maisters. And vnboutedlie, by this means fell Iulianus the Apostata from Christ, in vsing Libanius, Iamblicus, and Maximus, for his scholer-maisters. Therefore, for so much as such teachers cannot be had without great perill; my intendment is, that we shoulde altogether leaue them.

Now wilt peraduenture saie, that the apostle Paule, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, hath not deliuered these cautions; or exceptions concerning the lawles and vnlabeled, seeing he teacheth absolutelie; I saie that is an infidelitie shall call you, and you will go, &c. By these wordes he seemeth to asirme, that the matter is lawles committed to our owne disposition. I reple that the apostle permiteth not to the libertie of euerie mans will; but onlie to such a will, as is well and rightlie instructed. For if a man go to those feasts to be drunken, to pamper his bellie, or to gogoe, so loose himselfe with filthie talke; without doubt, he shoulde not be excused by the permission of Paule, but ought to be earnestlie reprobated for his wanton will and naughty purpose. Likewise, if a man being conuersant with an infidel, shoulde doubt of his owne constancie, and shoulde perceive that he could nothing profit them which be in his companie; vnboutedlie, that man cannot go thither with a sound conscience, & so with a iust will. But if he woe go, he cannot direct that which be both, to the glorie of God, as he is commanded. Therefore, although Paule hath not in the same place by expresse wordes put this caution alleged; yet it followeth not thereby, that the same is not to be giuen, seeing as well by strength of reason it is manifest, as also by manie other places of the holie scriptures proued, that it is not lawfull.

And to hold me to this apostle, he saith in the seventh chapter of the same epistle, that He dooth well, which furleth himselfe in his hart that he will keep his virgin. Vnbouted, he adueth this condition; So that he haue no need, and haue power over his owne will. If he shoulde otherwile determine than his naughty ether would or had need, then out of doubt he shoulde not do well. Whereby it appereth, that to the godlines and vngodlines of the world he selfe, it is not enough to feele that the world is selfe, in respect of the nature thereof: but it is, or repugnant to the word of God: but this moeouer is required, that we take the same in law with a right, sincere, and sound intention. Therefore, euerie one that is vnskillfull and lawles, ought to separate himselfe from the fellowship and familiaritie of the vnskillfull; so farre as ciuill and naturall necessitie will permit.

1 Co. 10. 27

So the good will of a worke, it sufficeth not that the same is not in his owne nature out.

Tim.3.8.      mit. For seeing he perceiveth, that thereby will come some danger upon his soule, he can not with a good mind and sound intent be conversant with them. Whobetter, he may theto fulfill his duties, as are commanded by the lawe of God; lest he be guiltie of the sentence of Paule, where he saith; He that had not a care of his owne, and especiallie of his familie, had renounced his faith, and is worse than an infidel. And the same apostle hath commanded, that Servants should of necessitie obeye their masters.

Ephes.6.5.      14 Now therefore, that we these reasons out of the holic scriptures for the disallowing of this conversation. First, our Saviour doubted not to saie in Matthew, the fist, and the 18. chapters; If thy hand, foot, or eie, offend, or hinder thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee. The which words do notwithstanding, as the founder of interpreters have shewed, he spake not concerning the members of the bodie; but meant them by such as be our familiar acquaintance, and most nigh of kinde. We say all that to be separated from our companie, although they seeme to bring vs profit and commoditie, when either they feare vs from God (who is our eternal saluation) or put lets and hinderances, whereby we be withdrawen from him.

Chrysof.      Chrysofome intreating in a manner of this argument, in the 56. homilie upon Iohn, saith; If we cut off a corrupt member from the bodie, least it should corrupt other parts of the same, (which vnbouteable we do not, because we desire that we should) For who ever hated his owne flesh? Who much rather should we do the same in those, which be twicelike ioined unto vs; not despising of them, but providing that our saluation be not hazarded by them, when as we see, that we be not anie thing able to profit them? Wherefore in this case there ariseth no profit by desiring and maintaining of familiaritie and conceale. To this also tendeth the lawe of Christ, which he gave in the 18. chapter of Matthew; That they which be in a manner past all hope of saluation, and do not heare their brethren iustlie admonishing them, yea and which despise the voice of the church correcting them; let them be accounted as Ethniks and Publicanes. Which thing Paule also taught, who in the first to the Coynthians, the last chapter, commanded the incestuous person to be excommunicated; least a little leuen might pollute the whole dough of the faineits.

verif.17.      verif.5.      verif.33.      15 Whereover, the same apostle taught, and that in the same epistle, the 15. chapter, out of a verse of Menander the poet, that Good manners be corrupted by naughty communication. And thereby he sheweth, that the right faith of the resurrection was soe impaired among the Coynthians, which were new come unto Christ:

and that by reason they were over ready to give eare unto the arguments and prophane reasones of philosophers, or rather heretikes. So a man can satisfactorie conceale, how the words of infidants do corrupt the tender faith of the weak. Wherefore the Coynthians were profitable & reasonable warnes, & with them all other weak in faith are warned to refrain the conversation of infidels. The physicians also do counsel, that when a contagious disease infecteth either a familie, or a neare neighbor, they while they be yet in helth, should not comd to the sicke. For in the bodiees & complexions of men, there is a certeine like affection, whereby a contagion infecteth easilie from them which be sicke, unto others that be whole and sound; the poison whereof, although it be not presently felt of them which were not worie of themselves, yet within a while after it infecteth deadly. Wherefore, seeing we be willed to take such heed of the diseases of the bodie; much more we ought to prevent the vices of the mind, that we be wate them not unto vs.

16 Whereover, our nature is so framed, by reason of naturall & originall sinne, as we be subject aneerie fise to corruption; as both the holic scriptures, and manie experiences do daily teach vs; so as there is no doubt, but that they shall callie vike of the poison of other mens finnes, if we do not verie diligentlie avoid the same. And those finnes, as they do not labour cleane unto vs before we be aware, & being once conceived, they can not be plucked from vs, but with verie great paines. Wherefore Chrysofome in his 56. homilie upon Iohn, the which I cited a little before, earnestly wille to saie; If we could make them the better, and not hurt our selves (he speaketh here of infidels) we should do all things. But seeing we be not able to further them, they be past amendment, and that we may grievously hurt our selves; they are vterlie to be cut off. Further, to confirme his saying the more strongly, he bringeth in that which Paule in his first epistle to the Coynthians and 5. chapter, writeth; Take awaie euill fise among you. Which words of the apostle cannot certeinlie be vnderstood of sinne; for the worse word is to be removed, that is, euill; by which kind of speech a wicked man is meant. Wherefore I shall not erre at all, if I say, that what bend the apostles words unto the commoditie of them which be weak, saing; Depart ye from among them that be wicked. For if it denie ye be weak and vnkithfull, you be among them you must as well heare as see verie manie things against godlines and religion, which you profess. But those things, seeing you be neither able to repell nor remove, ye shall seeme to be cited as tokenes of blasphemies and reproches

among Infidels.      And perhaps a sting will remaine in your minds, wherewith ye shall be bisquited in conscience longer than ye thinke for. Let vs giue eare to the Wille man, which rightlie and faithfullie admonisheth vs; He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled therewith; and he that hath fellowship with a proud man, will become like vnto him. Take no greater burden vpon thee, than thou art able to beare; nor ioine not thy selfe with one that is mightier than thee: We shall find the 13. chapter. These things do two manner of waies appertine to the matter present. First, in that the vices of other men are likened vnto pitch, the which wickedly wonderful fall to the fingers and garments of them which touch it. Secondly, we be faithfullie admonished, that we should haue a consideration of our owne proper strength.

17 Let I beseech you, the examples of the holic scripture teach vs. The Israelites were seuentie yeeres captiues in Babylon, and were so infected with the conversation of the beleynatiungians, as when leaue was afterward giuen them, first by Cynus, then by Darius, most mightie things to returne home; manie of them would not returne, but being delighted with the commoditie of houses, lands, and trade of merchandise, they remained still among the Chaldeans, Medes, and Persians: so great was the loue, godlinesse, and staidie of religion cooled among them. And how much the Hebrewes were corrupted through the long conversation, which they had with the Aegyptians, the things which I by they committed in the wilderness, do manifestlie declare. For when as yet they had before their eies, the singular beneficte of God towards them, they departed from him into idolatrie. And because in Aegypt they had sene an ore superstitiouslie worshipped, they pouched Aaron to make them a calfe to worship; which being giuen unto them, with great reioicing they began to crye; These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of Aegypt. Whereover, travelling through the wilderness, when they came to the borders of the Moabites, and accompanied with that nation more familiarlie than became them; they were brought to this point, that they did not onelie with the Chamelees barlots of Moab abominable commit fornication; but also offered sacrifice vnto that most foule idoll Baal-Poor, and suffered themselves to be trained by in the most vnpure scutres thereof.

Peter a chiefe apostle, when he had entered into the wicked hall of the high priest, and there had bene in the companie of the matheins and vngodlike servants, did soe sweare his master

Iesus Christ our saulor; which fault afterward, being departed from thence, he most bitterlie lamented. When Elsie bechth God sitting in the temple like a iudge, and angels standing about him, which most purelie celebrated praises vnto him, although he seemed not to himselfe to be guiltie of his owne fault, yet he cried out; Wo is me that I dwell amidst a people of vncleane lips! For (no doubt) the fault of God felt, that he had gotten no final infection, by reason he had dwelt so long with an vncleane people. Alexander of Macedonia, which by wars and notable victories had subdord to himselfe a great part of the world, became so delicate and effeminate by the manners of the Persians, whom he should haue dyatome to his owne maners and qualities; as he himselfe took of their garments, deintinellie, bountie, and pride: so far was he from bringing them to the obedience of the Macedonians, that he incurred great hatred of his owne soldiers. For this to be passed over, that the long conversation of the godlie with the infidels (which the fruit of their conversion be manifest, and be by all means imboured) doth bring a let & hindrance to their saluation. For when they perceive that our men live so familiarlie with them, they thinke not that their superstitious and idolatries, wherewith they be corrupted, can be so vterlie cut, or much to be detested. And peraduenture they be come to that pale, that persueuing in these points, they distrust not, but that they may hope to obtaine saluation. For onelie it were so, if they could not persuade themselves that our men would dissemble it.

Besides these things, there be verie manie of our men, that by the example of this mingled conversation, thinke, that they also may do the same, which they see others do: whereby it cometh to passe, that by the bad & example of some, euill hath a larger scope, and our faith and godlinesse is counted but a left among the infidels and papists. And oftentimes it chanceth (which we knowe happened in the time of Paule as we haue in the first to the Coynthians) That they which otherwise were faithfull, do through this conversation, communicate with vngodlinesse, and with polluted customs. For by ouer much familiaritie with the infidels, there is a step made by little and little to followe their superstition and idolatrie. Wherefore the apostle did not proclaime without a cause; Flye from idolatrie. I will not saie also, it is impossible, but that among our men, being weak, & without learning and knowledge, and being conuerant among the infidels, sometimes speech of religion may happen, wherein they slip not: yet when they cannot ouerthowe the sophistical and craftie subtil arguments of the aduersaries,

ſaries, there arife thie many times railing and  
ſtrife, and from that they fall into harſe, cur-  
ſing, and reproches, which haue no edification,  
but rather hinder it: ſo farre is it off from ſte-  
ping forward into the ſame. So this purpoſe  
ſerueſh that which Paule wrote in the ſecond epi-  
ſtle to the Corinthians: Drawe not the yoke  
with the vnbeleueers. What fellowſhip had  
righteouſneſſe with vnrigheteouſneſſe? Or what  
participation is there betweene light and dark-  
neſſe? What agreement betweene Chriſt and  
Belial? Or what part hath the faithfull with the  
vnbeleueer? Or how agreeſh the temple of God  
with idols? Theſe words are ſo manifeſt, as  
they need no interpretation. Neither muſt they  
be vnderſtood onely for contradiſting of matri-  
monies, ſeing they are extended largely and  
generallie, and appertene to all kind of con-  
uerſation, which for our owne ſake we haue wiſh  
the vngodlie.

18 I knowe verelie, that the ſhadowes of the  
old lawe are now remoued from vs by the  
neſt of Chriſt: yet neuertheleſſe, we are not to  
doubt, but that thoſe things abide, whereof  
the people of God are by them at that time ad-  
monithed. Wherefore, I demand what God com-  
manded the Iewes to ſeue ſome ho-  
uers to their garments which they wore. This  
ſerueſh was the meaning, that they being taught  
by that ſigne, ſhould perceiue themſelues to  
be ſeuered from the Gentiles: neither that it was  
lawfull for them to ioinc themſelues with them;  
but ſo much as neceſſitie constrained. God  
more than once forbade them, that they ſhould not  
returne into Egypt, nor yet before the aid of  
ſtrange nations: for he would haue cut off from  
his people, all occasions of ſuperſtitious and  
idolatrous. And as the hiſtoyie of the Iudges te-  
ſtifieth, that the Iſraelites greuouslie ſinned, be-  
cauſe they brought thoſe idolatrous nations vnder  
tribute, and had made a league with them,  
and dwelled together in the ſame cities: a coun-  
trie with them. And ſurelie, to that euill it tur-  
ned them, the hiſtoyie it ſelle doth teſtifie: for  
they brought not the Chanaanites vnto the true  
worſhipping of God, but they themſelues rather  
forſaking their God, became idolaters together  
with them. I ſpeake not hoto the conuerſation  
betweene the Iehuees and Samaritans was ſo  
hatefull, euen vntill the coming of Chriſt: that  
the ſille Samaritan woman, of whom Iohn ba-  
ptiſt mention, ſaid vnto Chriſt, that the Iewes  
vſed no familiaritie with the Samaritans. Be-  
ſides this, it is not verie convenient for diſſi-  
mance, to take awaie from themſelues the boldneſſe  
and libertie of the free talking of Chriſt: which  
they muſt doe of neceſſitie, if they dwell among  
infidels. For if in liuing familiarie among the  
unfaithfull, they ſhould conſerre of Chriſt; et

ther they ſhould be ſcorne; or not tolerated.

Unſtable, the holie ſaſhers of old time,  
both ſerued and married, when they were di-  
uened by ante neceſſitie to dwell from the  
people of God. Whereof Dauid is a witnes, who ſighed  
when he was (by reaſon of the vniuſe violence  
of Saule) forced to lue among the deſert places.  
And it appeareth in the Pſalms, with how gre-  
uous lamentation he complained, that he was  
compelled to haue conuerſation among ſuch  
were ſtrangers and enemies vnto God. Dani-  
el, with his fellowes, might haue enioied the  
pleaſure of the kings table and delicate fare;  
but he reſuſed thoſe pleaſures and commoditie,  
leaſt he ſhould contaminate himſelfe with the  
delicate meats of the Chethians, and with the  
vnpure banquets of the vnbeleueers. Moſes alſo (as  
it is written in the 9. chapter to the Iehuees)  
when he might haue bene reputed the ſonne of  
Pharaos daughter, and thereby ſtaigne to great  
honours, contemned all this, and went vnto his  
brethren, which were preſſed with miſerable  
ſeruitude in working of clate and bricks. They  
which followe to theſe examles, ſurelie declare  
themſelues to haue but ſmall part to the glo-  
rie of God, and that they will not redeeme the ſame  
with any loſſe of their be it neuer ſo ſmall. Doe  
we (ſaith Paule vnto the Corinthians the firſt  
epiſtle) prouoke God? Or be we ſtronger than 1 Cor. 9  
he? Wherefore they which be weak and vnica-  
red, whilſt they be ſo hardie to haue conuerſa-  
tion among the infidels; to without controuerſie  
they tempt God, and in a manner prouoke him,  
as though they would be ſtronger than he.  
Surelie, there might be many other reaſons  
gaue forth to this purpoſe; but thoſe which I haue  
brought, ſhall ſuffice at this time.

19 Now let vs come to thoſe, which do dwell  
among the infidels, as they are enforced to be  
preſent at their vnlawfull rites; whether they be  
learned or vnllearned, conſtant or waucering.  
What they be in this caſe, it is no matter now.  
For I take them one with another. I ſaie, that to  
none of them ſuch an habitation or acquain-  
tance is to be borne withall, but either they muſt  
ſe it for thence, or rather ſuffer death, than to con-  
uirt idolatrie. Paule (as he haue mentioned be-  
fore) ſaith: Flee from idolatrie. The lawe of the pro-  
phets, the old & new teſtament, are full of cha-  
gements, labours, admonitions, and re-  
bukes; whereby ſtrange worſhipping is forbid-  
den. Daniell ſelleſheth howe rather to be caſt into the  
fiſh-pool, than to worſhip the image ſet up by a  
moſt mightie king. Madabax the mother, with  
her children, would rather be martyred, than  
eat of ſwines fleſh againſt the lawe of God. There  
be infinite martyrs reckoned up, which  
moſt conſtantly ſuffered death, becauſe they  
would not forſake their profeſſed religion, be-  
lieving

uing alwaies this before their eyes: Feare you  
nothing which can kill the bodies, &c. Paule in  
his firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians affirmeth the  
ſame: Becauſe we be the temple of God, the  
members of Chriſt, and partakers of the Lords  
table; vnto whom nothing may be common  
with the table of diſels.

20 All theſe things are to be applied vnto our  
times; ſo much as in the Iſtopacie, the godlie  
dwelling with the vngodlie, be compelled to be  
preſent at their ſpaciſes, and their polluted ſa-  
crifices, which is in no wiſe lawfull for them. But  
ſome take theſe probationes of me now alled-  
ged, to be vnderſtood concerning the ſacrifices  
done vnto idols, and not touching the ſacrifices  
which are now giuene into vs in the Iſtopacie.  
But they ought to conſider with themſelues,  
that there is no outward worke to be accom-  
pliſhed for the worſhipping of God; vnleſſe by the  
woed of God it be ordained. Which if it be not, it  
can be nothing elſe but an invention of man;  
for we cannot without faith worſhip God; and  
faith can haue no place, if the woed of God be  
withoath. Wherefore, in humane actions, be  
they neuer ſo gorgeous, vnleſſe God by his  
woed allow them, they can be no worſhipping of him.  
Surelie, if ſue be minded to honour men, we  
are firſt accustomed to marke whether all they  
be delighted; and this being ingoing vnto  
vs, then we thinke we haue broken our la-  
bour verie well, when we haue done thoſe things  
wherein they are wont to take delight and plea-  
ſure. While then deale we not in liſt off wiſh  
God, that we may ſerue him wiſh that worſhip-  
ping, which he by his ſcriptures hath allowed?

21 We heare in Eſaie, that he was rather  
wreath wiſh oblations, ſacrifices, incenſe, and  
burnt offerings, which without faith were  
brought to the temple, than that he reioiced at  
them. He abhorred and deteſted theſe kinds of  
ſacrifices, as the prophets haue taught vs. But if  
ſo be that thoſe things were ſpoken concerning  
the ſacrifices, which had the woed of God, & that  
onlie becauſe they were done without faith; that  
are they then to thinke of humane inventions, and  
ſained worſhippings, which ſeing they be deſti-  
tute of the woed of God, they cannot be done  
wiſh faith? We may verelie ſaie, that they agree  
teine vnto idolatrie. And this may ſufficientlie  
be gathered hereby, becauſe there is no true  
God, that will be worſhipped with thoſe things.  
Wherefore it reſteth, that the vngodlie, while  
they anoint ſuch rites vnto their holie ſeruites,  
do worſhipping, not the true God, but him whom  
they haue ſained to themſelues to delight in  
the ſame. And ſo for ſo much as in theſe  
kindes of things, there is no ſuch God, they wor-  
ſhip an idol of their owne fauſe, and therefore  
idolatrie and worſhipping may be called idolatrie.

22 But they ſaie, that thoſe things, which be  
done and ſaid in the ſpaciſe, had their beginning  
from the inſtitution of Chriſt; although they  
were afterward corrupted by mans deſault.  
Surelie that auaileth them nothing, ſecondly  
as in theſe matters we may not haue a regard  
of conſideration to their beginning, but to their  
nature and forme; and there muſt be diligent  
had taken, whether they agree with the woed of  
God. The bapſen ſerpent had his beginning by  
the commandement of God; and it was alſo  
commenced by miracles. For the Iſraelites, be-  
laking vpon it, were deliuered from the vne-  
moſt biting; yet neuertheleſſe, when the Iewes  
did worſhip it, and offered incenſe to it, the god-  
lie men did to deteſt it, as the moſt holie king  
Ezechias brake it in peeces, and vnterſe put a-  
waie the worſhipping thereof. Wherefore the be-  
ginning muſt not be regarded, but the viſe muſt  
be conſidered; and whether it be agreeable to the  
firſt inſtitution. The Iehuees, when they con-  
ſpired Aaron to make them a calfe to worſhip,  
were not minded to fall from the true God Ie-  
hovah; ſeing they conſeſſed him to be their  
guide out of the land of Egypt. While this was  
their intent, to worſhip him vnder ſome ſigne  
of viſible forme; and they choſe that forme, where-  
in they had ſene the Aegyptians worſhip their  
God.

23 So the Chethians teſtified, that they worſhipped  
one God, the chaſte author of all things, whom  
they ſaſhioned to themſelues in diuers and ſu-  
perſtitiſe chaſes. For in Pallas, they ſaid was ſignified  
his wiſdomme; in Mars, his ſtrength and pow-  
er; and in Iupiter, his iuſtice and godneſſe.  
Wherefore rites and ceremonies are not to be  
eſteemed, according to the counſell and will of  
men. So otherwiſe muſt we thinke to haue  
happened of Ieroboam the ſonne of Nabat; for  
he profeſſed, that he would not leaue the people  
from worſhipping of the true God; but becauſe  
he ſaid in feare of his kingdome, and ſaue, that  
it might ſome come to paſſe, that if his people  
ſhould often go to the temple of Ieruſalem, they  
would fall from him, & returne to the familie of  
Dauid: he ſaid therefore, that to worſhip the true  
God, they ſhould neither the temple of Ieruſalem  
nor yet the arke of the covenant. For ſo much  
as the ſame God Iehovah, as he was repreſented  
to the Iewes in the wooden arke, and temple of  
Salomon; in like manner might he be cryp-  
ſed in the ſignes of golden calues; ſo as the wor-  
ſhipping, which they ſhould performe at Ieruſa-  
lem, they might commodouſlie celebrate at Ie-  
hovah in Bethel and Dan. So other thing they  
did to this man, but that the vntoward an out-  
ward worſhip, which he inuented alſogether wiſh  
out the woed of God, as if it had bene a wor-  
ſhip of God; but this woed being wanting, all

The bapſen  
ſerpent.  
Num. 31. 8.

1 King. 18. 4

The man-  
ner of the  
Chethians in  
their idolatrie.

King. 12. 26.  
The pur-  
poſe of Je-  
roboam.

What the  
Iehuees  
ſought,  
when they  
were ſeſt  
a golden calf.

What ment  
the terms of  
theſe  
throughout  
garments.

Deut. 17. 16

Exod. 23. 31

Iuda. 3. 6.

Iohn. 4. 9.

Psalm. 141.

Dan. 1.

verſe. 24.

1 Cor. 9.

Eſaie. 1. 13.

2 Cor. 13. 1.

1 Cor. 10. 14.

Dan. 3. 1.

Mat. 23.

So true  
God be-  
lieghen in  
humanitie  
ſeruites.

all that be idōls were superstition and idolatry. They are therefore and princes, when they compel men to corrupted customs, although they profess they do it upon a good intent, (as they term it) and holocauster they pretend some certain beginning of ancientie, are not to be

Ephes. 5. 11. he said, Paul in this manner admonisheth the gheffians: Have no fellowship with their unfruitfull works, but reprove them. He called them their toohs; for they could not be called the toohs of God, in so much as they dilagree verie much from his word.

22 But what is then to be done, when they are thus set upon vs: We ought to reprove them, and with great libertie (when need requirith) to reprehend them. But that is dangerous (saie they) they shall lose our goods and dignities: we shall be put to death. I grant that. But none of vs hath upon this condition received dissimulation, that his life, goods, and dignities should remaine safe unto himselfe. For Christ hath by expresse wordes testified unto euery one of vs: Except you renounce all that ye haue, and take vp your crosse, and followe me, ye cannot be my disciples. And vnto you looke your foules, ye cannot so possesse them. After this sort must we frame our selues. Cyprian (as Augustine reporteth) when he was led to execution, the president being desirous that he might escape, said vnto him: I geue thee space to deliberate, to chōse which thou wilt, whether thou wilt be thus miserable executed, or else, and to be dismissed. The man of God answered: In a thing so holie, deliberation hath no place. They which are not affected with this mind, but are ouer carefull, least their life and goods should perishe; such do easilie deale themselves with spāles & vniuersal superstitions: and for the same cause suffer most grievous punishments. First trouble their conscience about miserable woe: then, secondlie, the light of the truth, which before was kindled in their minds, is by little and little extinguished. Further, they exclaiming de-light themselves oftentimes in that dissimulation, so farre off are they from repentance thereof. And they go about to persuade the same vnto others: and those which will not o-bey their admonitions, they begin to hate. And lastlie, as much as in them lieth, they strive vp against them the wrath, forces, and power of tyrants and voblie potentates. Such a most vniuersal end of manie of them my selfe haue seen.

the answer  
of Cyprian

Ar. 10. 37.  
and 16. 34.

what he  
must doe  
when his  
permissions  
are obtruded  
vnto  
vs.

Outward  
actions be  
a true  
testi-  
fication  
of  
conscience.

it is not lawfull for the long to dilagree with the hart, in possession of faith & religion; so what we ought to agree with the same possession. And there vnto this salting of Paul; With the hart we beleeue vnto righteousness, and with the mouth is confession made vnto saluation. Christ also said: Whofoeuer shall be ashamed of me before men, I will also be ashamed of him before my Father. Furthermore, I would haue these men to knowe, that the same is no perfect and true faith, which breatheth not out into actions agreeable vnto it. Moreover, our Saviour, who most earnestly sought the glorie of his Father, after he had purged the temple of builders and sellers, said: The zeale of thy house hath eaten me vp. But these fellows, whoe soothly follow the light of godliness and faith, which they craue that they haue inclosed vp in their hart. Neither do they remember, that euen as the inward worshiping of God, is found to be that, whereby we rightlie and reuerentlie iudge of him; so the outward worshiping of him, is that, wherein we honor him aright, and as he hath prescribed. And that idolatry likewise of two sorts: for one is, whereby in our hart we saie by euill opinion, such a god as we lift vs our selues: an other is, whereby we transfere the outward worship, not onlie vnto creatures and tooles, but also we pollute the same with our owne lies and inuentions.

We retaine in our hart (saie they) the right opinion. Grant it be so, but yet the bodie is aduanced to idōls, and to the diuelli. But Paul they say, that: Your bodie is the member of Christ, I say, what do you then take it, and giue it vnto an harlot? But they affirme, that Paul wrote that touching fornication. I knowe that. But the prophets in the meane time teach vs, that idolatry is the foulest fornication of all other: for Ieremie, Ezechiel, and other holie prophets, so much against the Idōls and their church, as they resemble the same to an harlot, which vn-der euery graine tre, hath laid open his selfe vnto idōls, and prophane worshipings. Furthermore, how vaine this excuse of theirs is, that diuine oracles sufficientlie declared: I haue left vnto me feuen diuofand persons, which have not bowed their knee vnto Baal. He said not: Which haue rightlie iudged in their harts, and which haue beleeued vprightlie in their minds: but contrariwise mentioneth a signe of out-ward worshiping; namely, of bowing the knees. And he that hath made the whole man, will not content with the halfe of him: neither will he haue his creature partien with the diuelli. To Ezech. 44. 17. me (saith he) to me alone shall euery knee bow.

Rom. 14. 11.

Mark. 8. 38.

John. 8. 12.

John. 8. 12.

1 Cor. 6. 15.

1 Cor. 6. 15.

1 Cor. 6. 15.

1 Cor. 6. 15.

1 Cor. 6. 15.

1 Cor. 6. 15.

value, the Corinthians also might thereby haue errored their doing: for they might haue said vnto Paul: Whie art thou so vehement against vs? We our selues also knowe, that an idōl is nothing, and in our harts haue the right opinion. Therewithal let God be content; it is lawfull for vs in the meane time with the bodie and outward presence to serue our owne con- science.

24 Yet further they saie: We pollute not these things at all, but rather we would haue them to be corrupt and perfect. Wherefore, what sinne fouler is here committed, it ought not to be ascribed vnto vs. I answer, that truly indeed it is, that another mans sin is imputed to man; but yet, whilst ye are present at prophane rites, this blame is ascribed & rightlie im-puted vnto you, in that you communicate with another mans vngodlinesse. The apostle, in the first to the Corinthians said: Do ye not knowe, that they which eate of the sacrifice, are made also partakers of the temple? What saie I then, that the image is anie thing? Naie, but this I saie, that the things, which the Gentils offer, they offer vnto idōls: but I would not that ye should be partakers of diuels. Ye cannot drinke of the cup of the Lord, and of the cup of diuels. Ye cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord, and of the table of diuels. &c. So as, although the corruption of the sacrifices be not to be imputed to the communicants; yet the communicating it selfe, from which they ought to haue kept them- selves, maketh them blame-worthy. And vnto the matter were so, why would not the holie martyrs communicate with the rites of the Gheffians? Wherefore did Paul to rebuke the Corinthians? But here againe they repule and saie: that The apostle is not to be compared to the idolaters of the Gheffians: for holocauster it hath somewhat strayed from the institution of Christ, yet must it not be accounted a prophane and idolatrous thing. But I affirme it to be so much peruerued, as in a manner it agreeth nothing at all with the institution of Christ; yea it is altogether contrarie vnto it: which is verie easie for me to proue.

25 First of all, The supper of the Lord, as it was instituted by Christ, was a common or publicke worke. But now commeth forth the sacrificer, appareled in monstrous vestiments, and both all things alone. Wheres are onlie present to feede and heare. Wherefore, if Paul institute and byon god cause saie to the Corinthians, which tarried not one for another, that they were not now to eate the Lords supper: how can they worship all the papisticall apostle by the name of the Lords supper, where onlie one sacrificer doth eate and drinke & sourelye by no means,

They may rather giue anie name vnto it, than the supper of the Lord. Besides this, they saie, that they offer the soune of God vnto the eternall father. And that is expresse denied in the epistle to the Hebrewes: for it teacheth, that all things were finished by the onelie oblation of Christ; which being perfect, we may not renew it. They will, that Christ be offered by euery date: the words of God asseureth, that he was to be offered by once.

I grant indeed that the fathers sometime so spake, as if the bodie and blood of Christ, are to be offered & sacrificed in the celebration of the sacraments. But they not felowse interpreted themselves, that those oblations & sacrifices were onelie giuing of thanks, or else a memorie and figure of that oblation & sacrifice, which Christ made, when he died vpon the crosse. Spoke ouer, they affirme, that the head and wine are conuerted into the substance of the bodie and blood of Christ, when as the holie scriptures do teach far otherwise.ouer this, when they lift vp the bread and wine, they set forth the verie creatures of God to be worshipped in the feast of God. For which is more shameful, than relig-ious to worship a peece of bread, and a cup of wine: It is true indeed, that they be made partakers of the bodie and blood of the Lord; namely, in hart and mind, which with a sincere faith doe eate and drinke the elements of the Supper, and in such sort, as God hath instituted the same. But if a man onlie behold and worship them, they are vnto him nothing but a peece of bread, and a cup of wine. Further, the ministers of the church, when as their dutie is to studie with all their power, to reuolue the minds of the people vnto heauen; to the intent they should not feare for Christ in the world, and that they should not receive anie carnall or earthly thing in the holie supper, doo miserablelie attend the vni-verse figures.

The apostle in the first to the Corinthians geueth charge, that in holie assemblies they should not feele a strange tong; because that all men might answer, Amen: and because the edifying of the hearers is aboue all things to be sought for. But in the apostle all things be done in La-tine. And those words, which should bring great consolation vnto the standers by, when as to them the participation of the bodie and blood of the Lord is promised, they do speake them so foolishly, they mutter them so darablie, that albeit a man knowe the Latine; yet is he not able to vnderstand them. They therefore wisher them so foolishly, as though the members of Christ were vnto him to heare them: when as neuertheless the Lord himselfe spake them openlie. And the Greek church, euen to this daie, proueth them with a loud voice. And in such times

now the  
bodie and  
blood of  
Christ must  
be offered  
to God in  
the supper.

1 Cor. 14. 16

1 Cor. 14. 16

1 Cor. 14. 16

Ambrose.  
Augustine.

The poplite  
speake may  
not lye in  
their mass.

times past it was a custome received (as Ambrose and Augustine among others testifie) that unto those words the people answered, Amen. But in my imagination those men do therefore mumble by those words; because they be true, least their lies should be perceived. For there they saie: Take ye and eat: and also; As often as ye shall doe these things, ye shall doe them in remembrance of me: when as neuertheless they haue appointed to eat and drinke it alone. And doubtlesse manie other things speake they screttly and openlie in the Masse, as though manie did communicate, or should communicate, when as the sacrificer meaneeth to doe the same alone by himselfe. Indeed a lie is shamefull alwaies, but then most shamefull of all, when it is committed in holie things, and before the Lord.

Abaco. 4.  
Eze. 18, 26.

we may  
helpe others  
by our sin-  
nes.

26 But what shall we speake of their applications? They protest, that they may at their owne pleasure applye to the quicke and dead, those sacrifices which they make. But the scripture testifieth, that euery man is iustified by his owne faith; and that all persons in their owne righteousness; or upright consciences, shall either be or liue. But they saie otherwise; namely, that they be able to helpe with their Masses both quicke and dead. If they would attribute this unto priuies; to wit, that they would teach it to be lawfull for them by their priuers to helpe the necessity of others, they might haue bene borne with; but when they affirme, that the worship is selfe; namely, of the Masse, hath much vertue and strength in it, as it may be a helpe to all kind of men; that may not in anie wise be done. And also, that Masses be manie times celebrated to the honor of some saints: which thing by doubtlesse is most strange from the truth. For Christ instituted his supper, to the end it should be a remembrance of his owne death, and not a commemoration of other saints. I speake not how it commonlie cometh to passe, that there is nothing found certaine of those saints, whom there they worship. The liues of them are obscure; and oftentimes full of fables, and sayings of poets. Also, therein are placed certaine, or verie manie strange rites, ridiculous signs, and garments not used: the significance of which things are utterly unknowne, nor onelie to the standers by; but euen the sacrificers them selves, if they should be demanded what the matter meant, could not tell what answer to make. Therefore, either they answer nothing at all, or elsse, if they would saie faine somewhat, they allowe not the same things, but will elsse be one from another. Whereby thou mayst easily gather, that there is no truth in their worship. So as faith hath no place in those things, which they do in their Masse; seeing it hath place there onelie, where Gods word offereth it selfe to vs.

The liues  
of manie of  
the saints  
are fullie  
unknowne.

27 And that they cannot cleare themselves, but that they offend in the crime of idolatrie; the images testifie, whereunto they turning themselves, do celebrate their most impure seruices. For in their Masses they are not satisfied by looking upon images, but they cense them; a kinde before them; and finally, do vnto them all manner of honors, which should be shewed vnto God alone. And because (as I haue declared before) they dare affirme, that the Masse hath (I knowe not what) assistance with the institution of Christ, it shall not be from the purpose, and it may easily be done (if we consider the tokens) to them that the old Church may with much better probability excuse and plead for their sacrifices, than these men may defend their Masses. For the sacrifices of nations did lesse differ from the manner of sacrificing which the fathers had before the late, and which God allowed in his late, than these do differ in their Masse from that supper which Christ appointed, and the euangelists, and Paule the apostle taught. Where, on both sides was immolation of God, a temple, an altar, sacrifices, priests, killing, shedding of blood, salt, wine, oile, meale, a holie banquet, religious garments, washings, fumigations, continuall fire, singing, ozaes, and such like, which would be too long to rehearse.

3. At the popish sacrificers they be, if they can, in their Masse, as manie things that can agree with those, which Christ did in his holie supper. But if so be they cannot, let them then thinke, that their Masse doth no more agree with the celebration of the Lords supper, than the rites of the idolaters accorded with the legall sacrifices. Let them cease therefore from bandoling that little daughter of theirs, and say no more that it ought to be taken for the institution of Christ, and of his apostles. I will speake little of the perrellous obits, and funerals of the dead, which be so often frequented: whereof God gaue no commandement. Why it they establish purgatorie, whereof the holie scriptures haue made no mention. Furthermore, this is most of all from pietie, that in their Masse they poyze out their priuers vnto saints already departed out of this life. Finallye all the things, wherewith they there busie themselves, they make a market of; yea, they sell them, they bargain and sell them out to most shameful gain. Therefore we had need to take verie great heed, least while we do desire to worship God, and haue him mercifull vnto vs, we by hearing of Masses prouoke him not excreasingle vnto wrath.

28 The superfluous feast proceed, and by the example of Naaman the Syrian would pisse, that it is permitted them to be present at most corrupt Masses. Naaman praised Eliazus the prophet, that if he bowed his knee in the temple

To the  
masses  
are  
not  
lawful.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Naaman  
knew that  
fact of his  
to be blas-  
phemous and  
admirable.

Eliazus  
gaue Naaman  
no ac-  
cuse into  
his  
mouth.

of the idoll, when the king, whoe anced his hand on his shoulder should do so, he would earnestly craue of God merrie and forgiveness; so him. To whom Eliazus onelie answered; Go in peace. These fellows ought to consider with themselves, whether they onelie and alone haue done and sene the discourse of this historie: I thinke not. For the holie martyrs in the holie church were studious date and night in the holie scriptures: so as these examples were not hidden from them. And what cause was there then, that they would not followe such an example, and that with the losse of their life: whose ancient champions, and pillars of our faith, saue no doubt that with our aduersaries make no account of among themselves; namely, that the same Naaman, which is objected against vs, was once converted vnto the true God, and was yet a nouice: who also was not yet poynted to renounce both his substance and himselfe also; but after a long desired to retain his old place and dignitie about the king. The which if he should obtaine, he saue that it might elsse be, that he should fall into that time which he declared vnto the holie prophet. But when he had bene well understood, that it was not agreeable to true godlines, he required priuers and intercession of the true God: whereby he falling through weaknes, might haue his fault forgiven him. Whereunto there is none, which need to alke pardon of that which be thinketh lawfull for him to do. We make intercessions for sinnes, and not for things permitted vs. Therefore this place maketh much against our aduersaries. And that the same is true, it is manifestly proved by this historie: but this do they earnestly inuolue to excuse. I would to God they would diligently marke in that action, that which there Naaman felt. And if they shall fall, as he feared to fall, let them not cloke it with a baine defense, but let them craue the merrie of God, and the priuers of godlie men, whereby, that which they haue done amisse, may be freely forgiven them. Neither did Eliazus, (as they persuade themselves) giue Naaman the Syrian, licentie to go vnto the idolls: onelie he said; Go in peace, which also was an accusation kind of salutation in those dates. For that it is lawfull to gather any other thing by those words, than that the prophet promised to do that which was desired of him; namely, to pray vnto God for the saluation of that man. First, to strengthen him, that he should not fall, because, that if he sinned, his fault might be forgiven him.

Baruch. 4.

29 Also they use to object certaine wordes out of the epistle of the prophet Ieremie, the which is; I went at the end of a little baine intitled, Baruch. The wordes be these; In Babylon you

see gods of gold and silver, borne vpon mens shoulders, forcing a feare out of the heathen; beware that ye followe not the Gentiles, when ye shall see a heape of people worshipping as well before as behind. But faile in your hearts; O Lord, it is thou onelie that ought to be worshipped. By these wordes do our Nicodemites thinke it to be sufficient, that they which be present at idolatrous worshippings, do saie in their hart; O Lord, it is thou onelie that ought to be worshipped. But they should more attentively ponder, that the prophet, if he were a prophet, that speake those wordes, which I therefore speake, because the little baine of Baruch is not canonical, nor found in the Hebrews) gaue not the Jewes licentie to go into the temples of the idolls, as to be present at prophane and idolatrous rites, that they should then take scetellie within themselves vnto the true God. But he speaketh of those images, which were carried about the citie; for that was the manner among the Babylonians, as the historie of Daniel declared, which testifieth, that the image of Nabuchad-nezar was openlie carried about in great pompe, with instruments of musick, and both long; at the hearing wherof, all men were commanded to worship the image that they beheld; which the companions of Daniel would not do. Of those images (I saie) it is written in that epistle. And the godlie are faithfully admonished, that they should not worship; or adore those things, which the Chytniks do both behind and before them. Saie rather, in detestation of their wicked worship, let them saie at the least, while in their hart; O Lord, it is thou onelie, which ought to be worshipped. These same sayings hanging by chance in the citie, could not be auoided. The godlie therefore were to be admonished, how they should beare themselves in such meetings.

30 But these men being shamelesse, do proceed forward importunately, and demand, how chance Daniel was not cast into the burning fornace with his fellows, when as like punishment was promised for all, which would not worship the image of Nabuchad-nezar? Therefore these men imagine, that Daniel made a shew, as though he did worship it: and for that cause the Chaldeans medled not with him. And they saie also, that they may be lawfull to do that which they thinke this holie prophet of God did. They consider not, that they fall into a false kind of reason, which commonlie is called Non causa est causa; which is, when that which is not a cause, is put for a cause. For there might be verie manie other causes, why Daniel was not cast into the furnace punished. Whereunto he met not the image, which was carried about; or if at anie time he met it, the Chaldeans marked not that

The booke  
of Baruch  
is Apocry-  
phall.

Dan. 3.

Why Dan-  
iel was not  
cast into the  
furnace pun-  
ished, was  
not the  
cause, but  
the  
effect.

Dankell  
dissembled  
not the wo-  
shipping of  
of the i-  
mage.

he did; or else being apprehended and kept, was not accused, because the King bare him incredible good will. But thus must not believe, that the man for fear of punishment or death, would dissemble the woshipping of the image, against the lawe, and against pietie; for it is afterward declared, that for goodlikenesse he was there as among the lions. Seeing now that there were manie causes to let, that he was not delivered to be burnt in the flames of fire with his fellows; why do they men then laye both one side of one cause, and that such a cause, as was vnto; this and full of reproch for such a holie man; because in the holie Scriptures there is not so much as a suspicion once offered vs in anie respect of such a matter.

verfc,13,

31 They thinke with themselves, that they speake bandomlie to the purpose; and that they cunningly defend their doing: when they allege that which is written in the Acts of the apostles, the 21. chapter, where it is declared, that Paul, by the counsell of the elders of the church of Ierusalem, take upon him a vow, and four other men with him, and purifie themselves after the manner of the Ietews. If the apostle of God (as they) would vse the ceremonies of the lawe (alreedy abolished); we also may be suffered sometimes to admit rites & ceremonies, so long time received, and to be present at them. But to make this matter more plaine, we must understand, that this was the effect of Pauls preaching; We thinke that a man is justified by faith without works. As manie as are vnder the lawe, vnder the curse. The iust man shall liue by his faith. Wherefore the apostle in that first time of preaching the Gospel, condemned not the ceremonies; butes apertaining to the Hebrewes, binless they were retained with such a faith and minde, as if iustificatiō should come by them. And this doctrine of his, hath be verte manifeste set forth in his epistle to the Galatians, where he saith; Ye which be circumcised, haue fallen both from Christ, and from grace: for Christ is made of none effect vnto you, if ye should be iustificth by the lawe. As though he would saye; These things of Moyses do not alienate you from Christ, except ye exercise them with this mind and purpose, that thereby ye might be iustified. Take abate this opinion, and the apostle commended ad works.

And as for ciuill and accustomed ordina-  
ces, so they were iust, and not idolatrous; he  
suffered still in their owne place. Neither did  
he let, but that the legall ceremonies might still  
be vied. Wherefore he writeth; In the Lord  
there is neither Lew nor Greeke, neither bond  
nor free man: and that circumcision also, and  
uncircumcision are nothing, but onlie the ob-  
seruing of the commandments of God, and a

new creature, Again; He that is circumcised, leth him not desire to have vncircumcision: if thou be called in vncircumcision, be not then circumcised. Let euerie man abide in that wherein he is called. And that such things, as were **c**ruel and unprofitable, might sometime be obserued, and sometimes discontinued, as best thou shouldst serue for edification, be declared by that which he spake of himselfe; I am made all things to all men, that I might win some. To the Iewes I am made a Iewe, and to those which are without a Iawe, I am as without a Iawer. **I** desire not to be any lesse conformed by falsing by examples, than by doctrine; for when he was required to circumcise Timothy according to the manner [of circumcision] he granted vnto it. But when they would have compelled him to the observing of christian libertie, to circumcise Timothy likewise, he intused that it was not to give place, **n**ot for one houre; For (saith he) false brethren are priuilege borne among vs, to teach out our libertie. **H**e obserued therefore the ceremonies of Moses, when the same might be done without ill purpose and hurt of the church: and by this means avoided the offence of the Iewes, least they should be alienated from the christian religion, which they had received.

Neither ought the Nicodemites to compare the ceremonies of the old lawe with the inventions of men. For those ceremonies were brought in by the word of God, but these were thrust into the church by the subtiltie of the beuell and deceitfull men. They were not forbidden by and by after the ascension of Christ into heaven, but might be so long observed as the temple and publicke weale of Israel remained, and untill the Gospel of the sonne of God were renewed and preached, & untill the church were well contained both of Jewes and Gentiles.

Neither was it met (as Augustine saith) and learnelie taught unto Ierom) that those ceremonies of the ancient synagog should straitwaie without honor be retained: but idolatrous and superstitious things have alwaies bene, are, and shalbe forbidden. Now then it was lawfull to obthem for a time, so that from their true righteoulnesse were not loosed for.

Wherefore Paule the apostle (albeit thou shouldest lawe upon the actions themselves, which by the lawe observed) cannot be iustlie reprehended; and much lesse can be blamed, when thou shalt thoughtfully perceiue his intent, purpose, and (as they terme it) his mind. But to the first moers of the Spalle, both these things he wanting. First, they defend that which is contrarye unto the word of God, and as I haue declared is wonderfull against it. Forsooke, by means of their dissimulation, they traueillonelie by themselves; namely, to keepe their rites,

The ceremonies of the lawe must not be compared with the inventions of men.

Augustine.

They that dissimulation is to make a snare, they feele not adout their count.

*Ceremonies.*

riches, degree, place, dignitie, estimation: where  
as Paule sometime kept the legall ceremonies,  
onlie because the Jewes should not start backe  
from Christ; and to the end he might the better  
and more easilie allure them vnto the Gospell.

22 They obiect also, that they are dilu-  
tiated with euod offences. For they saie,  
I know that vtherie be crimes vnto the State,  
yet shall be accompted wicked and vngodli-  
men, and in our owne countries we shall pro-  
cure great offence. I beleeue indeed that these  
men be euod offences; to wit, offences of the  
twoyns; and that they would not be anie offence vnto  
tybols; and antichrist as who faith, they would  
not prouoke their wraunges, anger, and rage a-  
gainst them. But these be not the offences whiche  
Christ taught to be auoided, whiche faith of  
doctrines & ybarbaries; Let them alone, they are  
blind, and leaders of the blind. Euen that offence  
that be diluatioued & euod those verlic, whiche  
hinder the spreading abroad of the Gospell of  
our Lord God, whiche state men from commit-  
ting to the pure doctrine, and call them backe whiche  
alreadie beleeue in the religion of Christ. For  
let them consider (I pray you) whether by this  
dilutiation, they offend not the superstitious  
and idolaters. Per vndoubtefuly; for they la-  
sult themselves, & schole, those men that know  
the truth of the Gospell, who come to our Spasse  
Sure, if they were to be verlic twixed, as they a-  
said to be, these men would also abhorre them  
Therefore they being confirmed by the ex-  
ample of them, do verlic oftentimes determi-  
ne to stand firme in their purpote.

¶ *Pea*, and the weaker brethren melio com-  
 mended into the Gospell, perceiving this carnest  
 use, as ring-leaders to discipline, bene also  
 the like, & suspect themselves to have bene de-  
 ceiv'd; & they which ought to have gone forth  
 forward in religion, goe back againe. But  
 ought (saie they) to heare w<sup>ch</sup> the weakie on  
 and sometimes to frame our selves unto the  
 ffor they be manie which are not yet persua-  
 ded that the *Spaile* is cuill: and they perceiving  
 not to come unto the same, would not give  
 unto other points of religion. Therefore for  
 that must be done for their weaknes sake  
*Paul* in his epistle to the *Romans* faith-  
 fullye advise. *Alle* grant, that somewhat must  
 be consented to for their sakes, that be so weak  
 bewildred, w<sup>ch</sup> *Paul* we may not abide the  
 to be done otherwise, than in things indiffer-  
 ent things which of themselves be cuill, and  
 bidden by God; we counsel that they be  
 done for *Alle* mans sake. ffor this is a  
 firme and true rule, as I have often before  
 that No man is permitted to doe cuill  
 that thereby good may ensue. *Pea*, we must  
 likewise heere with the weakie ones in their

different things, except in the meane time, while they may be the better & more perfectlie taught. But when they once understand the thing, and yet nevertheless sicke fast in their opinion, their weaknesse is not to be nourished. Wherefore, we must not so much heare with them, as by our example we should hurt other, and also manie members of Christ.

33. Again, they obiect unto vs ; *If we should do so, as you would have vs, either we must cease a while, or else shall have to put to death.* Which things it shall be better, our churches would be utterly forsaken : there would be none to teach vs any more. 3. *Answer;* That also both curie one of vs, and (which is more to be reckoned of) it is not hidden from God himselfe, when he commandeth, we must obete. Let vs commit the end unto him, unto whom the church belongeth : he no doubt will vertue teach & in good time provide for his spouse. Christ saith to Peter, when he called him, and he prolonged, and demanded that should become of Iohn ; I will that he tarry till I come, which is Ioh. 21. 23. that to thee? Follow thou me. We be taught therefore to followe the word of God, whether so ever it call vs ; and let vs commit the care of other things (which seeme to hinder vs) to him that calleth vs. Furthermore, this is not to be overpassed, that that doctrine of censures is more inward, and both greater efficacy, which is sealed by sencing a while, and by death ; than that which is onely set forth by words. It is vs not to be afraid, though one be of full age ; it will be to hope, that God in his place will raise by many more. But if we continue, and that our besetting sinne be long ; the light of the truth, and sine of charitie, which is kindled in our hearts, will by little and little be extinguished.

24. *These alleage examples of the prophet of Zacharie, of Iohs Baptist, of Marie the virgin, and of Ioseph, who in thole scruple and vnpure times came to the birth of Christe, and vnto the temple of the Jewes; and therefore thinke that it is permitted vnto them to be the like. But they ought to consider with themselves, that in that case there were manie pertainent doctrines, as small opinions among the Sacerdes and Pharisees. Howbeit, the endme of sacrifici- was changed: for as yet the same sort of brasts and oblations were offered, which the lawe commanded; the same daies and ceremonies were observed. Wherefore it was lawfull for holie men to vse them, so much as they had the coynge of God ioined with them. But as for the coynge opinions, conceits, and mirres of certeine pharisees, biishops, and Scribes, they were no lat vnto holie men; especially, seeing they were pure and cleane from them, and both iudged and liued in all things according to the*

whether we  
must dis-  
semble for  
preservati-  
on of the  
church.

is Joh. 21, 22.

Whether it  
were law-  
full in the  
corrupt  
church of  
the Jewes  
to commu-  
nicate with  
the legall  
ceremonie

100%



Augustine.

woord of God. But the corruptions & faults of doctrine, when opportunity serued, they did reprove: hence & sharpe reproofe. This word Augustine telleth us as it is in the 2. cause, q. i. cap. 8. *recedit*, as in certaine other chapters, which be there read.

Let the papists do so in their daies with vs, let them loe forth the 3. words super, & other rites, as they be appointed by the word of God; and we will not refuse to vse them: so that they compell us not to the confession of twiche opinions, and prech not heresies vnto vs, but deliuer to vs the pure and vncorrupt word of God. But and if so they themselves thinke euill, if they liue shamefull; we will be soie for them, we will admonish, rebuke, and blame them, and (if we may) we will delyue them from the holie administration: and when they be past amendment, we will depriue them of their office, although we abstaine not from the sacraments. This no doubt was the will of the Lord, when he said: The Scribes and Phariseis sit on the chaire of Moyses, and what they saie, doe ye; but what they doo, doe ye not. It was lawfull then soie for the blessed virgin, after she was deliuered of our sauiour, to offer a paire of turtle doves, or two young pigeons; because it was so commanded in the lawe. Wherefore, let them go vnto vs, that their spall by them corrupted, is commanded by the word of God, and not forbidden: and then we will not contend with them about that matter.

35. Last of all, being confuted in these objections, they be brought to that passe, as they desire, although it be vnto the present at Spasse; yet it is but a light offense, and should not by vs be so leuerally reproofed. But when they saie thus, why do they not remember, that all finnes haue their weight, not of the nature it selfe of woordes prohibited, but of the word of God and the lawe, whereby they were forbidden: Hereby finnes doe procure all their burthen and weight. Whereunto James the apostle had respect, when he saith in his second chapter; And he that shall obscure the whole lawe, and offendeth in one thing, is guilty of all. Neither do 3. I praye, as though 3. would haue all finnes by all means alike: for this, Augustine, in his nine and thentie epistle to Ieron aplye and manifeste denieth. And he confesseth, that the philosophers went about to proue it, when they affirme, that all vertues are so knit together; that he which hath one vertue hath all, and he which hath want one, hath want them all. For wisdom is not fearful, neither vntemperate, nor yet brutish: wherefore it hath all the other vertues yet it. And againe, iustice, fortitude, temperance, and the other vertues be knit without wisdom; and therefore they be knit all together. These things (saie they) doe not agree with the holie scriptures; for there

it is written; In manie things we sinne all. And if we saie we haue no sinne, we deceiue our selues, and there is no truth in vs. Seeing then we sinne in manie things, doubtlesse in sinning we cannot haue vertue, which is opposite vnto the sinne, which we commit.

And neuertheless it often chanceth, that he which falleth in one thing, may be constant in other things. Hereby it is that he is angrie, or that catcheth and diuineth erreth euill, yet peth to euertie man his owne, & it is ready vnto a god counsaile to giue his life for God: and therefore, notwithstanding he be somewhat reles of vntemperate, he may for all that be called iust, beautiful, and valiant. Forsooner, the same father confute the similitude of the Stoicks, 3. smil. wherein they saie; that he is as well drowned bad. In water, above whose head the water is but one hand breadth, as hee ouer whom it dotheten feet: thentie cubits. The similitude (saie they) is not aplye brought: but we must bying in another more fit to the purpose; namelye, a similitude of light and darkness. And doubtlesse, while a man departeth from darkness, and cometh nether the light, he beginneth then somewhat to see: so that it cometh to passe, that although he be covered with darkness, yet for all that, after a sort he is somewhat partaker of the light. But he that is belouous to understand more hereof, let him peruse the same 29. epistle. And these things haue 3. to this end brought, to confirme, that all finnes are not equal; as the Stoicks iudged.

36. Now let vs retorne to the place of James, which 3. cited; He that offendeth in one, is therefore guilty of all: because the obseruation of the lawe is not to be admitted with an exception, as if we might choose anie certeine part thereof to be kept, and late afaire and neglect another part: for a time, as we will and list our selues. God hath ioined together the commandements of the lawe, and it is not our part to separate the same at our pleasure. We must consider the authority of God the lawe-giuer, which ought to take place as well in one, as in all. This interpretation James himselfe seemeth to confirme, when he saith; He that saith, Thou shalt not commit adulterie, the same saith, Thou shalt not kill. As though he would saie; Gods law is much respected in breaking one of these commandements, as in another. But it may be proued also, by an other reason, that he which sineth in one, is guilty of all. For euery sin is being deliued by temptation, lust, or other occasion, are directed by some certeine transgression of the lawe: euery so, if the same of like motion should vse to vs to anie other transgression, we should as well breake the one as the other. Also Augustine, in the place now alledged, teacheth, that the keeping of lawe is true for another cause: for sinne, which

with Infidels.

is committed, is contrarie vnto charitie, whereof the obseruation of the whole lawe dependeth. And to this end haue 3. referred all these things; to declare that finnes, which be committed, are not in that respect to be diminished or excusated, because they be counted light: forso-much as the transgressions of the lawe are not to be esteemed onely by the weight and worthiness of their actions, but rather by the strength of Gods word, and authority of the lawe of God, who hath forbidden to sinne. But least 3. should seeme ouer rough, I am content to haue some consideration euen of that, wherein the sinne is committed. And surely, as concerning this, I cannot see how it can be accounted a light fault, to sinne against the sacraments; when as that kind of sinne pertaineth to the first table, wherein (without all controuersie) is intreated of the worshiping of God. Which worshiping alone being kept intolate, other things be easily corrected: and contrariwise, the same being corrupted or abused, all other things whatsoever we doe, become most unacceptable vnto God.

37. Further, they thinke that the crime, wherein we intreat, may therefore be excusated, because they affirme themselves to erre, not willfully, but by compulsion onely. And whom if thou demand, what manner of compulsion that is, which they pretend; they cannot doubtlesse giue anie other answer, but because they would not incur the losse of their gods, their fame, and their life. Yet these things make not, but that the action is voluntarie: euen as Aristotle taught in his Ethics; as when passengers in danger, that throwe their goods into the sea, to auoid the perill of shipwrecke, are said commonly to be compelled, when as they neuertheless doe throwe them in willingly. For they take deliberation, and iudge it better to suffer losse of goods than of life. And as they in that woefulle dole, and conuulsion of the gods of this world, withoutlesse those the losse of eternall life; when with which dissimulation they repaire vnto detestable spalles. Wherefore, he excuse, which they bring, cannot be receiued as iust. The Corinthians also might by this reason haue defended themselves, when they were reproofed by Paul; If we go vnto the scalls dedicated vnto idoles, we go not thither of our owne affection, as though we would allow such customes; but by iust reason we be compelled to go thither. For if we should be such scalls, we should be accounted feintions, euill citizens, and without humanity: we should lose pleasant friendships, and profitable fauours; yea and peraduenture possessions and countrie too.

If they had said these things to Paule, would he haue giuen care vnto them? So trulle: for

Antioche.

3. smil. tute.

1. Cor. 10. 21.

Augustine

he was not ignorant, but that they might haue said so; and yet neuertheless (as it is written in his epistle) he beneuolent and most charpely reproofed them. And all of these mens iudgements were true: might iustice and righte lawe haue defended himselfe for making a molten calfe vnto the Israelites: for he might haue said; I did it not from my hart, but I was compelled to do so, because the people would haue stoned me. If I had not obeyed them, so indeed he made answer. But Moyses, which knew right well that the same needfulle or compulsion was not iust, but came of a naughty condition of ground, which neither iustice would haue suffered him, to haue interposed; no: God would by anie means haue admitted; therefore Moyses did charpely reprove him. Forsooner, these men must assure themselves, that Spasse is a pledge, an earnest pence, a token, and a signe, whereby Papists knowe their companions from others. For they reare a man giue almes; no, whether he paye or paye not, liue chastlye or vnpurely, and such other like, they haue little regard; but whether they heare Spasse or no, that is it which they haue respect vnto: and if they perseeue he do, they account him straitwaie for one of their owne. And againe, to detest Spasse, and not to heare it, they take it for a certeine token of falling awaye from Antichrist.

Wherefore we may well call Spasse a publicke possession of poperie. With what colour therefore, or with what countenance may so great a crime be extenuated? They be greivous calfe (saie they) which hang ouer vs, and we put our selues in most great dangers, unless we communicate with the Papists in hearing of Masses. I grant it: but let us remember, that God both foetale all these things, and also foetale that they would come to passe: so nevertheless would not therefore suffer his lawes to be changed. Wherefore, as touching these euents, let vs call the care vpon him, who hath commanded these things, and is not ignorant that these euents are ioined with the obseruing of his commandements. So as the nature and force of troubles and dangers is not such, as they can abrogate the lawes of God. Those do abide, and euertlastingly shall abide: and therefore let vs not cownt to haue them made for our dangers and calamities. But there is god and wholesome counsell giuen vnto men, that they should not part that which they haue, betwene God and the diuell; so as they should giue their hart and affection vnto God, and grant their bodie and outward parts vnto the diuell.

38. Forsooth as by the parts of the dissensions before put, we haue spoken sufficient as concerning the dwelling together of pinate men with infidels; now remaineth to treat of

Spasse is a certen signe whereby faithfull are knowne frō the fauours-ritious.

Spasse is a publicke possession.

The nature of perfitious is not to abrogate the lawe of god.

Marth. 23. 2.

3. smil. tute.

3. smil. tute.

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3. smil. tute.

princes and magistrates; and they are either principal, as they which depend of no other, nor have superior powers above them: or else they be inferior officers, which labour in: or of right are subject unto superior potentates, as it were by fealty; or so: because they are their deputies, or ministers, that is, officials, or vicars, as commonlie they be called. Let us first therefore speake of such as be absolute and merie higher powers, searching whether they in their dominions may suffer the faithful to be conversant with infidels. I thinke it be lawfull, so that there be certaine conditions or cautions put. For when as the Romane Empire received christianitie, euerie one which lived vnder the same Empire did not straightwaie beleeue; but they were suffered to lide and dwell peaceablie. As in the time of Ambrose, Symmachus, who was a stranger from Christ, was so barbare to craue of the emperours, that the rites of the City might be restored: which was not granted vnto him. And now, when as kingdoms and dominions haue admitted the preaching of the Gospel, they be still manie suffered, which are wonderfull affected toward the Iapoe, and his wickednesse, because they cannot, without great perturbation of the state, be separated from them which are of the Gospel. So that the princes are forced to suffer such conversation.

Neither is it to be ascribed a fault in them, if that they depart not from these iust cautions. The best thereof is, that they constrain not the faithful to aune vngodlike worshipings; for then should they not exerce the office of the ministers of God, but rather of the diuell, and of antichrist: they should be a terror to god worshipping, and not vnto contrit: neither should they forwarde the worke of God, but the tyrannic of Satan. Secondly, let them beware, that they permit not vnto the infidels, wicked rites, and vngodlike ceremonies, in their dominions. Whis crime was Salomon guilty: not that he compelled the Idoles to worship idols, but because to his wiues and concubines, which were strangers, he permitted temples in Iurie, wherein they might worship Astaroth, and Chamos, and other strange gods. But how greivouslie God was offended with him, the holie scripture declareth: he was iustlie punished by the deale of like: for like that euen as he had made diuision of the seruice of God, giving part ther of vnto God, and part vnto idols, so was his kingdome diuided, whereof a part was granted vnto his sonne, and a part was giuen to Ieroboam the sonne of Nebat. And his fault spred abroad vnto his posteritie: for Ahas, Manasses, and manie other vngodlike kings, had wicked & detestable worshipings at Ierusalem: for the which they were by the prophets greivouslie and sharpe repara-

ued. And vndoubtedlie, a magistrate cannot but be blamed, when he worshipeth idolatrie, seeing he beareth the sword to reuenge wicked acts. Wherefore hee must determine, either that idolatrie is no sinne; or else, that it ought to be punished by the magistrate, as well as other sinnes be.

39 Augustine manie times doth verie well intreat of that place of David; Be vile now therefore, o ye kings, be learned ye that be iudges of the earth, Ieremie Lord in feare, &c. It is merie (saith he) that euen kings do ferue the Lord. Neither speaketh David of them, in that respect, that they be men: for so are they bound, as well as others, to observe common lawes. In that therefore that they be kings, (welsh) they be warned to vse the power and sword given them by God, to defend the veritie of the true faith, and to repress the vngodlike, that the Catholike truth and church of God, so farre as their dominions extend, be not assailed. So that it is not lawfull for princes to grant vnpure worshipings vnto the vngodlike: naie rather, it is their part speciallie, to be earnest in setting forth of sound doctrine, ceremonies, and rites, which agree with the word of God. And yet neuertheless, to speake thereof by the waie I thinke not, that we should too much contend, that rites and ceremonies may be all alike, and observed euerie where after one maner. But this must be regarded, that they be not repugnant vnto the word of God; but that they approach thereto as nigh as is possible, that they tend as much as may be to edifying, and to the promoting of decentie and order. For otherwise it maketh no matter, whether we receive the sacrament of the Lords supper standing, or sitting, or kneeling; so that the institution of the Lords be kept, and occasion of superstition be cut off. Neither is it anie matter, when they then be communicating, whether one certaine place of the holie scripture be recited, or whether psalmes and thankes-giving be song of the people.

Pea, and I thinke that this varietie of rites, doth not a little further to the obtaining of a true opinion concerning ceremonies; namelie, that all men may understand, that those ceremonies, which are not set forth in the holie scriptures, are not necessarie to saluation, but may be changed for; edification sake, as time shall serue. And Augustine to Iuanus and Cassianus was of this opinion. The third condition of caution that must be regarded, is, that princes take heed, that those infidels, whom they suffer in their dominions, be continuallie with diligence instructed, and not negle them as commonlie the manner is, in things pertaining vnto godlinesse. Wherefore we are not to loathe, that

the patience, wherewith the prince suffereth them, can set forth the glorie of God; if they may be suffered continuallie, without teaching to abide in their vngodlike opinion: for in potencie of time they become not the better on whil, but a great deale the worse. Furthermore, princes must be warned, that those fasts inct not the people committed to their charge, with the corruption of vices and errors, by means of the mutual conversation betwixen them. And finally, when they be well instructed and taught, they must compel them to the sound and pure worshiping, which the holie scripture hath appointed. For the magistrate may not suffer his subjects to lide without the exercises of godlines: for the end of ciuill government is, that the citizens should lide vertuouslie and happie. And who seeth not, that godliness and worshiping of God is of all other vertues the principall?

40 But some man perhaps will saie; that if the prince should compel them unto the right vring of the sacraments, which are not yet persuaded of the truth, he should daune them headlong vnto sinne; so farre as hee is from furthering their saluation. For there they shall be against their conscience, and whatsoeuer they do in such wise, is sinne, as the apostle testifieth. And here I thinke it good to make a distinction, betwixen that which is of, or by it selfe; and that which is by aduention and by hap, as they speake in the schools; that cometh by accident. The magistrate in this matter, which we haue now in hand, setteth forth to his subjects, that which is right, good, and iust: but whereas sinne is committed in the meane time, that hapneth nothing at all by his default, but rather by the incredulitie and misbeliefe of them; wherof he is not to be accused, when he hath diligently laboured to haue his subjects well instructed. Neither are the Papists (which at this daie be suffered by christian magistrates) ignorant, that we ought to haue in vse the sacraments instituted by the Lord. So as they can not iustlie complaine of their magistrates, if they would haue them to be vigilant and in due order ministered vnto them. Besides, they which obiect these things vnto vs, must note diu gentlie, that by the same waie we may caunt against God; for he hath set forth vnto men his lawe (which is most perfect) to be kept of them. Shall we then saie vnto him; We be weakie, corrupt, vicious of nature, and not able to performe the commandments, as thou hast vnto led vs; and so whether we do against that which thou hast commanded, or performe that which thou hast vnto led vs, we shall euer sinne, because we shall faile; neither can we obete as we should doe; therefore, whatsoeuer we do, we shall not auoid sinne. Thus whosoever shall continue

lionlie speake against God, will not be of god right answer him againe: The things which I haue declared vnto you to be kept, be iust and right; but in that ye be weakie and feeble, it ought not to be imputed vnto my default; for I haue speciallie holpen you to weaknesse, hauing giuen mine onie sonne vnto death for your sakes. If ye will beleeue in him onie, whatsoeuer ye shall not accomplish in performing my precepts, it shall not be imputed to you to euill lasting death. So may a god prince answer; I require of you those things which are contained in the word of God, and the things which are decent, and do euill; you if your opinion or conscience be against it, that must not be ascribed vnto me, which haue diligentlie instructed you of the truth, and miserable peris. For I haue bene carefullie studious, that ye might be taught and instructed in the truth; and so will I still proceed in exhorting, admonishing, and commanding you, that ye read the holie scriptures, and that ye praye vnto God to open the eyes of your mind. These things if the prince shall faile, I sae not by what right, or by what reason he may be reprovied.

41 And I thinke it not meet to be omitted; Augustine which Augustine saith, that he was once of the opinion, that nothing should be done to persecute by compulsion; but thepo to be instructed by admonitions and doctrine. But he confesseth, that he was warned by certaine bishops of more experience, which shewed him of certaine cities, which before were in a maner utterlie destroyed by the error of the Donatists, and were by violence and labours of emperors compelled to come vnto the catholike church: which cities being thus at the length sincerelie converted vnto the truth, rendered thanks vnto God; neither would they, if by anie means they might, retorne vnto such pernicious opinions. Wherefore the godlie prince shall nothing at all hurt his much; naie rather, he shall profit them verie much, if (when instruction hath giuen) hee compel them to receive the sacraments due, as they be delivered by the word of God. But this I would haue to be vnto God concerning his onie subjects, his naturall countenmen and denizens, which inole the right of the citie or province. Wherefore I do not thinke, that he ought to vse anie violence towards strangers that passe to and fro, and which occurre the trade of merchandise, either inward or outward. And yet I iudge also, that hee must take diligent heed touching them, least they infect the people with wicked doctrine. So they infect the people with wicked doctrine as I suppose, that the steges of the 3 israelites are to be followed; who made none a Ieto or a 3rophet, neither instructed anie among

The first caution.

The second caution.

1. Kin. 11, 7.

2. Iud. 11.

Augustine. Psal. 139.

Howe and in what respect kings ought to ferue God.

The fourth caution.

The fifth caution.

The end of ciuill gouernment.

Rom. 14, 3.

Of standing sitting or kneeling at the communion.

Where the prince ought to take heed, to haue his subjects to vse the sacraments.

How profit hee had by the varietie of rites.

Augustine.

The third caution.

As it is.

their

their nation, vnleſſe they had bene firſt circumciſed, & receiued the laue of Moſes, and communicated with their ſacrifices. Which thing being to diligentlie obſerued by them, there is no cauſe why our princes ſhould not doe the like vnto aſie; namely, to ſuffer no citizen of theirs either native, or ſtranger borne; but that they might compell or conſtrain him vnto the ceremonies and ſeruities conſonant & agreeing to the word of God.

21 diſtinction.  
2.ooke part.  
4. place, 1.  
act. 12.

42 But now let vs proceed, and ſpeake of thoſe lawes, or magiſtrates, which are ſubied vnto the power of ſuperiours. Theſe ſeeme on this manner to be diuided: ſome to haue iuriſdiction, either proper, or by inheritance; or elſe committed vnto by emperours, kings, and publike vntes. Others they be without iuriſdiction, and are reputed noble men onely for the nobilitie of their blood, or by reſon of notable riches gotten together. And finally, ſeing this laſt ſort differ in a manner nothing at all from private men, we muſt (in my opinion) to iudge of them, as of thoſe other private perſons, of whom I haue before ſpoken. But the firſt, which be rulers of princiſes, cities, and places, either by inheritance, or by office committed vnto them; they ought not otherwiſe to doe in the thing (whereof we now diſcouſe) than we haue before preſcribed for thoſe, which are more and abſolute magiſtrates. For by the commandement of the ſuperiour princes, it is not lawfull for them to compell the ſubiects, whom they gouerne, vnto vngodlike religion: neither to permit the ſame to thoſe inferiours, which inhabit their territories. But if thou ſhalt ſay; We muſt obeye the higher powers: I grant it, yet perſuade ad aras, that is, ſo far as religion ſhall permit.

The number of the ſect.  
demonians.

When they, which ouercame the Lacedaemonians, commanded ſuch things as were againſt their lawes and inſtitutions: they ſaid; If ye ſhall command vs things more harder than death, we will rather die. When ſuch kind of magiſtrates muſt in all other things be ſubiect to the ſuperiour power: but in thoſe things, which are againſt the word of God, they muſt not in any wiſe followe their mind. That time as the Macedonians, Antiochus, Demetrius, and Alexander, which were the 3. elues, when they liued vnder them, from the true worſhipping of God, the Madaheis would not be obedient vnto them. And whereas that houſe of pſeudoſion was deſtroyed, it crumbled from religion, leaſt that the ſincere and ancient religion ſhould be deſtroyed. And here, in allegorizing of theſe things, I count not the bookes of the ſpachabab to be ſuch, as that I iudge from thence ſhould be taken firme arguments of eſdoctrine; but becauſe I reckon that diſtoſie to be

An example of the ſpachabab.

true, as the ſcripture is not onlie contained in thoſe bookes, but alſo hath bene written by other au-  
thours.

43 I will alſo adde the act of king Ezechias, as it is written in the ſecond booke of Ezechias, the 18. chapter. For (as it is written in the 16. chapter of the ſame booke) Achaſ had ſeized himſelfe vnto the king of Aſſyria, to whom he did not onely pay tribute, but for his ſake he changed the worſhipping of the true God. For he was going to meet the king at Damalcus, commanded an altar to be made at Ieruſalem, according to the patterne of that, which he had ſene at Damalcus; and he followed the ſeruitie and religion, which the Aſſyrians vsed. But Ezechias his ſonne (being terrie goodly) perceiving that ſome thing, which his father had done, were repugnant to the word of God, fell vnto him from the king of the Aſſyrians, who then ruled over him, as a ſuperiour power. But firſt he aſſaies to perſuade him with gifts and monie; but when he ſaw that that would take no place, he then defended himſelfe, and his people, againſt him with all his power. Hereafter, in theſe things ſo much as is poſſible we muſt avoid ſeditious, and moſt vntuſe proude, that vnder the pretence of religion, princes ſeek to their ſhame. Theſe things if they obſerue, and reſiſt their ſuperiour magiſtrates onely for godlineſſe ſake; let them not miſtruſt, that they commit aſie inſultice. Moreover, the holie ſcriptures command, that Euerie ſoule ſhould be ſubiect to the higher powers. But that muſt be vnderſtood; as much as ſhall be lawfull by the word of God. For in the ſame ſcriptures it is written, that the magiſtrate is a terror, not vnto good woorks, but vnto euill. So as, if the inferiours promote not euill things, but good, they doe not then reſiſt their powers. Withouthout feare the higher power (ſaith the apoſtle 2.) Doe good, and for that thou ſhalt be praized.

Then, if they defend godlineſſe, they ſhall deſerue rather praize than blame; but if thou doeſt not, feare the ſuperiour power, for he beareth not the ſword in vaine; for he is the miniſter of God, a reuenger vnto anger, againſt him that doeth euill. All theſe ſentences muſt confirme the minds of the inferiour powers, that they ſhould be nothing afraid of the ſuperiour power, when they in deſence of religion obeye him not. Wherefore, if thou wilt ſay; That that laue do inferiour princes reſiſt either emperours, or kings, or Common-locale, when as they defend the ſincere religion and true faith: I anſwer; That the laue of the emperor, or by the laue of the king, or by the laue of the Common-locale: for they be choſen of emperours, of kings, and of Common-locale, as ſuppoſers to gouerne, whereby iuſtice may more and more ſourly.

An example of ezechias.  
1. ezech.  
18. c.  
16. c.

Seditious muſt be as much as is poſſible.

Rom. 13. 1.

1. ezech.

To the end therefore that they ſhould rightlie, iuſtly, and godlie gouerne the Common-locale, according to the charge committed vnto them, they were appointed: wherefore they doe according to their dutie, when in cauſe of religion they withſtand the ſuperiour power. Neither can that ſuperiour power iuſtly complain, if in this caſe, the inferiour power fall from it. The emperor teſtifieth in the Cone, that his mind is not, that any of his decrees ſhould take place in iudgements againſt right; but that they ſhould be made iuſtly, if ſhould be perceived to varie from iuſtice. Whereupon Traian is not without cauſe commended, who beſuſeining the ſword, and the grile vnto the gouernor, ſaith; If I rule iuſtly, be it on my ſide; but if I rule vniuſtly, be it againſt me.

Julianus.

21 godlie ſentence of Traian.

44 Gregorie the biſhop of Rome cannot be excuſed, who perceiving that the laue made by Mauricius was vniuſt, (for he had decreed that none, which was encombered with affaires of the Common-locale, or appointed to the warres, ſhould be made a clergie, or monke) iuſtly inuaded to the emperor, that when he had ſene his laue, he was vniuſt and aſie; and therefore deſired him either to reſit ſome what of the rigor thereof; or elſe vnto alter it. Whereof he anſwered; ſeeing that he had done his dutie in admoniſhing him, (according to the obedience and ſeruitie which he ought vnto him) he would publiſh the laue at Rome, as he was commanded. Doubtleſſe this act of Gregorie cannot be reuerſed; becauſe he ought not to haue obeyed the ſuperiour power, in that thing, which he iudged to be vniuſt and vniuſt. When the wiſe of theſe things in this manner, we doe not open aſie waies at all vnto ſeditious; but onely our care is, that theſe things may be giuen to God, which are due vnto Caſar, and vnto Caſar the things which be due vnto Caſar. If the higher power would require either the gods, or things of this world, for the ſer of the publike locale, my counſell is, that they ſhould be giuen; but not when theſe things be required to be ouerthorough and inuerted, which haue reſpect to the worſhipping of God. And by this means finally, we may execute iuſt Naboth, which would not grant to the king his vineyard: for he did not that of couetoſnes and pride; but becauſe he ſaw the laue of God thereby to be violated, whereby it was ordained, that lands and poſſeſſions, among the people of Iſrael, ſhould remaine diſtributed by iuſt diſtribution. This laue of God the king went about to violate, and to the performance thereof he ſought the conſent of that man, which he wiſely good conference could not haue borne.

Whether the inferiour of aſie ſhould reſiſt their ſuperiour.

exerciſe the inferiour office, ſhould reſigne and depart from their office; but I thinke not ſo. For this were to fail from his location, which he ought not to doe; eſpecially, when we ſee that his ſurrender muſt be made to the vngodlike, which either reſiſt, or oppoſe the kingdome of God. I iudge therefore, that they ought to continue, until by force they be deſpoſed by the ſuperiour powers; that they, though abiding may courageouſly defend the glaſſe of God. But alas, we ſee ſerue manie dukes, cardes, and princes, which if the king or emperor would take from them their dominions, they would not leave a ſtone vnmoued to defend and keepe their own. There would they wiſh all their force reſiſt their higher powers, for this cauſe, and vnder this title; that they would vniuſtly be deſpoſed from their owne. But when the kingdome of God, godlineſſe, and true religion are aſſailed by them; and that theſe inferiour powers are required as miniſters to prepare themſelues to be preſent, and helpe to the ouerthrow of theſe things; they dare not ſpeake or reſiſt aſie thing at all. Whereby we can thinke nothing elſe, but that they haue but ſmall loue to the kingdome of Chriſt, and true religion.

45 Now remaineth, that we anſwer vnto thoſe arguments, which were obiected at the beginning; where it ſeemed to be proued, that conuerſation together with the inferiours is lawfull. Chriſt was alledged, which kept companie with Pharilees, ſummers, and publicans. Whereof he was not onely conſtant, and wiſe, but was the head of all wiſe and conſtant perſons; and was in ſuch ſort able to poſſeſſ euill men, as their naughtyneſſe, which are conſtant and lawfull. Wherefore they, which are conſtant and learned, may lawfully (as we haue taught) be conuerſant with inferiours, to the end they maie thereby further them to ſalvation. Secondly, Paule was brought forth; who ſeeked that a faithfull husband, or wiſe ſhould not depart from an vnbekleaving husband or wiſe, ſo that he or ſhe were content to dwell together. We alſo ſee, that naturall and ciuill friendſhips, ſpecially ſuch as are inſtituted by God, ſhould be kept ſtill. And yet muſt not that, which the apoſtle hath there ſaid, be vnderſtood abſolute, as it ſeemeth there to be ſpoken. For if the vniuſt faithfull husband ſhould enter his wiſe, being a chriſtian, vnto vngodlineſſe; or would not caſe to blaſpheme Chriſt: ſuch a matrimonie ought not to continue. Further, there was rehearſed the ſentence of the ſame apoſtle to the Corinthians; namely, that all couitous perſons, pharilees, and vniuſt men, are not to be auoided; for then we ſhould be gone out of the world; but he ſaid, that thoſe onely were to be eſchewed, which were accounted beſiechen. And touching this

they be contented to dwell together.

21 another to the arguments put forth at the firſt.

Mat. 9. 10.

1. Cor. 7. 13.

1. Cor. 5. 11.

1. Cor. 5. 11.

this purpose of Paule, we must diligentlie note, that he perceiued verie well, that the necessitie of life could not suffer, that all those, which hee leaue not in Chist at that time, should be thinned: for the greatest part of men, at the beginning, were farre from Chist. Neither could the infidels haue become better, if our men had separated themselves altogether from them.

But according to the mind of the apostle, the contrary brethren would be stricken with sorrow and shame, when they should perceive themselves for their sinnes sake, to be abandoned of those, to whom before they had bene so familiar and deere, that they were ioined to them, as members of one body. Besides, when this discipline flourisheth, the church was not ill spoken of for the offences of brethren, which would otherwise haue bene, if they had bin punished as wicked ones. Wherefore these sinners are nothing at all against that case, which we before determined. And much lesse that which was alleged of Cithims, how he was found as a stranger among Cithims and idolaters; first because he did it by the calling of God; secondly, for that he was of so great faith and love, so that he was able to be conuertant among the vngodly, without anye hurt to himselfe, and with great thank to them. For whether to euer he went, he carried about with him the religion and worship of God. Let me say answere the same also of Lot. For he went into the five cities with a good minde, namely to teach the Sodomites godliness, and the right waye; he did well: for if the worst thereof, being moued onely with the commoditie of the place, he had not well. And as for this, his goinge thither had but ill successe: for he was led awaye captiue; and Abraham was faine to redeme him. And when afterward those places were set on fire by the power of God, he was compelled to remoue from thence, whether he would or no. I need not speake much of this time concerning Naaman the Syrian, for I haue before treated of him, and will againe. And I thinke it is manifest inough withall, what was the cause, whye some of them, which were heald by Christ, were sent home to their owne families; namely, to the intent they should preach, and faithfully declare vnto them, what had happened vnto them selues.

*Of the Jewes.*

46 Now there remaineth to speake somewhat particularlie of Zelues and Heretikes: for this kind of men are suffered almost in all cities, pprovinces, and kingdomes; and they dwell together with Christians. Why the Zelues should be suffered, Augustine among others li: in yeth certeine reas ns. He *De ciuitate Dei*,

the fourth booke, the 18. chapter, as also vpon the 3. psalme, and in other places, twyeth, that theye were so suffered, because they be fore other men had the promise of saluation; neither are they past all hope, fearing that some of them maute times, although few in number, do retorne vnto Christ. Blandineus (saith Paule Rom.<sup>11.25</sup> vnto the Romans) sell partie vnto Israel: as though he would saie, that vpon all. And to this the same apostle addeth, When the shales of the Gentiles is come in, then all Israel shall be saved. And least peradventure thou shouldst thinke, that these wordes are spoken all gonorally; Paul twyeth them as a myserie. And to proue his saying, he bringeth the prophesie of Elsie the prophet, to wit, that The iniquitie shall be then taken away from Jacob. y furthermore, they be now called entruis vnto God for our sakes, but friends in respect of their fathers. The same Augustine, in his questions vpon the gospel, the second booke, and 33. question (if those be Augustines booke) when he interpreteth the parable of the poublicke sowe, he saith; that What sowe doth betoken the Gentils, for; it is twyten, that he departed into a far country, because the Ethiopians were far departed from God, as they twyeth were toole poublike, and in open profession. But the elder sowe, vnder whom is the sowed the Hebrew people, went not so farre off. And although he were not within his fathers booke, which is the church; yet nevertheless he abode in the field. For the Jewes are occupied in the holie scriptures, which they vnderstand not rightlie, nor with such spiritual sence as the church of Christ doth knowe them; but take them in an earthly and carnall manner, where by not twaple they be said to haue their abode in the field. This elder sowe doth not at the beginning enter into his fathers house, but in the latter dates he shall also be called and come,

47 The lame father allo, for the p<sup>ro</sup>ofe of this doctrine, bringeth that which is written in the 9<sup>th</sup> psalme, as be ready to it; Do not kill them, least they forget thy lawe, but scatter them in thy power. The sonne of God (saith he) praizeth vnto the father, that the lame nation might not be defroied, but that it might waite vpon thee where in the world. Other prouinces, when they were overcome of the Romans, followed the lawes and rites of the Romans; so that at length they became Romans: but the Hebrewes, notwithstanding they were overcome by the Romans, yet would they neuer yield vnto their lawes, rites, and ceremonies. They still obferue their owne, as much as they may; and being dispersed, they waite abroad. Neither haue they utterly forgotten the lawe of God; not that the goshie apply themselves to obserue it, but w<sup>o</sup>ncle read it, and heere certie

*Of the Iewes.*

Gen. 4, 15. teine rites and ceremonies, whereby they are distinguished from other nations. Verbe it semyeth, that God hath put a signe vpon them, as he did vpon Caine, for killing his brother Abel; namelye, that euerye man should not kill them.

Rom. 11, 17. Neither is this scattering of them abroad in the world unprofitable unto the christians, because (as it is written to the Romans) they are shewed unto us as broken bowes. And forasmuch as we be as grafted in their place, when as we see that they were so miserable cut off, we acknowledge the grace of God towards vs; and by beholding of them, be taught to take heed, that for our infidelitie sake, for the which they were broken off, we also be not cut off in the same manner. There is another cause

like manner. For neuer, there is another com-  
moditie, which cometh vnto vs by the disper-  
sing of them. Because our bodies are faued by  
them: for we mane the holie bible, with they ear-  
rie curie: whereof about them, and read it. And al-  
though, because they be blinded, they beleeue not,  
yet they confesse, that those wytyngs are most  
true. Anded they be in hart our deare ci-  
tizens; but yet by theye booke, which they haue  
and reuerence, they are a testimonie to they re-  
ligion. Wherefore I cannot maruell sufficient-  
ly at those, which do so much hate the Jewissh  
temple, and bibles in Hebreue, as they desire to  
have them defaced and burnt: saying Augu-  
stine *De doctrina christiana* thinkest, that where-  
forever we build of the Grecke or Latine tran-  
slation, we must sle vnto the truth of the He-  
breue. And Ieron in manie places wytteth the  
same.

168 But they saie, that the holie booke was abused and corrupted by the Hebrews. To this Ieronimus upon Eliac the first chapter, towards the end, answereth thus; Either they did this be- fore the coming of Christ, and the preaching of the apostles, or else afterward. If a man will saie, that it was done of them before; then, seeing Christ and his apostles reprehended the most grievous wicked acts of the Jewes, & miraculouly they would faile nothing of that fa- crilege, and so detestable a wicked act. This doubletie, they would have repayed them for by marring and corrupting of the scriptures. But if by them built affirme, that the faults were brought in by them afterward: then will I saie, that he had behouden them to corrupt those places of scrip- ture, which were testific of Christ, and of his religion; and which were alleaged by the Lord himselfe and his apostles in the new testament. But those places remaine sound; and the very same sentences, which they cited, do remaine still in the Hebrew booke; for they were not so careless great for the words, and it is not like- ly, that they in other places have corrupted the holie scriptures. Yea, if a man diligenly read

ouer their booke, he shall find in them a great manie more testimonies, and those more plaine and manifest, than our common translation hath. Do they not read in the second psalme; Kill the wicked: which our men haue translated; Take ye hold of discipline: & which words in doubtlesse are referred vnto Christ. But 3. bo. not meane at this present, to bring all like testimonies: it is sufficient, if 3. or more with testimonies, that the booke of holie scriptures are not corrupted by the hebreys. The which surely, if they would haue done, yet had they mislead of their purpose. for; manie of the most ancient booke are found, and that in written hand, which haue bene kept a verie long time by the christians; which neuer came in their hands to abuse.

40 But let us returne to discourse of that  
conspiration, which Augustine hath declared;  
There he verie manifeſtly ſaith he which would per-  
adventure thinke, that the things, which he af-  
firmeth to be done of the ancient people, and of  
the prophets, were but vaine, and imagined by  
us; unleſſe they ſate the Iewes perillous, which  
with their booke maintaine that, which the pro-  
phets, whether they will or no. For although the  
Iewes be blinded in their hart, and be againſt  
us with as much power as they can; yet we  
have themſelves together with their booke, more  
evident testimonies of our religion. And doubt-  
leſſe, among all testimonies, that testimonie is  
of greateſt account, which is testified by the cri-  
minals. And of this kind of witnesses God hath  
prouided great force for his church: for we not  
onely haue the Iewes booke, to make on our  
ſide; but alſo the verbes of the 5. bly, which were  
haue in ſundry countries. Neither muſt it be

side; but also the verses of the S. byls, which were The verses  
known in sundrie countries. Neither must it be of Sibyl.

In which thing neuerthelesse, the diligence of  
magistrates

magistrates and bishops to be required, who ought to provide, that they do nothing else there; and by all means to beware, that in their public praies, exhortations, and sermons, they do not curse nor rail upon Christ our God. And this if our magistrates and bishops do not looke unto, they cannot escape a just accusation. But it is not lawfull to grant unto the Turks any religious liberties; for that they have not any particular promise of their salvation: neither would they read there, either the old testament, or the new, but onely their most detestable Alcoran. Over this, the Jewes should be prohibited to exercise false bargaining and strife among christians; thereby to vex and afflict the pious christians before our face: the which cannot be done without great indignitie. But our princes exact a good great tribute of them; and of those gaires, which come by vicarie and naughtie bargaining, they obtaine great praise: so farre are they from forbidding them these evil arts. Furthermore, (a thing no lesse hurtfull) they provide not to have their taught: when as they ought to compell them to come against to godlie christian sermons: otherwise, while they be so negligent here, they become badlie worse and worse. Whereby, either naughtie fruit, or in a manner none at all can be looked for, by the conversion which they have among christians. It must also be looked diligentlie to, that they corrupt not christians, in seducing them to their Zoroastrian religion. By reason of neglecting herof, the heretic of the Marrans hath much increased, specially in Spaine. Moreover, it is met, that they may by some apparell, or certaine token be knownen from christians; least any unwitting shoulde be familiar with them, no lesse than with the christians. And these things shall suffice concerning this sort of infidels.

The heretic of the Marrans.

what is vicarie.

The causes of heretics.

Augustine.

A definition of heretic.

### Of Heretics.

Now let us speake of heretics. The word is *heresis*; it is derived of this verbe *airesis*, which is, To cleave; of whose sort they kind of yuen divide unto themselves, some certaine opinions, which are against the holie scriptures, and do ungoddonicke defend the same. But the causes of their this choice for the most part, are either, for that they be ignorant of the holie scriptures; or else if they knowe them, they despise them: and being driven of a certaine desire, they applye themselves to the inventions of some teachers. Wherefore Augustine in his booke *De civitate dei*, teacheth; An heretic is he, which for the love of gaine, or bearing of rule, either biddeth; or else followeth new opinions. So that the definition of heretic is a choice, and ungoddonicke defending of opinions, which are a-

gainst the holie scriptures, proceeding through the ignorance or contempt of them, that they may the easilier obtaine their pleasures and commodities. Choice and goddonicke defending in this definition, are in stead of the forme. But the opinions disagreeing with the holie scriptures, serve for the matter. Pride and countenances make heretic. And the obtaining of dignities, gaine, and pleasures, are appointed as ends of a great a mischief. By this definition is manifest inough (as I thinke) who be heretics. I mean not now to descend unto the kinds and particulars of heretics; I hope I shall have an other occasion, and place more convenient. His will I briefly use as concerning this question, that we are to deale with heretics in none other wise than with infidels and Jewes.

But to have to an end of these things, which I have spoken, let us heare what Augustine teacheth of this matter, in his 154. epistle unto the bishopps of the city of Carthage, where he saith; It is to be an idolater shall offer unto idols any portion of the fruits, or of the wine laterlie set in the press, that which maketh not, but we may freely use that which remaineth, as well in the presse, as in the barn. For we be not afraid to have waters out of those fountains and welles, from whence they take for the service of their idols. But we inough, that he which hath the publicke power, (the magistrate I mean) by his authoritie must withstand, that no part of the profits shoulde be defalked (and imploied to) wicked worshippings; but if this can not be hindered, those things are remaining, he maketh free. He answereth also touching the common baines, wherein idolaters were wont to bath themselves, the which in like manner he maketh common unto christians; For (saith he) we likewise take breath, and breath out aire, which we knowe to be infected with the euill stinke of the sacrifices of infidels. Whereunto I would willingly also adde, that albeit I confess the place of the bath for the faithfull to be free also for the use of the beleivers; yet that we must not wash together with unbelievers; because in that kind of action, there may be noted some familiaritie, assent, and participation together. And thus we read in the ecclesiasticall historie, that Iohn the euangelist did avoid, who would not enter into a baine, when he heard that Cerynus the heretic had wash therein.

Augustine added, that we must be so thing that we understand tend to the honour and worshipping of idols; for either would it answere (saith he) if thou saiest that thy confidence is cleare: for thy neighbour may not see into thy hart, but beholde thy face. Wherefore if we shall heare any thing, which is either superstitious,

In 1. Cor. 10 at the end, Augustine, questions things infidels touching idolatry.

eccle. 16.

eccle. 34.

Psalm 147. 1. Tim. 4. 4.

John would not wash with Cerynus the heretic.

Augustine

idolaters, we must abhor, and detest it, and not conuert it to our owne use. The which was expressely commanded in Deuteronomie, when God spake unto them, that they should not take such things unto themselves. And which opinion Augustine allegeth two reasons; I first that thou taking any thing away, which served to the superstitions worshipping, they suspect, that thou art moved to abolish wicked worshipping, not for religion, but for countenancie sake; namely, that thou maist waie rich, and to fulfill thy countenances. Another reason there is, that if thou shalt laie up at home these things among thy treasure, it might easilie come to passe, that either they should be had in honour of thy posteritie; or of the worsest lost, which be in the house of men; and so, that the idolatrous worshipping by little and little shoulde be restored. Howbeit, he confesseth, that those superstitious things may be conuerted into publicke uses, and to the seruice of the true and right religion; even as we have knowen godlie emperours to have done, who have taken idols given to the theatre, and to the temple of monie, and have consecrated them to the church of Christ, and to the good uses of the Common-wealth.

Godli emperours have applied such things to godlie uses.

And there is a place cited out of the first chapter of the booke of Judges, where the Lord willett the wood of the grove dedicated to Baal, the which Gedeon did cut downe, to be transferred to the sacrifice which was to offer. And in the first chapter of Iosua we read, that the substance of Hierico became accursed, and yet that sooner was there, brass, iron, silver, or gold, all that, were they to bring to the treasure of the Lord. If a field, by any hap shoulde be consecrated unto idols, the same Augustine teacheth, that those things which grow therein, are lawfull for the beleivers; for The earth (saith he) is the Lords and all the fulnes thereof. And unto Timothee it is said; Euerie creature of God is good, Iot bereeued of vs with thanks-giving and praises. Else should we blame Paule, who was many daies in Athens, and undoubtedlie fed of the fruits and commodities of the Athenian felts, which neither he was consecrated unto Minerva. But if there should now be fruits, and those consecrated appointed to the speciall service of idols, the christians ought to refrain, least they might seeme to communicate with impiety. But because men in old time were accustomed sometimes to sacrifice unto fountains and rivers; for that they attributed unto them a certaine kind of divinitie, I know not what; and therefore they they into them sometimes, either the sacrificed flesh, or the inward of the same; it is doubted, whether christians might use those waters afterward. Augustine answereth; For inward, it is lawfull; for

we knowe, (saith he) that there be verie manie, which do sacrifice unto the sunne, yet scarce we do not see the light of the same, and to crucie the beames thereof; yea and there be found infidels, which do offer sacrifice unto the winds, and yet neuertheless we use the winds in our sailing.

3. Last of all, Pubolico putteth him in mind of a case concerning a certaine man, which putteth through a defect, and the same man being verie hungry, happening upon a church; or chapel of idols, where, by chance, finding certaine flesh fit ready, he demandeth whether it were lawfull for him to cate, if he persue christian religion; Augustine answereth, because it may be, that that same is not sacrificed flesh, but is left there of strangers by chance, which turned in thither, either to dine or sup; therefore, seeing it is not apparant, that those are sacrificed things, he that is hungry may use them. Further, as if he had not satisfied himself, he maketh this distinction. Either he knoweth for a certaintie, that the flesh was offered in sacrifice; or he knoweth for a certaintie, that it was not; or else he doubteth. And he answereth; If he doubt, or else knowe for a certaintie, that it is not sacrificed flesh, he may cate lawfullie. But if that shall certaintie appere, that the flesh was offered in sacrifice, let him abstaine in respect of christian pietie. Where would I not willingly subscribe to the iudgement of Augustine, for I see no cause why he may bid a christian man that is hungry, to refrain from this kind of meate; for being in the worse case, he hath not there any lesse to be commended, whom he may offend; neither yett he communicate with infidels, seeing no sacrifice is there in hand; neither hath he set forth unto the infidels his libertie to be condemned or blasphemed. Which things were the cause and one cause, when the apostle spake the eating of things offered unto idols. Therefore I would iudge, that in such a case it is free, to use that kind of meate; for, The earth is the Lords, and all that is therein.

Psalm 147.

1. Tim. 4. 4.

John would not wash with Cerynus the heretic.

Augustine

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### What is to tempt God.

To tempt, is nothing else, but to make proofe. Wherefore they tempt God, which will have trial of his power and will. And this is done two waies; because otherwise there is no lacke of such things as we have need of, but we disdaine to use those accustomed and familiar things; and we would be helped by meanes exquisite and unheard of. As if one that would not put on a garment, which he hath, and in the meane time shoulde paigne, that God by some strange meanes, would dresse about the cold of him; as there be curie there to be found, who not content with the miracles performed in the holie

The cause of one which was tempted by the Jews.

In 1. Cor. 10 look part. 1. pla. 8. art. 15.

look In 2. Cor. 1. 1. at the end.

God tempteth two manner of waies.

A similitude.

holie ſcripture, would now haue ſome other to confirme the truth of the faith. According to this ſenſe Chriſt answered ſathan, when he perſuaded him to throw himſelfe downe headlong from the top of the temple; It is written, Thou ſhalt not tempt the Lord thy God. As if he ſhould ſaie; The waie to go downe is manifeſtly knowne vnto me. I haue ſteps, to what purpoſe ſhould I caſt my ſelfe downe headlong? If I doe it, I ſhall tempt God.

55 Another kind there is of this temptation, when we lacke neceſſarie things, but yet neuertheleſſe haue a promiſe, and goodlikenes daily perſuade vs to attend patientlie. But manie reſiſte to take the Lords helpe, yea they dare preſcribe a time vnto God, and a meane alſo, whereby they would be holpen of him. As his wiſedome through the unpaintifullneſſe of aduerſities, which happeneth oftentimes with our greates deſtruction.

Therefore the ſcriptures ſet without cauſe exhort vs euerie where to patience. Terullian alſo and Cyprian haue verie notable written, concerning patience. None of vs ought to preſcribe vnto God, either the meane, or the time of helpe: he beſt knoweth the iuſt cauſes, and hee: good conſiderations deſerue his gifts. The firſt is, for that our time ſhould not lurke in the mind; for beſides we were deſerred, impatience would not beſeate it ſelfe, whereſoother the hart is inſeared. Which being not vnderſtood of vs, we would lue moze careleſſe; neither would we prate to haue it taken from vs. Further, if things neceſſarie ſhould forthwith come vnto vs, perhaps we would not attribute the faue vnto God; but either vnto chance, or elſe vnto our owne ſtrength and induerour. Wherefore God hath appointed, that when he deſereth his helpe, which he afterward giueth at the time preſcribed, we may acknowledge him to be the author of our deliuerance. For by this means we vnderſtand, that helpe is come vnto vs, not by our owne appointment, but by his.

And affliction is recompensed with the pleaſures of deſiring; for moſt pleaſant are thoſe things, which be longeſt looked for. Neither wold God demand any thing elſe, but that we ſhould weigh his gifts with a right conſideration; leſt they ſhould become vile. And thus we muſt beware of this heinous crime, that we through impatience do not tempt God: for by ſuch means men either beleave him not, to be the author of all things; or elſe they be in doubt whether he take care of them. And when helpe is deſerred, at length they ſue out their anger, and poiſon forth their hatred, which they miſtake for helpe: alwayes keeping cloſe and narrowly within in themſelves againſt God, and neuer ſtepping out; but when they come to miſfortune. Then they break out into blaſphemies, whereunto they are

ther ſlander God as cruel; or elſe the evils, which they ſuffer, they impute vnto the ſarres, and vnto cruel men, whom they blame and curſe without end. And as a mad dog biteth the ſtones, which be ſtill vpon him, and letteth them alone, without ſeeing that he ſtill beareth the ſtones: ſo theſe men neither looke into their owne finnes, neither yet conſider they the iuſt cauſes, whereby God doth prolong his helpe: but moſt vntoſelueſly tempt God. The remedie muſt be to apply, that we ſet before our eyes the promiſes of God, and the ſtreſſes faithfullnes, which he hath hitherto vſed towards all the goodlie, and towards vs. Which if we ſhall repeats in our mind, we ſhall not be provoked to tempt him, but rather we will turne our ſelves to moſt earnest prayer, whereby we ſhall obtaine, that thoſe things, which are poſſible to ſalutation, ſhall be giuen vs in due time.

56 Beſides theſe two kinds of tempting God, there is a certaine other moſt iuſtice of all, which proceedeth onlie of impudencie and contempt. For there be ſome, which of ſet purpoſe do go on in prouoking and ſtiring up God by their finnes, of which take theſe the apoſtle maketh mention in his 1. epiſtle to the Corinthians, when he ſaith; Be we ſtronger than 1. Cor. 10.1. Chriſt? Neither did Peter, though he dealt more mildly than we haue declared, much diſgrace from this ſignification, when in the Acts of the apoſtles he ſaid; Wherefore doe ye tempt God, Acts 15.10. that ye would laie a yoke vnto the faithfull, which neither we nor our fathers were able to beare? As if he had ſaid; This is to prouoke God vnto battell. As though they challenged greater ſtrength vnto themſelves, than God would grant vnto their fathers in the obſervation of ceremonies. As concerning the firſt of theſe three temptations, the Iſraelites tempted God; for when as they had ſufficiently whereuntoall to ſuſtaine their lining, they would haue had God to prepare ſteed and ſilke for them from heauen. Alſo they tempted God in the ſecond manner: for when they had had of helpe, they expected not the opportunities appointed by God. Neither abſtained they from the ſilke manner, when as by accuſtoming themſelves to ſinne, they provoked the wrath of God.

### Of Curioſitie.

57 Curioſitie, is to much induerour to knowe things forbidden, and ſuch things as are no thing to the purpoſe. As touching the arke, God forbade that no man ſhould ſee it, onlie the prieſts did ſo: the ſanctuarie; afterward, being covered and ſolde by, they deliuered it to the ſonnes of Caah to be carried. For if the Levites had ſene the ſame, they had died, ſo God forbade

bad that the people ſhould approach to the mount, Exo. 19. 12. or to behold what was done nere vnto it: it was curious for them to be afraid at the lighting and thunder. Yea, and now it was not lawfull to ſearch our curioſitie euil of things beſides the purpoſe: for when Peter had demanded as touching Iohn, What ſhall this man doe? Chriſt answered; What is that vnto thee? Followe thou me. For while we are much occupied in theſe things, the time for better cogitations is loſt. But on the other part alſo we muſt take heed, that we do not ouer-lightly receiue whatſoever is laid before vs: for that cometh of a certaine ſuſtly incontinencie. But we muſt be ſerious and conſtant, and not be moued with euerie wind of new doctrine. Prudentie did the Helionians, who would conſer with the ſcriptures, and ſee whether thoſe things were true, which were ſpoken of S. Paule: for vpon and

John 5. 39. there occaſion Chriſt ſaid; Search the ſcriptures, where the ſcriptures perſuade, that their ſtrange notions are not beleeued of vs, to wit, that the boodie of Chriſt & his blood doe lie hidden vnder the ſhewes of bread and wine, they cry out, that we be ouer-curious, and that of vs is reuealed that which ſhall ſaie; How? But ſoles as they are, they might haue remembered, that in the ſcriptures, euen the goodlie men haue oftentimes aſked; How?

Moses deſired by prayer to be rid of his viſage, and alledged the ſammering of his face; And how (ſaith he) ſhall Pharaos heare me? And Gedeon; How can I deliuer Iſrael, ſeeing I am the leſt of all my tribe? And Abraham; O that Iſmael might lue in thy ſight! And how ſhould I knowe that I ſhall poſſeſſe the land of Chanaan? And Sara laughed at the promiſe of God concerning the ſon. And the bleſſed virgin; How (ſaith ſhe) ſhall this be? And Ieremie ſaith; That he was a child, and could not ſpeake. I knowe indeed that of theſe, ſome were repayed, and ſome paid; for Abraham by that faith was iuſtified. And the bleſſed virgin beared; Bleſſed art thou, which haſt beleeued. But Moſes was blaſmed, and that in ſuch ſort, as at the laſt God was angrie with him. When this is the difference, that they, which through unbeleefe, aſke the queſtion, How? do offend and ſinne. But they which deſire, that by this means their inſufficientie may be ſtrengthened; or which onlie inquire of the waie and manner, becauſe they ſee, that they themſelves muſt haue to doe in the matter, they ſinne not at all. The virginie demanded by what meane the ſhould bring forth a ſonne, whether naturallie, or aboue nature. Further was ſhe for this cauſe blaſmable, neither is the reſpoynd. But when a man ſineth in this matter, it cannot be perceived by the woordes themſelves; for all men after one man

ner ſaie, How? But God is chaſtiſe the knower of the hart, & he vnderſtandeth with what mind euerie word is ſpoken. And alſo through things going aſtray, and following after, may miſtake well vnderſtand a mans meaning. But now, if theſe men were not to be repayed, which be blaſmed, How, in the woordes of the Lord, how much ſhall they be blaſmed, if, in their lues and vaine deſires we do aſke, How? And vnderſtand, Peter commandeth vs to be ready to render an account of all our doctrine: but theſe men can make no manner of reckoning of their miſeries. They ſaie it is a tradition, we ought not to aſke. If ſo the caſe ſhould, we muſt pay: but (as I haue ſaid) this eaſineſſe of giuing reſpoynd, is no leſſe a fault, than that curioſitie, whereof I began to ſpeake.

### The fifth Chapter.

The ſecond Precept, which concerneth Images.

In treating vpon this place, it ſemeth good to vſe this method, that firſt we conſider as touching the originall and beginning of images; afterward of the life of them, whether it be lawfull; laſt of all, if they haue any vice, whether they ought to be ſet in temples and holie aſſemblies. As concerning the name, among the heathens, an image is called *temnia*, *ſtela*, and (as ſome ſay) *Terapim*; of the Greeks, *εἰκόνες*; of the Latins *Imagines*; & ſignis, that is, *Imagines* and pictures. Thus much of the woordes. But as touching the thing, we muſt vnderſtand, that the thing ſignified by the image, is no abſolute thing; but muſt be placed in thoſe things, which haue relation to another. For euerie image is the image of ſome thing, euen as the lincence is called the lincence of another thing. And thoſe things, which be compared together in quantitie or qualitie, haue relation one to another. And the things, which be compared together in quantitie, be either equal, or greater, or leſſer: and in qualitie they are reckoned like, unlike, and diuerſe. Seeing therefore that an image is counted (as I haue ſaid) among thoſe things, which haue relation one to another; it is among the number of thoſe, which appertene vnto qualitie: for it representeth the lineaments, figures, and colours, and ſuch other liſe of a liuing creature. And therefore we may thus define the ſame: An image is a certaine ſimilitude, whereby ſome thing is repreſented vnto vs, which may be diſcerned with the eyes. And this I therefore ſaie, becauſe we may as well read, as heare manie



nie things alike, which properlie be not called images. The matter of images is not all one: for sometimes they be made of stone, of wood, metall, plaister, claie, and such other like. And sundrie artificers doe make them of that matter, which they have in hand: the potter, of claie; the carpenter, of timber; the mason, of stone; the founders, of metall, brasse, silver, and gold; the painters also, of their colours.

And the most notable is that, that idols also are images, wherof Terullian wrote an elegant booke, which he intituled *De idolatria*; and he examining the wood (toll), wherby in *deu* is a likenesse, image, or forme; wherupon cometh *εικων*, which may be called, a little forme. The forme of images, is the beu of a similitude, wherin some thing is expressed, so as it may be perceived of the beholders. The end whereto images are, seemeth to be delight: for Aristotle in his *Asthetikes*, among other things which breed pleasure, reckoneth imitation, where an image seemeth to be a certaine emulation of God. For God created all things; wherfore men being unable to create the things themselves, doe imitate the production of God, when they make images of those things, which he himselfe hath brought forth in nature. Images also are made for adorning laie: for they beautifie the places where they be put. Furthermore, they have invented them, to the intent they might not suffer the remembrance of men which be absent, or dead, or of things done, to be extinguished. Also they have bene devised for honour laie: for if a man had well deferred of the Common-weale, images were erected to him. So did Cicero counsell, that there should be an image set up unto Scruuius Sulpitius, which he did in his embassage. And there have bene forme among them in old time, which would not onlie haue others, but also themselves to be worshipped with images. For Nabuchad-nezar king of the Chaldeans commanded, that within his owne kingdom he himselfe should be honoured by an image of gold. And among the princes of the Romanes, Caius Caligula would be exprest by images, with this inscription being added; Caius Caligula Caesar, a god. And such an image he intended to bring into the temple of Ierusalem; thereupon there arose verie great troubles, seditions, and tumults in Iudaea. The which thing Nero afterward would haue to be done, and for that cause the Iehynes revolted from the people of Rome: wherof appereth, that images were also translated to the service of God. Neither did there want some, which created images to the effects of appetites wherewith they were corrupted. The ymbarbers caried about, the banners of Bacchus; the lasciuious people, of Venus; the greedy and covetous, of Pluto;

the matter of images.

Terullian.

The forme.

The end.

The use.

The cause.

The effect.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

The person.

the mannequens, of Mars: & to prosecute euerie one, it would be to long. Let the reader search for this in Terullian, in his booke *De idolatria*. But the honeste loy of men did frame images of vertue and honour: sometimes also they created the images of the elders, to the intent that men might be stirred up to imitate their good fathers: of which matter Salust wrote in the 12. of his historie of Iugurth.

Seeing we have said enough touching the end, it remaineth that we examine the efficient cause of images. Artificers indeed were authors of them, and surlie cunning workemen. Wherfore, from them they received their estimation: for the honour of images consisteth not of the matter, seeing they may be made inhandsome cuen of gold. Certainlie, all their honour is of the forme, that in verte had they in perfect similitude kindeleth perfect that thing, which they beoken. Iupiter Olympius obtained honoy; and estimation of Phydias, and the picture of Alexander the great by Apelles, euen as the well grauen pots of Alcimondotes, and the instruments of Salomons house by Iramus that notable artificer. So these things left to be, that our forefathers, to bring the more estimation into the images, faired them to haue fallen from heaven. Wherfore, the image of Pallas of old time was called *Augetur*; that is to saie, fallen from Iupiter. Wherfore too, that in the 19. of the *Asas*, that the towe clark of Ephesus said to the people; Who knoweth not that ye be worshippers of the great goddess Diana, whose image came downe from heaven? And it must not be omitted, that seeing the images in times past were verie rare, the images at first were not overle a pfectible wrought, as afterward they were. For of a long time men had outwrought flowers, stalks, and pillars, in stead of images. And in Rome, at the first, a peate was the engine of Mars: afterward, by little and little, there succeeded more cunning artificers, who to greatly prevailed in the perfecting of art, that as the poet wrote, they drew liuelie countenances out of the marble stone. Wherfore their images in old time were called *sculpturae*, and *sculpturae*, that is, Carthelike men; because they seemed to be like unto men. Images were made so faire and beautiful, that they were found, which doted in loue towards them, and as it were coupled with their most lifelike.

The efficient cause of images.

The use.

The cause.

The effect.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

The person.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

Enoch: so it is said, that then began the name of God to be called upon. Which they interpret, that men of that age began fallisse to giue the name of God unto images. Terullian in his booke against idolatrie, bringeth the testimonie of Enoch against images. Wherupon it appereth, that the same booke of Enoch, which is recited among the Apocryphall booke, of scripture, was yet extant, when Terullian lived. Whence also Iude in his epistle brought a testimonie. And this too he saith proue by the heile scriptures, that in the time of Iacob, there were images, or idols: for we doe not onlie read, that Rahel caried awaie the idols of hir father Laban; but that Iacob also warned his familie, that they should bring them all unto him, to the end he might burie them in the ground. And this is gathered by verie probable reasons, that there was worshipping of idols in Chaldea, in the time of Abraham. But if the matter be reuened to Christendome, there were Gnostikes, and Capocritans, which are said to haue had the images of Christ with them, which they pinde worshipped among themselves, burning incense unto them, wherunto they added the images of Paule, and also of Homer and Pythagoras; and of certeine others: as Irenaeus testifieth in his first booke, and 2. chapter.

And among the Gnostikes, one Marcellina is much celebrated by Epiphanius, who had such manner of images. The verie same thing doth Augustine touch in his booke *De heresibus*, ad quod vult Deum. Eulabius in the seventh booke, and 18. chapter togeth, that there was kept among him, the images of the apostles and martyrs, which they had private at home with them; and he addeeth, that he himselfe faue them: and it is not to be omitted, that he confesseth this custome to be deriued from the Cityniks. Damalcene, where he purposele intreateth of this matter, saith, that Christ sent unto Abgarus the picture of his phynome, printed in a cloth, to the intent he might comfort himselfe therewith, when he could not see him present. Wherbyne also, that Christ going to suffer, deliuered the print of his face in a handkercher, to Veronica, the which they saie is kept at Rome: and vnder that name they honour and reuerence a certeine picture at this daie, with great superstition. Also Eulabius togeth, (and the same is reported by Sozomenus) that in the cite of Calaria, which was afterward called Apamea, there was an image of Hamoroula, together with the image of Christ, the which afterward ins remained, and phynome done by Iulianus the apostata. And there want not some early men, which affirme, that Luke was a painter, & that he drew verie manie pictures of the blessed virgine, the which being dispersed abroad

The use.

The cause.

The effect.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

The person.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

The person.

among the cities & prouinces, they worshipp at this daie with great superstition. Marcelline, if we shall beleue Ieron, Luke did exercise the science of phylotice. And indeed Paule in his epistle to the Colossians, maketh plain mention of Luke the phylotice. But whether the same were he that wrote the historie of the Gospell, and of the *Asas* of the apostles, I knowe not: but that he was a painter, by a number of pictures, none of the ancient writers doe tell. And thus much touching the beginning of images. Now it resteth that we see the some distinction of them.

The partition of them must be taken from those things that are represented by them: for such things as are referred to another thing, are towa to be distinguished by their correlations. Wherfore, images doe either represent God the Creator of all things, or else, things created, which be the sundrie workmanshipes of God. And among those things, which he created, we place euen Christ himselfe as touching his humantie. This being set before, it seemeth meet to be determined, that all creatures may be represented by images: yea the verie angels themselves, I meane not in respect of their spirituall nature, but in such sort as they haue exhibited themselves to be seene of men. Wherfore the goulie men, which either be dead, or yet liuing, kings, stars, plants, stones, earth, sea, and such like may be represented by pictures. Also we make a distinction of images, that some of them be true, and some of them false. Among the true, those be reckoned, which doe represent those things, which either be, or haue bene, or hereafter shall be. But those are called false, which represent those things, that neither be, haue bene, nor yet euer shall be: as are the Chymaras and Centaurs. There be also some images flicke, & some honest, according as those things are, which are exprest by them. Also they may be distinguished, according to the circumstance of the place, because some be set in a holie place, and some in places prophane. Againe, others there be, which are appointed in respect of worship and religion: but others are erected as ornaments, and onlie for the remembrance of a thing; so that we are to examine, according to the distinctions first sayd, what images be laudfull, and what be vnlawfull.

The partition of them.

The use.

The cause.

The effect.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

The person.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

Luke was a phylotice not a painter.

Col. 2. 14.

A partition of images.

The use.

The cause.

The effect.

The manner.

The place.

The time.

The person.

The manner.

be needfull to haue admonishers; that they being disaffected, might call themselves home againe to the toohipping of God: and they imaged images fit things, whereby they might be often put in remembrance. In deed they supposed that which was verie true; namely, that men partlie through infirmities, and partlie by reason of sunbrie and manifold cares, should haue need of admonishers: but therein they erred, because they would procure to themselves such admonishers as were dumbe. God of his owne goodness hath abundantly provided this necessitie, who hath set forth all his works for men to beholde; to the intent that they heauing thoroughlie considered them, might be admonished of him that wrought them. Wherefore Dauid verie wisely saith; The heauens declare the glorie of God.

The Patriarchs, when they would sacrifice, went vnto high places, where they might behold the tall trees, the heauen, the clouds, and the earth lying round about; and thereby lifted themselves vp to the knowledge of God the creator. But contrarie wise, foolish men would be wise images to themselves, and at length fell to that, that they called stocks and stones, gods. Wherefore Ieremie, in his second chapter, earnestly reprimand them, which feared not to saie vnto a stocke; Thou art my father; and vnto a stone; Thou hast begotten me. And thus, while these men would haue such kind of admonishers, they were daylye farre awaie from the true toohipping of God; and finallye, they attributed vnto images, the purging of sinnes. They held them out for gods, which did gaue the quicke and the dead, a euerie particular man, and like wise the whole cite. From thence also they becomen; to worste crueltie, and they make baunt, that their prayers poynted out vnto them, are heard: and going yet further, they sacrifice baillie before them. This boldnesse of rashnesse of men, did exceedinglie displease God, and not without cause. For a prince would take it in ill part, if the honour, which is owne due vnto himselfe, should be giuen vnto his seruants; therefore God himselfe in the prophet Elia saith; I will not giue mine owne honour vnto an other.

But some men will saie, that this intention had no ill meaning; but rather a god and right intent; as they call it;) but the same right intent dooth oft times marre all. Whether dooth it suffice to make mens works righteous, or whether those things be added or put to, which we haue else, whether sufficientlie spoken of. Aduersaries wote against idols, & among other things, he saith; They which liued in times past, made images; to the intent that out of them vncles might be bettered; and so; so much as God might not be knowne, but by visible signes, and therefore they imaged that God was to be called by

other images; because they thought beauenlie powers were present with them. And Ananias in his first booke against the Gentiles respecteth, that the nations said, that they did not toohip stones, but the presence of God exhibited about their images. For they thought, that images through certayne dedications, were to be adored and purged, that the power of God came thither vnto them. And in dedicating of them, they thought a certain peruerse imitation of the old fathers, applied holie vnto (as they called them) For Jacob also anointed a stone, and Moses was commanded to anoint in a manner all the necessarie implements about the Tabernacle. Eusebius also, in his ninth booke, the third and 11. chapters, writeth, that thereto did come the induments of diuels, and incredible force: for so much as there were baillie to whomers wrought at the images, whereby the filie people were in summe wise seduced, to the great detriment of the church. He declareth the historie of Theodorus, which was punished for his wickednesse. Then furthermore, Theodorus in the first booke, 22. chapter, saith, that the craftinesse of indurment came hereto, who erected images against wallies, and gaue answer through holes boied in them. Wherefore the people there maruellouslie amazed, when they supposed that the images spake. It can hardly be credited, with how great labour and difficultie men could be brought from the toohipping of images. Eusebius in his third booke of Constantinus the first, when images were subuerted, in them there was found the bones of head men, hie skulls, losseome clothes, and small faggots of sticks; which things our men in theuening to the people said; Behold (I beseech ye) that ye haue hitherto toohipped. And he affirmeth, that by those same bones, verie much was brought to passe with the people.

Now that the causes be set forth, while men are inducened to expresse God by images; it seemeth good to dispute, whether it be laudable to represent God by them. And it must be determined, that that frieth without exception, that the same is not laudable. For God commanded the children of Israel, that they should remember, they sawe no image vpon mount Horeb, and therefore saith, that they should make any thing, whosoever, the place is more large, if it be more diligentlie examined. For there he commanded that they should not make any images at all, to do anye worship vnto them. And in the seuerie chapter of Elia he saith; To whom wilt ye resemble God, or by what similitude wilt ye expresse him? And in the 44. chapter he confirmeth the same, saying; Who shall be so hardie to fashion our God, or to make a molten or grauen image that is profitable for nothing? I marvell that among

Ananias.

Gen. 28.  
Exod. 32.

Craftinesse  
and false  
miracles  
about time  
287.

The second  
cause.

Iohn. 4. 24.

Iohn. 1. 18.

whether it  
be laudable  
to represent  
god in  
images.

The first  
cause.

Deut. 4. 12.

ver. 18.

ver. 10.

among the Papists, Dominicus Azotus, vpon the epistle to the Romans, the first chapter, writeth, that by that commandment it is not forbidden vnto the Christians, to make images resembling the shape of man; seeing the late hath onlie made mention there, of creeping things, of beastes and fowles; whereas neuertheless it is there by expresse words forbidden, that no images should be made, either of the male, or of the female.

Wherefore, it is thus written in the psalme; Mouths they haue, & speake; noseyet they haue, and walke not; cares they haue, and yet heare not; noles they haue, & smell not. And although the rest of the members may be understood touching brute beastes, yet that saying, that They haue mouths, and cannot speake, belongeth peculiarly vnto men, forasmuch as speech was not giuen vnto brute beastes. Wherefore Lucretius called them beastes without mouths. Which interpretation, Augustine brought in the same place. Furthermore, Elia in the 44. chapter, laugheth the Carpenter to scorn, who of the one part of a tree being cut downe, maketh an image, of the other part kindlye fire, and therewith greth bread and meate. We carueth it (saith he) and marvellouslie worketh it, that he may expresse the similitude of a man. By all these things it appeareth, that euen the images of men (which be ordeined for diuine seruice) are forbidden. It is proued therefore, that images, which represent God himselfe, be forbidden by testimonies of the holie scriptures. Wherevnto we must adde, that by the testimonie of them we be taught, that God is a spirit: wherof it followeth, that by lineaments and colours he cannot be expresse.

Further, it is there written; that None hath seene God at anye time. Wherefore, if he be seene of none, and dwelleth in the light that cannot be attained vnto, how can he be set forth in a picture, or grauen image to be seene? Wherefore, he is infinite; but those things, which be painted, grauen, or molten, be daylye together and limited; yea rather, they be circumscribed by the boundenmanship of selfe. Besides this, images for the most part be made by men, to the intent that they, which be absent, may after a sort be present with them. But God is euerywhere; neither is he absent from anye thing. Wherefore it is written in the psalme; If I go vp into heauen, thou art there; If I go downe into hell, thou art there also. These must not therefore make him present by images, seeing he is present alwaies, and in all things. Wherevnto adde, that we must in an image expresse with apt likenes, the thing which should be represented. What when God by anie image is represented, things which rather be vnlke and contrarie, than like and agree-

Psalm. 115. 4.

ver. 15.

ver. 13.

The second  
cause.

Iohn. 4. 24.

Iohn. 1. 18.

Psalm. 139. 8.

The third  
cause.

ble, are likened vnto him. Wherefore, God (as all men must of necessitye grant) hath no beginning, but all images are invented by craftesmen. Wherevnto may be added, that God is, what and how great an one sooner he be, is conuinced by the nature of being, and is neuer lost; whereas images be senselesse, and do no manner of thing at all.

Where this, God himselfe is all whole knowledge and vnderstanding; but images perceiue nothing, and do vnderstand nothing at all. Besides, God not onelie consisteth of himselfe, but also maketh all things to consist, and stand by his word; but images are not able to consist of themselves, for they are staied by of artificers, by props and great posts. Yea and further, God himselfe hath no end of his nature and life; whereas images wear old, and in the end come to naught. And seeing God is of nature vniuersall (so hath bene confirmed before;) craftesmen, in picturing and painting him out, do followe their owne imaginations, and not the diuine nature, which they cannot feele. And they be not afraid to ascribe those imaginations and conceits of their minds vnto the name of God; but this is altogether wicked and vngodlie. So it came to passe, when the Israelites said vnto Aaron; Make vs gods, which may go before vs. And he made them a molten calf, and called it by the name of Ichoua; For to morrowe (saith he) it is the feast of Ichoua. Ieroboam also, when he made the golden calves, commanded them to be toohipped by the name of Ichoua. Wherefore, it is written in the 14. chapter of the booke of Wisdom, that they apply the holie and immutable name of God vnto idols. And in the 17. of the Acts, Paule saith; We ought not to thinke that the Godhead is like to gold, or silver, grauen by art and inuention of craftesmen. It is to be then that the similitude of God be not in images; those which be of this kind must be utterly reiected.

The complaint of Seneca is commonlie knowne, wherof Augustine maketh mention in the first booke De ciuitate Dei, and fozte chapter, out of the booke named De superstitione, which is lost, and is not anie where to be found at this daye. Augustines words be these; For when he is treated concerning images; They dedicate (saith he) the holie, immortall, and inuincible gods, in a matter most vile and vnuerable, giuing vnto them the habite of men, with bodies, and fishes; and some indue them with diuers bodies of a mingled kind. They call them gods, which if they should receiue life, and subdule me one, they would be taken for monsters. But the holie scriptures haue laughed to scorn this presumption and foolishnesse of men; especiallie Elia, in the 44. chapter, as we haue

The fourth  
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The first  
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The eight  
caufe.

alreadie heard before. To these things let us  
adde, that Aristotle in his second booke *De phy-  
sico audius*, allegeth the saying of the philosopher  
Protagoras, which said, that those stones be for-  
tunate, whereof images be made: for they be  
laid vpon the altars, and haue honour and  
reuerence done vnto them by men; whereas  
as others not unlike to them, lie vpon the pave-  
ment, are troden vpon with their feet, and spit  
vpon. Besides this, let it come to mind, that  
the vertie bookes of God, which be extant in the  
nature of things, cannot perfectlie shew him.  
Wherefore taking the workmanship of men be  
a great deale more imperfect, because art al-  
lowes faultery in comparison of nature: how  
shuld we hope that God himselfe can be ex-  
pressed by the industrie of craftes-men? Neither  
must it be omitted, that the scripture, when it  
speaketh of images (to the intent it may drive  
men from them) it calleth them *idolatrie*, lies,  
things of nothing, abomination, and affliction.  
Wherof, we must grant, that God would haue  
good signes, whereby he would open himselfe  
vnto men. Such were the arke of the covenant,  
the tabernacle of Moses, the temple of Solomon,  
and also the pillar of fire, and of the cloud: but it  
must be considered, that he deuised and ordeined  
these signes for himselfe. Neither is it lawfull  
for men, to do so much as it is for God.

The tenth  
caufe.Deut. 7. 26.  
Ierem. 10. 8.  
Haba. 1. 18.Augustine.  
The 11.  
caufe.The 12.  
caufe.

Augustine *De fide & Symbolo*, when he ex-  
pounded the article, wherein is said, that Christ sit-  
teth on the right hand of his father, he saith, We  
must not imagine, that God is to be likened  
with the shape of a man, that Christ both bow his  
knees, and sitteth on the right side of him: it is a wil-  
led thing to haue such manner of images. But  
in the fourth booke, the ninth and 3. chapter *De  
deitate Dei*, he hath more manifestly expre-  
ssed the same, where he commendeth Varro,  
which wrote in his *Theologie*, that they which first  
of all others made images vnto God, first tolde  
aboue the feare of them from men; namely,  
because of the vile matter whereof they were  
formed, and because they moued not of them  
felices: and they did erre moze, for so much as  
in making of images, they did not reforme  
their error, but rather increased the same. Also  
he prayeth Varro, who allowed of the ancient  
people of Rome, because they, for the space of  
700. yeres, worshipped God without images:  
neither did Varro cease to bring the people of  
the Iewes to be a witness of that thing. And he  
adde also, that whyles the people of Rome  
without images worshipped God, they honored  
him moze purelie, than afterward they did.  
And these things be not onelie recited by Augu-  
stine, & Varro; but they be also written by Pla-  
tarch in the life of Numa Pompilius, by Diony-  
sius Halicarnassus, by Clemens Alexandrinus,

The 13.  
caufe.

and also Terullian, as it is recited by Eusebius.  
Besides this, Herodotus in his first booke, and  
Strabo in his 15. booke, do shew, that the Per-  
sians in old time made no images. When Tarqui-  
nius Priscus, who was indued with the learning  
of the Græks & Herulians, reigned at Rome,  
there were images brought into the citie. Which  
at Augustine thus maruellouslie mistoke, who  
most enuicously sheweth, that it is not law-  
full to counterfeit God by images. And in his  
eighth booke *De ciuitate Dei*, 23. and 24. chapters  
he sharplie reproveth Hermes Trismegistus, who  
pretended to saie, that when he was in making  
of images, that euen as God made heauenlie  
gods, so he gaue power vnto men to make  
earthlie gods.

8. But at this daie in Christendome, there  
be such kind of images interred, whereby God  
himselfe may be represented. For, to expresse  
the blessed Trinitie, thou maist see euerie where  
in the churches, a man painted with thre heads.  
In an other place they put a tall old man for  
God the father; who hath standing before him a  
young man, that is to saie, the sonne; and be-  
twixt them both they place the picture of a dame,  
and that is in stead of the holie Ghost. Neither do  
the rulers of the churches take amaine these things,  
but allow of them: yea, with such long  
arguments, as be necessarie to repeat, least  
we shoulde seeme to differ amie thing. The  
seuenth Synod, which was held at Nice, in the  
reigne of Constantinus and Iren, thus conclu-  
ded: For, it is God, which the image teacheth,  
it selfe is not God: loke vpon this, but wor-  
ship with thy mind, that which thou beholdest  
in the same image. What that is to be intyged  
of this Synod, we shall see in due place. In the  
meane time, let vs heare the objections of the  
aduersaries.

First of all they saie, that the holie scriptures  
haue giuen occasion to forme images: for sa-  
ying they haue attributed vnto God the parts of  
a man; namely, eyes, eares, head, nostrils,  
feet, &c. There seemeth no cause while, but that  
the painters and grauers may forme the vertie  
same vnto him. Also it is written in Olee: I am  
likened by hands of the prophets. And in the  
seuenth of Daniel: The ancient of daies was  
shewed vnto the prophets, which had the heares  
of his head white like wool. Also there was  
shewed vnto Ezechiel the similitude of a man.  
Which Eliaie saith, that He sawe the Lord sitting  
vpon a throne, &c. And Moses also with the el-  
ders saue God sitteth vpon a throne, & vpon the  
mountaine he beheld his shiner partallie vnto  
a man going awaie. Wherefore they saie, that  
seeing those things haue bene shewed, and haue  
bene seene by the prophets, why shall it be  
thought a wicked part, to plant out the selfe  
same

The 14.  
caufe.An image  
of the tri-  
nity.The 15.  
caufe.The objec-  
tion of  
them which  
would haue  
images of  
God.

Olee. 12. 10.

Ezechiel. 1.  
Esaie. 61.  
Exo. 24. 10.  
and 33. 7.The first  
answer to  
these objec-  
tions.Deut. 3. 35.  
Gen. 1. 26.  
Exod. 1. 2.The 16.  
caufe.The 17.  
caufe.The 18.  
caufe.The 19.  
caufe.The 20.  
caufe.The 21.  
caufe.

same things in colours and engravings:  
Of some it is answered, that the diuersitie of  
members, which is attributed vnto God in the  
holie scriptures, did they by a certaine impec-  
tie, that the diuine nature shoulde in time to  
come take vpon it a humane nature. But 3. let  
passe this answer for this time; affirming, that  
we ought here to haue regard to the goodnes of  
God, whereby it did so humble it selfe vnto our  
infinitie, that seeing we cannot vnderstand his  
nature, he would haue the name of mem-  
bers of parts, open, &c. rather shadowe vnto vs  
certeine of his properties. For by the cite he de-  
scribeth his prouidence, by the arme his might,  
by hands his workmanship, by nostrils his  
breath, and the rest of like sort. Where it is after-  
ward said, that it is lawfull for vs to vse the  
same lineaments, colours, and engravings, it  
followeth not: for there is no lawe giuen vnto  
God. All things which he both rightlie and ius-  
tly, are not lawfull for men to do: for God to  
be likened with his enemies; he commanded  
the father to kill his sonne, and twilled the He-  
brews, to take away the gods of the Egyptians,  
the which neuertheless is twiced for men, either  
to do, or command: for he appointed lawes for  
men, and not for himselfe. And for so much as  
he is the author of the lawe, he may otherwhiles  
except some things from it. Wherefore we must  
affore our felices, that what he did, he did not  
without consideration.

In deed he expelld himselfe some times by  
certaine apparitions; but in them there was no  
danger of idolatrie: for who is there that wor-  
shipeth words either spoken or written; else of  
these sacrifices vnto them: For if words passe a  
waie, knowledge also and conceits of the mind  
are put out of remembrance: but if to be things  
themselves be painted or engrauen outwardlie,  
men will reuillie adore them, burne incense to  
them, and praye vnto them. Further, let vs con-  
sider, that the prophets, which had such kind of  
foymes in their minds, did neuer picture them,  
nor yet made images of them: for they did  
knowe, that God forbade such things to be done.  
Neither did they dispute with themselves in  
this manner; God hath thus declared himselfe  
vnto vs, therefore it is lawfull for to expresse him  
out in images. Besides this, God commanded  
that there shoulde be a propitiatorie vpon the arke,  
as though his seat shoulde be there: but the same  
was an empty seat, neither was there any li-  
mage of God therein. Moreover, the scriptures  
which do shadowe God manie waies, if they be  
attentiuely read, will teach vs, that God is a  
spirit, and without a bodie: and so do they meet  
with that error, which might arise in our minds.  
But a picture of image, although he behold the  
same a thousand times, both signifie none other

thing, than that which was shewed at the first  
sight. Wherefore there is neither waie the like  
reason. And it is trulie proued, that God is not  
to be expelld by images. But they make their  
mone, & saie; What shall we then do? Shall not  
God be some manner of waies counterfeited,  
that our minds thereby may be caried & lifted  
vp to the consideration of beauenlie things?

We answer, that of his images there be  
enow alreadie extant: for Christ is the liuelie  
image of him, let us therefore behold him a his  
acts, and in him we shal knowe God abundan-  
tly. Furthermore, we haue in the holie scripture,  
which most perfectlie painteth out God to vs, so  
much as is requisite to the painting out of him.  
What need haue we either of wood, brasse, gold,  
silver, or other sensible matter? Againie, if it de-  
liueth vs to behold the liuelie images of him, let vs  
looke vpon godlie men, which now be, and some-  
time haue bene in the church: for they vnboun-  
dedly were from the beginning created, and af-  
terward were refiged to the image of God. We  
haue moreover, as it is aboue declared, all the  
works of nature, wherein the printed steps of  
Gods power do appeare. Further, we haue the  
visible sacraments, whereby with the word of God  
is ioined. Suchlike things may suffice, and be  
ought to be enough to lift by mens minds to the  
beholding of God and his properties. But curi-  
ous and impotunate men, besides these things  
which 3. haue recited, bring yet into the church,  
marble, brasse, and wood; but they which vse these  
things, be reprehended in the holie scriptures,  
and are most weightilie reprovied of the same,  
because they be not content with God, to whom  
all the faithfull are married. But call vnto them  
felices other husbands, that is, images and i-  
dols, and wish them commit most abominable  
adulterie. Damascenus, which otherwise de-  
fendeth images manie waies, yet in the 4. booke and  
8. chapter, he writeth, that to enuideo, to fashion  
out God, is both a fond and also a wicked part.  
Neither doth he allow of the images of God.

9. But seeing the papistlicall church reciteth  
in a manner all kind of images, neither reclud-  
ing images of the trinitie, and of God; it hath stir-  
ring together, which wonderfullie defend  
all those things. Cardinal Caietan writeth, Cardinal  
All such images may sometimes be made of pur-  
pose, to declare, and affirme, that God hath the  
same or figure of a bodie. And they which be of  
this mind, both do foolishlie, and also content a-  
gainst the holie scriptures, which most plainlie  
teach, that God is a spirit. But if it be that either  
painters, or image-makers beleeue not, that  
God is not indued with a bodie, and yet paint  
out these images, whereby God hath declared  
himselfe in the scriptures; they are not to be dis-  
allowed or hindered, that they shoulde not go  
through

The 22.  
caufe.The 23.  
caufe.The 24.  
caufe.The 25.  
caufe.The 26.  
caufe.The 27.  
caufe.The 28.  
caufe.The 29.  
caufe.

An answer  
to the argu-  
ment of  
Calaneo.

through with their works. And againe, if they beate vnto God a similitude or figure; not be-  
cause they iudge that he is such a one, but be-  
cause they will by that manner of meanes stirre  
by men to contemplate higher matters that be  
expressed in the image of God, they are to be al-  
lowed. Therefore in the distinctions, which be  
brought in; the first member be disallowed,  
and the other be admitted. But God reasoneth  
not to be figurative, but he speaketh plainely  
and trouble, and commanded that they should  
make no images for to worship their religi-  
ous. And the prophets, being the interpre-  
ters of Gods lawe, defend them in euery place.  
And they which will be wiser than God and his  
prophets, must not be received. The same author  
added, that those two sorts of images, which be  
allowed, of must not absolutelie and barelie be  
received; but apparcled with some certene cir-  
cumstances. The first is, that we be sure there be  
no danger like to insue, by reason of errors, and  
that we haue sufficient trial, that the church be-  
ing well instructed, doth beleeue no such things  
of God. The second is, that such things be not  
done after the fancies of men, but that they be  
as it were expressings of the doctrine and tradi-  
tions receiued by the church.

But I would gladly demand of him, as con-  
cerning the church; what church that was, of  
whom these things were belicued and ordered?  
Doubtlesse not the primitive church: for the ap-  
ostles taught no such matter, nor yet the church  
that followed; because the good fathers receiued  
no such pictures and images of God; as we haue  
proued out of Augustine. It remaineth that the  
same was the latter church, wherein antichrist,  
and the diuell do now exercise their tyrannie.  
Spokest thou that they be sure of the right in-  
terpretation of the fable for; which be in the church  
Heron can they withoute this knoue, that when  
they see such images, they will not fall into er-  
ror? Surely these fained matters are inuen-  
ted by Sophisters, not for the maintenance of abuses.  
And Thomas Aquinas is also to be wondered at,  
who saith, that God sayd the Jewes, that they  
should not make images; because at that  
time the word had not taken vpon it the nature  
of man. What is this to the purpose; seeing we  
speake at this present of the images & pictures  
of the verie nature of God, which by art, co-  
lours, and linements cannot be described?  
Wherefore there is all one reason, as well of the  
old Hebrews, as of the Christians; because that  
God, by the course and alterations of times,  
hath not changed his nature, that now at length  
he should haue such a nature, as may be expre-  
sed, and then had far otherwise.

But there be others, which vse a more subtiler

kind of sophistication; and saie, that God vnto  
his commandment added this reason: *Be-  
cause in the mount we sawe no image.* *Deut. 10.*  
A true and iust cause, while should be not after-  
ward be byronic and expressed, when he shewed  
himself by so manie shapes? And they proue,  
(as they thinke) that he may be pictured and  
grauen by such similitudes, as be in process of  
time revealed himself. I would that those men  
should vnderstand, that the commandment  
was simple and absolutelie set forth; namely,  
that they should not counterfet God by images.  
Neither is that, which after is added, the whole  
cause of the commandment; but as some po-  
ssible thing added, to persuade that which was  
commanded. But we find in the prophets,  
that the chiefe cause is, for that the diuine nature  
cannot be expressed, but falslie and vnicelie:  
and also, because God sayd it. I will therefore  
we must determine, that such images ought not  
to be suffered.

Now, as touching those images, which  
resemble things created; let vs see how they  
may be suffered, or not suffered. And first of all,  
Christ commonly beieue well to remembrance, in  
that he is man: for in that respect he may be re-  
sembled, & painted out. For that is not against  
the nature of the thing; seeing he was verie  
man; neither against the art of painting, which  
may imitate bodies. True in deed it is, that in  
the 7. Synod, which the papists alio to not, being  
held by Constantine and his sonne) it was de-  
creed, that Christ should not be painted or fashio-  
ned out, nor as touching his humane nature.  
And the reason is set downe; because nothing  
but his humanitie can be expressed by art.  
Wherefore they, which make such things, seeme  
to embrace the Nestorian heresie, which sepa-  
rate the humane nature from the diuine. But to  
saie truely, I do not much allow of this reason;  
which if it were true, it should not be lawfull  
to picture any man, because the soule, which is a spi-  
rit, cannot be expressed. And they which describe  
the humane nature of the Lord, do not exclude  
the diuine nature from the vnderstanding; nei-  
ther do they shew of allow, that the humanitie  
of Christ, either was, or is destitute of his god-  
head. Although Theodosius and Valentinianus  
seeme to haue commanded, that Christs picture  
should not be set forth in metall, nor in simi-  
lones, nor yet in tables of wood. As we haue in  
the first booke a right title of the Code. The late  
standeth in ambiguitie, which seemeth to sig-  
nifie, that he should not be expressed in the pre-  
sent; least (if soch) it should be trodden vnder  
fet, or spet upon. But Petrus Crinitus saith, that  
he saue that late written absolutelie, whereby  
is commanded, that the image of Christ should  
not be made of any matter. But that he can-

Deut. 10.

not be counterfeited, as touching his humane  
nature, there are no firme reasons brought.

1. The angels, as touching their substance  
and nature, seeing they be spirits, cannot be ex-  
pressed; yet is it lawfull sometimes to picture  
them in such wise, as they haue shewed them-  
selves vnto men: for they be not, as God is, infi-  
nite; but are bounded and limited. Neither  
doth the commandment of God forbid this,  
vntill their pictures were made, to the intent  
they should be religiously and deuoutly wor-  
shipped. Also men may be pictured and counter-  
feited, seeing the same is not repugnant either  
to the thing, either to art, or else to the comma-  
ndement of God. So is it lawfull alio, to forme  
and picture forth the crosse of the Lord, trees,  
fruits, and other sensible or visible bodies: for  
the arts of painting and counterfeiting be the  
verie gifts of God; wherefore they must serue to  
some vfe. And by this I gather, that they be the  
gifts of God; because he indued the builders of  
Moses tabernacle, with his spirit; Bezeleel (I  
meane) and Aholiba. Neither is it lawfull to  
saie, that God doth inspire euil things with his  
spirit, and such things as are against his lawe.  
Spokest thou, the power it selfe of imitating, seeing  
it is natural vnto man, beecle he had the same  
of God, and not of himselfe. And it followeth of  
right, that some be the therof: because God  
hath bequeathed no gifts vpon his creatures, ex-  
ceptially vpon men, which should not be lawfull  
for them sometime to vse.

That men  
may be  
pictured.

The image  
of the crosse  
of Christ.

1

Exod. 31,

and 6.

of the is  
mage of  
Christ.

2

A decree  
of the synod  
of Ephesus  
concerning  
the image  
of Christ.

3

4

1. King. 19

5

The opini-  
on of the  
Turke  
touching  
images.

Neither doth he take away the vse of those  
gifts; because manie do abuse them: and this  
is easilie confirmed by manie similitudes. As the  
power of procreation is giuen vnto men, al-  
though some do shamefully abuse the same vnto  
luffa. So the sight is granted, which they do  
peruersely vse, who for luff sake do beholde wo-  
men, which be none of their owne. And so it  
might be said of the rest. Again, we knowe  
that Salomon would haue images to be made  
for his roiall throne, which should haue the forms  
of young lions: neither was he for that matter  
rephebbed by any prophet. Wherefore in a  
prophane thing it is lawfull to haue pictures  
and grauen images. I am not ignorant, that the  
ancient fathers, and speciallie Clement and  
Tertullian detested the aas of painters and  
image-makers. But I vnderstand this, in re-  
spect that these two men did possesse Christ; and  
yet they made images & pictures, which might  
easilie be worshipped, and peraueratent they di-  
uided them among the idolaters, thinking it  
sufficient to their owne saluation, if they them-  
selves did not worship them. But the Turkes be  
of the opinion, that there should be no images  
made at all: whereupon in their coins they on-  
ly haue letters, which be written in the Arabian

toing; and vpon their tapestrie they also vse to  
weare certene knots.

The vse of images may be good, for the kee-  
ping of things in memoie, for the garnishing  
of houses, especiallie of kings and noble peo-  
ples, and alio to serue for some honest plea-  
sures; where with men sometime may both de-  
lite and recreate themselves. Whobet, in such  
light commodities, there are oftentimes manie  
faults; for false images are sunnie things thrust  
in, in stead of true. As if to be a nation of people  
be described to be overcome by their enemies,  
which neuertheless was the vanquisher: that  
must needs be reprobous, seeing it doth inuile  
to others. Also if one be pictured to haue  
done some heinous act, which in deed hee did  
not. Neither must they be borne with, which do  
paint false miracles. Whereby idolatrie may  
beare credit. And doubtlesse in our time, there  
haue not wanted such, as haue endeoured to  
paint the miracles of Christs infancy: which  
things are no where found written, and seeme  
to be altogether fabulous, & so some likewise do  
paint out in manie places, Christopher and  
George rather monstrous than trulle. We  
must therefore take heed, least men be perniciou-  
sly seduced by false images: I haue added, per-  
nicious; because the Centaures, & other things  
of like sort, may, for garnishing sake, be expre-  
sed without any harme vnto them, which are  
beholders. Others attempt to paint out verie  
images of tues, which haue no bodies, but do belong vnto verities.  
the mind, which is a spirit. Also they painted out  
fashioned them like to virgins and matrones:  
and therein I thinke is no deceit, whereby the  
beholders can be deceived. Whobet, this fa-  
mely the falsest wise of all other, that things  
should be painted, the profitable and dolefull  
things should chaunge be painted; whereby the be-  
holders may receive some edifying.

Further, we must beware of lausifying out of  
monie: for there be some, which in procuring of  
pictures and images, are starke mad: These  
folles must not be preferred before the neces-  
sities of the poore. I haue graue herein it hath  
beene offended, the temples from our foes &  
others, which be yet extant, do euidently declare,  
that there be no little things painted: for we  
are otherwise, of our owne violence and corrup-  
tion of nature, somewhat kindeled vnto luff. If  
it be trulle said; that Euil speaking corrup-  
tely good manners: no lesse do little images  
corrupt the beholders. Tertullian writeth, that  
the Christians painted the image of Christ with  
attires eare, in despite of our Saviour Christ.  
Wherefore, such an image ought to be accounted  
blasphemous. I aslie, from them must be re-  
moued all religious worship, the which that it  
not

A supersti-  
tious vse of  
images.

Against  
shamefull  
pictures.

1. Cor. 15: 33

Tertullian  
in his ap-  
logetica.

what a ho-  
lie worship-  
ping is.  
1. Luke 21  
11. 1.  
upon this  
worship,  
whom 3  
feru.

A distincti-  
on of diuine  
worship.

Deut. 6, 13

Math. 4, 10

A differ-  
ence be-  
tweene  
-λατρία  
-λατρία.

not giuen them, it must be alwaies prouided,  
that they be not placed in the churches.  
 1. 2. Seeing therefore it is now declared, that  
things it is laudful to picture after this we must  
diligentlie examine, whether it may be laudful  
to be anie adoration of worshipping in ma-  
ges. In the disputation therof we will first re-  
cites what our auerfaries haue thought, & what  
kind of worship shall be spoken of. Holie wor-  
shipping the Grekes call *λατρία*, and the La-  
tins *Pietas*, that is, Godlinesse: which meaneth  
lesse is extended both vnto the parents, and vnto  
the countrie. But we now talke onlie of reli-  
gious worshipping, & inquire, whether the same  
may be attributed vnto images. Whine wor-  
ship of hono: is expressed of the Hebrue in two  
wordes, of the verbe *šar*, which is, To feare; and  
*šodā*, which is, To serue. And vndoubtedly, vnder  
the name of feare, is comprehended all religion,  
which is placed in the mind. By *šodā*, is declared  
an outward seruice, which is conteined  
in ceremonies, besides an inward worshipping.  
 Therefore it is rightlie said; Feare the Lord thy  
God, and serue him. Moreover, Christ did fight  
with this place against the diuell, saying; Thou  
shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onlie  
thou shalt serue. Whereupon Auguſtine benited  
a difference betwene religious worshippinges,  
calling that which is onlie due vnto God, *λα-  
τρία*, and that which is laudful to do vnto crea-  
tures, he called *διδάσκω*. In his 49. epistle *Ad  
Dre gratias*, and against Faustus, the 20. booke,  
and 21. chapter, he calleth *λατρία*, that seruice  
which is onlie due vnto the Godhead; and he  
addeth, that the same cannot in any way be ex-  
pressed of the Latins. Also in the 20. booke *De  
ciuitate Dei*, and first chapter, he wrote verie  
much of this matter. Sorelle, for my part 3  
haue not read of anie such distinction in the  
fathers, before Auguſtines time.

And certeinlie Laurentius Valla vpon Ma-  
th. 4. chapter, affirmeth; that there is no  
difference, as concerning the wordes; because  
the verbe *λατρία*, significth as well *Το serue* God  
as men. And he altogether a place out of Xeno-  
phon, where a husband saith, that he was reade  
with his soule, that is, his life; to redeme that  
his wife should not serue anie man: in that  
place he useth the verbe *λατρία*. And againe,  
the wife saith, that she would redeme with hir  
life, that hir husband might not serue: where the  
verbe *διδάσκω* is written. And Suidas saith, that  
*λατρία* vsed to serue for reward. And vndoubte-  
lie, according to this sense, the holie Scriptures  
do interpret *λατρία*. For where it is comman-  
ded, that there should be no manner of seruile  
worke done on the sabbath daie; it is written in  
the Greke text, *λατρίαν τῷ θεῷ*. And *λατρία*, among  
the Grekes, significth a vndermining; and *λατρία* a

spanseruant, but *λατρία* a richard. Whereupon  
in times past, *Latrones* were called spencerarie  
soluers. Whom some (3 knowe not how well)  
haue thought to be to be called, as if one should saie  
*Latrones*, as they that should gart the persons  
of riches and riches. In Luke it is written;  
Ye cannot serue God and Mammon: therefor, say-  
ing, the verbe *διδάσκω* is written, as com-  
mon vnto both the seruiles, Paule also calleth  
himselfe in many places *διδάσκω Christi*, The fer-  
uent of Christ. And in the last he saith, that he  
continued among the *Εσθηναιοι*, *διδάσκοντες  
τῷ θεῷ*; Seruing GOD. And vnto the Seru-  
iles he saith, *διδάσκοντες τῷ θεῷ*; that is, Serue  
GOD. But Auguſtine himselfe learneth not con-  
stantly to haue retained that difference: for in  
the 24. question vpon *Croesus*, he handling these  
wordes in the 23. chapter, if thou ferue other  
gods, they will take thee fall to sinne. In this  
place (saith he) is *διδάσκω*, and not *λατρία*: for  
*διδάσκω* is due vnto God himselfe, in respect that  
he is our LORD, and *λατρία* in respect that he is  
our GOD.

1. 2. But falling over the wordes, let vs rather  
deale with the matter it selfe. It cannot be de-  
nied, but that the hono: which we attribute vnto  
God, is not that which we giue vnto men: for  
that is the highest hono:, which is giuen to an  
onlie GOD: and it theſe conſidered in the  
wordes, first, that the reſpect in him selfe the hope  
of our saluation; by the account him for our  
chief happiness, by ſubſtituting our ſelues vnto  
him, without anie ading of anie condition, but  
ſimply and abſolute. But vnto princes we  
muſt ſubmit our ſelues, and all that is ours; yet  
ſo, as they command vs not to do things repug-  
nant vnto the word of God. But vnto God we  
are ſubiect, without anie manner of condition or  
exception. Furthermore, it is neceſſarie, that  
we beſee in him ſimply and abſolute; and  
that we declare him to be as the fountaine of all  
good things, in giuing him thanks for all the be-  
nefits which he doth happen vnto vs: and we  
muſt declare his hono: by outward calling vnto  
God him. Also, ſome hono: is due vnto the excel-  
lent creatures, ſuch as be princes, prophets and  
good men. Therefore Auguſtine *De ciuitate  
Dei*, the 22. booke, and 10. chapter, writeth; that  
inſuch place to be honored in the right of charitie  
and ſociete. For we hold them for our fellowes  
and brethren, and therefore we love them; we  
lovely well them, and we loſe with them in  
their good hap. Moreover, in his booke of true re-  
ligion 25. chapter, he ſaith; that *Callum* muſt  
honor excellent men in reſpect of imitation, by fol-  
lowing the ſteps of their good life; ther as yet  
in reſpect of religion, they muſt not be worſhip-  
ped. And of this kind of hono:, Paule wrote, ſay-  
ing; In giuing honor, go one before another. Rom. 12. 10  
 Again,

Luke. 16, 1.

Rom. 12, 1.  
Phil. 1, 1.  
Ad. 10, 19.

Col. 3, 24

One man-  
ner of hono:  
is giuen  
vnto men,  
and an-  
other vnto  
god.

The argu-  
ments of  
Poletes.

Again, as brethren they are to be holpen with  
mutual good turnes.  
 Further, in the churches the ſaints are onlie  
commended, and the noble gifts, which GOD be-  
ſtoved vpon them, be celebrated after ſuch a  
manner, as Christ alloweth of the faithful and  
diligent ſervant, which rightlie and prudently  
behaued himſelfe, in ordering of the moſte  
which he had received. But and ſo be they will  
be the word *διδάσκω*, in this kind of worship-  
ping; we will, that they may retain it, ſo that  
they knowe, the ſame diſtinction to be con-  
tained in the holie Scriptures. They haue inuented  
also the word *διδάσκω*, which they would  
haue to be attributed vnto the moſt excellent  
creatures; namely, vnto Marie, and to the vir-  
gine nature of Christ. A difference of hono: is  
be ſhallow not: but thoſe things which ap-  
petine onlie to the high GOD, we can not ſuffer  
to be attributed vnto creatures. Which thing  
out of doubt they do: for they proſtrate them-  
ſelues before images, they light ſcar candles  
to them; and at them they inuocate thoſe dead  
men, which are reſpected by them. Auguſtine  
in many places taketh aſide from all crea-  
tures, churches, piethodes, ſacrifices, and al-  
tars. But that painters be the ſacrifices of Chri-  
ſtians, no man doubts. Yet the Papas haue  
communicated all theſe things, not onlie vnto  
men departed this life, but also vnto images  
and pictures: and for the deſence of their daw-  
ing, they vſe many ſophiſtifications, when as  
GOD notwithstanding plainlie ſpeaketh and  
ſolotheth, that images ſhould in anie wiſe be  
made vnto religious worshipping. And that,  
which be both abſolute ſpoken, and comman-  
ded, muſt not be cunningly ſhifted off by mans  
craftineſſe.

1. 4. But it is good to heare a little while,  
with what leaues and greene branches they can  
conceit this ſhame of theirs. First, they affirme,  
that the cogitation, whereby we are caried to  
the image, and the thing expreſſed thereby, is  
the ſelfe ſame, and not diuerſe. Wherefore, that  
hono:, which is giuen vnto an image, is done  
vnto the thing reſpected by it. And to they  
conclude, that ſuch and ſo much hono: is due  
vnto the image, as is due vnto the thing, which  
is reſpected by the image. Whereupon they  
teach, that the ſigne of the croſſe is to be adored  
with the ſeruice of *λατρία*, or of diuine wor-  
ſhipping; becauſe Chriſt himſelfe ſuffered vpon  
the croſſe. And they ſay, that if the mar-  
ble ſtone, gold, or ſilver be conſidered apart, there  
is no religious hono: due vnto them; inſomuch  
as they attende not to the dignitie of a reaſon-  
able creature. But if they be taken as ſignes,  
the ſame hono: is due vnto them that is due  
vnto the thing ſignified. Further, they allege

Baſil in the 27. chapter *De ſpiritu ſancto*, who  
ſaith, that the hono: done vnto the ſigne, is re-  
ferred to the example it ſelfe. To theſe things, *An anſwer*,  
will repeat that which once or twice 3 haue al-  
ready ſaid; namely, that GOD is not ſatiſfied  
with theſe kind of diſtinctions, who ſaid abſo-  
lutely, that images and pictures muſt not be  
worſhipped. Also by a new diſtinction they make a  
difference betwene croſſes; that of them, one  
is true, whereof Chriſt was ſuffered. And they  
content, that the ſame muſt be adored with high  
kind of occurrence; becauſe Chriſt did ſanctifie  
it by his teaching; and againe, for that it repre-  
ſenteth the LORD him ſelfe crucified. But if it  
there be ſo great conſideration had of touching;  
why do they not iudge, that the bleſſed virgine  
ſhould be worſhipped with diuine worship, who  
bare Christ in her wombe nine moneths, and  
gave him ſucke a long time? ſpecially, ſee-  
ing that ſame touching was natural, and the  
other was violent. But for ſuch touching ſake,  
we ſhould worship the thomes and the ſpeare  
with diuine worship. Again, theſe men ſay, that  
also haue a croſſe to be worſhipped in other man-  
ner; becauſe it reſpecteth the true croſſe. But  
that is moſt abuſed; for by that meanes we  
ought to worship all hegers, and all thomes,  
nailes, ſhips, and alſes; becauſe they reſemble  
thoſe things which Christ touched. Sorelle, this  
argument Claudius the biſhop of Tarente vſed,  
againſt the worſhipping of images. Wherefore  
it appeareth, that there haue bene alwaies ſome,  
which haue beſetled images adored with ſacred  
honors. But the ſuperſtitious ſort haue bene  
ſuperior, both in number, power, and armes;  
and they not onlie defend peruerſe worship-  
ping, but in verie deed they attribute vnto  
the croſſe diuine hono:. Neither are they aſhamed  
on this manner to ſing in the churches; All hail  
O Croſſe, our onlie hope; in this time of paſſion  
increaſe righteouslie to the goodlie; and giue  
pardon vnto the offenders. They alſo ſing; Be-  
hold the traſe of the croſſe, come let vs worship it.  
Again, they ſaie, O LORD, thy croſſe doe we wor-  
ſhip; thy holie ſacrificum doe we adore gloſſie. Where-  
in they attribute much more vnto the croſſe,  
than to the reſtoration.

Also Gregorius of Rome, the patron of ſuper-  
ſtitious, ſaith in his fathers; Grant vnto vs  
LORD that they which come to the adoring of the  
holie croſſe, may be deliuered from the bonds  
of their ſinnes. Holwell, Durandus, among  
the *ſcholae*-diuines, alloweth not of this opi-  
nion; namely, that the croſſe of the LORD  
should be worſhipped with high adoration;  
but he is reſpaued by other ſophiſters; and  
that for this reaſon, that he had attributed  
to theſe the eccleſiaſtical traditions. Also Pe-  
triciuſ ſeemeth to follooe Durandus, attrib-  
uting

Gregorius  
the patron  
of ſuperſti-  
tions.  
Durandus.

ting to the crosse, for manie reasons are kind of adoration. I knowe not what. First, for that it is falsly said, that the cogitation of knowledge is all one, both of the signe, and of the thing signified; for somuch as they be two things, which are distinguished one from another. For first this is, that thing is perceived to be a signe; afterward, we behold the thing which is signified. Anded, they be together at one time; but yet in nature and reason one of them goeth before another. Further, although a stone, a marble, or metal be made a signe, yet doth it not therefore change his owne proper nature; neither doth it passe the bounds of insensible things, neither attaineth it to the dignitie of a reasonable creature, nor hath to do with it the thing which it signifieth. Doubtlesse, we worship a king in his purple robe, the which being secured from an emperour, we would not yield unto it the hono- of a king.

Augustine writeth in his 8. homilie, *De verbi Domini*, that the humantie of Christ must be worshipped with diuine honour, because it hath the Godhead ioined therewith: which, if it should be sundred from him, as it cannot be, he should not be worshipped with diuine honour. Now much lesse therefore must not the crosse, (which in verie deed is sundred from Christ) be worshipped with diuine honour: Therefore he relecteth that doctrine, whereby it is taught, that both the signe, and the thing signified, should be honoured with the same manner of worship. And thus he affirmeth, that the highest adoration is due vnto the thing signified, that is, vnto Christ himselfe; but to the crosse, that is, vnto (whosoever he be called) which is attributed vnto such notable things. Perceiue faith somewhat well; but yet in this point be secretly, that he attribute some manner of adoration to the crosse.

But I maruell at him, that he also voucheth this argument. All men agree that the holie Ghost is present in baptisme, and yet is there none, which doth worship baptisme with diuine honour. Therefore, much lesse is that kind of honour to be giuen vnto the crosse: for it seemeth, that it cannot be auoided, but that they do euill, which adore the Cucharist, although they perceiue Christ to be present, euen as touching his diuine nature. He addeth further; If to be the verie same honour should be due vnto images, which is giuen vnto the thing signified; now should it be lawfull to giue them churches, sacrifices, and altars; when as Augustine (as it hath bene declared) hath taken from them these things. It seemeth, that Perseus had some light; but herein he was intangled in the darke, that he attributed anie kind of worshiping at all vnto such kind of signes. Erasmus (we thinke) as among other things, hath bene wisely written

this, namely, that Images may more easilie be remoued, than a reason and meane of worshiping them can be perscribed. So now, when Perseus inuendured to perscribe a measure, other wise than has bene appointed by the Sophisme, his labour was vaine and fruitlesse.

Therefore, we confirme by the sentence of the holie scriptures, that there must be no religious honour done vnto idols, images, and signes. For as we haue declared) the lawe of God saith; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onelie thou shalt serue. Neither helpeth it our aduersaries, that in the first chapter of Deuteronomie, there is not that particke [Onelie]; seeing Christ (as we read in Matthew) being the iust and true interpretour of his owne lawe, adde the same. And in the same booke of Deuteronomie it is written; Thou shalt make no images, nor worship them. And what is to worship images? Euen to put a confidence in them, to loue them, to call vpon them, to croud and leanle to them, to offer them incense, and to burne candles to them: all which things we see at this daye are done vnto images. God, to the intent he might turne men awaie from vs, serueth a worshiping, declared himselfe to be a gelous God, that is, one who will reuenge so great wickednesse with earnest induement. Let these men (if they can) shew out of the old testament, where the images of patriarchs, prophets, or of godlie princes were worshipped and adored by godlie men. And as Gregorie himselfe the father of superstitions wrote thus to Serenus the bishop of Massilia, which shewd vnto him images; In that thou forbiddeth them to be worshipped, we allow it; but whereas thou tellest them awaie, we disallow it. Therefore euen he would not haue images worshipped and adored.

Also Ionas the bishop of Aurelia, writing against Claudius the bishop of Taurinum, of whom I made mention before, saith; that Images must be had, but yet must not be worshipped. Wherewith at this daye they do as well worship them, as adore them. Also for an other cause the worshiping of images is to be reiected; to wit, since thereby the charitie towards the poore is diminished. For the worshippers of them do bestow their most sumptuouslie with rich vnder the head, with precious stones, with coverings for the head, with ornaments and garlands; and they do heape and hang vpon them infinite offerings: all which things might with singular pietie be bestowed vpon the need of Christians. Doubtlesse, holie and godlie men, while they were in the flesh, did lye in modestie and frugallie, and commended that kind of life, as well by their doctrine, as by their example. But now, they which honour their signes, and images, feare

A place of Deuteronomie  
mit. 10.  
gouerned.  
Deut. 4, 15  
Deut. 9.

A place of Gregorie  
touching  
the worshiping of  
images.

not to denie in them superfluitie and vaine ornaments: which things they did euermore mislike. But they saie, that pomps, and such kind of ornaments, do shew vnto vs the glorie, glory, onelie, and dignitie, which they now enioie in heauen. As though the scripture did not sufficientlie instruct vs in these things. And here but to, that through these men, the greibousness of theues and church-robbers is stirred up: for the richer that the ornaments be, which are put about them, the more be they inclined to imbe- zell them.

Therefore, I would demand of them, wherefore they, leauing their idols at home in their owne countrie, do trauell to great tourmes to worship others? If they will worship God in his images, why rather do they it not in liuing men; which (as the holie scriptures put vs in mind) be created vnto his image? They answer, that in liuing men it is not borne; least perauerting the minds of the worshippers should be setled vpon them, and should not lift vp themselves higher, that they might thinke vpon God and Christ. As who should say, their cogitations cannot also be carried vnto images; either for the excellencie of the workmanship, or else for the riches of their attire, which men haue bene accustomed with great pleasure to behold. Celestie I haue knewe, especially at Rome, diuers images, so artificiallie wrought, that manie men, which were skillful of those arts, spent manie houres in the diligent beholding of them. God hath set all creatures before men, that they might be certaine tokens and signes of his goodnes and excellencie: neither do we feare, least men would stand still in the beholding of them. Further, he commanded, that euerie one should loue his neighbour, and be beneficiall vnto him: neither did he mislead, least anie man, forsaking him, would impute his onelie labour towards his neighbour.

Therefore, when we obiect against them the testimonie of Iohn, in the first epistle, and first chapter; Keepe your selues from idols, these men saie, that their images be not the images of strange gods, but the images of holie men; namely, of the faithfull, and of the members of Christ. But they perceiue not, nor do they which come wisest of all men in their owne conceit, that if they be the images of men, they ought not to be worshipped nor adored: for men themselves can not be worshipped with religious worship. If then it be taken from themselves, much lesse can it be granted vnto their images, which are also from the Gentils. For in the tabernacle of Moses, there was the candlestick of the altar, and also the incense; such as these men do set before their images. Albeit Christ is now come, and hath abrogated the ceremonies

touching humane things, were oftentimes reputed among the gods. Therefore, do they knowe, that all those were in verie deed gods and godlike men, whom they iudge to be saints, and do worship them in their images? The sentence of Augustine is well knowne, that the bodies of manie are worshipped vpon the earth, whose soules are tormented in hell. The word of God, when it detecteth and sobrieth the idols of nations, it sheweth not of what things the idols were: onelie it saith; They be the works of mens hands, they haue eyes and see not, &c.

Now let us consider, whether the images of Papists be such. Are not they wrought by the hands of men? Do they not altogether want sense and motion? Seeing therefore all these things be like vnto those, they be images condemned by the scriptures. Also Paule, in the first to the Corinthians, the tenth chapter, saith; Flee from idols. And Peter, in the first epistle, the fourth chapter, calleth The worshiping of idols verie, abominable. But here our aduersaries trifle fondlie againe, and inuendure to put a difference betwene *Idolum* and *simulacrum* (both signifying an image) saying, that Idols are forbidden, but not images. Neither perceiue they, that there is no other difference betwene these, but that the one is a Latine word, and the other a Greeke. Wherevpon Laetantius writeth, that *Simulacrum* is written of *Simulatio*, which signifies, feigning, or Counterfeiting. Which those testimonies authorize, if they be not satisfied, let them read Plinie in the 2. booke, and fourth chapter, where he saith; The first image of baske was made vnto Ceres, at the proper costs and charges of Sparus Cassius. Here we see, that this writer calleth the idol of Ceres, *Simulacrum*. Virgilus, in his second booke, and eleventh chapter, where he intreateth of the bewing of Iulius, calleth the image of Diana, *Simulacrum*. The fenetic interpreters, where it is in Greeke *Αἰδωμ*, there they translate it in Latine *Idolum*; but the Latine term both *Simulacrum*.

Pea and Iohn, in the place a little before alleged, saith; Defend your selues from images. 1. Ioh. 5, at the end in the Latine translation; *Fugite simulacra*. Ierom vpon the eleventh chapter of Elic declares, that Idols be the images of them which be dead. Therefore it appeareth, that these men deuise distinctions, which be fond and ridiculous. Againe, it must be considered, that this worshiping of images, which is outwarde of them which, hath bene setled as well from the Hebrewes, as also from the Gentils. For in the tabernacle of Moses, there was the candlestick of the altar, and also the incense; such as these men do set before their images. Albeit Christ is now come, and hath abrogated the ceremonies

what more  
of images  
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Papists  
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ver. 10.

The difference  
between  
Idolum  
and  
Simulacrum.

And where  
the word  
of Iohannis  
came into  
the church  
of Christ.



of Moses. Cicero, in his third booke of offices faith, that Hercules and war candles were set before images. Wherefore, such rites or ceremonies were devised, as well from the Gentiles, as from the Iehybes. But at the last, the matter came to such passe (which is more intolerable) as it is now thought of them, which be called dytians, that some diuine power is in those images. In which point I see not what they differ from Chyniks.

They inuolubeticke did thinke, that such as vsed the image of Alexander, were more fortunate than other men. Wherefore Augustus, which had before used the image of the Spynx, did afterward vsue the image of Alexander. Marius was delighted with a fluer eagle, the which came afterward to the hands of Catinellus, who also worshipped the same himselfe, and payed tribute of it. Cuen so do they at this daie attribute fynyde vertues vnto images: they make sacrifice vnto them, and do alke manie thyngs of them. Ieron vpon the 57. chapter of Esaię declareth, that in his time at Rome, the image of Turela was worshipped in the entrees of houses, with tapers and lights. But for vs (if we be true dytians) it is no decent thing to take rites and ceremonies, either from the Iewes, or from other nations: but we must onelie be those things, which are commanded vs in the word of God. Whereupon Paule, being desirous to commend the vse of the word of God, saith, that He deliuered vnto the Corinthians, that which he had receiued of the Lord.

17 Wherefore, seeing we haue it manifest out of the word of God, that we must not worship images, we ought to obey, suffering our selues to be gouerned by the laue of God, and not by the inuentions of men. Whereouer, we knowe, that God must be worshipped in spirit and in truth: but no man is ignorant, that images be not spirit and truth, for so much as they be thyngs which may be seene. And Paule saith, that We knowe Christ no more after the flesh: therefore much lesse after an image. I beseech you, let vs conferre the state of the primitive church (where, vnto the seruce of God, images were not vsed at all) with the latter state, where in they are allowed; and it will most manifestly appere, that all thyngs be become more corrupt. Whereouer, Augustine in his booke *De quantitate anime*, most wisely wote; that It bechauch him that is worshipped to be much better, than he that doth wold the worship; but all men vnderstand that images be not better than men. Further, if they might be indeede with life and reason, they woud hono the makers, by whose hands they were made. When men finite in this kind of worshiping, they do nothing else, but as St. Paule taught the Ro-

mans) They change the glorie of God into the similitude of a mortall man, of birds, of foure footed beafts, and of serpents. Those which defend and mainteine such worshippings, do drawe a waie men from the true worshipping of God. For, when as Ieroboam went about to drawe awaie the chyldren of Israel from the worshipping of the true God, he created two images of calves, one in Bethel, and the other in Dan.

Furthermore, in this matter we knowe the sojourners of men: for whereas Christ hath commanded, that we should beare his crosse, we had rather worship the same, and all to be crosse our head and forehead therewith: which thing he commanded vs not. Neither can we but grant, that the Chyistians (as we may learne by Terullian) began euen at the first to fortifie themselves with the signe of the crosse. For the diuell began first with to sowe cockle vpon the good seed of the church. Also Paule putteth the Corinthians in remembrance, that they were sometime carried aboue vnto dumbe images: the which verie thing he sae done at this day in euery place. We read not aunte where in the time of the primitive church, that faithfull and goodlie men did direct their prayers vnto pictures and images. But now this is vied euery where, and it is come to that passe, that men giue more hono; vnto images, than they do vnto the word of God. For there is not a man found at this daie, that doth worship and hono; the holie scriptures. Christ, when he was vpon the earth, because he was not readie to depart, comforted his apostles, saying, that Vnlesse he departed, the spirit of the Comforter should not be sent vnto them. Which the interprets expound to be false, because that the presence of Christ, as concerning his flesh, would hinder them, that they should not be fit to receiue the spirit. Which thing if it be trulle faile, as touching the flesh of the Lord, how much rather shall it be affirmed of his images and pictures: Neither do we doubt, that Peter would not be worshipped of Cornelius the Centurion, who was not to be thought that he would do so vnto him: vnto him. With what mind, thinke we, doth he beare, that his images and pictures should now be worshipped among men? But if they will faile; Woe do not wonder them with the chesell hono;: let them vnderstand, that neither Cornelius minded so to worship Peter.

18 Neither must we be ignorant, that the angell in the Apocalyphe, did thusse reprove Iohn, for that he woud haue worshipped him. Then if so be that neither angels nor men must be worshipped, much lesse their images and pictures. And it is not without consideration, that the angell sayd it: for I am (saith he) like vnto

unto thee, and vnto thy brethren which haue the testimonie of Iesus Christ: that is, which be laue in him. Seeing therefore we be all of one degree, neither that one is more excellent than another, adoration can not haue anie place among vs. Although the argument be plain, yet it is not void of all difficultie. Because, the worshipping of angels were not lawfull, while were they worshipped in the old testament, which revealed themselves vnto the faintes. Neither do we read, that the fathers of old time were reprov'd for that cause. To this objection manie things may be answered. For some saie, that as then the souine of God had not taken vnto him the nature of man; wherefore men were placed much lower than angels, and therefore it was lawfull, that they should worship and hono; them. But now, by reason of a new continuation of the word with the flesh, there is made a certaine equalitie betwene men and angels. Wherefore, it is not lawfull to interpose an adoring betwene these natures. The reason that is brought is verie weak: for, although Christ be now incarnate, yet are other men much inferior vnto angels: and these then worshipped; because the soune of God, vnder the name and title of them, appeared to the fathers. But this reason is not altogether true: for the soune of God, vnder the name of an angell appeared vnto the Patriarchs; but not abso- lute, nor yet so, but that other angells also did make manifest themselves. For certene it is, that the ancient of daies was theued vnto Daniel, vnder the person of God the father, and likewise the soune of man, when also there was present an angell, whom Daniel worshipped. But it may more easilie be answered, that the fathers of old time, when they did paye ante hono; to angels themselves, they kept themselves within the bounds of ciuill hono;: and that they did not giue ante religious hono; vnto them. But yet, because that might haue to belong vnto religion, therefore were men at the length to be kept hinder, lest they should worship angels with a kind of diuine worship. And it ought to be sufficient for vs, that the matter was at the first found fault withall. But while God would thus faul therewith most at this time, than at that: it is not our part to inquire. Neither must we saie, that it is now lawfull; which then was boine withall after a sort. The verie which reason might be brought of the marriage of manie wiues, of widowes, and of suchlike, which thyngs were afterward taken aboue by Christ, when as before that time they were inferred after a sort. Neither are we bound of necessitie, to cleare the fathers alwaies of all fault.

Furthermore, it might be said, that the same

The image of Santa worshipped at Rome, in the time of Ieron.

1. Co. 11. 23

Ioh. 4. 23.

1. Co. 5. 16.

Rom. 1. 23.

1. Kin. 11. 24

Mat. 23. 26.

1. Co. 11. 23.

Ioh. 1. 7.

An objection.

An answer.

A comparison between men and angels.

2

Deut. 7. 9. and 13.

3

The marriage of manie wiues lawfull.

4

1. Co. 11. 23

A list of the churches. For the worshipping of angels.

verse 1. A good exposition of a place in Job against the imputation of faints.

Gal. 5. 20.

1. Kin. 17. 4

A simile.

Christ.

An oblation.

An answer.

Another objection.

Col.13.

Matt.25.40.

Ibidem. 35.

Why christians ought to die the worshiping of images.

Apoc.5.8.

Phil.4.1.

Another objection.

Tholaitie hath been spoken as a fallacy.

Epistles are objected by the benefit of worship.

1.Thec.1,9.

2.Kin.18.4.

They object for the idols the tradition of the church.

An answer.

Christ. Why then do we make pictures and images in stead of him, the which we imbrace, worship, and honour in stead of him? But they say, that they do this, because these signes and images, by a certaine similitude doe represent Christ. The verie same also might that woman allege for his selfe, saying, that the man, which she had taken in the place of his husband, did resemble his husband, both in age, in favour of countenance, in manners, and in condition.

They feigne also, that they do no sacrifices unto images; as though prayers are not a mat sacrifice of christians. Doubtlesse, they are a sacrifice, which is left unto vs, now that the old ceremonies be abrogated. Terullian and Ierom, interpreting the wordes of Malachie, that the sacrifice of priester, immediatly upon the coming of Christ, is offered unto God, from the rising up of the sunne into the going downe of the same. Also, in the epistle to the Colossians, free will worship is condemned, although it be offered unto angels. And I will not omit that, which was spoken by Claudius bishop of Thurine, against those, which did prostrate themselves before the image of the lambe, whom Iohn Baptist shewed with his finger; These men (saith he) do worship painted lambes, but detourer living lambes. Again; They honour painted lambes, but they do flea and spoile the true lambes of Christ. Furthermore, the godlie, which be departed, are blessed; yet are they not become gods, that they should be worshipped and adored; much lesse the images of them. But God (saie they) doeth his saints; and therefore it is he commonly vs to do. True indeed it is, that God touch his saints with honour, and with incompritable reward; seeing he giueth them eternall life. Let vs do the same in like manner, by speaking well of them, as by setting them forth in the church to be followed. Let vs consider becase, that God doth make his saints honourable, yet doth he not either adore them, or put them forth to be adored. But it is said by Christ, that Whatsoeuer ye vnto me, that is least of mine, that ye haue donee vnto me. But these wordes must be vnderstood, as touching the duties of charitie; and not as touching worship and adoration. And certeinly, what Christ merit, he himselfe berie well rewarded. When he said; I was hungry, and ye gaue me meate; I was thirstie, and ye gaue me drinke.

Origin, in the eight booke against Celsus, sheweth a reason why the christians should abhorre the worshiping of images, and he saith; I magines we haue inuaded, not outward images, which haue bene made by most vile carpenters; but the minds of the faithfull and holie men, from whence proceedeth (as from the altar of God) most sweet sauiour of priesters, which do reach by euery to heauen. Therefore, in the reuelation of Iohn, the priesters of godlie meate are called sweet odours. And David sang; Let my priester be in thy sight as incense. Afterward he added, We abhorre the worshiping of images, because they haue no sense. This also is to be obtained; that if upon the death of one emperour, there succeeded another, the images of the first were destroyed throughout all the prouinces of the empire, vnto which images, honour was done, as vnto the emperour, who was not present. This I grant; but that was onelie a ciuill honour, whereby they testifie themselves to be subiect vnto him; and they receiued their new emperour with iustitull violence. Also, this must be well considered; that there haue bene alwaies some men, in euerie age, which haue freely cried out against the worshiping of images. And vnbondubillie for; that cause mantle of the Gracian emperours; as namely, the Philipicians, the Constantines, & the Leos, resisteth the Romane bishops; against whom, on the other side, the Romane bishops opposed themselves, of a certein hatred; because they desired earnestly to be rid of their subiection. For which cause, they toynd themselves with the French men, and by that meanes rent in sunder the Romane empire. Therefore it is no maruell, if at this date alse for images sake, they stir vp vaine contentions.

Further, they obiect wonders and marvels, which are wrought before images. And did not Peter (saie they) while he was vpon the earth, worke things of great wonder and admiration; as This cannot be denied; and yet did he not suffer himselfe to be adored. Therefore, the argument is most feeble, namely; Some miracles be done at signes and images; Ergo they must be worshipped and adored. Antidistill also shall come with marie tombes, and yet to folow him and honour him, is a heinous wickednesse. Also the basen serpent did deale them, which were hurt in the wilderness; which neuerthelesse, when it was worshipped, it was abolished by Ezechias. In like manner the Chinese theued mantle signes and miracles, for the establisshing of their idols; as we may read in Valerius Maximus, Titius, and other old writers. At the last, when they haue nothing else; they saie; that this worshiping is the tradition of the church, and therefore must be still retained. Thereto, we reiet not all the traditions of the church; but those without controuersie we reietne, which agree with the word of God; & those alio, which be not superfluous, nor biding in a new seruice of worshiping. And if there be anie, which be repugnant to the word of God, or burdensome to the church of God, or do import some new biding of seruice, we vpon iust cause reiet them. Where-

Epistles are objected by the benefit of worship.

1.Thec.1,9.

2.Kin.18.4.

They object for the idols the tradition of the church.

An answer.

Of Images.

1.Thec.1,9.

2.Kin.18.4.

1.Tim.4.5.

Deiote in att.14.

1.

ouer, how is the worshiping of images an apostolical tradition, when as the primitive church vied no such things? Arie rather (as we haue before declared) some of the ancient fathers, not onelie condemned images, but also the manner of them. And most vaine is that, which these men haue alwaies in their mouth; It is a tradition, inquire not of it. But I on the other part saie; It is a tradition, therefore inquire diligently of it, whether it be agreeable to the word of God; or whether it were in times past allowed of all the ancient fathers. But as concerning miracles, which be objected vnto vs; we must vnderstand, that the diuell both mane timent himselfe among, who is accustomed to nothing more, than to establish superstitions and idolatry. Again, the miracles which are of that sort, be done by the iust iudgement of God; because men do cast away from them the lone of the truth; as it is in the epistle to the Thet salonians.

2o The diuell seeing the signe of the crosse, saith himselfe to be able; when neuerthelesse, by such counterfeiting, he creepeth more and more into vs. The strength and power of the crosse consisteth not in the signe, but in the true and sound faith of Christ crucified. The sacrificing priests also do report, that they sacrifice in a manner all things with the signe of the crosse. But the scriptures speake farre otherwise, which tell us, that meates are sanctified by faith, priesters, and by the word of God. Wherevnto while we assent, and do praye for the vse of things, to the cleane all things are made cleane. I be not not, but that certein miracles haue sometimes bene wrought by the signe of the crosse, as Augustine reporteth in his 22. booke De ciuitate Dei, and eight chapter. But I haue alreadie declared the cause thereof; which I cannot not indubill to be repeated; onelie this I will report, that the diuell is maruellouslie fed and delighted with mans errors. And withall it is to be added, that manie of those miracles were forged; for the sacrificing priests and monks seeking after gain, do speake abroad manie things altogether false, which were neuer anie where done or spoken. But while the elders (as we haue aboue said) signed their forehead with a crosse, it is no easie matter to allege the certein cause. But I thinke that there were two reasons; first, to testifie themselves to be christians; as though they were not ashamed of the crosse of Christ. And this I gather by Augustine De verbis apostoli, the first sermon; for the Chinese triumphed ouer the Christians, casting their saltie in their teeth, because they worshipped Christ that was nailed on the crosse. To whom that father maketh answer; A part in had we haue, but yet no such as ye haue; nei-

ther are we ashamed of him that was crucified; but in that part, where the signe of shamefastnesse is, there haue we the signe of his crosse.

An other cause is, that they would of a certein cruell and preposterous scale, imitate the legall ceremonies; and because it might not be lawfull, after the coming of Christ, to sacrifice after the manner of the Iebueus, who were bidden to bespinkle the doore-posts of their houses with the blood of the paschall lambe; our Christians in semblance thereof, signed their foreheads with the crosse. As Augustine both testifie in the 20. chapter De catechizandis rudibus, Moreover, they persuaded themselves (as it is already shewed) that the euill spirits were by such a signe chased away. Ipea, and Gregorius Romanus alio, in his third booke of Dialogs writeth; that A Jew entering by full light into a temple of an idol, there toketh his rest, and being greatly astonished with the sight of verie manie wicked spirits, which were in that place, armed himselfe by the signe of the crosse. And when the prince of the euill spirits was vnderstood that a man was present, he commanded one of the diuells, that he should go vnto him, and trie him that he was. Who, after he had beheld him, returned and said; I will. And he left the Jew quiet and cleane without anie harme. Which thing be considering with himselfe, came to the religion of Christ. But Gregorie in that booke heaped by together manie vaine fabulous things, the which not onlie may moue the readers of them vnto laughter; but also they are verie much against the religion of Christ.

The signe of the crosse is to be by princes vpon their crownes, without superstition; because by that signe they onelie testifie and profess, that they hono; and maintain the religion of Christ. Further, if it be lawfull for a man to beare in armes the badge of his owne familie; it is also lawfull for him, by the signe of the crosse, to profess Christian religion. And in the same times past there appeared in heauen the signe of the crosse vnto Constantine the great, and in the same time was added; In this signe shalt thou overcome. For God was minded by a miracle to confirme him in the religion of Christ, which he had lately receiued. Neither may he be condemned, for that he caused that signe to be expressed in the banner which he went to live. But that he afterward made such a manner of signe thereof he opened no small gaie to superstition. Concerning the signing of the 20.000.000. crosse by Helen, wife of marcell that Eulcorius Casariensis, who was verie familiar with Constantine, and set forth his life, wrote no-

A wonder Dialogs writeth; that A Jew entering by full light into a temple of an idol, there toketh his rest, and being greatly astonished with the sight of verie manie wicked spirits, which were in that place, armed himselfe by the signe of the crosse.

The signe of the crosse appeared vnto Constantine.

thing



1. Co. 11. 32

faulr withall by the apostle, concerning those feasts. *Sporecur* he did amide, in that he thought men were more induced by dumbe pictures, than by the liuelie word of God. *Therfore* he did be rather teady them by a liuelie booke, that they should temperate and soberlie spend out the time of the holie feast. *This* had bene the ordinarie waie and meane, and most void of all danger. *Prudentius* also, which lived in the time of Honorius and Theodosius, singing the passion of Cassianus the martyr, said that *The* histoye of him was pictured in the church.

1. Co. 11. 32

And in the seventh Synod, which was holden under Constantius and Hiren, one Nilus a bishop was brought in, which counselleth him that should build a new church, to garnish the walls on errie side with images and pictures. *What* that bishop thus saies, it is not knowne: a martyr indeed he is called, in this respect, that he became for Christ, in the time of Dioclesian. *But* it can not be he, because it was not then permitted unto the Christians, to build churches publicklye. Further, in that second Synod of Nice, we read manie feined things: and those things which were cited by those fathers, for the most part are not certant in the booke of those men, which were of sound iudgement. *There* also it is reported, that Gregorius Nilienus wrote, at such time as he passed by the image of Abraham: but whether that image were in the waie, or in the temple, it appereth not. *There* also it is read, that the martyrdomme of Euphemia the virgin, was painted out in the temple of the citie of Calcedonia: howbeit, so farre as I can gather, these pictures were in the church porch. *But* that Augustine had no images in his temple, it appereth hereby, that he expounding those wordes of the 13. psalme: The images of the Gentiles be siluer and gold, even the works of mens hands, he writeth: *The* workes of mens hands: for they worship that, which they themselves made of gold and of siluer. Doubtlesse, we also have manie instruments, and vessels, of this kind of matter: or metal, for the use of celebrating the sacraments: the which vessels being consecrated to the ministratione it selfe, are called holie: in the honor of him, whom hereby we serve for our saluation. And these vessels (as be called you) are they anie other thing, than the workes of mens hands? *Yet* notwithstanding haue they a mouth, & speake not: haue they eyes, & yet will not see: doe we pray to them, because through them we make supplications unto God? *That* is a verie mad cause of impietie. *Wherefore* it is manifest, that images were not there: for otherwise he would haue confessed himselfe incurable.

Augustine temple had no images.

24 *Sporecur*, in the same Synod they cite

Basil, in his oration of the feastie martyrs. *But* that which they allege maketh nothing to the matter now in hand. *For* Basil affirmeth not, that the acts of these martyrs were described in the temple: but in the commendings of them, in his oration, he saith, that he would do righte and adrele, whereby others might againe and againe be strengthened in faith. *For* painters, while they paint forth the acts of valliant men, they shew to others vnto laudable enterprises. *Then* began, even at the first, vpon a ready god will borne vnto Christ, and to his apostles, to haue some of their images at home with them. *Afterward*, being not satisfied with the private vie of them, they set them not with in the temples, but in the porches. *Againe*, they considered vnto themselves: *What* if they should be put in churches, would they not bying such and such things vnto our memoire? *And* finallye there ensued an adozation. *Constantine*, with his sonne Iulianus, at the temple of Sophia, made pictures: the which afterward Philippius the abate: for which cause there followed afterward verie fierce contentions. *And* seeing Paule faith: How agreeth the temple of God with idols? *Is* it not a shame at this daie, that churches should be fraught with images? *How* the ancient Christians adored themselves in pictures, Tertullian expetheth in his Apologetice, the 3. chapter: *Wile* (saith he) honor GOD with our eyes lifted up to the heavens, and not vnto pictures. *Lactantius* reprouing the Christians, saith: *For* ye thinke that those whom the images do represent, be in heauen, while do you not lift up your eyes vnto heauen? *Wherefore* it is laudful to saie vnto our aduerfaries: *For* ye thinke that the faints be in heauen, while do ye not lift up your eyes into them, which ye turne vnto the images in the temples?

Also, we may proue by an other argument, that Christians had no images in their temples. *For* Aelius Lampridius, describing the liues of the thirtie tyrants, among other things, saith, that Adrianus the emperor had decreed to appoint churches vnto the Christians, but that there was one, which did dissuade him that he should not do it. *For* he said: *For* thou dost this, the temples and images will be forsaken, and all men will become Christians. *For* those churches, which the emperor was minded to giue them, he builded without images. *In* omnia as those churches, which were afterward erected without images, were called the temples of Adrian. *Sporecur*, it must be considered, that those things ought not to be had in the churches, which call men backe from the religion of Christ. *Withoutdoubte*, verie manie, as well of the Turks as Iewes, would be content to become

A place in the oration of Basil is repounded.

1. Co. 11. 32

Lib. Iuliana cap. 24.

Other arguments to proue that the Christians had no images.

Paulus scribitur auctore sequitur.

Crisostomus opinio, teaching images.

1. Co. 11. 32

1. Co. 10. 19

Ibidem. 25.

Gal. 1. 13.

Images must as well be broken in pieces, as removed out of the temples.

Whole part is in the doctrine of images.

come Christians, were it not that they be greatly offended at our images. *Whereupon* Paulus Riccius, a verie learned helene, which was dyed at Pavia, said: *It* was verie expedient, that images should be removed out of churches, because manie of the Iehyemes, by the meane of them, be called atone from the confessing of Christ. *And* Erasmus, in his catechisme, wrote manie things to this purpose: and finallye determined, that those are not to be accepted hereticks, which want images, and will not receive them. *And* in his booke called Ecclesiastes, he altogetherly not of those preachers, who, while they deale with the people in the pulpit, do use pictures and images: for that (as he saith) is not decent for that place.

Paule withoutdoubte, in the first to the Corinthians, exhorteth the faithful, and that with manie wordes, that they should beware of offending the weake. *Wherefore*, although they be manie, which saie, that they know that images must not be worshipped; yet let them thinke this, that a verie one both not sufficientlie knowe it. *And* surely, the consideration seemeth to be all one of images, and of things dedicated vnto idols. *Which* the wise men of Corinthe say they knew that they were. *And* yet notwithstanding, Paule commanded, that they should not eate them: and he said, Buy ye meate in the market, eate at home, and not in places appointed for idols. *When* so may we saie: *For* ye will haue images, haue ye them at home, and not in the temples. *Neither* do images placed in the temples lesse harme vnto the church, than do the assembling of Peter. *For* he, in suffering the ceremonies of the Iewes, nourished an evil opinion of them. *In* like manner is the fall of the weake, and peruerse adozation confirmed, when images are suffered to be in churches. *Wile* haue (saie they) a right iudgement of them. *Why* do ye not then remove them? *A* right faith must be testified by deeds. *And* when as they be at anie time removed out of the temples, & thinke it good to beware, that they be not kept found and whole: for if the date change, they may easilie be restored againe into their places. *When* Constantine the great was converted vnto Christ, he shut up the temples of the idols: but he bestowed them not. *Afterward* came Iulianus the Apostata, and opened them againe. *The* which if they had bene subuerted, they could not so easilie haue bene made againe. *Which* thing afterward Theodosius and other Christian princes noting, they either bestrode them utterly, or else granted them to the use of Christians.

25 *But* we must understand, that it is not the part of private men, to cast downe images: therefore it must be done by the publicke authority of a magistrate. *Sozomenus* in his fifth

booke writeth, that vnder the reigne of Iulian, when he had opened the temples of the idols, certaine Christians theyr downe images: in so much that emperours officers apprehended some, who were suspected of that crime, and put them vnder tormentes and examination: when they neuertheless were innocent. *But* when the authors of the fact repented themselves, and sorowed for the tormentes of others, they confessed that they did it, and were burned. *Of* this matter Augustine, in his first homilie *De sermone Domini in monte*, wrote verie well, where he bringeth the place out of the fourth chapter of *Deuteronomio*: *When* the land shall be yours, ye shall subuert the altars and images of diem: *strict* (saith he) it belongeth them to possesse the land, and to haue it in their power, before they be subuerted the images thereof. *And* it is euident, that temples be publicke places. *Wherefore* it is not curie mans part there, either to cast out, or to bestrode anie thing. *They* then, which beare rule, as well in ciuill as ecclesiasticall causes, ought not to suffer those images in churches. *Which* otherwise the simplest folk, when they perceive them to be lifted, enen say that cause they suffer the more to vnto them: for that they for the princes, bishops, and pastors do not cast them away. *And* it is verie frivolous, that they haue alwayes in their mouth, that images are certaine visible wordes of God, which helpe the faith of them that be ignorant. *For* Paule testified, that Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God: not by pictures or images. *For* Rom. 10. 17

*Wherefore* Paule vnto the Galathians saith, Gal. 3. 1. that Christ was painted before their eyes: namely, through the preaching of him and others, whereby they so faithfully cleane vnto Christ, as it seemed vnto them, that they beheld him fastened vnto the crosse. *Yet* they are wont to saie, that *For* these figures be removed, the minds of them, which be weake, are offended. *But* they see not, that while they studie to surme the lesse euill, they fall into the greater. *For* while they suffer images in temples, the weake be offended: and also both the vngodlie are confirmed in their vngodlienes, and the godlie are dammed. *For* therefore, it is to be considered, that our aduerfaries do impugne a tradition, without reason, saying, that it is an ecclesiasticall tradition, and that therefore it neither may nor ought to be changed. *But* it is farre otherwise: seeing that ecclesiasticall traditions may be changed, and taken away, if differing do so require. *Wherefore*

verse 9. A place of deuteronomio, where well can be found.

Whether idols helpe the faith of the ignorant.

Gal. 3. 1. Now paines are taken by the apostles.

Thyſe dipping in baptiſme.

Perſius reaſon.

Why by the fathers ſuffered not images.

Exod. 25. 18  
1. King. 6. 7

Exod. 25. 13

1. King. 7. 9

1. King. 7. 31

Therefore, if they would ſuffer it to be an eccleſiaſtical tradition, it ſhould be lawful to change the ſame. At times paſt children were baptiſed with thyſe dipping : which cuſtome of tradition (as Gregorie ſayeth unto Leander) was taken awaie ; becauſe of certaine heretics, which affirmed, that without thoſe dipping, children were not baptiſed. By the ſame reaſon, why are not images caſt out of the temples, leaſt we ſhould ſeeme to conſent with thoſe latera : But Perſius ſaith, that by taking a waie of images, we be againſt the ſenſe of humane nature, and alſo againſt God himſelfe. But we have already answered, that all kindes of images are not taken awaie by vs ; but we would not haue them worſhipped, nor to be in the temples, where adoration might enſue be done vnto them. ſoꝛeouer, if the reaſon of Perſius were firme, we might proue God to be againſt himſelfe, who ſoꝛd by his lawe, that men ſhould not worſhippe thinges beſore images. Where be others, which ſaie, that the fathers in the primitive church ſuffered not images ; becauſe men were then yonge vnto idolatrie. But (who 3 beſed you) is able to knowe of affirme this ? Is not now mans corruption the fault that then it was ? Are not images in this our age worſhipped and honoured euerie where ?

At the laſt they come vnto that, which was the cauſe that we take in hand this treatiſe. And they ſaie, that in the time of Moſes and Salomon, God would haue Cherubim, and other images, in the tabernacle and temple. Whereunto ſome ſaie, that thoſe images were placed in the innermoſt holy place, where none might ſee them. It is a weakie anſwer : for there were ſuch alſo in the court of the priſts, where they made the burnt offerings and ſacrifices. Alſo in the engins, which ſuſtained the lauatiues, there were Cherubims, lions, and oren. ſoꝛeouer the ſea of braſſe was ſet vpon oren of braſſe. Whereupon others anſwer, that thoſe images were not there, to the intent they ſhould be worſhipped ; but to be as it were a certaine training, and that they might garniſh the holy temple. But the Iſaiaſs would, after the ſame manner, enſue theſe images. Wherefore it is moſt fitlye answered, that God gaue the lawe, not to himſelfe, but vnto vs ; ſo then we muſt followe the ſame : neither may we bring him into ydet, if he otherwiſes would wile thing of a ſpeciall prerogative. He muſt be ſuffered to be aſter his owne will ; but we muſt obſerue the lawe that is made. Certainlie thoſe images had ſome figuratiue meaning, but they were not ſet forth as an example for vs to followe. With them was iouined the word of God, which the images placed in our churches do want. And ſeing they were external things, and had the word added

to them ; they were (after a ſort) ſacraments of thoſe times : and it is onelie God, and not men, which can make ſacraments.

And it is to be noted, that Salomon and Moſes, which made the Cherubims, durſt not make anye other : they onelie made that, which was commended vnto them by God. They painted not vpon the wallles the aas of Abraham, neiſther the doings of Adam or Moſes, nor of the other fathers. They are alſo accuſtomed ſometimes to ſaie ; We haue the images of Chriſt, to the intent we may conuince the Marcionites and Valentinians, which denied that Chriſt had a true body. Surely a verie pleaſurable and ſharpe argument ! But 3 would haue them anſwer, wherefore they haue the images of other ſaints. Was there anie man that admitted them to haue no true bodies ? Doubtleſſe there be other reaſons to be viſed for the conuincing of heretics ; who, if they be not moved by the ſeſtimonies of the ſcriptures, and by the aas which Chriſt did, ſurely they will not be conuincd by images. And to thoſe things, which be brought by our auſterities, be onelie pretences, leaues of fig- trees, 3 branches ; whereby neuertheles they couer not their ſhame. If they would be ſene to come from Marſon the heretike, why do they not in like manner thew themſelues to detest idolatrie ? Neither is this to be let paſſe, that the image it ſelfe of Chriſt, if it be had in the churches, is far more dangerous than others be ; by reaſon of the worſhipfulneſſe and excellencie of the perſon whom it beſetneth.

Alſo that is ſtriuolous, which they repoſt of Alexander Seuerus the emperor, that he had images in his priuie cloſet : for he receiued them not of the chriſtians. He was an Ethiope, and therefore no maruell if he delighted himſelfe with images. Such examples are not to be fought from him, and ſuch as he was. After theſe things they obiect the baſten image, which in times paſt was placed in the citie of Caſaria Philippi. But if they will ſomewhat more diſtlye gentle read the hiſtorie of Euſebius, they ſhall vnderſtand, that the ſame was not placed in the temple, but before the doore of the ſame womanes houſe, which had receiued her health of Chriſt. Among the Ethiope there was a cuſtome, that ſome had receiued a great benefit of anie man, they would ſet by an image of him, of whom he had craued ſo great a benefit : ſo did the beſaſe him ſelfe towaꝛd Chriſt. ſoꝛeouer, they beſe the hauing of the image of Chriſt crucified vpon the croſſe, in this reſpect, that vniueſſe thoſe ſignes be ſente in currie place, our redemption, that is, the waie of the ſonne of God may be ſought. Vn doubtleſſe, if it be declared in ſermons, and often called to remembrance, the faithful will not be forgetfull of the ſame. For

Whether an image of Chriſt may be ſet up for ſeruing that beſe a true body.

Images of Alexander Seuerus.

An image of beſaſe ſet up in Caſaria.

Signes of things done by Chriſt crucified.

the primitive church had altaries before their aas Chriſt crucified, although it viſed no ſools nor images.

But the writing of Aſhanafius, concerning the image [of Chriſt] wounded by the ſetras, ſeemeth to be both fabulous and fond. For there ſuch at that time man famous 3 learned biſhops, whoſe works yet at this daie are extant among vs ; who, if ſo notable a thing had happened at that time, they would ſurely haue made mention thereof in their books and hiſtoꝛies. Euſebius, Sozomenus, and Theodoretus, who wrote manie things of Aſhanafius ; yet did they vniueſſe leaue out this, which is vniueſſe boarde of by theſe men. As touching the learning, which they ſaie to be gathered by theſe things, we need not ſtand vpon it, ſeing God, Chriſt, and the holy Chriſt ſpeake legelie enough vnto vs in temples, in the holy ſcriptures, in ſermons, and in ſacraments : ouer and beſides which, that need ſhould there be to bring in images, which rather call vs to the perceiving of them, than bring vs to the part of Chriſtians, to repair vnto the churches, to the intent they may ſee their cies with pictures and images ; but to paſſe, to heare the word of God, to receiue the ſacraments, to giue thanks vnto God, and to celebrate the name of his maietie. The Lacedemonians agreed, that in the Senat houſe there ſhould be placed no image ; to the intent the Senatours there might be of readie wit, and muſt attentiuely bend their cogitations vpon thoſe matters, which were in counſell among them.

Wherefore in vaine do our auſterities clutter, that images be the bokes of laie men ; that while they notice the aas of holie men, they read the rude and vniſfull ſort. We indeed conſeſſe, that ſomethiſg is ſignified by pictures or images ; howbeit verie ſcurdie. But the minds of the vniſfull be ſo rude, as that they haue need of the ſummitie of the word. And it cometh oftentimes to paſſe, that by images God be rather led into error, than trulie taught. Let the ſaie of vniſlearned reſt as oft as he be ſet vnto a picture, it will alwaies tell one thing ; and if anie doubt happen vnto him, while he beſeholdeth the ſame, it will neuer anſwer a me thing for reſoluing thereof. But in the holy ſcriptures, and in godlie ſermons, whatſoeuer ſhall appere ſomewhat darke in one place, is plainlie enough expounded in another. Merelie a picture, if thou ſhalt once erre, it will neuer amend thee. Doubtleſſe, the grant that images may haue a good beſeſſeſſe, to reſolve the me moſt of things which haue bene done. Which thing, although not currie where, yet in ſome places it happeneth conueniently : euen as ſometimes we ſpeake ſome things by ſignes,

Not the memorie of things done by Chriſt, but to reuener by images.

and dumb men expreſſe manie things by geſtures. But whereaſ it is lawful to viſe this at ſometime, and ſomewhere ; do we therefore viſe it alwaies, and in all places ?

Shall he be accounted a wiſe Senatour, that in the ſenate houſe ſetleth his iudgement by pointing and nodding ? And there is no doubt, but we ſhould be called the geſtiks at a banquet, then ſhall he be called a ſole and a conuener man : ſo in like manner images, although elſewhere they haue their commoditie, yet they muſt not be ſuffered in churches, where we may deale with God by far better waies ; meaning, eſpeciallie ſaieing they cannot there be had vnto danger. For Ieremie in the tenth chapter ſaith, that Images doo tell lies. And euen this doth Abacuc ſpeak in the ſecond chapter. And in the 1. 3 and 14. chapters of the booke of Eſaie, dome it is written ; That Men be decieved by their eyes. And that the matter may appere more euident, we muſt vnderſtand, that then crept in to the church a frequented viſe of images ; when as biſhops began to giue them ſelues to noleſſe, when they ceaſed to teach the church that was committed vnto them, and to feed the ſame with the word and ſacraments ; then 3 ſaie, they did ſubſtitute images, to be as it were vicegerents. 3 beſeedy you let experience teach vs, and let vs ſe ſince that time, (wherein temples were deſtroyd with images) whether the rude and vniſlearned ſort haue bene made the better learned by the viſe of them, and haue become the more ſkilful in diuine things by the viſe of them. Surely Chriſt, and God, was much leſſe knowen than before. Was God ignorant of this commoditie of images ?

Aſſuredlie, it could not be hiddden from him, who with his cie beſeetheth all things, and knoweth all things ; if he ſaue it, and ſoꝛd it. He embayced not vs with fatherlie good will, who may ſeeme to denie men ſo great a good. Furthermore the apoſtles, who omitted nothing which might further the ſaluation of men, made no mention in anie place of that to great a commoditie. But by their actions, vnto the which they them ſelues : for thoſe images, vnto the which the ſolihp people runne on pilgrimage by heaps, be couered manie times with great deuotion, and hidden vith great diligence ; ſo that ſcarclie they be opened to noble men, cardinals, and poꝛinces. And the ſaie ignorant people, whoſe faith they will that thoſe images beſe by viſes, ſhall alwaies haue thoſe bokes ſet by before them. Neither are we to paſſe much by the ſecond Synod of Nice. For if a man doo trulie but with meane diligence, the reaſons of thoſe biſhops, whereby they eſtabliſhed images, he can not refrain from laughing.

verſe 14.

In the whole chapters.

ſaie.

ſoꝛe.

Spokeover, against that synod we will oppose the synod Elberina, in the which (as I have before declared,) pictures and images be forbidden. Further it is strange, that these men be not ashamed to object against the place of Paule, wherein he said : To the cleane all things be cleane : seeing in that place he intricately onelic of meane and indifferent things, and not dangerous and forbidden things. And seeing now we have spoken of the nature and antiquite of images, and have distinguished them by the things which they signifie, that some represent God, others the creatures of God; and have set forth what moved men to inuolunt themselves to expresse God by images, and have shewed that it is not lawfull to represent God by pictures, partie in respect it cannot be, and partie because he himselfe hath forbidden it; and have also taught, that there is no let, but that things created may be resembled in images, so that no honour or worship be done unto them; and at the last have proued, that they ought not to be set in holie places : we thinke now, that we haue sufficientlie spoken of them.

Of Cherubim.

In 1. King 6. Of the name and image of Cherubim. Ezech. 10. 30 As concerning the name, Aben-Ezza teacheth, that some make the same a general word to all grauen and carued things, and to images : yet to neuertheless, as those, which be written of in the lawe, are said to haue had the shape of man. But in Ezechiel, the formes of them be described; namelye of a lion, of an ore, of an eagle; not of a mans shape onlie. And further, in the same prophet, a king is called Cherub; because he aboundeth with great dignitie, glorie, and riches. Sometime that word is taken at full; to wit, with the letter *aw*; but sometime in the place thereof is put *Chabur*. Wherby, Salomon seemeth to haue followed Moyses; for he also in his tabernacle had two molten Cherubims. And when the verie inward caruing, which was in stead of the wall of the tabernacle, had Cherubims of noble longhe. Wherefore it is no maruell, if both Salomon made two grauen Cherubims, and also upon the walles made manie net of finele in seled woike. I am not ignorant, that there were manie of the ancient Iehoue interpreters, which thought, that the word Cherubim was compounded in such sort, as the first letter *Ceph*, is a note of similitude. Then the verbe *Rabum* and *Rabi*, which significth, *To nourish*, or *To growe*, whereof is made the noun *Rabum* and *Rabi*, which significth, *Children* and *Young men*, because they growe and increase in stature. But this hath no likelihood of truth, that the etymologie of an Iehoue name should be fetched from the Chaldean tongue.

As touching the matter of them, it is euident enough, that those which were in the tabernacle of Moyses, were of masse gold : for they stretched forth their wings from on high, on both sides of the merie feat, with their faces one toward another. And the merie feat was a table of the same length and breadth, that the arke of couenant was; which consisted of masse and pure gold, and out of that table (as is said) two Cherubims did rise up. The statute wherof Salomon Cherubims were made, was twofold the olive, which vnbouttable is verie hard. Wherefore in caruing; or graving the same, artificers too take great paines; but it indueth verie long.

31 In this place R. David Kimhi demandeth, how it was lawfull for Salomon to cut downe olive trees; because they bring forth fruit? And in Deuteronomie it is decreed, that those kind of trees should not be taken downe, no not by on the land of the enimies. By some it is answered, that he cut none downe, but such as were withered with age, and were become so barren, as they would beare fruit no longer. But there be some which thinke, that he toed not the best olive; but the wild olive tree, whereof there is no fruit had. And there be some, which write, that these trees were not felled within the countree of Iudea, but were sent thither by Hiram. Wherby, it might more stille be said, that these things were done otherwise than other was; and that by the iudgment of God, some piece of the lawe was dispensed with; especiallye that which rather belonged vnto warre than vnto peace. Also there were some, which denied that this was properlie the wood of the olive tree : for (as they say) there be also other kinds of trees, which bring forth a certaine oile, as the Cedar, the pine apple, and fire tree : the which, in somuch as they beare fatnes or gum, may be called trees of oile. They alleadge a place out of the eight chap. of Nehemias, where it is written, that the feast of tabernacles was celebrated, wherein it was said to the people; Bring ye the leaues of the olive tree, and the leaues of the tree of olive. By which words these things are verie manifestlie distinguished one from another. Further also, the Scholemaster of the lawe commanded not onlie to weare leaues of the olive tree; but also of the Cedar tree; and the Græke translation hath, the Cypresse tree. And in the 4. chapter of Eiaic, (although the place be somewhat dark,) the wood of Cypresse seemeth to be expressed by the name Barthe. The height of the Cherubims was ten cubits; yet so, as they resembled young age in their face : which thing was sometime done by cunning artificers, in the great images called Colossi. Wherby, Iosephus described these images to be onelic of five cubits; and he testifieth, that the statute of them was pure

Deut. 20. 19  
ye shall  
right Salomon cut  
downe olive trees.

verfe. 15.

Leuit. 24. 9

verfe. 19.

the size and habit of the cherubims.

1. Par. 3. 10.

verfe. 13.

verfe. 10.  
the measure of the arke.

and masse gold. But crept must be giuen into the holie scriptures.

32 As touching the site a habit of the Cherubims, this may be said; namelye, that Salomon wrote, that with the soles of their feet they stretched vnto the floor; & had their countenance turned toward the east; as though they beheld their which went in & out. The one of them, with his wing touched the wall on the southside; the other the wall on the north side, touching one another with the midst of their wings. They were therefore distant one from another ten cubits. The booke of Paralip. affirmeth, that these images had the countenance of young men. And the contrarie part Iosephus writeth, that none is able to saie what countenance they were of; but that their faces were bent toward the east, & to the high place. The booke of Paralipomenon doth testifie, when they were with stretched out wings, the whole widenesse of them consisted of ten cubits; and so they occupied the whole breadth of the sanctuary, euen twentie cubits. Wherefore in them might be founde the iust measure of a mans bodie, according to the quantitie which they saie it contains, seeing his height to be much as is equall with him, his hands being stretched out. But thou wilt saie; If both the wings consisted of 10 manie cubits, what place shall we allow for the frame of his bodie? David Kimhi teacheth, that their bodies were vnder the wings; because the tops of the wings were fastned to the chine of the backe. So that their bodies appeared in the fore part without the wings, and where they appeared most, the arke of the covenant was set either vnder or betwixt the two Cherubims, the which was shadowed with their wings stretched out.

The length of the arke, as it is described in the 35. chapter of Exodus; was of two cubits, and a halfe : so much also was it in breadth, and the verie height thereof was of one cubit and a halfe. Where were bars of gold iointure therewith, which were put through rings of gold, and neither from thence were they removed at any time : the length of those bars was foure cubits. About the arke in the propitiatorie, there were two other Cherubims made by Moles. And by this meanes it came to passe, that in the holiest place of Salomons temple, there were foure Cherubims; to wit, two of Salomons, and two lesser, made in the time of Moles. And the greater, which Salomon placed, did looke toward the sanctuary, and toward the east part; but the Cherubims of Moles, did of each side the propitiatorie, and looked one vpon the other, as if they had vpholden the propitiatorie with their hands. In the tabernacle of Moles, the opening of the two wings was of ten cubits, and with their wings they touched the wall; but after an

other manner than those of Salomons did. For Moles Cherubims touched the east and the west part; & Salomons, the north and the south part. But Moles Cherubims being placed in the temple of Salomon, touched not the walles with their wings; because the place was larger than it was in the tabernacle. Wherby, in Eiaic we read of an order of Cherubims, somewhat differing : for to euerie one of them was six wings; for with the uppermost, they covered their countenance, and with the lowermost their feet, and sleeping with the middlemost, they rested; Holie, Holie, Holie.

37 We must not thinke that Salomon transgressed the lawe, by placing Cherubims in the innermost place of the temple; for he followed the example of Moles, who was continued by God to be done. Wherby, might be shewed vnto David all the forme and description of the holie building; there is no doubt, but that he shewd him also the images of the Cherubims. Wherefore idolaters must not be led with the example here of, to haue images in their churches. A list of all these remaneth, that I declare far much as shall be thought sufficient for the signification of these images. Certainlie, they did represent the aduiniting spirits, whereof there is mention made in the first chapter of the epistle to the Iehouas; as of which Daniel teacheth to be great a number, as he writeth, that there be ten hundred thousand, (meaning an innumerable multitude;) for he put a certaine number for an infinite number. The ministries of them be of diuerse sorts. Sometimes of seruente; for when God had driven Adam out of paradice, he placed Cherubims before paradice, with a fireie two edged sword, to drine awaie to wethered men from thence. The Egyptians were stricken by the ministrie of angels. So was the host of Seneacherib, David also lawe an angel appoynted to Ierusalem with a bayonet sword. Also an angel withdrew Balaam in his iournie. Neither is there any doubt, but the firee ciues were destroyed with fire by the ministrie of angels. But otherwhise angels do serue God in the defending of men. For an angel let himselfe betwixt the camps of the Egyptians and Israelites, in the place verie night, when the Israelites should passe through the red sea. Lo also was present, and Pecci bought out of prison by the diligence of angels. And angels were present with Christ, when he was tempted by the diuell in the wilderness. Wherby, they defend kingdoms and prouinces (as it is written in Daniel.) And it is declared, that by the hands of them, the spirit of Lazarus was brought to the bosome of Abraham, and in the plaine it is song; He hath giuen his angels charge of thee, and they shall keepe thee in all thy waies. Also they were sent

what the Cherubims did signifie and represent. verfe. 14. Dan. 7. 10.

Gen. 3. 24.

Pal. 78. 49.  
2. Kin. 19. 35.  
2. Sam. 24. 16.  
and 17.  
Num. 22. 34.  
Gen. 19.

Exo. 14. 19.

Gen. 19. 16.  
A. R. 12.  
Math. 4. 11.

Dan. 12. 1.

Luk. 16. 18.

Pal. 19. 11.

an. i. stand



2.King 6, 17 **And for the defense of Elizeus against his enemies, as the holie histoyre reporteth and testifieth, furthermore, God wiled them to; instructing of men, as we read in Daniel and Zacharie. Marie was instructed by Gabriel, that she should bring forth the fruit of saluation. So was Ioseph, concerning the taking of his wife vnto him, from whom he was determined to depart: and to was likewise as touching his flight into Egypt, and returning againe. What shall I faile more? I will be messengers of God for to reuale his secret.**

34 **Ps.** and the ministers of the church be  
Apoc. 1. called angels, and are reſpectively by them: for  
they advance the holie woꝝd of God amongſt  
Ezek. 10. 1. men. Therefore Ezechiel ſaie an engine, where-  
in Cherubims were carried: whereby (as the  
toſſe and learned doe interpret) are meant the  
prophets, apoſtles, and miniſters of the church,  
of whom God, that is, Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour,  
is carryed by his woꝝd into all parts of the woꝝld:  
and whereſoever they come, they celebrate the  
praifes of God amongſt men, even as did the  
Seraphims of Eliſie. **Eliſie** ſaie ſometimes, befoꝝe

In Gen. 35, <sup>15</sup> But now let us for a moment concerning  
 this word *Terephim*. Some will have it, that  
 they were instruments for marking out of  
 times; or else of seasons, fations, and degrees  
 of stars, whereby afterward, by the science of  
 Astrologie, men might prognosticate of the  
 events to come. But this is not much allowed:  
 for they were rather images, as in the history  
 of David is manifest the case: when as Michol  
 the daughter of Saule, placed a *Terephim* in  
 the bed, and feined David to be there laid, whom  
 notwithstanding the had privily sent away.  
 But it had beene no likelie way for the devising  
 of it, unless *Terephims* had bene of humane

In Zacharia it is said, that the Teraphims did speak lies. And marvell not that it is written in Olee, that the people came to be left without Ephod and Teraphim ; as though it pertained unto God, that Teraphim should be worshipped, even as the Ephod was. For this is not true ; for Teraphim, in the holie scriptures, is alwaies taken in the worse part. But there the meaning is, that the people of God should be scattered and afflicted, so as neither they might retaine the true worshipping of God, nei ther should they be at leisure to worship idols. Ephod in that place may be referred to god religion, and Teraphim unto civilitie ; neither of which two, those that be in captivity and affliction will retaine. But J. marcell, how some dare be so bold to saie, that Laban did not worship such kind of Teraphim or Images ; when as he plainlie saith, that they were his gods. I am of the minde, that he worshipped together both God and Idols. For it is verie likelie, that he had recourse to the idolatrie of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia ; and he retaineed somewhat of those things, which perhaps his father Nachor taught, as touching the true God. Although that Nachor also was an Idolater, as it is thought of the Hebrews not unlike to be true : as was Balaam the soothsayer, which saith, that he was called by Balaac out of the verie same countrie. But this onelle will I saie, as touching idolatrie, and the interuene about images and idols ; whereby things to come might be knownde ; that these things

*Of humane sacrifices.* Part.2.

of Peter Martyr.

Cap.5.

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things began of a curiosity. For when men were to immoderate carefull to know things to come, they left nothing unattempted for the compassing of the same. And then the diuell perfectly himself most easily to be admitted, when he haue such feruent desire of any thing. Wherefore he both quick his coming, and also bestoweth his labour willingly, that true may be belid and daine from our true and perfect saluation. But since Christ is the beholding, that these things are not noted to commonlie recurred in the world, as they were before his coming. Although ymagine they be not altogether taken away; yet is there no such twell ordered with labour, but with other purity seruile, as else note with infame, fuch misdeuous arts and shewes of impietie. And the Plurimus, and others like that they list, as touching the cause why onies ceased to be giuen; seeing he knowe, that this must be ascribed to our Lord Iesus Christ.

*Of humane sacrifices.*

36 It appereth manifestly out of the holie  
hystorie, that men were brought to that man-  
nerlie, that they were inducued by humane sacrifices  
and offering up of their diligenz, to make God  
faourable vnto them. And from whence this  
euill spring, diuers men doe diuerslie imagine.  
For these be some, which thinke, that that cu-  
stome was brought in by a peruerse imitation  
of Abraham. For men hard, that God requir-  
ed such a sacrifice: and they concluded, that it  
is most acceptable to him: and they thought,  
that they should be happy, rich, and mightie like  
vnto Abraham, if they had given such an obla-  
tion. Wherwith, it hath no resemblance of truth,  
that the Churchs made such account of Abra-  
ham, being a pinnate man; that they would so  
greuenfully punish themselves by his example.  
Again, for the imitation of his fact, the prepara-  
tion of the mind was sufficient: neither be-  
hooe it, to performe the thing it selfe. For God,  
which commanded that this should be done, did  
forbid it to be done. So then I cannot ascribe  
the inuention thereof to a more certaine author,  
than to faith, which hath bene a murderess  
from the beginning: neither beliest he in anie  
thing more, than in daughters and humane  
blood. Wherfore it is notable said in the psalme  
106. They have offered up their sonnes vnto  
duals. But this would they not have done, vn-  
lesse they had bene certified by their oracles,  
that they were delited with this kind of sacrific-  
es. And not onely in Palestine, or Syria, vn-  
der that custome came in use, but it came euen  
vnto forreyn nations also.

57 Phalaris, in his parallels, the 66. chapter, twelfth, that the Lacedæmonians, what time as they were afflicted with a plague, received answer of Apollo, that the plague should cease, if they would slay some virgine that should be chosen by lot, from among the chiefest nobilitie. And in the chapter following he twelfth, that the verie cause happened vnto the Phæriæ. Spœuwer, is often reported of all the poets, that Polyxena, the daughter of Priamus, was offered vp to the spirits of Adhiles. And Iphigenia, or Iphianassa (so indeed she was called by both the names) being the daughter of Agamemnon, was sacrificed in Aulis: whereupon Virgil pronounced.

Sanguine placāstis ventos, & virgine caesa; that is,  
*With blood and with a virgine flame,*  
*Ye haue appeas'd the winds [certaine.]*

pen and Terullian, in his booke intituled Scor- Terullian.  
piacus, against the Gnosticks, mentioned, that  
the Seythians sacrificed men to Diana, name-  
lie in the region of Taurica; and that the Gaules  
did the same to their Mercurius; the Africans  
also unto Saturnus. And let it should seeme to  
reput things out of knowledge, and most an-  
cient, he testifieth, that the same most cruell cu-  
stome did publickly endure untill the poyson  
fullship of Tiberius: who took from among them  
to great a mischance; and the priests which cre-  
ated these things, as being upon the trais, <sup>The abuse  
gating of  
humane  
sacrifices.</sup>  
which shadowed the temple of Saturne. Wherof  
it is adde, that from that time were finished  
those most cruell sacrifices, although not pub-  
lickly, yet at the least vnto private. pen and  
(saith he) in the cite it selfe of the godlie Aeneas,  
as the same thing was accustomed to be done,  
so as humane blood was sprinkled vnto one  
(which was called) Iupiter. Neither maketh it  
anice matter, that the same blood was of the  
Bellian; that is, of those kind of men, which for  
diuers kinds of great crimes were condemned  
vnto braue hains, although they were hurt-  
full men, yet nevertheless they were men. This  
twiseth be in his apologetic, affirming that this  
kind of oblation did little agree with Saturne,  
who, as he saied not his owne naturall sonnes,  
so was he delighted in the slaughter of stran-  
gers. This diuine power of Saturne (as the He-  
brie interpreters affirme) was called among the  
Iezues Moloch; vnto whom the idolatrous  
parents did sacrifice their children. And it is not  
vniuersall, that the Romans, in old time, used  
euer yeare to sacrifice two men, casting them  
downe from the bridge Miluius, into the riuer  
Tiber: which ordinance they did afterward mi-  
tigate, by shewing out of a basket into the ri-  
uer, not the men themselves, but the images of  
them. Liue in his fourth decad, a fourth booke,  
maketh mention of a holle sacrifice of the time

Whom  
people in  
Sylia.

time, wherein the people of Rome vowed unto sacrifice, all the living creatures, which should be borne from the kalends of March, unto the Ides of June. And as Festus hath taught they therewithall vowed even their children. And in Cyprus they sacrificed a man unto Apollo. For Tuccrus, who first did this, delivered the rite by hand unto the posteritie; and that ceremony endured unto the time of Adrian the emperor. And Philo, who wrote the historie of the Phœnicians, wrote, that they in their greatest bangers, accustomed to sacrifice their children. Which thing agreeth well with the narration of the holie historie. Moreover, it is knowne unto all men, that the Decij vowed their owne selves for the safetie of their owne arme; and that Curtius threw himselfe into a huge gap of the earth, that the citie might be delivered from the plague, wherewith it was infected.

38 These men indeed are praised by the iudgement of the world and the flesh; whereas by the iudgement of God and the spirit, they are wor-  
thy to be dispraised. Whereupon Christ most pudentlie admonished vs., that those things, which excell before men, are most vile in the sight of God. Therefore (as I haue said) this most cruel kind of sacrifice proceeded of the diuill. But let vs be by what reasons men haue bene allured thereto. One (I thinke) was brought to passe by this means; Those things that be most pretious, and which doe please vs most of all, should be offered vnto God, especially, when we are afflicted with extreme dangers; But our children be farre more excellent than cattell, neither account we anye thing more deare vnto vs, than they. Therefore, when we lye in the greatest perils, they must be offered by vnto God. This is a false argument, [taken] from that which is absolute, to that which is in some respect: because we also doe confesse, that parents ought also to offer by their children vnto God, by bringing vp of them godlie and religiouslie; but not in making a burnt sacrifice of them. Perhaps they are diuine by an other reason; namely, because they had heard of their ancestors, that is, of the holie Patriarchs, that it would come to passe, that one daie God would be well pleased with an humane sacrifice. Which as they did peculiarlye vnderstand concerning Isac; so the which, being taught by the instruction of the diuill, vnderstood it of some particular men. Answere to it was a marvellous blindness of their minde, that they abhorred not to sacrifice their children vnto diuels; and it was more than a pre pretence of religion, which consisted not of the worship of the Lord, but of a humane and diuillish inuention.

And certeinlie, the more feruent that men be

in superstitions deuised by them selves, the further they are carried headlong into things more absurd. And if so be that a god intent were at anye time to be commended; here should it most of all haue taken place. For they, which did sacrifice their owne children, did not onlie seeme to mortifie humane affections; but vtterlie to depouile them. And this wise do men, when they be carried auaie of their owne will. What else, I beseech you, was this, than to be cruel against their owne blood? What beasts, which be altogether destitute of reason, would commit no such thing; who do fight for their young ones, & offer them selues to die for the safetie of them. Where by we vnderstand, that miserable gods the idolaters haue worshipped; whom they would not first be to mercifull vnto them, except they had first done them much harme. Consider the colour of goldinelle, the earth was polluted with innocent blood, that a more vnhappie destruction might come against it. And thus we see that idolatrye exactlye more, and farre more greivous things of men, than true goldinelle, and the worship of God can obteine. It grieved not those men to kill their sons; but they that professe the Gospell, will not abide to chasten them, nor lightie. The priests of Baal lanced their bodies so cruelle, as the blood ran on euery side out of their bodies; and they which would be called Christians, with out not their bodies from hurtfull pleasures.

39 But and if we should demand, whether God at anye time delighted in humane sacrifice, that will we not denie: for though the death of Christ, God was well pleased with mankind. And that which in manie places of the lawe is written as touching sacrifices; to wit, that God smelled good things as a sweete sauer; that must be referred, not vnto the cattell which was sacrificed, but vnto the principall type that was shadowed by them, that is, vnto Christ, whose death neuertheless did not barelie and in itselfe please God, but so farre forth as it proceeded of a true obedience, perfect mind, and singular charite. And if thou demand, whence that obedience and charite obtained their dignitie and excellencie? It shall be said, from the diuine power, in which the humane nature was sustained, while Christ, so farre forth as he was man, should suffer the works of our saluation. Also the sacrifices of the holie martyrs, therein they suffer themselves to be slain for the name of God, as he also must dare vnto God. Yet is not God cruel, as he that is reloff in the blood and death of men; for the deaths and slaughters of martyrs please not God of them selves, and in their owne nature; except in that, that they are offered for the testifieny of his truth, Againe, he hath not so respect vnto patient men, as they be

21 parol  
gline.

21 Tim. 3, 17

That God  
in his owne  
right might  
require his  
most fac-  
rifices.

be merie men, and the children of Adam; but as they belong vnto the bodie of Christ, and are now become his members by regeneration, and (according to the same of Pauls speaking) are called the men of God.

40 In verie deed God might, in his owne right, haue required humane sacrifices of men, for seeing he is the Creator of men, he may determine of them at his owne pleasure: which yet is the more lawfull for him, when as all the posteritie of Adam haue bene made subiect vnto death. That therefore, which euere boure they owed to God, he might require of them, whensoever he had thought good. For trulie, notwithstanding was against it, but that he might vie their death, for the fulfilling of his decrees. And in requiring of this kind of oblations, he should haue done no iniurie vnto them: for in stead of the losse of this transitorye and fæble life, he would haue requited them with a blessed and eternal life; the which should haue bene counted for an advantage, and that a most manifest advantage. Therefore those men, that were to be offered in a burnt sacrifice, might haue set their minds at quiet, by this sound consolation. But when it was lawfull for God thus to do, he would not: naie rather, he showed that it should be done. First, before the lawe was giuen, when as he slaid Abraham from killing of Isaac. Afterward in the verie late tyme, in two or three places he chargeth, that men should not offer by their sonnes, and sacrifice them as did the natione of the Chanaanites. And after the lawe was made, he oftentimes by the oracles of the prophets rebuked the Israelites, when they committed such things. And in the place of humane sacrifice, he appointed the slaughters of beasts; that is, of buls, of calves, of sheepe, of goats, and of birds; which neuertheless he remitted afterward, when Iesus Christ had bene sacrificed. And why he for a tyme suffered those kind of sacrifices, Tertullian in his second booke against Marcion declareth. First, because he sawe the Hebrews incline to the ceremonies of the idolaters, where these beasts were used in sacrifices; therefore he rather would, than vnto the vaine goos of the Gentiles, yea rather vnto diuels.

Why God  
requires the  
sacrifices  
of beasts.

Furthermore, with singular diligencie and perfect precepts he distinguished the kinds of the sacrifices: also he prescribed in a manner in finite things, as touching the places, vessels, & rites, to the intent he might exercise those fathers verie busilie in his seruice, that they might be constrained to meditate daie and night in his lawe; and that with a true faith; otherwise their sacrifices should haue bene hated of him, as he spake by the prophet Esaiæ: To what end is this multitude of sacrifices offered vnto me?

Esaiæ. 1.

Haue I required this at your hands, &c? Also, that manner of worshipping was a certein shew-  
ling: for the fathers were taught, that the death, which they had procured vnto themselves by their sinns, was through the bountifull goodwille of God translated from themselves vnto the sacrifices. And Christ was euidentlie theued, who took vpon himselfe all our sinnes and death; and therefore died, that we might be abolished. This was the shewing of the sacrifices of Moses. Wherby, we must not saie, that we are altogether without humane sacrifices, which we may offer by to God. For euerye man may and ought to sacrifice himselfe, as Paule taught in the twelue chapter to the Romans, writing; I beseech you, by the mercie of God, that ye giue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice, holie, &c. And David pronounced; A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit, a broken hart, &c. In like manner may we offer by our children vnto God, if they be godlie and sincerelie instructed, to the honour of the true God: which may not be done according to the inuentions of men, but according to the word of God. And this may now suffice as touching humane sacrifices.

41 But no lesse doubt is offered vnto vs; to wit, that the horrible sacrifice of the king of Mo-  
ab may seeme to haue bene verie profitable vnto him: for immediately the siege was dis-  
solved, and the host of the Israelites [in] departing awaie, there is an occasion giuen of exerci-  
sing a peruerse itie in time of aduersitie. What then? Shall we accuse God, which gaue such a successe? No, not in anye wise: for no man may prescribe to put a late vnto him. Which shall we write vnto him, seeing he is the cause of all things? Wherby the forceers of Pharaos resisted Moses, and did those many manie signes and miracles against him. Where also was an occasion giuen of refusing the worship of God. We might also complaine of Antichrist, because with miracles and wonders (as it is written to the Thessalonians) he shall drawe men to fall from the truth. Also in these latter times, miracles and delusions are done vnto images, relikes, and semblances of saints; whereby superstitions, and idolatrous worshippinges are confirmed. But we are not for these causes to complaine insillie of God, seeing he is verie iudiciall of selfe, and doth all things insillie. Those verelie, which for such occasions are giuen to euill; those I saie, as it is written vnto the Thessalonians) haue not received the loue of the truth, and therefore are giuen vnto errors, and seducements of Antichrist. Therefore we are hereby admonished, while we take anye thing in hand, that the successe and euents should not be regarded; sith we might be easilie deceived. For we should

21 n. ii. offer

offences (see, that godlie men are pressed with troubles, and contrariwise, the wicked do flourish, and entice at their pleasure, riches and carnal felicity. The will of God is onlie to be regarded, which he hath revealed unto us in the holy scriptures; according to which we must examine what is to be followed, and what to be refused.

*The establishing of the second commandment; whether the child shall beare the iniquitie of his father.*

In Job. 14. 22. **42** But in this place there is a most weightie and verie difficult question; because the child doth seeme to beare the iniquitie of his father. For it is written in the first chapter of Deuteronomie, that also is in Exodus; I will visit the wickednesse of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation. And the verie same doth God repeate to Moses, when he went faith before him: for among others his titles, the same (Offrecompensing the wickednesse of fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation) is added. And it seemeth to be a maruell, how that could be rehearsed among the titles of mercie. The Whereitis left not this vnsupposed; namely, the Marcionites, the Valentinians, and the Carpocratians, which for this cause reiecte the old testament; and God the author thereof; they affirmed to be euill, as be that would spare the parents which were sinners, and would punish the children being innocent. And that he is so far from mercie, as he cannot forget sinne; but witheth anger in their, euen vnto the third and fourth generation. Also the Ietues take the same in ill part, who in the 18. chapter of Ezechiel said; that The fathers did eat fower grapes, and the childrens teech were set on edge. This was, as if they should say; Ieroboam erected calves; Manasse for his idolatrie: were it meet that we should suffer punishment for them? But the Lord answereth by the prophet; All foules be mine. Like as the soule of the father is mine, so is the soule of the sonne mine also. The soule which sinneth, the same shall die: and the sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of the father. These things seeme not sufficientlie to agrie one with another.

**43** Some haue thought, that there must be used a distinction of euils, and punishments. For they saie there be some punishments, which appertaine to euilllasting damnation; others which are but temporall. And they vnderstand the said place of Ezechiel, to be spoken of the former kind of punishments, for as concerning

euilllasting saluation, or damnation; euerie man shall beare his owne burden: and The soule which sinneth, the same shall die. Yetther do they otherwise vnderstand the place of Ieremie, in the 31. chapter. But as touching temporall punishments, (of which sort are schisme, popterie, banishment, death, and such like) they affirme, that it is not contrarie to the iustice of God; that the father, together with the sonne, and the people with the princes, should be wip out in those punishments. And to they expound that which in the laibe is said; I will reward the sinne of the fathers vpon the children; vnto the third and fourth generation. Augustine seemeth sometime to haue allowed of this distinction: for in the questions vpon Iohas, the eight question; when he disputeth of Adan, which had hidden foules of the accursed things, for whose sinne the 3. tribes were miserable afflicted: and so; that, not onlie Adan was punished, but also his sonnes and daughters were put to death together. Where (I saie) Augustine writeth, that those punishments might as well profit, as hurt: the which thing God himselfe knoweth, and that therefore they were tempered by him, according to his righteousness. For God doth fo moderate them, as both they may afflict the wicked, and not hurt the god. For such is his prouidence, that those things which seeme to be his punishment, can make god. But as concerning the euilllasting punishments, because those do hurt for euermore, euerie man doth iustlie suffer them according to his euill desert. So man (saith he) suffereth those punishments for an other mans sinne. And euen this also be writeth in his first booke, the 1. chapter, against the aduersaries of the laibe & the prophet; There is no doubt (saith he) but in this life one is afflicted for an other.

And againe Iulian the P. elegian, the first booke 412. chap. he distinguisheth the state of the people: 1. some (he saith) are regenerated in Christ, but that others are not yet regenerated. And of them which are not regenerated, their finnes are visited vpon the third and fourth generation; to wit, vpon all the posteritie. And he alloweth vnto original sinne, which from Adam is spread ouer all posteritie. But thou wilt say; Whie then punisheth he to the third and fourth generation? The same father answereth in the 42. question vpon Deuteronomie; Because they being ioined with the number of souer, make the number of seven; which is a complete number. So as by naming the third and fourth generation, it is all one as he had said, vnto euery generation. Which kind of speech Amos v. 3. For three wickednesse (saith he) for foure I will not be turned. Augustine therefore vnderstandeth the words of the laibe (concerning the punishing of the fathers iniquitie vpon the

parents iniquitie.

children, vnto the third and fourth generation of them which be not regenerate: for the laibe (saith he) spake of them, which were vnder the laibe. But Ezechiel and Ieremie spake of men, which were borne anew, and of the gift of regeneration, to be given by Christ. But men, which be regenerate, shall be iudged euery one after his owne meritis, and not according to other mens finnes. And to the sonne shall not beare the iniquitie of the father, but the soule which sinneth, the same shall die. But before regeneration, original sinne infecteth, and deuoileth all posteritie.

**44** This distinction of Augustine I disallow not; yet doubt I, whether it be sufficientlie applied vnto the sense of Ezechiel and Ieremie. Both those prophets wot the selfe same words; The fathers did eat fower grapes, and the childrens teech were set on edge: when as neuer thelesse the one was in Iewie, and the other went aboue into Babylon: which is a god argument, that they spake both with one spirit. But Augustine saith, that the exposition of Ezechiel must be taken out of the 31. chapter of Ieremie. For there it is added, after those words; Behold, the daies will come, that I will make a new couenant, &c. Wherefore all that whole place is to be applied to regeneration: so that by these words of Ieremie, the saying of Ezechiel must be interpreted concerning the regenerate. By this meanes, that father thinketh that the question is answered. But I, when I more diligenter consider of that chapter of Ezechiel, it seemeth to me, that it speaketh of the paines and afflictions of this life. For wherof did the people complaine, saying; The fathers did eat fower grapes, and the childrens teech were set on edge? Did they complaine of the paines of hell? No verilie: but because they were carried aboue captiue into Babylon, and there liued in bondage. They complained, that God did deale ouer hardlie, that whereas their fathers had bene idolaters, yet they which had not offended, should be punished. Concerning those punishments, the people lamented: so as it was needfull that the prophet should answer for those things; The soule of the father is mine, and the soule of the sonne is mine: the soule that sinneth, the same shall die. Wherefore these things haue respect to the punishments of this life. Albeit I denie not, but they may be transferred also vnto spiritual punishments: but that is not but by the waie of arguing. A minor ad maius, that is, from the lesse to the greater; which is after this sort: God hath not altogether laid temporal punishments vpon the innocents for others finnes; therefore much lesse the spiritual and euilllasting paines. Ezechiel,

Ierom.

45 Ierom, when he interpreteth Ezechiel,

hath a solution, the which afterward Augustine also folloved, as we will declare when the place sereth. But the interpreters do varie, because the matter is obscure; and thereof cometh a difficultie, because it cannot be denied, but that God afflicteth some for others mens cause. For Gen. 9. 24. there as Cham had defiled the name of his father [Noah] yet was the curse transferred vnto Chanaan his sonne. And when the Sodomitics had grieuouly sinned, the children also which with the fathers were burred. Again, when David had committed adulterie, God caused, that the child begotten in that adulterie, should die. Wherefore, in a matter so obscure, Ierom indeed byingeth his owne exposition; but yet he sheweth that other men thought concerning this question. First he saith, that there were manie, which vnderstood that place of the laibe; namely, (that God both persecute the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, vnto the third & fourth generation) to be allegoricallie spoken touching euery particular soule; so that sinners. For they be certaine rash men, impulsions, and foemen vnto euill, or (as other saie) first motions; afterward folloved deliberation, as when one hath determined with himselfe, that he will do naught; thislike, when this determination is performed; fourthly lie, there folloved a glossing in wickednesse, when one doth satisfie and well please himselfe in finnes. So, after a sort, there be reckoned four generations. But God is so mercifull, that in the first and second generation; that is, in rash onlie and deliberation he is silent, and in rash onlie and deliberation he is silent, and in the fourth, (that is, the committing of sinne, and the glossing therein) be punished: when as both a man doth euill, and glosseth in his finnes, and will not repent. Therefore they saie, that God reuengeth vpon the branches, not vpon the roots. For a man (as they thinke) if he neither do euill, nor yet doth with euill, may be saued; although otherwise he, as well lusteth, as deliberateth to do euill.

Neither do they otherwise interpret Paul to Timothy, when he saith, that A woman shall be saved by procreation of children, if to be the a-bide firme in the faith, &c. That is; his soule shall be saued, if the woake will, although the haue naughty motions and cogitations. This interpretation I allow not. First, because it is allegoricallie saying God (speciallie in the laibe) speaketh plainly and manifestlie. Secondlie, because that the words of the 2. 202. if they should be turned to allegories, will become altogether vnprofitable. Lastly, because it is not true that the innocent for others finnes; for those foemen and first motions are finnes; because they are against the laibe of God; and they be condemned by Christ, when

Allegoriae non sunt determinate.

when he saith in the Gospell; He that looketh  
Matt. 5, 28. vpon a woman, to lust after hir, he hath alreadie  
committed fornication with hir in his hart.

**Ibidem, 22.** And; He that is angrie with his brother, is wor-  
thie of iudgement. **God doth not so looke vpon**

doings, but that he hath much more respect vnto the mind. Moles finned græuoulitie at the waters of strife; and yet, if we examine that hykioke, we shall finde no euill at that be outwardlie committed: but God saue the incredulitie of his mind, and græuoulitie punished him. Wherefore, these motions and deliberations of the mind, not onlie be finnes, but they be also græuoulitie punished by GOD. Let vs then passe ouer this interpretation, which also I before brought as none of his owne.

on condition, that he might easily forgo them. So then, if with these kind of calamities God will punish the parents in the children, he can not be accused of injustice.

47 **W**hereupon Augustine in his questions  
upon Iosua, the eighth question; **W**he are (saith  
he) by reason of original sinne, debtors of many  
punishments, the which neuertheless God  
converted into certaine medicines, and  
fineth meanes, that they do verte much profit,  
although they same culpe vnto vs. **f**or if so be  
the son had liued, peradventure he woulde haue  
troden in his fathers culpe steps, as else haue  
committed worse things. **W**herefore, if God  
take him aloate out of this life, he cannot com-  
plain that he is ill because he hath sinned, but  
God will be mercifull vnto him, and be his friend,  
for he is innocent thence aloate, least he  
hesides should change his hart. **A**nd certaine-  
ly, we ought to suffer, and indure the lesse culpe,  
for to obtaine greater good things. **f**or so doth the  
physician with a bitter medicine trouble the  
mouth, that the sicke man may be refrezed to  
his former health. In like manner when we haue  
deserued punishments, let **G**od do both turne

them into good. And by this meanes (saith Au- <sup>For what</sup>  
gustine) a certaine discipline is established in <sup>meanes</sup>  
the world: for while it is there, as men would <sup>perpetually</sup>  
desire to become worse. After this is declared a <sup>to prefer</sup>  
certaine continuation and societie of mankind, <sup>world.</sup>  
taken as on this sort, one is punished for the fault  
of another. For they, which belong all to one  
kingdome, as cities, as provinces, be as it were  
one bodie among themselves: and in the bodie  
one member doth suffer for another member.  
Seeing therefore this is done in the bodie, it is  
no absurd thing, that the same do happen in the  
societie of men.

Men de=  
serue euen  
the tempo=  
rall punish=  
ments whic  
they suffer.

God dooth  
not alwaies  
bring tem=  
porall euils  
as punish=  
ments.

John.9, 3.

What respect God hath in the martyrdom of saints.

The sor-  
rows of  
children  
are the  
sorrows  
of the pa-  
rents.

parents iniquitie.

Part.2

of Peter Martyr.

Cap.5.

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wife be afflicted. But what if the father be euill, and yet all things chance happilie to the sonne: Here also (as he saith) they complaine of the vnjust dealing of God: fo: they denie it to be meet, that the sonne should liue happilie, which had so euill a father. These things he spake goodlie enough, although he were an Ethnike.

children be obedient  
to their  
parents.

48 Appearer, it must be considered, that  
the children be as if were certain parts of their pa-  
rents, and have somewhat of their nature in them  
wherefore it is not absurd, if God punish that  
part of the parents in the children. But I com-  
magine to Augustine, who saith, that God by this  
means appointeth a discipline in the world, in  
a Common-weale, in a church, and in a familie  
Thee falling in my judgement) cannot be dis-  
allowed : for if so be the children do suffer pe-  
nishment for the finnes of their parents, it  
hath not whereof to complaine. Without doubt  
they owe this due to their parents: for whe-  
ther this, that are, they had it from them. There-  
fore, if they leaue their life for their fathers, they  
hath no iniurie done vnto them : for they pay  
that vnto them, which they receiue of them.  
God shall faile into them : I will bide your pe-  
nishment for the sake of your parents, that  
could by no right refuse the same. Iohn teacheth

1. Joh. 3, 16.

Augustine  
Iofua.7.5.

The lesse  
part suffe.  
reth punish  
ment for

A custom  
of sitting  
of soldiers

said, must not be understood concerning spirites:  
all and eternall punishments: for (as touching  
them) euerie one shall be punished for his owne  
fault.

49. **How** are we to eround the verie woords of the lawe? (1) **Saith** hee an gelous God, and visit the sinne of the fathers vpon the children, vn-to the third & fourth generation of them, which hate me. These latter woords, Ierom, vpon the Ierom.  
18. chapter of Ezechiel noted diligetly, and Augustine also in the question vpon Iosia <sup>Augustine</sup> had readie allegged; Of them (saith God) which hate me: as if he had said; I will not touch the innocents, but I will be auenged vpon the iniquities of them, which imitate call parents, and hate me. After the like manner be promitteth, that he will doe well vnto the children, and children children, euen to a thousand generations. But to whom? Euen to them (he saith) which loue me. Therefore, if the father were wicked, and the sonne good, his fathers wickednesse shall doe him no harme. But if the father were good, and the sonne wicked, his fathers goodlikenesse will not auail him. And therefore (saith Ierom) God punisheth the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children; not because they had call parents, but because they did imitate their fathers. The woords themselves doe sufficientlie declare, that the lawe must not be vnderstood of originall sin; but of that sinne, which they call actual. For then the sonne shall beare the iniquitie of his father, when he sinneth in like manner as his father did. Also the woords of Ezechiel cannot be vnderstood, as touching originall sinne, as the woords, which followe doe easilie declare. Albeit that, which is said; to wit, The foule which fincheth, the fawle shall die, may be vnderstood euen of originall sinne; with euerie man hath in himselfe a nature corrupt and prone vnto sinne: wherefore euerie one dooth beare his owne sinne. For although that that sinne be originallie distilld from the parents, yet is it now become our owne.

And thou wilt hate: Seeing it is said in the  
 lawes; Of them that hate me, furie ſh<sup>all</sup> ſit  
 ſants do not hate God, therefore it cannot per-  
 taine vnto them 3. anſwer: indeed they do not  
 hate God in ad, but by natural corruption and  
 pronenſe vnto euill. So the wolfe that is  
 growne beuoureth the ſhepe, but the wolfeſ  
 diſpoſition doth not ſo; not becauſe he hath not  
 the diſpoſition of his dam, but becauſe he is not a-  
 ble to do it. And thus much concerning the  
 wordes of the lawe. But for what cauſe it is ſaid;  
 Vnto the third and fourth generation: and not;  
 Vnto the fifth and ſixt, we haue heard that  
 Auguſtine hath anſwered. But in my iudgement,  
 the might much more ſit in theſe, that the  
 parents may liue vnto the third and fourth ge-  
 neration,

of  
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tion.

neration. God therefore would to punish the fathers in the third & fourth generation, as some fele of that punishment of the posteritie might come to them, while they should be yet living; and that they might be the calamities of their childrens children, & the children of them. And for this cause the holie scripture did not make mention beyond those generations. When their posteritie is euill, and is punished by God; there is no doubt but the parents be punished in them. Chrylosome on Genes. homilie 29. interpreting these words; Cursed be Chanaan, &c. And it was not Chanaan (saith he) that sinned, but his father Cham. He answereth: true indeed it is, but Cham taught that curse far more grauoulie, than if he himselfe had bin afflicted. Such is the naturall working and affection in fathers, that they be more disquieted with the afflictions of their children, than with their own. So Cham perceived, that not onlie his sonne should be euill, and subiect to the curse; but also that he himselfe should be punished in him.

50 Now remaineth to be declared, why this also; namelie, Visiting the iniquitie of the fathers vpon the children, was recited before Moses among the titles of Gods mercie; seeing it seemeth to have respect vnto the feueritie of God. But it is not so: it is naie rather, if the place be more narrowlike fitted, we shall see the same to be a part of his mercie. For: so some as sinne is committed, God, in his owne right, might by & by take vengeance; but to God is he, that he will defer it, vntill the third & fourth generation; in the meane time he calleth home the father to repentance, by the admonitions of the prophets, by preadings, by benefitts, and manie other means. Last of all, when it is come to the third and fourth generation, and the man thought the letter he executed punishment: and then then he vied not affliction, as the bittermost punishment, but rather as a medicine. Who seeth not that all this is a woake of great mercie? Justlie therefore, and vpon good cause, are these words numbered among the titles of Gods mercie. And it cannot be denied, but that the prophets, together with the people, were oftentimes afflicted. For: Ezechiel and Daniel were led auaie into captiuitie, and Jeremie was cast into prison, and turneled manie & maruolous waies in time of the siege; and afterward going to Aegypt: with the Hebrewes, was slaine. For on this sort God will haue the thing to be done; that god men may not onlie order their owne conversation aright, but that also, by patient suffering of greuous things, they may waie and amende the wicked. For: with them they lue together in one common weale and church, and be after a sort members of one bodie.

Therefore god men ought thus to thinke

with themselves; & If God haue afflicted them, we also shalbe vered together with them, we shalbe all wayed vnder one punishment. Therefore we must take heed, that we traueil for; by reprouing and paicing: for their saluation being neglected, it will bring euill also vnto vs. After this sort must Augustine be vnderstood, when he saith, that God by this means establisheth discipline. For: if the people be afflicted for; their kings, and the sonne of the father; then it becometh, that all men labour and be diligent one for another. Yet do not god men in the meane time lue without sinne, in such sort as God cannot find cause to punish them. Holbeit, the painefull things, which happen to the goodie, as it hath bene said, cannot propertie be called punishments: but rather exercises of faith. For: by that meane God doth thoughtlie make trial of their faith; and what sooner he doth against them, it turneth to their god. For: once, he would haue them to expresse in themselves Iesus Christ, their first begotten brother, which bare the sins of others in himselfe. For: euen this is a certaine portion of Christ his crosse, though they be not so innocent as Christ was: neither do they their crosse woake anie thing to the redeeming of sinners. Daniel being in captiuitie thus confessed his sins; We haue sinned (saith he) and dealt vnwille, &c. He saith not; They haue sinned; but We. And Eliae saith; All our righteounes is like vnto filthie rags. And ad in faints there is a certaine righteounesse, but no such, whereof they may boast before the tribunall seat of God. Therefore, if they suffer some punishment, they haue no iust cause to complaine.

51 But thou wilt haue; therefore is God said to reuenge on them the sins of other men, when as they themselves also do sinne. He should rather be said to punish their sinnes, than the sins of their parents. For: because, when God had long and manie dates expected their fathers repentance, & yet perceived no amendment; for: in the meane time, the third and fourth generation was come, at the length he pouereth out his wrath on the children. Now they are said to suffer for their parents, because, had it not ben that the wickednesse of their parents had gon before, their punishment might haue ben delayed longer; but now, since they hapned to be in the third or fourth generation, the nature of Gods iustice suffereth not, that the punishment should be longer deferred. And although themselves beleeued those euils, yet, in that they are corrected in the third & fourth generation, they owe it to their parents. And to God both terrible the parents, to the end they may save themselves from wickednes: if not for Gods cause, or their owne sake; yet for the left wife for their posteritie sake. We maketh also the children afraid, least they should

should irritate the sinnes of their parents; that the punishment due vnto the parents, might not be reuenced vpon them. And it is no iniustice, that the children suffer somewhat for their parents; for: euen for their fathers sakes they receive inheritances, and are inuited with honour and exultation before others. For: God not onlie gaue god successe vnto Dauid, but fauoured his posteritie also for his sake: saith the kingdome did continue in his familie by the space of foure hundred yeres.

But as touching eternal saluation, neither do the fathers touch punishment for their children; nor yet the children for their fathers. But manie spiritual gifts are by good parents obtained for their children: for: Paule said, in the first to the Corinths, the 7. chapter; Otherwise your children should be wicked; but now they are holie. Therefore, of goodie parents, the children haue some holiness, and some spiritual gift; as that place teacheth. On the contrarie part, by euill parents manie such good things be hindered. Neither are they, being euill and impudent, heard of God; when they desire spiritual gifts for their children. But it cometh oftentimes to passe, through the pbenience of God, that of good parents are borne euill children; and of ill parents, god children. As Ezechias a god king, had the wicked king Achas to his father; and contrariwise, the same Ezechias a verie goodie prince, begat Manasses a most wicked and cruell king. The same also I might saie of Iosias. As this hapneth thus, least wickednesse should growe out of measure; if continuall euill children should be begotten of euill parents. God wozeth therein, who maketh the child, borne of an euill father, to become the member of Christ. And he thoweth therewithall, that his goodnes cannot be hindered by the parents, though they be euill. For: furthermore, euill children be borne of god parents, that grace may be confirmed; and least that the god behauior of the children, should be attributed vnto the nature which they take from their parents. For: God will haue it to be acknowledged his gift that he be fauored.

52 One onelie thing is to be added to this question proposed; namelie, that inuoe it is lawfull for: God (as we haue declared) to punish the sinne of the fathers vpon the children: but vnto men this is not lawfull. For: in Deuteronomie, the 24. chapter, it is plainelie said; Let not the fathers be punished for the children, nor yet the children for the parents. Which must be vnderstood, so that the father consent not vnto the sinne, nor the sonne vnto the father. Therefore, if Achas had bene called into the place of iudgement, and vnto the tribunall seat, he alone should haue perished, by the gods

maric course of the lawe, and not his children together with him. But God hath this lawe peculiar vnto himselfe, who would haue it to be otherwise. Holbeit, he sometime also obserueth this order; for: in the 106. of Ieremie, when Chores had conspired against Moses, he died an euill death; but the children together with their father were not destroyed; naie rather, they were preferred vnto the holie ministration, and of their posteritie came Samuel. Iher Amazias 1. Par. 23. 2. Par. 25. 4. was commended, which put to death the murderers, of whom his father was slaine; yet he put not the children of them to death: for: he had a consideration vnto the lawe of God. Augustine, gulfine allegeth the cause of this prohibition; God (saith he) may punish the sonne for the father; for: though he do afflict him in this world, yet he be able in an other world to sue him, but this can not man do. Further, God seeth, that the children be not innocent, but man seeth it not.

And though the ciuill lawes deale in this point more sincerelie, and do punish the sonne for the fathers fault, (as it is in the Digests, & in the Code Ad legem Iuliam de aedilatis) yet do they not put the sonne to death for the father, but they depaue him of all his fathers substance, dignities, and honors. Holbeit, some portion is assigned by them vnto the daughters, by a lawe which was called Falcidia, to the intent they might marrie. Otherwise the ciuill lawes agree with the lawe of God: for: in the Code De penis, in the latue Sancimus, it is commanded, that the punishment should not be laid vpon others, which either be of affinitie, or blood; but should onlie binde the author of the offense. And yet, both this lawe, and the other above, were made by the same emperors; namelie, Archadius and Honorius. But while it was so sharpie beereed, against such as be guiltie of treason, it seemed to be done, because men might be terrified from that kind of mischeuous deed. Holbeit, the lawes of God haue beereed no such thing hercof: yet this they command in expresse words, that the sonne should not be slaine for the father; holbeit concerning the fathers, they decre nothing. But our aduocaries haue transferred this ciuill lawe concerning treason, vnto heretics; for: they do not onlie punish the father, being an heretic; but they also beaue the children of all his goods: how iustlie, I will not now declare.



# The sixth Chapter.

The third Precepts of the sanctification of the name of God.

In Gen. 21.  
23.  
Gen. 21. 23.



**D**e thebes call anoth by the name of *Nycheba*, being a noune deriued of *Schaba*, that is, *swen*; by which number is expressed the power of the holie Ghost, saying who, *swener* sweareth, let him understand that he is bound and tied by that oath. The definition is, that the same is a confirmation of the will, by the testimonie of God, of aduotione things. Of his owne nature it is good, yet the abuse thereof may doo harme; as the Jew darrest, as meate, and drinke. Also by the end thereof, it is declared to be good: for it is ordeined to the intent anie man may iustifie and purge himselfe thereby, that there may be a faithfulness of speaking, which oftentimes dooth much auale: yea even to the finishing of controuerfies: and this is twittin in the first chapter of the *Hebues*. Furthermore, it hath his beginning from a right faith in God: for because we esteeme all things to be throughly knowen vnto him. Againe, we iudge that he is a louer of the truth, and a reuenger of peritrie: all which points of godlinesse are not to be despised. Also an oth serueth to the honour of God, because we extoll the name of him. And therein we confesse God to be the greater and more excellent, fith that (as we laide in the first chapter to the *Hebues*), We aduaies sweare by the greater. An oth is a certeine confiding of the excellencie of God. Therefore, not without cause it is said in the latue, *Lo ifsa*; Thou shalt not bring in the name of God for a lie.

Heb. 6. 16.

Ibidem.

Why an oth was introduced.

As similis tuat.

Mat. 5. 37

it nothing at all bindereth, that some things doo spring of an ill occasion, which notwithstanding are good, as be medicines, vertues, meats, and drincks.

2 In the old latue, an oth was oftentimes to be taken: the which, if it be kept true, sound, and inuoluable; saith also betwene men contrineth pure, and perfect: but this being violat, hardlie can satisfy it selfe remoued. Neither is it vnknowen, that for manie causes men are promoued vnto peritrie. First, because they doo erre dinglie desire to hurt him, whom they hate; and on the other side, by all means possible to gratifie their friends. Sometimes they be moued by countenies and graue desire, being vnwilling to paie that which they owe, to restore that which is laid to hope, or to recompense the harmes done. In the 22. chapter of *Ezra*, God commanded, that in the case of lateng to pledge, and also in the case of theft and robbrie, an oth should be taken. In the booke of numbers cursings are commanded to be vied for geloue. And the epistle to the *Hebues* teacheth, that verie manie controuerfies be decided by an oth. For when a thing cannot otherwise be done, we must iure vnto God himselfe, who is the teacher of the hart and reines; and vnto his eyes all things are manifest, be they neuer so secret. But when iudges can define causes otherwise, they must not minitler an oth vnto those, which be the aduertaries in latue. But oftentimes pofses be wanting, neither are witnesse ready present, or else there is onelie one found; or he that is pleaded guiltie, is troubled onlie by op report and suspitions, which be not verie certaine: in deed in such cases, an oth must be taken.

But in this matter must not be omitted, that by the lawyers there be appointed three or foure kinds of sweare. The first is a voluntarie oth, which is both giuen and taken among priuate men, and that in couenants, bargaines, and particular agréments; which kind of oth it is free for euerie one to take, or refuse. An oth is called necessitie; because it cannot be refused without most great and weightie causes: for it is giuen by the iudge, or the magistrate. The third, they doo call iudiciall, the which the aduertaries in latue doe one vnto the other, which when it is offered by the defendant, vnto the plaintiffe, it is of necessitie; otherwise it may be oftentimes refused. Also there is an affirming oth, which belongeth vnto the time present and past: for things that are to come, cannot be affirmed, seeing they be not knowen; although an oth of promise hath respect vnto the time to come: and then is it likewise, when we bind our selues, either to do, or not to do anie thing. And in euerie oth *God* is called to be a witnesse.

In 1. King. 1. 21. 31.

Heb. 6. 11.

Numb. 5. 14.

Heb. 6. 6.

Who manie times of oth.

1

2

3

4

Which he is by lawfull for a christian man to sweare.

Ezra 1. 22. and 11.

Ezra 1. 22. and 11.

John. 4. 3.

Mat. 5. 37.

1 Cor. 1. 23.

Apo. 10. 5.

In the newe couenent greater things are required, than in the old.

Who manie times of oth.

Mat. 5. 34

which thing is sometimes done simple, and absolute; and sometimes he is apled vnto, as to a iudge and reuenger against a lier.

3 There remaineth, that we see whether it be lawfull for a christian man to use an oth. Some be of the opinion, that we should not, because of the wordes of the Lord; But I haie vnto you, ye shall not sweare at all, let your communication be yea yea, naie naie. But the father is not repugnant to the sonne. The Lord, in the name of God, commandeth the magistrate of *Israel*, in some certeine cases, to take and be maund an oth: therefore it is lawfull. *Elia*, in the name of God to the holie people, that they should sweare by the true God. God did sweare. *Quint* aduised to his speech; Verlie, verliche. He being aduised or charged by oth of the high priest, did not repaue the fact, as an euill thing; but he obeyed it. *Paul*, in the first to the *Corinthians*, the 15. chap. sweareth. And in the second to the *Corinthians*, he calleth God a witness vnto his soule. The angels doo sweare. *Agge* ouer an oth oftentimes reuolunth to the profit of our veribour, and hath ioined therewith an honour towards God; therefore it is not to be detested.

4 And little dooth it further those men, when they saie, that the sentences of the lawe and of the prophets doe proue nothing. Since that we be a newe people, there ought to be performed far more excellent things than be there contained: for the conuincing of *Christ* brought no newe thing as touching wordes; onlie it brought a more ample spirit, and more plentifull grace. *And*ouetie, that sweare god and healthfull thing we can do, is contained in the lawe and the prophets. And would to God that we were able to accomplish such, and so manie goodli wordes, as God hath there prouided to be expellid vnto vs! Seeing therefore that no man is better able to order politike gouernements and Common-weales, than God himselfe, and that he would, that an oth should there be of force; let vs also suffer it there to be. For *Christ* came not to abolish Common-weales in politike gouernements; no rather, he left them in their owne estate. And now, seeing the magistrate hath oftentimes to do with dissoluit men, why should he not vise the one remedie appointed by God? The wordes of *Christ* in the fit of *Matthew*; and are not so stricte to be understood as they sound. The meaning of *Christ*'s wordes is, to require the haue of vs, that we should liue together so faithfullie, and accordiug to diuinitie, as we might haue no need of an oth. Let euerie one therefore take heed to himselfe, that he be not caught by his owne default, and as touching this matter, he satisfie the wordes of *Christ*; who saith, all

this saying, detested not, but that (if we happen to deale with men that be not so fastidie, or indured with so much godlinesse, whom neuerthelesse it is expedient for vs somewhat to beleue) it is lawfull to sweare; especially where the glorie of the Lord may be aduanced.

Neither let it trouble thee, that *Christ* in his wordes hath this phrase; Nor at all. For his speech was specially spoken against the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who were bold to saie, that those oth were established and firme, which be erributed by the name of God; but those, which are sworne by heauen, by the earth, by the altar, by the temple, and such like, are not of force; and that therefore it is not lawfull to transgreffe them. These things *Christ* confuteth, and would that all these oths should be of great importance; and therefore perswade, that so far as lieth in our power, we should so liue, and in such sort beaue our felices, as that though our oth be faultie we be not called to an oth. Neither are the oths, which are sworne by creatures, to be lightlie esteemed; for they accounted them, seeing they are not created, to the end we should abate them, as witnesses of our vntith; they ought to be instruments of vertues, not of vices. And if we abuse them in this sort, the inturie that is done is great, yea and that verie great: for when they be called as witnesses in an oth, our mind telleth vs of them, that they belong vnto God, and that the power of God dooth shine in them. For an oth is it in the epistle to the *Hebues* Heb. 6. 16. is aluaynes made by some thing greater than he that sweareth. But creatures be inferiours vnto men. Vnto them they be considered as they be the boof of God, and doe serue vnto him: and so to sweare by creatures is not forbidden. Wherefore, when we sweare, we vse the holie Euangelists, the booke of *Christ*, faith, and other like wordes.

*Ioseph* sweare by the life of *Pharao*. And *Moses*, and the prophets doo call the heuens and the earth to witness of their wordes, which they were to speake vnto the people. Let those oths therefore, contrarie vnto the opinion of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, be firme and steadfast oths: as touching our owne conuersation, let vs so liue, that there be no need for vs to sweare; neither by God, nor yet by anie other thing at all. And this is that same *At* all, which *Christ* spake of. There be also oths made of cursings: as *Paul*, who in the second to the *Corinthians* calleth God for a witness vnto his soule. And in the holie scriptures of the old testament, they sweare in a manner aluayns by that particle *If*; and there wanteth the expelling of the curse, which must be aluayns implied of vs. The doctrine of the *Pharisees* was so corrupt, as they iudged themselves to fulfill the lawe thoughtlesly, if they per-

That *Christ* had not an oth.

Oth by creatures.

Heb. 6. 16.

Gen. 42. 15  
Deut. 1. 3  
Ezra 1. 23

As oth of cursing.  
1 Cor. 1.  
Gal. 4. 1.  
and 5. 1.



formed the thing which they swear. But Christ  
dearly it to be otherwise; namely, that we  
ought to be of so great integrity of life, as ours  
might be superfluous, and to be abolished. And  
by this selfe same way we must interpret the  
words of James, in the which he saith; Let vs  
not swear anie oth, neither by heauen, nor by  
earth. *Wh*ich means it is denied, that the  
swearing by God should be in use of the godlie,  
and so in like manner of swearing by creatures.

*The* Anabaptists use another argument;  
Things to come are not in our power to be  
done, and God may let the thing which we pro-  
mise to do; therefore it is better not to swear,  
than to promise doubtful things. For this is  
wittingly, to cast himselfe into the perill of peri-  
urie. But if this reason of theirs be of force,  
it will together take ahaie all bargains, all pro-  
mises, covenants, bowes, yea and baptisme it  
selfe; wherein we offer our name vnto Christ,  
and bind our selves, that we will line vnto him,  
to renounce the diuell and our finnes: all which  
things neuertheless are appoyed by the oracles  
of God: those things (3 saie) which I haue  
mentioned. Neither put we forth our selves  
(as they thinke) into the danger of perurie:  
for when we swear, it sufficeth that we haue  
this of performing that which we promise.  
But if so be God shall shew, that we ought to  
do otherwise, and it shall be declared that our  
promise is against Gods will; now ought not  
he, to whom we haue sworne, to exact the same  
of vs: which if perhaps he shall do, his right  
shall be accounted no right. For no seruant can  
bind himselfe vnto anie man, without the will  
of his lord. And who knoweth not, that God is  
our Lord, and that we be bound to love him  
with all our strength, with all our hart, and  
with all our mind: Wherefore, so often as we  
swear, our desire is, that his will, and the obedi-  
ence of him be euermore intolate. Whereby ap-  
pereth the making frustrate of monasticall  
bowes: for there men doe swear that, which is  
repugnant to the will of God; for which cause  
it must be abrogated and abolished. But con-  
cerning these bowes, we shall speake larger  
hereafter: it sufficeth now, that we haue made  
answer to this argument of the Anabaptists.

6 But now let vs come to the describing of  
that, which is to be blamed in oth. And let  
this be the first. If we swear anie thing, which  
is repugnant to the will of God, there finne is  
committed two waies; first, by swearing rashly  
or feebly, if we performe that which we  
haue with idle sworne: as Herod bid, when he  
delivered the head of Iohn Baptist, vnto a most  
wicked banishing damsell. A great deale more  
wickedly did Dauid, in breaking his oth; for he  
had sworne, that he would kill Nabal the Car-

melite; yet being throughly instructed, and  
pacified by the words of Abigail, he reuoketh  
that which he had sworne amide. For he had  
said; Solet God doo vnto the enemies of Da-  
uid, if of all that pertaine vnto Nabal, I leaue  
one, &c. In which place it is to be noted, that  
we must not will anie thing; that we must not  
promise no; we must not do anie thing, that is not  
allowed by God. His haue the words of Deut. 5.  
I haue declared to vs, wherein we be commaun-  
ded to love God with all our hart, with all our  
strength, and with all our soule: and this haue  
we undertaken to do in baptisme. Therefore,  
whether we be sworne, or not sworne, we are  
never bound by anie late, to do anie thing  
that is against the will of God. But and if we  
haue sworne to do anie such thing, the same  
must not be performed.

Neither ought anie man to thinke, that he  
hath then broken his oth, seeing the same is not  
to be imputed as an oth; for the licence of swear-  
ing extendeth no further, than God hath giuen  
scope vnto the same. It is not convenient there-  
fore, that we take an oth for anie thing, which  
is repugnant to the good pleasure of God. Howe-  
beit, let euerie one take heed, that he thinke not  
himselfe at anie time discharged of his oth; but  
let that, for the which he hath sworne, be made  
doubtfulle; or else permiteth for a certeinie,  
that the same is repugnant to the will of God,  
no not although the Pope would dispense with  
him neuer so often. Antiquity is not able to  
make frustrate the will of God. But those  
oths, which be void and of none effect, because  
they be against the late of God, be dispensed  
with euery of themselves: neither is there need  
of (such) apostolical (yea rather diabolical)  
power, to make them frustrate and of none ef-  
fect.

But if thou that obiect vnto me the oth of the  
Gabaonites, wherein the children of Israel pro-  
mised that which was against the decree of God;  
namely, that they would enter into league  
with the men of that prouince, and yet God  
would the same to be established, for that he  
minded that the stroke of Saule should be puni-  
shed for that oth. The answer, that the oth of co-  
uenant in his owne nature was void, and of  
none effect: but that God held the same establi-  
shed, because he would bring punishment vpon  
the Iewes, namely, when they had over-rashly  
sworne vnto them, without consideration  
of Gods word. Wherefore it was necessarie  
afterward, that they should suffer them among  
them. And so forth as God allowed of the oth,  
therefore by his decree it was afterward of  
strength, although immediate vpon the mak-  
ing thereof it was void. And at the last this  
thing rebounded to the honor and commoditie  
of

of the people, so as in verie deed they had these  
strangers to be the beluers of word, & which al-  
waies drew water vnto the ministers of God.

8 An other thing that is to be blamed in an  
oth, is, if a man do not swear, but forswear.  
Which sinne is so grieuous, as of that oncle, &  
among the ten commandments, pon first written,  
Lo Iurges, he will not forsake him, he will not  
hold him guiltlesse. For God is highly offen-  
ded, when we abuse his name to confirme our  
lies. But if so be the basest sort of men manie  
times cannot abide, that they should be ac-  
counted witnesses of a lie; how much lesse will God  
suffer a lie? Besides, our neighbor taketh verie  
great hurt, not of the bodie, substance, or name;  
but of the mind, that is to wit, of reason: for he  
that is a forswearer, both alwaies beguile and  
deceit; which is to seduce the reason of man.  
Politike gouernements, and common-weales  
also are onerthelowe, vntill we stand vnto  
our oths & covenants. And this the Hebrewes,  
in a certaine Apologie of theirs do declare;  
who write, that when the tables were giuen vp-  
on mount Sina, so foune as the lawe was made  
concerning perurie, the whole world was shak-  
en. Let euerie one therefore beware of it, and  
let him keep faith euery with his enemies, with  
thieves and murderers, though it be with the  
losse of his goods or life. For this cause Regulus  
is commended, who returned to the Carthagi-  
nians, although he knew, that at his returne he  
should suffer most grieuous punishments: for  
he minded to satisfie his oth. Augustine in his  
bookes De ciuitate Dei, not without iust cause, set-  
teth forth his praises; albeit his counsell, where-  
by he hindered the peace, cannot be praised or  
allowed. But in that he would in anie wise keep  
his oth inuolate, euen to the hazard of his owne  
life, dooth not that deserue verie great admi-  
ration: Neither is it anie let, which some men  
saie; that by returning vnto theuies, murder-  
ers, and cruell men, if a man knowe for a cer-  
teinie that he should be blame, is to cast himselfe  
into danger, and to tempt God. For this man  
was not alreadie, by the will of God, deliuered  
into the hands of his enemies; neither did he es-  
cape thence, without vying the testimonie of the  
name of God. Wherefore it becometh him to re-  
turne, lest God should be had in derision; but  
lesse if he had bene reuealed vnto him, that the  
same should be against the will of God.

9 For euery one, who offend in an oth, if a man  
be cratie and deceitfull tongue, purposing to  
take them according as he himselfe understand-  
eth them; and not as it seemeth to the eares of  
them which stand by; such a man is not exempt-  
ed from perurie. For an oth was deuised to  
finisly controuerfies, & Hebrewes, 6. not to solve  
them, and to shire them by more. Neither ought

we to use this remedie, to the deceiuing and be-  
guiling of minds, which ferueth to the stabili-  
tying of them. Farre be it, that decent should a-  
rise from thence; where truth ought most of all  
to dwell it selfe. Also let vs take heed of another  
defect in swearing; namely, that we swear  
not often for light causes, and rashly, being by  
God throught by no needfulle, whereby the word  
of God might be of the lesse estimation. I  
solde therefore must anie swearing be used,  
and that for weighty causes: and so shall be  
the better aduise perurie. Peter and Augustine in  
the 23. sermon De verbi apostoli, teacheth, that  
Christ and James the apostle forbid an oth; not  
to the end they would utterly take ahaie the  
same from the affaires of men; but because we  
might beware of perurie, in not swearing vpon  
on light occasion.

10 Lastly, in an oth let vs auoid this; that  
we swear it not by the name of Iols: for that  
is forbidden in the 23. chapter of Exodus, and in  
the 23. chapter of Iosue. And God will haue vs  
to swear by his owne name: for herein the  
two shipping of God is intermingled, which  
should not be attributed vnto Iols. Wherebeit  
Augustine, in his epistle Ad Publican, granteth  
tenth vnto the faithfull, that when need shall re-  
quire, they may take an oth of the Iols, in the  
name of their Iols; for otherwise, there could  
be no peace no; truce confirmed with them. In  
an oth there is chaste this confirmation of the  
will, which is a certeinie good thing, that we may  
see when we haue need. And whereas they offer  
not the same, but vnder the name of Iols, it  
groweth vs; and if it late in vs to auoid it, we  
would willingli do it. Since (saith) he read  
in the scriptures, that it was done by Iacob,  
when he took an oth of Laban: Laban fauer  
the God of Abraham, and by the God of Nador  
his father, and by the God of their fathers. But  
whereas they were idolaters in Babel and in  
Mesopotamia, it is manifest that that oth was  
celebrated in the name of strange gods: as A-  
belon-Ezra doth testify vpon that place. But if so  
be thou wilt saie, that there the name of faithfull  
Abraham is mingled with the other: it maketh  
no matter at all, because he ioined vnto him  
Nador, and the fathers of them; that thou may  
vnderstand, Abraham to be there comprehen-  
ded vnder the name of that two shipping, vnder  
the which he liued in his owne countrie with his  
parents, which were idolaters: as we read in  
last of Iosue. But Iacob swore by the true God, I  
bidem. 2. whom he calleth the fear of Ihsak: therefore he  
nerie one swore there, according to his owne re-  
ligion. These things be spoken probable; how-  
beit, I know that some of the fathers were of the  
mind, that Iacob swore there by the true God.  
But Augustine in the place, which I haue now  
alied

James. 5. 12.

whether we may swear, his cause things to come are not in our power.

of forswearing. The great unlikeness of perurie. Exod. 20. 7.

faith as promise must be kept euen with our enemies.

the things that are to be blamed in oth.

Matt. 23. 9.

1. Sa. 25. 22.

deceitfull tongue in swearing.

Heb. 6. 16.

5

Exo. 23. 13. Ios. 23. 7. Sam. 13. 1. Ios. 23. 7.

Gen. 31. 57

Ibidem. 2.

Q. II. alied

In 1. Sam.  
25. ver. 31.  
whether it  
be lawfull  
to sweare  
by faiths.

2. make the  
questions  
after the  
common  
place of  
the 3<sup>d</sup> life  
in the ad-  
dition at  
the end.

Deut. 5.

Socrates  
eth.  
the Ban-  
cheis oth.

Jerom.

The fourth  
Council  
of Car-  
thage.

Proth manie  
sware oth  
is called  
recogno.

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adlogged, maketh for me.

1. But it appereth, that Abigail seemeth to sweare by a creature: and hereof the Papists gather, that it is lawfull to sweare by faiths. But that we may understand, with how great reason they affirme it, we must call to mind what is an oth. An oth therefore is a calling to re- cord of the name of God, to the confirmation of those things, which either we have spoken, or promised. When God is called to be a witness, there is given unto him, even that worship, which is most high and singular. For so we tell- ing, that God is present euerie where, and seeth all things, and will punish, if a man do of- fend. And this is fit for none, but for God onlie: for faiths neither be in euerie place, nor yet in all things. And it is requisite, that all worship- ping should proceed of faith; which faith of neces- sity is none, inasmuch as touching the presence of the faiths, we can learne nothing out of the holie scripture. Wherby then we call them to witnesse, of whom we knowe not whether we be heard: Further, they cannot punish whom they would: wherefore these things appertaine unto God onlie. Thus it is written in the first of Deu- teronomie; Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God, and him onlie thou shalt worship, and thou shalt sweare by his name. Here, there is an oth ioined unto the worshiping of God. For this therefore and vngodlie did Socrates, when he sweare by a dog and a gase: and the Manicheis also, when they sweare by the light.

Jerom upon these words of Christ in Mat- thew; Thou shalt not sweare, neither by hea- ven, neither by the earth, saith, that he woith not forbid vs to sweare, but that we should not sweare by creatures. And in the fourth Council of Carthage (which place is also cited in the 22. cause, question 1. in the title *Clericus*) it is forbidden, that anie should sweare by creatures: and it is added; that if a clerke shall so sweare, he should be excommunicated and depozed. But we must note, that God is sometime called to record, not absolutely; but either with boies & creatures, or else with creatures and creatures. Such pairers, as when we saie; As I would live; As God shall helpe me. Thus swaie Jo- shua; Up the life of Pharaon: as if he should saie; So let Pharaon live, as that which I saie is true. And in times past they were wont to sweare by the angel of Cesar, and by the safetie of his children. Wherby, such forme of oths was ta- ken away in the Code. But the custies are on this sort; I'll come unto me: or; Let me be con- founded. So Dauid in the psalme; If I have done this (saith he) and if there be anie wicked- nes in mine hands, then let mine enemy take away mine honour from me, and tread my life in the dust. In these two forms, there is nothing

to him, but that the name of anie creature, unto whom we will either god or cuill, may be mingled with them. But that name of the crea- ture is onlie there let some indicat: for it is no direct and full oth. On this wise it may be expounded; As I would live: that is, So God giue me life; or else, So let me be confounded: that is, So let God confound me. Here the name of God is held in silence, whereas in de- ree and the whole efficacy and taking record in the oth, is referred unto him onlie. As on the contrary part, when we saie; Thus and thus God do by me: the name of God is expresse, but the things themselves be kept under silence. Wherefore these things do not further the Pa- pists at all, for to psume it lawfull hereby, to call faiths which be dead unto an oth.

12. But let vs be holde rightlie Dauid swaie unto Semei, that he should not be: when as af- terward, being at the point of death, he instruc- ted Salomon concerning his affaires, & charged him, among other things, that he should put Se- mei to death, he seemeth not to stand to his oth, or else he swaie not that he would, which he would not haue kept. If he swaie, he ought to haue stood to his oth; if he minded not to keepe his oth, he should not haue swaie. Some saie it ought thus to be ment; that he should not be killed, while Dauid himselfe liue: if he took order, that he should be killed after his death, that then he brake not his oth. But this exception was not expresse in the forme of the oth; That which a man hath by another man, he seemeth to do to himselfe. He which promitteth anie thing, must not alone performe the same; but he must ap- ply this indeuour, that the promise which he hath made, may be performed. So as Dauid ought not to haue stirred up his son Salomon against Se- mei; but he should haue giuen charge, that the promise made by him might not haue bene violated. If a man will saie, that although the condition were not expresse; yet the fame was in his mind, when he did sweare: we must con- sider how an oth is to be interpreted, whether according to the mind of him that sweareth, or of him to whom the oth is made. Touching this point, there seemeth to be contrarie opinions. Iddious in the deeres, the 22. cause, question the first, the chapter *Quinquagesima*, in the 2. c. in euerie art let men weigh the words of the oth. God, who is the witness of consciences, taketh those words, as he, to whom they be swaie, under- standeth them. Heudgeth that the oth must be understood, according to the meaning of him, to whom it is made.

Gregorie in his 39. spozals, the 26. booke, was of another mind; He saies of men tudge our words to be such, as they found outwarde: but the iudgements of God do heare such things spoken

In 1. Sam.  
19. ver. 12.  
whether  
Dauid  
should  
sweare  
by the  
Lord's  
name.

Exo. 21.

Oth made  
inadmissi-  
ble, must not  
be perfo-  
med.

Jobus.

According  
to whose  
mind an  
oth must  
be inter-  
preted.

spoken outwarde, as they be uttered from within. And so he would haue it to be, that the words of them which sweare, should be un- derstood according to the mind of him that maketh the oth. These two opinions are reconci- led euen by the Schole-men, and among o- thers by Thomas Aquinas. Whys be made, ei- ther as concerning the conscience, or else in re- spect of outward pleadings. If we speake of the conscience, he which sweareth, either dealeth simple and sincerelie, or else craftily and by fraud. If sincerelie, then he is bound to keepe no more but that which he meant to do: but if fraudulente, then let him be fine, that he is bound to the meaning of him, whom he would haue beguiled. But if an oth be made in ciuill pleadings, the words of them which be swaie, must be taken according to the common mean- ing. If there happen a doubt, the magistrate shall be the iudge thereof. But returne we to Dauid: if he be sincere, and had the foresaid condition in his mind; he was not bound to Se- mei, in respect of his conscience. If he ment to apply himselfe to the tyme, and by anie means to beguile him, he swaie not in truth. Wherefore let vs use this vniuersall argu- ment; Either he ment to keepe his promise, or he ment it not: If he ment it, he should not haue swaie; If he ment it, he should haue per- formed it, if it were lawfull. If an oth do con- firme an vnjust thing, it must not be kept. Now to promise impunitie to a wicked man, which hath broken the lawe of the Lord (for the lawe saith, Thou shalt not curie the prince of thy peo- ple) is not iust: wherefore he was not to per- forme the oth which he made.

The oth which he made inadmissible, ought not to be performed. These be of those sort of things, which alwaies haue an euill end, where which waie thou wilt. If so be thou per- forme them not, thou shalt swaie naughtily: if thou do performe them, thou makest a bon- able offence. Neither here auaileth the instance of the Israelites fact with the Gabaonites. They seeme to haue swaie that, which was not law- full; and yet they thought themselves bound unto their oth. In verie deed we saie, that they were not bound: for the Gabaonites dissembled with them. Wherby that sweareth, is decei- ued, he is not bound. But the Israelites thought that they should blemysh the name of God, if they did not stand to their agreement; and that the oth which they made, was not contrarie vn- to the word of God. God would not haue had them to make peace with the Chananeites, of their owne accord: but it is added; Vnlesse they had demanded peace: but they alone desired it. This therefore is not against the comma- dement of God; especially seeing they not on-

lie did receive the religion of the Israelites, but also were appointed for perpetual seruice unto the tabernacle. Also the Israelites thought themselves to be deceiued by their owne fault, because they had not taken counsell from the mouth of the Lord. The promise, which Dauid made, was not lawfull; name, that a wicked man should be spared. Therefore it is no mar- uell, if afterward he learned Salomon, that this euill might be amended.

13. But verie manie do doubt, whether it be lawfull to offer an oth unto him, which is sus- pected of perurie; and by great coniectures is thought that he will be so: swaie. For not one- ly finnes must be avoided, but also there must be no occasions of sinning offered unto our neighbours. To this I answer: It is necessarie for vs to ponder, that they which offer an oth, be not all of one sort. Wherefore if they be iudges that do it, and that the ope of lawe require, that an oth should be offered; in obeying of the lawe, they sune not. Let them commit the mat- ter unto God, and diligentlie swaie him in truth, unto whom they offer the oth. For (as it hath bene said) the lawe of God in Crouns commanded, that in certaine cases an oth should be taken. This if the iudge observe, it can not rightly be said, that he giueth a true oc- casion of perurie. But if so be the oth shall be voluntarie; to wit, betweene priuate persons, it must not be offered to such a man, as upon iust cause is suspected of perurie. For if it be lawfull to anie man, for his owne advantage sake, to prouoke an other man unto finne. As touching priuate conclusions, bargains, and covenants, let them be omitted, rather than for our sake the name of God should be made a iesting stocke. Wherefore that which Salomon 1. kin. 8. 37. desired, is holie and iust; name, that reuill may be taken away from the people, and that men may be terrified from taking of the name of the Lord in vaine; either by denying of a truth, or affirming a falschode by the testimonie of his name. King Salomon desired nothing, but that he knew God himselfe did like of. For in the ten commandments it is written; Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine: for God will not account him innocent that so doth, but will grendoulie punish him, as one that is guilty. What this might come to passe, Salomon desired, and especially vn- to them that forsware themselves in that house, which he had lately builded.

The oth, which (as I said) were taken, were accounted to be done our against the altar of sacrifice, that is, in the court of those men that were cleane. But the oth of prophane persons, which commonly they call the lattie, was done at the wall, where by the court of the priests was

secured from the same. Certainlie, an oth was inuited for the honour and glorie of the name of God, and was commanded in the lawe. So then it is the part of a good pynce, to be vertie circumspect, that it fall not out otherwise; namelie, to the contumelie and iniurie of God. And therefore Salomon is to be commended, when he pasceth, that the honour due vnto the name of God might remaine entire; and that euerie mans owne, so far forth as is possible, might be remembred vnto him; and that the lawe of laing might be kept inviolate. For at the first they it seemeth, that Salomon did not the office of a godly king; because he desired iustice and damnation vnto sinners. To this may be answered, that he like vnto, on the other side, desired good things vnto those that were innocent; namelie, that right iudgement might be ministered vnto them, and that God would defend their cause. Further, it must be considered, that the glorie of God, and publicke safetie, is to be preferred before the commodities of pinate men. But God hath delt much more severelie against perurie, as it is in the first chapter of Leuiticus: for there he not onelie condemned the perjured man; but also all those, which being pinate of the perurie, held their peace. For the lawe commanded, that they, which for a certeinie knewe, that an oth was falslie taken, should in sleeping reveale the same, that the name of God might not be had in derision. Therefore Salomon pasceth God, that he will heare it out of heauen.

The cause  
of  
perurie,  
verie 3.

## The seventh Chapter.

The fourth precept of sanctifying the sabbath day.

In Gen. 2.  
at the be-  
ginning.

**I**n the seventh daye God finished his worke, which he had made: not that he created any thing the seventh daye, but that to saue forth, as our understanding reacheth, it might be knowen, that he finished all things the seventh daye; when as we knowe that there was nothing made by him vpon that daye. Some thinke that the letter *Caph* which is added vnto *iod* doth signifie, *Before*; and they cite the place out of the 25. chapter of Deuteronomie; Thou shalt not mouill the oxe, before the treading out of the corne. But it pasceth it not; because here we may also vnderstand it, in the treading out. Wherfore here in verie doth there is no question: for the same con-

verie 4.

sumation, perfection, or finishing of creatures is not anye thing added to things created the first daye; but that on this seventh daye, the things are noted to haue bene finished and made perfect. In that he rested the seventh daye, vnderstand it not, from labour, but from the worke of creating. For, *Rest*, may betoken two things; either the end and termination of that which is done, and so it is taken in this place; or else as a refreshing after labour, which thing must not be ascribed vnto God (for without anye manner of labour did he create the world). But as the *Hebrewes* saie, in the letter *He*, which is vttered with a beth onelie; By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hoste of them, with the breath of his mouth: *Psalm* 33. Let vs here passe over the mysteries of the number of seuen, where vnto vnbondable God is delighted; seeing he hath compassed in that number, the great and noble things, which he made and commanded. And this onelie let vs note, that of euerie seven daies, one must be referred vnto God. Whom God cease from working, seeing he hath also wrought. And he is a pure and meere act: neither is that most blessed action of his stand at anye time. We saie that this must be vnderstood of other new creatures, wherof God created none afterward: yet he allows working in governing and preserving of them; for, in him we liue, moue, and haue our being, *Apostol* 17. 28.

Therefore let them go, which looke for more twofold after this twofold of ours. One onelie twofold there is, and the selfe-same end of creatures, according as it is here described. Whether is there cause, why man need to feare, least anye creature should be made aboue him. And this is not the least glorie of man, that in God did rest after the creation of him, and that in him he finished the worke of the whole world. It is said, that God blessed the seventh daye. But to whate, is, to giue and bestow some thing. What hath God giuen vnto vs by this seventh daye? *Verie* much: enen this world filled and fraught with all good things. What manuell is it if afterward it were most acceptable vnto him, to be worshipped vpon the verie same daye; seeing it is written, Give him of that wherewith he hath blessed thee? He blessed the seventh daye. This did he chertie giue vnto vs, that therein men should rest, and applie themselves to the seruice of God. Rabbi Agnon saith, that this blessing doth light vpon those, which observe and sanctifie the same sabbath. Neither did the obseruation hereof begin, when the lawe was giuen in Sina; but it was celebrated before that time: as appereth in the raiuing volume of *Isaiah*, *Exodus* the 16.

verie 5.  
The num-  
ber of se-  
uen.

Job 5. 17.

Apostol 17. 28.

Gen. 2. 3.  
What is  
meant by  
blessing the  
seventh daye

Deut. 17. 4.

verie 3.

To sanctifie (as it is taken in this place), is to appoint some thing to the worshipping of God: for, *Sanctifie*, where it signifieth diuerse things. And God sanctified the sabbath, by the verie deed it telle, when he rested from his worke. The which sanctification, he not onlie reherced afterward in the lawe, but also obserued it in ad: seeing vpon that daye he gaue no spauia to the people in the wilderness. But whether shall the people, either in that daye, or in anye other daye be idle? For trulle. But euery as God ceaseth not from all action, but onelie from the bringing forth of natural things: euery so we also must abstine from the deeds of our corrupted nature; yet not to be discouraged from obeying the motions of God: nate rather, we must the more perseu in this onelie worke: vpon the holie daies. And so doth Paule expound in the fourth chapter to the *Hebrewes*; that we should restraue our selues not from euery kind of worke, but from our owne toiches: which a chistian man ought to do so long as he liueth. So then we in chistianitie must not be accused, because we keepe not the sabbath daye (of the *Iewes*) seeing we haue consecrated all the time of our life vnto a sabbath. And therefore vnderstand ye it allegorically, that this seventh daye is named to haue neither mourning nor euening, for because this is in verie had a perpetual rest vnto the children of God.

The sanc-  
tification  
of the  
sabbath.

After what  
manner we  
should rest.

verie 10.

Here consider that the order of things. Some things are created for man, therefore man was made after them. But man was made for the seruice of God; therefore straightwaie after his creation, was brought in the blessing and sanctification of the sabbath. Wherby men are admonished, that if the church giue them commandment to imploye themselves in the seruice of God vpon anye daye in the weeke; this is not altogether the deuite of man; and that it doth not asperuene onelie to the laue of Moyses, but that it had also a beginning from hence, and that it seemeth to the imitation of God. But if thou demand, why the daie of obseruation of the sabbath, is not retrained here in our church? I answer, that we haue most of all retained the lawe; so that we ought to haue all daies to be such, as we should rest from our owne toiches. But that one daie, rather than another, should be chosen for the outward worshipping of God, it was free for the church, though Christ, to appoint that, which it should iudge most fit for the purpose. Neither did it iudge amisse, if in obseruation of the *Adams* daie, it preferred the memorie of our present resting, that is, the resurrection of Christ, before this finishing of the world's manny of the world.

But Paule, by the one of the sabbaths, meant the daie of the holie assemblie. God might in

Why should  
we should

ded haue assigned all, or manie daies, for the worshipping of him; but seeing he knewe that we were committed to eat our bread in the sweat of our face, he requiereth of vs one daie in the weeke, wherein leaving off from other toiches, we should applie our selues onlie vnto him. And euery as in other ceremonies, there is some thing perpetuall and eternall; and some thing changeable and temporall (Euery as in circumcission and baptisme it is a perpetuall thing, that they which belong vnto the covenant of God, and are ioined to the people of God, should be marked with some outward signe; yet neuertheless, the kind of signe was mutable and temporall. For God, at his owne will, appointed the lame to be done, either by cutting awaie of the foreskin, or else by the washing of water. Perpetuall also and eternall it is, that so long as the church is here conuersant vpon the earth, a maintenance of liuing is due vnto the ministers thereof. But whether the same should arise by temis, or by certein lands, or by monie paid out of the common treasure, it may diuers waies be done, according as is most fit for the regions and times.) Euery so is it assured and firme, that there is one daie in the weeke reserved for the seruice of God: whether of the daies be appointed, that is temporall, and may be changed. In old time, by order of the lawe, the sabbath was obserued, for to reuise the memorie of making of the world: but now the *Adams* daie is used in the remembrance of the resurrection of Christ, and therefore to confirme the hope of our resurrection to come. But when this alteration was made, we haue it not expessed in the holie scriptures; yet in the Reuelation of Iohn, we haue expresse mention of the *Adams* daie. And it is verie likelie, that the first chistians, for a certeinie time, retained the *Adams* custom of mating together vpon the *Adams* daie. But the thing (as we sae) was afterward changed.

And why I should thinke, that in that place is vnderstood the *Adams* daie, I am led by the *Hebrewes* phrase, wherein one signifieth the first: as in the booke of *Genesis*. And the euening and morning were one daie, that is, The first daye. Also in another place, when it is written; In the first daye of the moneth, it is meant, The first daie of the moneth. And when it is written; One moneth, it must be vnderstood, The first moneth. As to we read in the Gospel of Marke, the 16. chapter; And earlie in the morning in the sunne, they came vnto the sepulchre, the sun being now risen: there manifestly by one of the sabbaths, is vnderstood the *Adams* daie, *Matt*. the 28. In the euening of the sabbath, when the first daie of the weeke began to dawne. And it is also written in the 24. chapter of Luke, and in verie 1. the 20. of Iohn. And to inuade our minds to the

When and  
why the  
sabbath day  
was turned  
into the  
Adams  
daie.

\*That was  
vpon Sa-  
turdaye.

In the 25.  
of Gen. 1.  
signifieth  
the first.

Gen. 1. 5.  
In the 25.  
of Gen. 1.

Deut. 16.  
pag. 76. 1st  
positly at  
saith.

verie 2.

verie 1.

verie 1.

verie 1.

why should  
charity for  
alms be  
done at the  
holie con-  
gregation

give almes unto the poore, Paule did verie little  
choise the daie of the holie congregation; be-  
cause of the word of God, publique prayers, and  
godlie lectures, which be vsed vpon that daie:  
through all which things we be put in remem-  
brance of the benefites, which God for his merrie  
saies hath bestowed vpon vs. Also we receive  
the sacraments, whereby is renewed the memo-  
rie of that most excellent benefite: I meane the  
death of our Lord Iesus Christ.

And what christian mind is not perswaded to  
benefite his neighbour, by the godlie remem-  
brance of so great a goodtyme? Who is it that  
will not, when he resoluelly in himselfe with a  
godlie mind, that the sonne of God gaue him-  
selfe vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse  
for his sake, that will not (I saie) alone in-  
part some of that earthly riches, which is besto-  
wed vpon him; but rather giue himselfe for his  
brethren? He confesse also the communion of  
saints, which will be either better desired, or none  
at all; unless it be confirmed by liberallitie to-  
wards the poore. But there is no token of godli-  
nesse, or communion of Christians more excel-  
lent, than is charitie. Neither are we for this  
cause to be accused as obseruers of daies, and of  
times, as were the Galatians; as though we  
attribute more holinesse to one daie, than to an-  
other. We onlie for order sake, and a certaine  
ciuill custome of the church, doe meet together  
vpon that daie, rather than vpon another. But  
in the epistle to the Galatians, either they are  
reprehended by Paule, which renewed the Je-  
rusalem feast daies; or else the Gentiles, which  
perfitiously obserued the daies of the Aegypti-  
ans, or of those that professed the Mathematici-  
cal sciences.

Gal. 4. 10.

In 1. Sam.  
1. 16. 17.

Exo. 23. 15.

Three prin-  
cipall feasts  
daies of the  
Iewes.

Moreover, there may be manie causes  
reuered, while God would haue the people  
percelle, becauses the sabbath daie, to ascend to the  
place which he had chosen for religion sake. First  
he appointed the same, becauses the remem-  
brance of his benefites should not be forgotten,  
but should be renewed by percelle peregrinations.  
For in the feast of Passouer was celebra-  
ted the memoire of their deliuerance out of Aeg-  
ypte; and in the Pentecost, the remembrance  
of the lawe giuen by Moses. Further, in both  
the solemnities, there was thanks giuen for  
the new fruits receiued. For in the feast of Ca-  
ster, they offered the first fruits of barlie; and at  
Pentecost they offered bread made of new  
wheat. Lastly, in the feast of Tabernacles was  
renewed the benefite, whereby God sustained  
the fathers by the space of forty yeares in the  
wildernesse; and thanks were giuen, becauses  
they had now gathered in all the fruits of fruits.  
And rigible were these three principall parts  
of the gifts of God called to remembrance, in

these three peregrinations; for they be special  
god things, wherein consisteth the societie of  
man. For the first felicitie of anie nation is,  
that there be a common-weale, and that it be  
free; and this the Iewes obtained, when they  
were deliuered out of the hard bondage of Aeg-  
ypte. The second felicitie is, to haue lawes and  
religion proper to themselves; for no common-  
weale consisteth without lawes and religion.  
The third is, that there be no want of things ne-  
cessarie for life. Wherefore, the remembrance  
of these benefites was percelle renewed by the  
commendment of God.

Further, an other cause of this ascending to  
the feasts at Ierusalem, was, that the mutuall  
concord of the people in diuine seruice and reli-  
gion might be perserued. For when the Iewes  
were once gathered together, and did their sa-  
crifices, all after one and the selfe same order;  
it was most pudentlie provided, that sundrie  
religions should not arise. The first cause was,  
that the priests and Leuites might openlie teach  
them concerning the lawe and holie scripture,  
whereby the people returned home much better  
instructed, than when they came thither. There  
is also a first cause alleged, that in such an as-  
semble, and mutuall beholding of one another,  
charitie might the more growe and increase a-  
mong the tribes. For they satue and talked  
one with another, they kept their frants toge-  
ther; and that which was most of all, they ioined  
in publique and solemne prayers together. Fur-  
thermore, by these peregrinations, there in-  
sued a necessarie instruction of the holie mini-  
strie. For the oblations and sacrifices were  
multiplied, the greatest part thereof came to  
the priests and Leuites. Besides this, the minds  
of them that prayed, was confirmed, that God  
would heare their prayers: for he promised, that  
in that place he would fulfill the prayers of the  
people. Which cause doubtlesse should moue  
vs, to celebrate holie congregations: for not  
withstanding that we may pray at home; yet  
seeing he promised that he will allow of our  
prayers, where two or three shall be gathered to-  
gether in his name; therefore the appointed cele-  
brations of the meeting together in the church  
must not be neglected.

Mat. 18. 19

Moreover, God would, that by such godlie pe-  
reginations, they should testifie their obedience,  
especiallie, in that they did not chuse the place,  
where vnto they had accesse; but it was appoin-  
ted by the will of God. And it must not be omi-  
ted, that that place did represent Ierusalem vnto  
the fathers, without whom no works of merit,  
though they be true and godlike in them, can  
please God. Lastly, that worke was a notable  
exercise of faith: for, so often as they were to  
goe vnto the place, which was assigned for di-  
uine

uine seruice, the Hebrewes were compelled to  
leave all vacant and without guard at home. For  
the crimes were at libertie in the meane time,  
to beake forth, to walke, and despoile all things.  
Doubtless, they obeyed the word of God, and lit-  
tle regarded whatsoever should happen: com-  
mitting all that euer they had to the safeguard  
of God. And so great a confidence had they to-  
wards God, as they doubted not, but he would  
defend their borders, although they were desola-  
te. These times euerie yere it becometh euerie  
one of mankind to shew himselfe before the  
Lord; and that at those certaine and determi-  
nate feasts, which I haue before mentioned.  
But the women, so far as either they were  
great with child, or else might easilie be hinde-  
red vpon other iust causes, were not bound so to  
doe. Whereby, when they had no other impe-  
diment, they came of their owne accord.

In Gen. 28.  
at the end.

But to celebrate solemnelly the daie of a  
mans birth, it hath bene a custome of all na-  
tions; and in my iudgment, it is not amiss al-  
so, that there be used a godlike modestie. Surely  
it is a notable gift, that we may be reckoned  
among the number of Gods creatures. And  
who doubteth, but that it is well done, to giue  
thanks vnto God for it, and in thankes-giving  
to testify the iustnesse of his will, by an outward  
token of some modest banquet. The use of honest  
pleasures is such, as they haue alwaies godli-  
nesse ioined with them. But in the meane time,  
let vs remember that, which we saw happened in  
the banquet of Herod; when he celebrated his  
birth daie. For he used things, which were not  
decent; namely, the banquetings of young women,  
and rash swearing: whereof followed that cru-  
ell example, as he brake off the head of Iohn.

Matth. 14. 6.

This is not to giue God thanks for his great  
benefite, but to serue the bellie and grieuous de-  
sires. Further, it must not be allowed in christi-  
ans, that they should keepe in solemne remem-  
brance the original of their flesh; and yet be for-  
getfull of their regeneration in Christ. This be-  
nefit ought chiefly to sticke in our minds, that  
we be planted and ingrafted into Christ.

## The eight Chapter.

The fifth precept; of the honouring  
of Superiors.

In Rom. 12.

When is here taken, not  
onely for a certaine out-  
ward reuerence, where-  
by we reuerence the  
estate of our neighbour;  
but also for the outward  
help, sustentation, and  
aid, whereunto we re-

ueue them which haue need. But it hath also  
other significations. So therefore parents must  
be honoured: for which art, reuerences are not on-  
ly knowne, but are also giuen. Contrariwise,  
we knowe that Cham suffered punishment, be-  
cause he had his father in detraction. Wherefore, in  
them must honour be done vnto the image of  
God. For this cause Salomon, so famous as he is, is  
heard that his mother was present, he rose vp, and  
went to meet hir, and received her true-  
rentlie, hauing regard to the commandment  
of God; Honour thy father and thy mother.  
But some man will saie; What is kinde for  
him, being a king, to reuerence his Aulus Celsus  
his, in his second booke, intituled *Naturalis  
historia*, the second chapter, disputing of this  
matter faith, that Once the president of Creta  
came with his father to Athens, and went to  
Taurus the philosopher, that there was brought  
a seate. Which being prepared, the philosopher  
had the father of the president to sit downe: who  
answered; Let rather this man sit, pointing to  
his sonne: for (saith he) he is a magnifigat of the  
people of Rome. But Taurus said; Sit thou  
downe in the meane time, till we shall discourse  
among our selves whether it be comonly rather  
thee or him to sit: seeing thou art his father, and  
he a magnifigat of the Romane Common-  
weale. Wherefore the father sat downe; and the  
sonne also sat, hauing another seate brought for  
him. After much talke, the opinion of Tauri-  
nus was, that in publique places and offices, the  
sustentation of parents, being compared with  
their children, placed in aduantage, reatech for a  
schile, and for a time giueth place; but that out  
of publique actions, and publique places, publike  
honors cease betwixt them, and that the sonne  
must giue place vnto his parent.

Further, the same author addeth an exam-  
ple of Quintus Fabius Maximus, who being  
made Consul, and his father committing on  
hospitallite to meet him, commanded him by  
an officer to light downe, which thing he not  
onlie toke not in ill part, but he reioiced in his  
sonne, which knew how to exercise with autho-  
ritie and manfullie, the office committed vnto  
him by the people of Rome. Wherefore, if Salo-  
mon, doing the part of a pious man, honored  
his mother; he committed nothing, but that  
which was meet for him, giuing a due honour  
vnto his mother. He saide downe in his throne,  
and commanded that his mother should sit  
downe in a most honourable place by him. But  
as touching those things, which were declared  
by hir, he referred them not to his iudgement;  
but he himselfe gaue sentence, not expecting the  
consent of his mother. So as when children  
be in office of authoritie, are compared together  
with their parents, the comparison is of two  
hins

whether a  
sonne being  
placed in  
aduantie  
ought to  
giue place  
to his fa-  
ther being  
a pious  
man.

1 King. 1. 6.

In 1. Sam. 2. 2. Helie was too mild towards his child.

1 Sam. 2. 27 and 3. 13.

Chryfoſt.

Ambroſe.

Epaphron

punished by his father.

kinds of paternitie. For in berle dead, the ſonne, as he is a prince, is made the father even of his owne father; when notwithstanding, as touching nature, he is a ſonne. Therefore he ought to iudge of thoſe things, which be either ſpoken or propounded by his father.

2 Furthermore, let not parents be over milde towards their children. And children are the bowels of their parents; wherefore they cannot be corrected of them without great force to themſelves: which neuertheleſſe mult be lightlie paſſed over, in reſpect of the honour of God, and the ſafety of their children. But this did not Helie, who over favourable rebuked his children; for he ſhould have ſet euerie one of their faults effectually before their eyes: ſith it is a lighter matter vnto them, and of ſmall force to their hearing, when their faults are reckoned by generallie, than when euery particular crime is with authoritie objected againſt them. And when they are ſharpeſſe reckoned by one by one, they moue them after a more vehement ſort. Whereupon, he did not reſpoue them, by auouching anie thing, but onely vnder condition: So ſaith he the talke goeth; So it is reported vnto me: as if he had ſaid; If the things be true, which I heare, ye do grauouſly offend. But he ſhould haue ſaid; This is your wickedneſſe: Theſe be your faults; Thus haueſt thou offended. And doubtleſſe, they which collie and milde do admoniſh, ſaie nothing but to auoid ill will.

That Helie beſed not ſeuertie and correction enough, hereby it appeareth; in that he was for the ſame cauſe reſpaued after ward, both by the man of God, and by Samuel. Which would not haue happened, if he, in reſponſing his children, had beſed the authoritie of the high piſt, and not the tendernelle of a father. The man was old, and at that time men are wont to be more inclined vnto merie. Ioseph ſaid, that he, from that time forward, did ſwape in a manner alwaies; for that he expected a more certaine puniſhment to be done vpon his children by God. Chryſoſtome, againſt the diſſipaters of monaſtical life, ſaith; that he ought not onlie to haue puniſhed his children with words, but to haue chaſtised them with ſtripes, to haue callt them off, to haue diſgraced them of priſthood, and not to haue ſuffered ſuch wicked caſties to remaine in the miniſterie. Ambroſe the biſhop of Millen compelled vnto open reſpauce, not his children (3 ſaie) but Theodoſius the emperour, being the emperor. Alſo Marcion, when he had deſiled a maiden, was expelled the church by his father, being a biſhop: after which he comming to Rome, and there could not be accepted to the peace and communion of the church, deſciled a wicked heretie.

Peraduenture this old man Helie was ſome what ambitious, and inducued to retine ſtil the priſthood in his familie: in the meane while he by ſuch means did that which was berle ill, both to himſelfe, his children, and his familie. Further, it is to be conſidered, that Helie blamed not his children of his owne accorde, and ſe motion; but was after a ſort constrained thereto, at the complaints; cries of the people. Therefore, he be al to diſpoſed, through our nauigant & corrupt nature, as we reſpoue others againſt our wills; for our mind is to pleaſe all men, and to diſpleaſe none. Alſo, man is a creature that deſireth fellowſhip; therfore he ſearcheth in a manner alwaies, leaſt if he ſhould rebuke others, and make frolicke admoniſh them, he ſhould be accounted vnſociable of ſocietie, and be called a ſturious and ſterne man. For ſuch be they ſometimes to be, which are wont to ſpeake ſtrike and trulie. And this moſt of all happened vnto the prophets, that while they reſpaued mens faults, they were of manie reputed for mad men. For to the prince of the armie demanded of Iehu, as touching the diſciple of Elihu; To what end commed this mad man vnto thee? Again, it is moſt trulie ſaid of the Comical poet; that Truth hatheth hatred. So likewiſe Paul be to the Galatians ſaid; Am I become an enimie to you for ſpeaking the truth? Wherefore Helie thought it not meet, to take ſuch a thing in hand, as might haue him diſpleaſed; but did like a good Miro in correcting of his children. Faire ſpeech pleaſeth all men, and ſoft words are heard quietlie, and without grudge. Alſo there be ſome, which milkiſhe the admoniſhing and correcting of men; becauſe they haue an euill confidence of their owne, and conſider that they themſelves alſo may be iuſtly reſpaued: theſe do feare, leaſt that ſaieing ſhould be objected againſt them; Thou hypocrite, ſaith Mat. 23. take the beam out of thine owne eye. Cicero againſt Verres ſaith; that he which is ready to pronounce againſt an other man, both himſelfe to liue bygiſt.

3 Epaphron, Ambroſe hath well noted; firſt, that the father ought to take heed, that if he blame more children than one, he ſhould not himſelfe more louing to one of them than to another; for ſo may he eaſily marre that diſſe, which he ſaith to be the reſt: ſith by reaſon of his fathers good will, he will ſome take a libertie of ſinning. Further, the reſt of the brethren will eaſily be inflamed with hatred of enie againſt him: which thou muſt prouide that it happen not. At the leaſt will be himſelfe, which perſwect that he is more made of by his father, than the reſt, while thereby he ſuſteth with inſolence, and auoucheth himſelfe with pride, is pulled away from his brethren, with whom he ought to haue

2 King. 2. 1

Gal. 4. 16

Mat. 23. 1

Mat. 23. 1

Chryſoſt.

ſaith he muſt be iuſt and alie.

the Superiors.

In an houſe both equalitie and ſubordination is required.

1 Cor. 11. 3.

where before ſinne the woman were ſubiection to the man.

Gen. 2. 3.

Gen. 2. 16.

Aristotle.

A wiſe diſtinction from a ſeruant.

haue bene moſt merelie ioined. But if ſo be that the father do loue his ſonne, let him loue vnto him the good-will of the other brethren; and thoſe, whom nature hath knit together, let not fathers affection diſturb in ſunder. For, to the keeping of houſehold peace among brethren, an equal tribution is required. Thou ſeeſt in the patriarch Jacob, how great euill happened thereby. And if ſo be that beſtize be to be offered, for a ſpeciall garment given to one, and not to the reſt: what thinkeſt thou they will do, if poſſeſſions and lands be bequeathed by the father or mother, to one aboue the reſt? But if the father will at anie time exerciſe this his loue, more bent to one than to an other, ſaieing; I haue reſpect vnto vertue, I loue him moſt that attaineth to more vertue and induſtrie than the reſt: I allow of it, that thou loue more; but yet thou muſt beware, that thou do not lightlie theſe ſorty euident tokens of his loue: there muſt be a reſpect had vnto their age. Young men are much affected vnto anger and hatred; which affections ought rather of the wiſe father to be reſſeſſed and kept vnder, than to be ſtirred vp.

4 As touching the man and woman, Chryſoſtome doubted, whether before they ſinned, one were of more dignitie than the other; for as while things were yet perfect, the woman were ſubiection to the man. Which thing he denieth, and ſeemeth to leane vnto the holie ſcriptures. For when God had ſhapiſhed Eue, thus it is written of hir; She is bone of my bones, and fleſh of my fleſh: and the reſt that followeth, ſaith in berle dead is there anie mention made of ſubiection. But after ſin, this ſaieing was added; Thy deſire ſhall be ſubiection to thy husband, and he ſhall beare rule over thee. ſeemeth leſſe. I thinke, that euen when nature was corrupted, ſeing woman was more imperfect than man, the ſhould after a ſort haue bene ruled by him: for the was made for him, and to be a helpe vnto him. But when time had now corrupted our nature, the imperfection of woman was grauouſly increaſed, and therefore the had need to be more ſeuereſſe ruled by man. Wherefore, as things now be, Aristotle, otherwiſe an Chryſe, ſeemed not to thinke anieſe, who ſaith; that It is not conuenient, that a wiſe ſhould not differ from a ſeruant, becauſe this is barbarous. The barbarous ſort, in ſo much as they haue that part of their mind rude, which ought to rule (for they be not inſtructed in good ſcience and vertue) therefore they ſeeme to be made to ſerue: neither do they account of their virtues otherwiſe than of bondſlaues. But this is conſtraine vnto nature, who is not accuſtomed to applye one inſtrument to two or more kind of wo: as: one ſittle ſerueſt for one wo: there fore it is not meet, that one woman ſhould both

be a wiſe and a ſeruant to anie man. And in the ninth booke of his Ethicks, he appointed the dominion of Ariſtocratie to be virtuous man and wiſe; in the which kind of gouernement, he is the chaſe, which eriecteth in vertue and wiſdomne. Whereby it appeareth, that the husband is the head of his wife, becauſe in vertue and wiſdomne he ought to excell him. And although this do not alwaies come to paſſe; yet reaſon would, that for the moſt part it ſhould be ſo. But Paul in the holie ſcriptures commanded, that Men ſhould loue their wives, as Chriſt loued the church: that Chriſt ſouled the church, as he both purged it, and made it ſafe. Euen as in the gouernment of excellent men, they which beare rule, do not onlie reſpect their owne profit, but the publicke weale; and the head both not exerciſe tyrannie againſt the members: euen ſo, betwixt man and wiſe there ought to be no need of violence. Which I ſaie, not to this end, as though men were not bound to reſiſt and conſtrain their wiſes that offend; for Chriſt both ſometimes both chaſt and correct his church: but this he doth, to the intent he may make it the better. So, if men correct & chaſt their wiſes at anie time, it is meet for them to do it with that chaſtite, whereby Chriſt amendeth his church. But this they do not, who in a rage, and onely to ſatiſſie their owne deſire, do miserable handle them. And God doubtleſſe, by the hands and induſtrie of men, becauſe of their euill & natural dignitie, beſtoweth many things vpon women. But if it be otherwiſe done at anie time, that men are either taught to be better, or elle obtaine anie gifts of God by means of women; that happeneth but ſeldome, and it is nothing preiudiciall to the order appointed by God.

5 Furthermore, we muſt take heed what is due to enie one. Unlike the wiſdom of Sarepta had certaine knowen it to be the ſpeciall will of God, the ſhould not haue done this; nameſe, to beſtard his ſelfe and his ſonne, to the intent he might ſuſtaine a man being a ſtranger. Neither ought prophets, or men of God, by the neceſſary rule of pietie, to requiſe this of anie men, that they ſhould maintaine them, without taking care for themſelves and their children. For euen the apoſtle to Timothy doth plainlie pronounce; that They which haue not a care of their owne, and eſpeciallie of become familie, haue denied the faith, and are become worſe than infidels: and therefore he would that wiſdomes ſhould be maintained by them of their owne kindred. But when the wiſdom was now certified by the ſpeciall will of God, it was not for hir to haue reſpect that was commanded by the lawe in general; neither might that take place, which is made a common proverbie: Char

The deniſion of Ariſtocratie be betwixt husband and wiſe.

Ephes 5. 25. Men muſt loue their wives.

After what ſort wiſes muſt be corrected.

1 Kin. 17. 15

1 Tim. 5. 8.

We must  
have re-  
spect what  
is due to e-  
uerie one.

A compari-  
son must be  
of those  
things  
which by or  
one order.

Math. 5, 5

A similis-  
tude.

ritie first beginneth at a man himselfe. Where-  
beit, as touching the common course, that we  
may perfectlie discern, to whom we be more o-  
less bound, and not to be deuius; we must  
confesse, that there be diuers kinds of societies,  
kindred, and friendships. One is spiritual, an-  
other is bodily, or of the same flocke; an other  
is euill, and such like. Wherefore, when we rea-  
son concerning loue, and doing good towar-  
ds our neighbours, there ought a comparison to be  
made of those things, which belong unto one be-  
cause of those things not made, an error will some  
happen. That which I haue now spoken, I will  
declare by examples, that it may the more  
plainlie appere. If a man shoulde be instructed by  
a goodlie pastor and teacher of the word of God, and  
shalbe brought to regeneration; and the same  
man haue therewithall a father, of whom he was  
begotten; or haue children: and the question be  
alike, whether he be more bound to his pastor,  
or else to his father and children: We must not  
anight be absolutelie; seeing with our answer,  
the matter would not be expresse. But we will  
saie, that in those things, which concerne spiri-  
tall friendship, we ought more to obey the mini-  
ster of the word, that teacheth vs rightlie, and ad-  
monisheth vs out of the holie scriptures, than ei-  
ther the children, or the father, if they perswade  
things that be contrarie and repugnant.

But if we demand, as touching things of an  
other sort; namely, of food and of maintenance,  
there is more due vnto parents, and vnto chil-  
dren, than is vnto others; though they be mini-  
sters of the word of God. In which matter the  
scribes, pharisees, and high priests offended,  
when they taught children to hate vnto their pa-  
rents. The gift which I offer shall auail thee:  
and so, by offering vp of their goods in the holie  
ministry, they would defraude their parents of  
their due sustentance. And also the ministers of  
the word must be maintained, but yet not so, as  
anie man shoulde defraude either himselfe, or his  
familie, of necessarie liuinges. I will vse an other  
similitude. Admit that a man be in the campe,  
where must warfare is taken in hand. When the  
generall capitaine chargeth him in something,  
concerning the affaires of the warfare, and the  
father being present commandeth him to the  
contrarie: in this case the sonne shall rather of-  
fer himselfe to the generall, than to his father.  
But if we shall determine of household busines,  
and of things pertaining to liuing and suste-  
nance, the parent shall be heard, and not the ge-  
nerall capitaine. Wherevnto respected that saying  
of Ambrose, when he saie, in the first booke of De-  
uterie; 3 do no less chiefe you (speaking vnto his  
brother of Milen) whom I haue regenerated by  
the Gospel, than if I had begotten you in the  
loche. True in deed was that which he spake.

For, as touching the imploying of spiritual  
things, of doctrine, of amendment, and of sacra-  
ments, he was no lesse debtor to them, than to  
the children of the flesh: but if the businesse had  
beene concerning the food and maintenance of  
bodies (although he might not so for sake others)  
yet he should first haue ministered those things  
to his owne.

Wherefore, we should call an other matter to  
our remembrance; that we must preferre the  
Common-wealth before our priuate commoditie.  
And this performed they, of whom Paule  
speaketh in the 16. to the Romans, who laid  
downe their necks for the life of the apostle.  
Those men verelie deserued well of the churches  
of Christ, and therefore they were verelie much  
praised by them. Wherevnto also may be applied  
that which Paule testifieth of the Galatians,  
that if it had beene possible, they would haue  
plucked out their owne eies; and haue giuen  
them to him. All good subjects, if their god ma-  
gistrates happen into danger, ought not to  
spare, no not their owne life, to defend the pub-  
like liberte and safetie. And in verie deed, both  
sorts of men (I meane magistrates & ministers  
of the church) must be maintained by the sub-  
stance of priuate persons; but not so, as either  
parents or children should be forsaken. For the  
commandment of God aboue all things must  
stand in force, which he commanded by Moises;

that We should honour our parents. And this  
honour consisteth not onlie in vncouering our  
heads vnto them, or in giuing them place; but  
he should, that they should be nourished and  
maintained by their children. And how much  
we are bound to the rest of our neighbours,  
in communicating of our goods, Paule declar-  
eth in the second to the Corinthians, the eight cha-  
pter, where he wrote, that we must communicate  
our goods vnto the poore: yet not so, as those  
which are poore should haue, at abundance, and  
the giuers themselves to want. And also we  
owe vnto God both our selues, and all that we  
haue; but be deahtly with be according to right  
and equitie: and as he is a milde father, so be  
sheweth this equitie or moderation. Wherefore  
the matter is to be determined, as that which  
Elias demanded, & that which the widow gra-  
ued vnto him, we must understand to be a pre-  
rogative or priuilege beside the common lawe,  
and ought not to be taken as an example for vs.

6 But Christ in the 23. of Matthew, sayd  
that We should call vnto vs manie masters in  
earth, because we haue one master Iesus Christ:  
so likevise he sayd vs to procure anie other  
fathers vpon the earth, save onlie the heauenlie  
father. Wherefore, that crisme seemeth not to  
be allowable, wherein the seruants of Naaman  
called their lord, Father. Wherevnto we saie,  
that

## Of Ambition.

that the words of the Lord must not be absolute-  
lie understood, but his mind and meaning must  
be considered. For it ought not to be doubted,  
but that Christ himselfe appointed his apostles  
to teach and instruct, as well the Jewes as the  
Gentiles. But it would be verie ridiculous (and  
I may saie a folie) to giue the thing it selfe, and  
to take auaie the title and name. Neither may  
Paule be accused of sacrilege, when he saith, that  
he was appointed by God to be the teacher and  
minister of the Gentiles. Hea moreover, he ma-  
nifesteth himselfe the father of the Corinthians,  
and also the father of Timothy, in the second chapter  
to the Philippians. And although he was not ig-  
norant, that Christ is the pastor of the flocke of  
the faithfull; [yet] he teacheth, that in the church  
there be pastors and doctores. Neither haue men  
arrogantlie challenged vnto themselves the  
name of father, but haue (as it were) by inspira-  
tion receiued such a title offered vnto them. For  
the lawe doth earnestlie command, that chil-  
dren should obeye their parents; which if they  
shall do, it promitteth great benefits. But on the  
other side, if they will despise them, it promou-  
eth greivous curses and execrations against  
them.

That therefore, which Christ pronounced in  
Matthew, either reprehendeth the ambition of men,  
which baine and ambitiouslie sought after such  
titles; or else forbiddeth them to be masters  
and fathers, who obscure the honor of God, and  
his honour, while they teach and preach other  
things, than C D D and Christ either taught  
or preached; and do lessen the honour of parents  
and masters from the honour of God and of  
Christ. Otherwise they be fathers and masters,  
but yet in God, and also in Christ. For euery  
as of Christ dependeth all kinde and eternitie,  
(as it is said in the epistle to the Ephesians, the  
third chapter) so all the doctrine of the masters  
of the church ought to depend of the dignitie of  
Christ onlie. Howbeit, so far as I remember,  
Christ is not anie where in the historie of  
the Gospel called father. Wherefore he saith in the  
Gospel of Iohn; Ye call me master and Lord,  
and rightlie, for so I am. Also the apostles (as we  
read in the Acts) were not called fathers; onlie  
that Paule (as I warned before) named himselfe  
a father. But at this daie, among them of the  
church, there is no measure or end of titles. They  
are not onlie called fathers; but, most reuer-  
end, most excellent, right honourable, most  
holie, and most blessed. Whollicke, the greater ti-  
tles that are giuen them by the boting world,  
the more abate they are in the sight of  
God: yea, and of all unhalie  
men most miserable.

7 Ambition is an overmuch desire of ho-  
nour. And honour is that reuerence, which is  
yelded vnto anie man, for a testimoniall of  
his excellencie. And a testimonie is giuen to  
him euery of right: for it is meet, that we some-  
what recompense them, which helpe and main-  
taine vs, and are furnished with the gifts of  
God. And there is nothing that we hold more  
tymelie, or better than honour. Wherefore, [we  
giue them honour] that they and their like may  
go forward, to erreche themselves the longer  
and more constantlie in helping and perswading  
of others. Besides this, that we yelding such a  
reuerence, may get them authoritie, whereby they  
may the more aptlie and commodiously execute  
their office. Wherby it appereth, that it is lawfull  
also, euery for holie men, sometime to imbrace  
the honours, which are giuen vnto them for ver-  
tue, learning, and goodlikenesse. For they  
both desire and allow of that, which is iust; and  
do reioice, that men performe that god, which  
C D D would by his lawe haue done. And his  
commendment is, that we honour our father,  
mother, magistrat, and such like. So as, if men  
obeye his commendments, godlie men cannot  
but take it with a thankfull mind. Further-  
more, if it should not thus be done, their minis-  
trie would be contemned: but that must by all  
manner of means be avoided. And solemnelie  
as we are prone to pride, haughtines, and arrogan-  
cie; therefore it behoueth to take verie warie  
hede, that through the desire of honour, how  
loft fouer it may be, we abuse it not. And thus  
I purposed to take those things, which I iudge  
must be taken hede of in this matter.

First, that we repute not our selues in this  
kind of god thing, as the chiefe end. Althow-  
ner we do, must be directed vnto God: and spe-  
ciallie that honour, which is giuen vnto vs, when  
we rightlie and apertlie do our duties; & that  
thereby, both we our selues may knowe, and al-  
so may teach others to glorifie God, and not  
men in their works. This moreover hath Christ  
commanded, that we should so order our works,  
as thereby those that see them may glorifie God,  
the heauenlie father. Neither ought it to moue  
vs, which is commonlie spoken, that honour is  
the reward of vertue. For that is not to be de-  
serted, neither as touching the vertues them-  
selues, nor as touching the men, which is ad-  
eued with them. For it should be verie ill with ei-  
ther of them, if they had no other end prescribed  
than honour. The end of god men, is life eter-  
nall, and the kingdom of heauen: and the end  
of vertues, is to prepare and renew vs to the  
glorie of God. But honour is said to be the re-  
ward

In Iung.  
where is  
ambition  
and ho-  
nour.

It is laud-  
full for  
godlie men  
to receiue  
honours of  
others.

to be used  
in accom-  
plishing  
of good  
works.

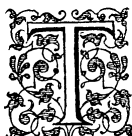
honour is  
not in vert-  
ues, but in  
the works  
of men.





## The ninth Chapter.

Wherein is treated vpon the sixt precepts and first of Friendship.



This word *Amicitia*, In. 1. Sam. 18. ver. 1. of friendship. is called, of *Amor*, that is, *Love*: as faith Augustine against an epistle of Parmenianus, the first booke and first chapter. And this is faithfull

and continuall in *Quasi* onelle. It becometh, that the bond of friendship be steadfast and durable. But it becometh that there be a reconciler of friends, to lead them vnto felicitie; and that an eternall and true felicitie: for other felicities are vncertaine and transitorie. Doubtless, these things can be no man performe but *Christ*. How let vs see, what is properlie, *Love*. Aristotle saith, that, *Love* is, *Love* will well, and (if thou canst) to do well vnto anie man for his sake, not for thine owne. This definition, although it may seeme probable, yet must it be amended: for we ought to will well to no man for his owne sake, but for Gods. But the philosophers staied vpon the second causes: as if so be that they saue a man goodlie and god, they said that he ought to be beloved for his owne sake. But it becometh vs to ascend higher, and to place the causes of things in God. Cicero defineth friendship to be an agreement of diuine and humane things, through good will and charitie. But Aristotle in his *Ethicks* teacheth somewhat more difficultly: for he saith, that friendship is a goodwill. But it becometh offences, that some man loathen an vngodly person, and is not loved againe: and so for that cause, he abhorreth. Mutual, howbeit, some men do mutuallie loue one another, who neuertheless knowe not that they are mutuallie loved againe. Therefore it becometh, that either of them do reueale their friendship one to another.

Furthermore it is requisite, that this good will be stirred vp in respect of some good thing. For we do not loue, without it be for some certaine cause: and the good things are referred either vnto profit, or vnto pleasure, or vnto honnestie. But they which are induced to loue, either of pleasure, or of profit; they loue vnabundantly, and accidentally. For if the cause of pleasure, or of gaine, should cease; the friendship would practisably be loken. But the friendship, which vertue hath ioined together, is steadfast, a neuer dissolved: for vertue is an habit gotten by long custome,

custom, which cannot be remoued. Such a constant amitie is to be betwixt David and Ionathas; Seneca, in his ninth epistle vnto Lucillus repayeth with Epicurus; because he had said, that a friend must be fought, to the intent that if thou haue need, thou maist haue one to sit by thee. For a far more stout friendship is it (saith Seneca) which doth helpe another, than that which is holpen of another. Therefore (saith he) a friend must be fought, that thou maist haue whom to helpe, or whom to sit by if thou be sicke. For Appelles (saith he) and Praxiteles took greater pleasure of their owne works, when they were workeing them, and had them in hand; than afterwards, when they had them made and finished in their chamber: except to a true friend is more beliked, if he himselfe do anie good turne to another, than if he receive a benefit of another. And Ionathas was not refuse anie danger that was to be taken in hand for Davids sake. Saule also loved David, but far otherwise than did Ionathas. Neither vnabundantly did Ionathas loue David onelle in respect of that generall commandment which: Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe: but because of that notable vnderour, which he found in him towards the Common-wealth and goodnesse. Further, he saue that the kings dome should be plucked awaie from Saule, and be giuen to one better than he: and be suspected, that the same other man should be David, as we may gather by the historie. Yet did he loue him so feruently, as he did not for this cause hate him anie thing at all.

And so Ionathas: these were in respect of the generall commandment onlie.

The definition of friendship.

## Of Homicide, or Man-slaughter.

In Judges. 9. ver. 24.

2. Where will I treat of two things; the first, that manner of man-slaughter is comendred by the word of God, and to be punished by the magistrates; secondly, who are guiltie of this crime. As touching the first, we must vnderstand, that not euery slaughter of man is condemned. For if one kill a man by chance, in exceeding of an honest and lawfull thing, he is excused not the punishment of man-slaughter. Therefore in the lawe, there were granted causes of reuenge. For in verie deed, he killeth not: but as it is there written: God (without whose will nothing is done by chance) belieueth him, that he should be killed. A iudge also and a magistrate, when he punisheth heinous offenders, is not to be accounted a man-slayer: for it is not he that killeth, but the lawe; yea rather God himselfe, who would haue it to done, and commanded it. Furthermore, he that in a belated place, or where he cannot be holpen by o-

thers, is set vpon by theues or enemies: if, in defending himselfe, according to the lawes, by repelling violence by violence, he slay a robber or thiefe, which inuadeth him; he is not guiltie of man-slaughter, so much as in that case, he is armed both by the lawes & the magistrates. For the Common-wealth would not, that a subiect should perish: therefore it giueth him leave to defend himselfe by weapons. For this cause Cicero defended Milo, because he had killed Clodius, who first by a secret lying in wait set vpon him. Also the woman of Thebes obtained of David, that the magistrate should not kill her sonne, who had slaine his brother being at variance with him in the field; they were alone (saith she) and therefore it is not knowing, which of them first assaied the other. Soldiers also, when in a battaile they see their enemy, commit no vniust thing.

Therefore, that man-slaughter, which must be punished; and is condemned by lawes, is then iudged to be done; when a man of set purpose is killed by private men. And they, which are to be condemned of this crime by the Roman lawes, are not called man-slayers, but murderers. In the lawe Cornelie, the title is *De homicijs*; and not *De homicidijs*: And they are so called, which do weare about them a short skene to kill a man. And by the figure *Synecdoche*; vnder the name of a short skene, is vnderstood euery kind of weapon. And not onlie they which kill, are guiltie of this crime; but also they which either by deed, or by counsel do helpe, and in their sayings and assistance haue respect hereto vnto, that some man should be killed: yea, the will is to be punished, though it had not this purpose. But this in ciuill iudgement is not held, except in the kindes of crimes onlie; to wit, of murderers, of rauishers, and of traitors. Therefore, that murderer is to be punished, which throweth a weapon at anie man, to the intent he would kill him; or hauering that mind, moument him, though the partie die not thereof: as we haue it in the *Digests*, in the same title, in the lawe *Diuisu*; where Adrian the emperor maketh answer, that we must haue respect to the will, and not to the effect. But that is vnderstood, when the will manifesteth it selfe by anie apparant token. Yet I did not without cause saie, that these things are thus concerning ciuill iudgement: because otherwise, before God, the desire and determination of the mind, as touching all kind of sinnes, is condemned for sinne. *Christ* saith: He that beholdeth a woman, *Maich. 5. 18* and lusteth after her, hath already committed adultery in his hart.

And that the will, in these crimes, is esteemed as the fact, euen the holie fathers, and the renowned do decree. Ierom vpon *Esai. 1. 10* as it is in the Ierom. 10. p. 10. title

David did slatter. 1. Sam. 27. The most cunning kind of flatterie.

Where he David ment to tarie in the campe.

2. Sam. 15. 34.



Cyprian.

Augustine.

Mark.15,28

Luk.23, 44

Am 2. Kin. I.

Mat.16,5

title *Poenitentia*, distinction the first day. *Omnis habet*; *Thou hast not killed* *Inter the Jews*, but *thou hast killed with the will*. *Pea* and *Cyprian* in his sermon *De mortalitate*, *waiteh*; *he that desireth martyrdom*, is a martyr before *God*. *It is one thing* (saith he) *for the will to want martyrdom*; and *another thing* *for martyrdom to want the will*. These things are found in the same distinction, in the chapter *Namquid*: And in the same place, in the chapter *Periclorati*. *Augulline* is cited, *tho* faith; that the *Jewes* no lesse killed *Christ*, than the *Romans* did; although they laid no hands upon him. *As* this distinction be accepteth the two euangelists, *tho* same to disagree touching the hour of the Lords death. *He* one saith, that he was nailed in the third hour; the other saith; in the first hour. *Augulline* affirmeth both to be true: as the *Jewes*, at the third hour cried; *Crucifixe, crucifixe*. *Wherefore* as concerning them, they then killed the Lord, *tho* neither he was crucified afterward in the first hour, by the soldiers of *Pilat*.

*Of the fact of Elias, and that a  
perverse imitating of him  
must be avoided.*

2 The hing was verie angry aginst Elias; partly becaufe he hindered his ambassage, and partly becaufe he threatened him with extremities, that is, with death. And it is likewise to be true, that he was punished by his mother Iezabel. Wherefore he sent a captain or mer milite with his soldiers, that should take him, and bring him unto him, that at length he might put him to death. Howbeit the singular goodnes of God did not onelie defend Elias, alio to take most heauie reuenge vpon his enemies, and that fullie no doubt: for it is not to be thought, that a prophet, being the minister of the word of God, should be tolerated by a soldier or gardner of the hing. God is present, and oftentimes suffereth not these things to be done. Alfo although he sometime giue leaue that his ministers be afflicted by the wicked, yet this is both not as being weakened by their power, as also would saie he were to feele that he can not reuenge; but he hath other ends, wherunto he directeth the afflictions of the goodlie. Wherefore to discerner prophets, cometh not of the power of man, but of the patience of God; who alforre is able to belittler them; seeing his power is no whit lessened. But to discern their aduertities for the performance of his counsels: and therefore Christ said; Could not I aske my father, and he would giue me euell legions of angels, that I should not be deliuered to the

Iewes? The same Christ also, when he should haue bene apprehended, asked of the companie; For whom they fought? and when he had said: I am he, immediately they fell backward. And manie times did the Scriptures, Pharisees, and princes send folowers to apprehend him, while he preached, who could not late hands upon him, but returning againe, said; that There was neuer man spake like this man. Wherefore they, who preach the word of God, haue hereby a most sweet consolation, considering themselves to haue God to be their defender, than whom nothing can be found more strong, nor more mighty.

24 What now let vs consider, that God did re-  
speak in burning of the captives ouer the fiftie,  
and their folowers. Certteinly, he would they  
himselfe to be a reuenger of the propheticke  
being contemned, and of the holie ministratione that  
was despised. In old time he reuenged the spo-  
satale priuilege, because it was taken by the  
fornicators. Also he reuenged the arke of the cove-  
nant, because it was vnworthily handled both  
by the Philistines, and also by the Beniamites.  
Furthermore, he reuenged to libertie the temple  
in the time of Nicanor and Heliodorus. These  
things doo he shew vnto permit to be done  
again, because they should be instruments of  
goodwilke. But a great deale more must prophesie  
also, and the holie ministratione belong thereunto.  
We ought not then to maruell, if he were to  
argue for the defence of his word, and of his  
prophet: for he dooth not easilie suffer his ordi-  
nances to be contemned: nether he that repen-  
neth them, repugneth God himselfe. And that  
should no lesse be spoken, touching the holie mi-  
nistratione, than touching the ciuill magistrat;

the murderers and rebels, till after certaine  
yeeres. These things both God digested, ac-  
cording as the counsels of his providence do  
permit.

3 There remaineth to us, wherefore it was  
admitted to Elias, that he should defecate with  
fire from heaven, those puzles and their solv-  
ers: and yet it was denied to the apostles, which  
in the manner defied, that the same might be  
lawfull for them against the Samaritans, who  
most cruell excluded Christ from harbouring  
among them, when he sounded from Galilee to  
Jerusalem: for James and John desired this  
of Christ. Wherefore, that heretofore cometh the  
ference, that the spirits of the lawe, and of the  
Gospell, be verie contrarie. For the proprietie  
of the lawe is to condemne, punish, and dea; but  
the proprietie of the Gospell is to forgive, pu-  
ferme, and quicken. So that Elias was to kill  
them; which do openly violate the lawe of  
God; but the dutie of the apostles was to helpe  
and to heale men, and not to destroye them.  
Wherefore the Lord added; Ye knowe not  
what spirit ye be. I do not thinke, that the  
wordes are to be understood, as though Eli-  
as be much addicted to the lawe, that he had  
nothing common with the Gospells; he binde  
was sometime a helpe to men. For in a be-  
great heard he fed the widow of Sarepta, to-  
ther with his sonne and familie; yea, and af-  
ter his sonne was dead, he reserued him untill  
again; and hereafter being opened, he ga-  
ve them most plentifullie.

And the apostles of Iesus Christ were not  
 addoed unto goodnes, as that they neuer be-  
 came: for Peter by his word defroidd Ananias  
 and Saphyra, Paule made blind Elimas the  
 cerer, and deliuered verie manie unto the  
 beuemented according to the flesh. Whatob-  
 I grant that the spirit of clemeencie and gen-  
 erous flourished more in the apostles of Christ  
 then in the ancient prophetes: and againe,  
 the spirit of seueritie and reuenge was more  
 tolled in Elias and his fellows, than in the  
 greatest disciples. And I thinke good to ad-  
 dresse the apostles were therefore warned of  
 Iob: because they were moued against the  
 marian by an humane anger, and not by  
 iust perswasion, to willy euill unto them. As  
 to verie likele, that they were bigged to  
 that thing, through the fite of the place: be-  
 in the same place Elias procured fire from  
 uen vnto those princes. For King Abazai  
 haas in Samaria, when he commaunded that  
 should be brought vnto him. Wherefore  
 tows a certefine fond zeale in the apostles, w-  
 that they inuencured to imitate Elias. For  
 the meane time did they make anie differ-  
 helme the nature of their vocations.

thereto was Elias called, that he should execute the iudgements of Gods seueritie: neither did he so sharpelie bechaue himselfe, of his owne accord, but by the warning of God, and of his angel. Indeed in outward shew he might seeme to be a manqueller: yet must he not to be reputed, seeing he was onelic the minister of God.

And to we must believe, that we do not by any other example of our forefathers, allure our selves of those things, which they earnestly and extraordinarily desire. Thus impossible be to the fillic virgin of Samaria, who railing with Christ at the well first, laboured to pious, that God should be worshipped in that mountain, because Jacob had worshipped him there. Indeed he did that, which was lawful for him to do in that age, where he lived: but afterward, when the law was given, the worshipping was to be done at the tabernacle, and after that, in the temple of Solomon. Neither must the examples of the forefathers, done against the law of God, be taken as rules to imitate and followe. The which if we shall do, we shall not be counted as followers of the fathers, but as mockers of them. Wherefore, when we will take unaccustomed things in hand, against the opinionarie commandment of God: it is not enough to allege an example of the forefathers: but we must descend into our selves, in examining by what spirit we be led: And under a certaine glorious pretence, we followe the wisdom and affection of the flesh. As for this cause Jesus said to his apostles: Ye knowe not of whose spirit ye be: Ye purpose with your selves to followe Eli-

Two waies we see there is offense com-  
mitted in this age of Turks. The dyffian priests  
make blunders times taken in hand was against  
the Turks, pretending a iust cause, for that they  
thought must to recover those lands, which the  
barbarous nations and wicked tyrants had ta-  
ken awaie from the dyffians. But whether  
they were stirred by a good spirit, it is verie  
doubtfull. peradventure they were moued by  
a grieue desire of bearing rule, or for insatiable  
greed sake, or else by other inuentions of magis-  
teriall malice; and therefore had seldom any good  
success. Again, there haue bene iens, which in fighting  
debaoured by armes and humane powre, to the  
spread aboue the Gospell and propagation of  
the churches. These perhaps do not well trie, why  
that spirit they did it. It is not it, whereof Christ  
warned his apostles, that they should descend  
into themselves, and examine with what spirit  
they were led; namely, whether they could be  
like vnto Elias. And when they had desired of  
their master, that it might be lawful for them,  
by his leave, to undertake and do it, he denied  
that request; because he was not sent, to the end  
he

warres of  
chistians  
against the  
Turks.

to fight  
to for the  
of of spell.

also be Luke.9,

be

he should afflict or destroy men, but rather to help them; and that therefore he would not pass the limits of his vocation. Whereby he also warned them, that they should not rashly endeavour, to arrogate such things unto themselves.

But that Christ was not sent to punish, and take revenge of wicked deeds; his life and acts do testify. For he was a succour unto all men, and he helped them that were in misery, so often as occasion was offered. And when he was with most bitter taunts reviled, he did not revile again. And being fastened to the cross, he prayed most patiently for his enemies. Wherefore the places, which at the first sight seemed to baffle, are reconciled. And we be all warned, that when we are to take in hand any thing against order or custom, we must first discern things both by spirit and indignation to be moved, neither let us be of the mind, to imitate Helias in revenging; unless we understand for a certainty, that we be led with the spirit of Helias. Yet is not therefore the power, which the magistrate hath, of iust revenging, taken from him: for he hath lawes prescribed unto him by God, which he ought to follow. But those things, which he have spoken, belong unto private persons.

*Whether Helias did well, in killing of the Baalits.*

**In 2. Kin. 18. 28. 30.** While the people was hot and fervent in confession of the true faith, Helias used an occasion, & procured the things commanment, & pronounced that the prophets of Baal should be taken and slain. They must not fall to be better instructed and provoked to repentance, but he would have them forthwith to be slain. For he was assured by the spirit of God, that they would not convert; or be changed. And seeing they had not led away manie from the true God, and would still have decreed manie, if they had remained alive; he accounted it a iust thing, that their ungodliness might be ended with their life. God undoubtedly might by another occasion, means, and waie, have consumed and destroyed the Baalits: yet seeing he thought best to deale after that sort, we ought to thinke that this was the best waie. But some man will say, that Helias in the meane time seemed to be guilty of murder: for he due, and caused to be slain, foure hundred and foure men. Chrylosome treateth of this matter upon the epistle to the Galatians, when he expoundeth that place, wherein he said; I went not unto them, which were apostles before me: At the first sight (saith he) he seemeth to diminish the au-

thority of the other apostles, and to extoll his owne selfe: which thing could not be without fault.

But unto this he answereth, that the saluages and deeds of the saints must not be barclie and simple weighed. For otherwise, Samuell might have seemed to be a murderer; who killed Agag the king. In like manner might Phinees and also Helias. For he thought (saith he) to looke upon the causes, and to consider table, and to what end those things shalbe either said or done. Paul (saith he) was not so arrogant, as he would contemne other apostles, in comparison of himselfe; nor he would win autoritie unto the Gospel, which was preached by him. For he had to do with false prophets, who said; that we to Paul, which forbade the ceremonies of Moses, credit should not be given; but to the greater apostles, who suffered them. Wherfore, he would prove, that as touching things manie seile revealed unto us by God, nothing should be withstood, or changed, by the apostolicke men.

Spoke he seemeth to asseme, that the intent of this is chafie to be regarded; as though a worke (which seemeth absurd) can be made good and holie, by an intent (as they call it). This (by the way) is a good example of so excellent a man. But I easily allow; because there be manie worles so wicked and corrupt, that how good an intent is ever come unto them, yet are they not thereby amended as they be made good. Let no man, (under this pretence) say, that we must deale, to the intent that almes may be given to the poore. Neither let any man be absolved, if he be committed adulterie, by saying that he did it with an upright mind, or to a good end. For (as faith the apostle) We must not commit euill, that good may come thereof. Further, in things that be indifferent, which may sometime be done well, and sometime ill, an intent may be of some force. In which kind of things, slaying is easilie placed. For sometime men are iustly slain, and sometime uniuersally. For the magistrate hath the sword, and it is prescribed him by God, that he should punish offenders. And if he do it with a good mind, and a right purpose, his worke is counted both good and holie: but if he shall do it to satiffie his malice, and to persecute his quarrels, or to yield to his rage and crueltie, he doth not well. Also a private man, who hath not the right of the sword, if he kill any man, he doth a misde: unless he be moved unto it by God, through a certaine prerogative of priuiledge, whereby the common lawe is debarred. But then must he, which is stirred up by God, be very certaine of his inspiration. And therefore men must not deale rashly herein; but a firme and perfect certaintie must be expected,

God

Now then I would asseme, that those things, which at the first sight seeme to be absurd, are by faith made honest and right. For they be allowed by God, because they be done by the prescription of his word; when as men cleane effectuallie alio unto him by faith: neither maketh it any matter, whether that word be of the common lawe, or of peculiar inspiration. Wherefore the goodnes of worles dependeth of faith. So that, euill as it is said; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne: for the other side may be inferred; That which is of faith, is iust; for faith it selfe iustifieth, as the apostles testifies do testifie. Also the goodnes of worles dependeth of the spirit that moveth; for if any man be moved by the spirit of the flesh, he doth uniuersally; but if it be by the impulsion of the spirit of God, he worketh iustly. And unto this had the Lord regard, when in subduing the apostles, that they should not call downe fire against the Samaritans, he said; Ye knowe not of what spirit ye be. And Helias hath be crucified, not onlie through his intent, faith, and spirit; but for because that God deliuered unto him his iudgements to be created, and appointed him to be a iudge of the Baalits. So that he shall not be accounted a private man, but a man of God; who euen as by an ordinarie waie in the earth he would haue magistrates to be his deputies, so likewise can he promote to that place of dignitie, whom sooner he shall thinke good.

But passing over these excuses, I saie, that it is decreed by the lawe. For in Deuteronomie the 18. chapter it is decreed, that the prophet should be slain, which speaketh lies in the name of God, or which propheseth in the name of other gods. And in the 17. chapter is the verie same thing, euen as touching private men and women, which worshipped idols. But in the 13. chapter of that booke, not onlie death is assigned to the prophet which seduceth; but there is also a commanment added, that none should spare his owne brother, or the sonne of his mother, neither sonne, nor daughter, nor servants, nor those which were most deere and nearest friends unto him. Therefore, it is commanded, that the whole cite, when it is infected with idolatrie, should be destroyed with fire & sword. Further, in the 24. chapter of Leviticus it is decreed, that the blasphemous man should not be suffered to live. Whereunto also the iustice of rendering like for like: for the prophets of Baal had caused the ministers of the true God to be slain, as well by Izabel, as by king Achab. But, will some man say; These lawes are old, and reasons it is proued, that these Baalits had indeed deserved death, but perhaps they should not haue beene slain by the prophet, for avoiding suspicion of man-slaughter. Wherunto this

I answer, that the thing was also present, and consented unto the slaughter. Helias indeed presented the kings iudgement; yet it appereth not, that he did against it, because the king being present, did not withstand it.

But therefore he held his peace, manie reasons may be brought. First, it might not be, but that by saying so great a word, he also was astonished, & exceedingly amazed; therefore he could not but fight against the spike. Adde also, that the king durst not stand against so great a consent of the people. Also it might be, that he was verie bruised of raine, and that therefore, least he should be disappointed, he gave some manner of consent unto this slaughter. He caused the false prophets to be brought to the brooke Kison; to wit, that their dead bodies should be cast into it: a token otherwise noble, for the victory gotten of Iabin and Sisara, by the leading and conduct of Barak and Deborah, as it is written in the booke of Iudges, and mentioned by David in the Psalms. But to some it seemeth an unuoluntarie and cruell thing, that the prophet himselfe, with his owne hand, as the historie reporteth, did some of them. As though it were not read, that Samuel smote Agag the king of Amalech. Moses also with the Levites destroyed manie thousands of idolaters.

But and if thou wilt saie; that Moses was prince of the people, and as a lawfull magistrate used the Levites in stead of soldiers: I grant. But what should we saie of Phinees, who being a private man, slew Zimri and Cosbi, which were taken in the same crime? Did not Moses also, before he received the principalltie, slay an Aegyptian man? It is not lawfull to blame that fact, seeing Steven in the Acts of the apostles alloweth and commendeth it. We knowe in deed, that it is the part of prophets and ministers to deale by the word, not by violence, and by the sword. Wherefore Peter and Paul, when they were put unto death, they did it with the word, not by the sword. But we saie, that these things, which Moses and Helias did, were not ordinarie, but certaine acts out of vif, and common order. Peter and Iheras Helias erected the office of a priest, and sacrificed out of the place which by God: Augustine upon Leviticus, question 56, crucifieth it, by the same reason, by which was crucified the dead of Abraham, who went to slay his owne sonne. All these things were done by the private instint of God, against the common lawe set forth. The lawe against himselfe, when he commaneth a private thing to be done against his lawes, his commanment must be counted for a lawe.

of

Of Parricide or slaieng  
of parents.In Iudg.  
9. ver. 5.The laboe  
of Numa  
Pompilius.  
Augustine.Augustine  
booke De  
patencia  
supplicio  
not his.Romulus  
made no  
mention of  
parricide in  
his lawes.  
An answer  
of Epilon.

9 Of the wicked crime of parricide, there are manie things written in the ciuill lawes *Ad L. Corneliæ De parricidijs*. And as far as may be gathered out of the lawes and histories in old time, the name of that crime was giuen vnto those, which murdered their parents, grandfathers, and great grandfathers, &c. to those also which murdered their children, and childrens children, &c. But afterward by Pompeius the signification thereof was further extended. And they were also called parricides, which killed their brothers, their sonnes in lawe, their daughters in lawe, their fathers or mothers in lawe, and such other. Although there be an obsolete, and giuen by Numa Pompilius; & yet anie man twiningeth a free man to death, let him be taken for a parricide. And Augustine, in his third booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the first chapter, counteth Romulus guilty of parricide, because he slue his brother. And there he berideth the Ethnikes, which affirmed, that their gods suffered Troie to be destroyed; because they would take vengeance of the adulterie of Paris. But both (saith he) were they fauourable vnto Rome, when as the builder thereof committed parricide, straitwaie at the beginning: Whobeyt, the same Augustine in his booke *De patientia* (which neuertheless is counted none of his) in the 13. chapter, appointed a certaine latitude of degrees betwene parricides: for as he saith, he sinneth more heinouslie, which killeth his parents or children, than he which murdereth his brethren. And he which slaueth his brethren, offendeth more than he, which destroyeth those, that be further of him.

And the wicked crime of slaying parents or superiours, seemed to be so horrible, that at Rome, for the space of hundred yeeres after the building of the citie, it was not committed. And as Romulus, that made no mention of it in his lawes, being demanded why he left it out, answered; that he could not be persuaded, that anie such thing can happen vnto men. Solon also being asked why he likewise, by his lawes, did not restraints parricide; answered, that he would not by anie occasion of his lawes, giue men knowledge of so horrible a wickednesse, and by his admonishment, to stir them by after a sort vnto it. For it oftentimes happeneth, that they which forbode certaine vices, prouoke men to fall into them; who verie often will inderuent to do such things as they are forbidden. The murder of brethren and kindred, hath vndoubtedly bene from the beginning; as all histories doe testifie. And the punishment of those parricides,

which slue their parents or children, was by lawes (as it is perceived *Ad legem Corneliæ de parricidijs*) that they should be solued in *Culeis*, that is, in a leather sacke, and with them also were put an ape, a cocke, and a viper, and were thowne into the depth of the sea, or else in the next riuer adjoining. But they which slue of their kindred or cousins, were punished with the sword onelie.

These punishments if at anie time they were either passed ouer, or winked at, by the magistrats, God himselfe punished them; as the historie of Samuel beareth of Abiolum, which killed his brother, and most cruellie set vpon his father. He also stricken them with rage and manrelle, which commit such horrible lecherous acts: as both the poets, and also historigraphers write of Nero and of Orestes. For both of them hauing killed their mothers, became mad. And it is a common saying, that they which commit so great wickednesse, cannot be quiet in mind. Wherefore Cicero in his oration for Roscius, saith, that certaine young men of Terrentius, which were accused of murdering their father, were by this means quiet; because in the morning they were found asleep. For the iudges thought, that they could not sleepe, which had committed so heinous a crime. Domitian also, which slue his brother Titus, was killed by the vengeance of God. And in like manner Balbanus Caracalla, when he had destroyed his brother Geta. And that we ouerpasse not Abimelech, whom God sent an euill spirit betwene him and the princes of the Sichemites: and either partie was taken with a certaine furie, so that in the end, one of them destroyed another.

## Of Sword-plaie.

10 Whereas God by most weightie words pronounced, that mans blood should not be shed, this in the sword-plaie, among the ancient Romans, was held for a game: which beuise of theirs cannot by anie means be excused. L. Florus saith, that D. Iunius Brutus, at the funeral of his father, exhibited for a shew 22. couple of sword-plaies. This (saith) was to purge his fathers soule by sacrifice, or rather to appease the diuell. But verie excellent was that saying of Theodosius the emperor. For when the people in the Theatre made petition to him to haue sword-plaies; he answered, that a godlie prince not onelie ought to reigne with clemencie, but ought also to behold games, which be without cruellie. And at Athens, when the people had determined to haue a publicke shew of sword-plaies, because the same was a custome among the barbarous; Democritus answered, that the altar of mercie was first to be subuerted,

ted, before so great a cruellie should be openlie receiued. Augustine in his first booke of confessions, the ninth chapter saith, that his friend Alypius, otherwaie a good man, being at Rome, had his mind wonderfullie delighted with sword-plaies, and did gladielie beat his eyes with humane blood. But what pleasure could be therein? Was it to see men be valiantlie? No, this was not true fortitude: for that hath consideration of the place and time. But this was to be bitterlie mad, and lousy of their life.

Seneca in his first booke *De tranquillitate*, and tenth chapter saith; that Cicero sayeth, that those sword-plaies were hated of the people, which would desire life of him, of whom they were overcome; and that the people liked them, which make a shew that they can contemne death. Whobeyt, this was not the part of men, but rather of beasts. Therefore, both Abner and Iosh were to be reuenged, which lo caused their soldiers to kill one an other. But there is yet an other kind of sword-plaie farre more wicked. For there be some, which prouoke learned men to contention, about the weightiest points of our religion; not for the truth sake, but for the desire of contention. There is exclaiming, contending, and beaking of charitie. And the common multitude both so often change, as it cannot tell now what it ought to helde. This of all other, is the worst kind of sword-plaie. And as it bisualloeth not moderate conference of religion; but a reprobent chiding and clamours about hidient and secret matters.

VVhether it be lawfull for anie man  
to kill himselfe.

11 How must I discusse a question, which I hope will not be vnpossible: whether it be lawfull for anie man to kill himselfe. And least I should be ouer long, first I saie, that death of it owne nature is euill: for God threatneth the same, and doth cast it vpon vs as a punishment. Wherefore, it is put as contrarie vnto life, which we doubt not but is good. And Paul, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15. chapter, calleth it the enemy of God; The last enemy (saith he) that shalbe destroyed, is death. The same thing, if need were, I might proue by other reasons. But now I onelie adde this, if death be euill, while it is sometime wished for; so nothing can be desired but hath some consideration of god & that thou wilt saie, that euen this hath then some consideration of god, when men are thereby deliuered from the greuous evils, which they thinke, that either they be not able to beare, or that in abiding of them they shalbe greuouslie troubled: or else, when by the same they obtaine

some notable good thing. Wherefore, though it sometime appeare lawfull to wish death for anie of these; yet it is a doubt, whether one may kill himselfe for those things. Now will I intreat of that matter.

But I speake nothing here of them, which slay themselves through ignenitie and magnificence; for albeit, that those men may be commended for other ends, which they committed when they were whole; yet it may rather seeme here, that they should be pittied. For they haue no free choice of things; as it is written in the 15. cause, question 2. in the chapter *Ingenitum*. Neither will I dispute of them, which by chance being otherwise occupied, happen into their death against their will. And the will life this proposition: that it is not lawfull for one to kill himselfe, for as man to kill himselfe by the lawe of God: by that lawe I proue, which was made long before Moyses was borne. For in the ninth chapter of Genesis, out of the

I require at your hands, at the hand of man, at the hand of his neighbour, and at the hand of beasts. At your hands he saith; that is, if one shall kill himselfe. In the lawe of Moyses, thus it is written; Thou shalt not kill. And that is spoken in general, not onelie against killing of an other, but that vndoubtedly thou shouldest not kill thine owne selfe. Wherefore, there is ingrained in euerie man a certaine louing affection by nature, that euerie man desireth to haue his owne life preferred and defended. He that procureth death to himselfe, fighteth against Gods author of nature. Besides this, life is the gift of God; therefore it cannot be spilt without hauiours offense. And he that slaueth himselfe, doth inturie to mankind, and to the common societie of men: for he taketh away a citizen from the Common-weale.

Ande withall, that neither the prophets, nor the apostles, nor patriarchs, would at anie time kill themselves. Iob, when he was miserable afflicted; My Soule (saith he) hath wished to perish Iob 17. 15, and die: yet did he neuer slay himselfe. Christ sent out his apostles, as sheepe among wolves; yet he bad them not to flie out of one citie into another, but not to kill themselves. And Christ himselfe, although by his death he was to deliuer mankind; yet did he neuer offer to kill himselfe, but tarried to be slaine by others. And when the A. malechie had said, that he shod vpon the doore of Saule, while he was dieng, and did preste him downe, that he might be the more callid: David answered; Thou art the soule of death. But if it had bene lawfull for Saule, to haue killed himselfe; how could the young man, which befell him, be so happy the worthie of death? For it is lawfull for one to helpe an other in an honest matter,

The punishment  
of parricides.Abolom.  
2. Sam. 14.Nero,  
Orestes.

1. Sam. 31.

Cicero.

Domitian.

Caracalla.

Abimelech.

Iech.

Iudg. 9.

1. Sam.  
31. 11.Death in  
it owne  
nature is  
euill.

ver. 16.

what it is  
not lawfull  
for a man  
to kill him-  
selfe.Arguments  
out of the  
scriptures.1. Iob. 17.  
15.

Ecc. 1. 15.

where the  
rule of cha-  
ritie must  
be taken.

ter, and especiallie his pynne. And if the lawe  
forbidde thee to kill an other man, it maye rather  
forbidde thee to kill thy selfe: for that which is  
not lawfull for thee to do to an other, is unla-  
wfull for thee to do to thy selfe. For the rule of cha-  
ritie must be taken from that charitie, where-  
with we love our selues. Furthermore, thou  
killest either an offender, or an innocent. If in-  
nocent, thou doest iniurie to the lawe; if an of-  
fender, yet art thou iniurious against the lawe:  
for thou bereauest thy selfe of time to repent.  
And it is to be God would suffer thee, that thou  
mightest repent; surely thou that art not a ma-  
gistrate, oughtest to suffer thy selfe. Thus much  
out of the holie scriptures.

Auguline.  
Arguments  
out of the  
scriptures.

Mat. 27.

12 Auguline in his first booke *De ciuitate  
Dei*, from the first chapter vnto the 20. dispu-  
teth hereof at large. And the cause whie he wrote  
these things in so manie wordes, was, for that  
when the barbarous nations, after the sac-  
king of Rome, did iniurie vnto young maidens  
and matrons, manie rather killed themselves,  
than they would abide such things. But Augu-  
line counseleth, that they should not do so. And  
in the 17. chapter he saith, that it is not lawfull  
for anye to kill themselves, either for obtaininge  
of good things, or for avoidinge of euill: for it is  
murder, which is forbidden by the lawe of God.  
And Iudas, when he killed himselfe, undoubtedly  
did staie a wicked man: yet is he guiltie  
(saith he) not onelic of the death of Christ,  
but of his owne also. The same father, in the second  
booke, and 19. chapter against Peticilianus; A thou  
saith (saith he) that a traitor hath perished by his  
halter, and for such hath left the halter. As if  
Peticilianus would saie, that it is lawfull for a  
christian man to reuenge his owne sinne vpon  
himselfe: and they, which would do so, should  
be accounted for martyrs. But we (saith Augu-  
line) account not such to be martyrs. The same  
father, in his 60. epistle, and in the 204. doth  
much more plentifully dispute of this matter.

Jerom.

Jerom in his epistle to Marcella, concerning  
the death of Blesilla, vnder the person of God,  
saith; I receiue not such soules, which against  
my will went forth of their bodies. And those  
philosophers, which so did, he calleth the martyrs  
of foolish philosophy. The same father vpon Io-  
nas prophesie, that it is not our part to plucke dea-  
th to vs violently, but when the same is offered,  
to take it patientlie: except (saith he) it be where  
charitie is in danger. Chrysostome vpon these  
wordes of the first chapter to the Galatians;  
He hath deliuered vs out of this wicked world:  
If so it were (saith he) that this life were euill,  
they should not do euill, which kill themselves;  
but we saie, that they be wicked, and worse  
than murderers. The canons condemne those  
also, which gild themselves. And those canons,

Chrysost.

Gal. 14.

which be called The canons of the apostles, do  
call such men murderers of themselves. But  
if it be not lawfull for one to gild him-  
selfe, much lesse is it lawfull to kill himselfe.  
But yet it must be noted, that it is not there  
ment of them, which for disease are cut by the  
physician.

13 Hereunto also agree the better sort of the  
philosophers. The better I saie, because I  
knowe that there were manie (as Cleanthes,  
Empedocles, Zeno, and others) which flue them-  
selves. Plato in *Phedone* saith, that if this thing  
be; two causes is not lawfull. First, because it  
is not lawfull to staie the seruant of an other;  
and that all we be the seruants of God. Second-  
lie, for that soldiers be condemned, if they for-  
saue their station without their emperors com-  
mandement. He saith that God hath let vs as  
it were in a station: wherefore he that without  
his commandement shall leaue his place, is a  
traitor. Aristotle in the first of his *Ethicks* saith,  
that it is not lawfull to kill a citizen, without  
commandement of the lawe and magistrate:  
and therefore they which kill themselves, ought  
to be grieuouly punished; for they are noted  
with infamie. As he things he said, although it  
be reported, that afterwarde, for the avoiding of  
danger, he did wilfully kill himselfe. Virgil *Vgil*.  
placeth these kinds of men in great torments in  
hell, saieing;

Then lowering next in place becometh they,  
that fell with wilfull death,  
And guileless flue themselves, with ba-  
sie hands abhorring breath,  
And shooke from them their soules. How glad-  
lie now in skies againe  
Would they full pore estate and bar-  
ness of their life sustaine?  
The delinies themselves, milake  
whom else they desame,  
And belieue that none times flower,  
among them selfe restraine.

And one that wrote *Pygmalion*, saith;  
Death to condemne in pore estate,  
an ease thing it is:  
In thyral to live who can abide,  
deth vntillable ywis.

out of the  
Epigrams.

14 In the *Digeſſis*, *De bonis illorum, qui ante  
sententiam ſibi manus atulerunt, aut corripuerunt  
accuſatores*. I. *Qui rei* is decreed, that they, who  
shall kill themselves, their goods shall be confi-  
ſcate: the reason is, that they must be taken for  
foes, as haue confessed themselves guilty. Yet  
is the sharpnes of that lawe mitigated by Anro-  
nius the emperor; for he decreed, that that lawe  
should be force, if the crime be worse, either of  
death, or of banishment. Wherefore they, which  
for that kill themselves, are excepted. They also  
be excepted, which being towaie of life, or impa-

Arguments  
out of the  
philoso-  
phers and  
poets.  
Plato.

Aristotle.

Arguments  
sententiam ſibi  
manus atulerunt,  
aut corripuerunt  
accuſatores.

tient of forswore, do ſlea themselves. Also Adrian  
excepteth the father, who being ſuſpected of kil-  
ling his ſonne, killeth himselfe; for it ſhould ſeeme  
(saith he) that he did it rather for the loue of his  
ſonne, than for guiltineſſe of the crime. And if  
so be that one going about to kill himselfe, and  
others comming in the meane time do let him  
of his enterpriſe (so he do this through an im-  
perfection of forswore, or wearineſſe of life) him also  
Adrian doth except: but if he shall doe it for any  
other cause, he appointeth him to be punished.  
For he that will not spare himselfe (saith he) how  
will he spare others? In the *Digeſſis*, *De iure  
ſſis*, in the lawe, *In fraude, in the Paraph*, *Si quis*;  
If anye through shame of debt shall kill him-  
selfe, he also is pardoned.

And in the Code, *De illis, qui poſſunt facere re-  
ſtamentum*; If one shall unlawfully make his tes-  
tament, and afterward killeth himselfe, it is a  
doubt whether that testament ought to be of  
force. And it is answered in like manner. But if  
he be taken in the crime, or made guiltie, it shall  
not stand. And, as we haue in the *Digeſſis*, *De re  
militari*, in the chapter *Omne delictum*; If a sol-  
dier would kill himselfe, and cannot; if he do the  
same, either through irkſomneſſe of life, or im-  
patientieſſe of forswore, or else for shame, he also is  
pardoned; yet ſo, as he be discharged from the  
war, and let go with shame: but if he be not  
able to excuse himselfe, he is punished by death.  
In the *Digeſſis*, *De miſſio & fracto reſtamento*, in  
the lawe *Si exheredato ſilio*, in the *Paraph*, *Arrius*.  
All theſe haue ſene, that it is ſinne for a man to  
kill himselfe. But the Athenians decreed moze  
harſhe as touching this matter. For they or-  
dained, that he which ſo did, ſhould not be bur-  
ied in the territories of Athens. They did not o-  
nelic conſiſcate his goods, but alſo they would  
haue his bodie caried forth of their bounds.  
And whie the Romans dealt moze miſerly, I per-  
ceiue not; vntillſe perhaps they remembered,  
that they had in their citie, ſuch as were Lucre-  
tia, Cato, and Curtius, whom they would not  
number among the wicked. By theſe I meane  
arguments, I thinke it is euident enough, that  
it is not lawfull for anye man to kill himselfe,  
neither for the eſcaping of tyrannie, nor yet for  
obtaininge of immortallitie, which thing Cleom-  
brotus Ambraciota bid.

15 But there be objected vnto vs the exam-  
ples of Cato, of Curtius, of Lucretia, and of Io-  
nas, which killed themselves to be caſt into the ſea,  
and of Razis out of the bolis of apocryphes, &  
of certaine holie women, whoſe memorie is cele-  
brated in the church, for the defence of their cha-  
ſtite and religion, flue themselves. Cato killed  
himselfe, leaſt he ſhould come into the power of a  
tyrant. But if examples ought to take place, we  
also may obſerue examples of patriarchs, apoſtles,

why Cato  
killed him-  
ſelfe

and martyrs, who ſuffering patientlie all ma-  
ner of moſt grieuous torments, yet did they ne-  
uer kill themselves. And theſe, in ſomuch as they  
be our owne citizens, they ſhould moze moue  
vs by their example, than ſtraingers and for-  
reiners: eſpeciallie ſeing the aas of theſe men  
are grounded vpon the eternall lawe, and ex-  
preſſe will of God. And as touching Cato particu-  
larly, Auguline and Lucretius in his firſt booke  
*De ciuitate Dei*, that that was not ſufficient, but  
forlackeneſſe of courage: for that he could not in-  
dure aduerſitie. The ſame Auguline, in the 19.  
booke, and fourth chapter, maruelleth at the Sto-  
icks, who do place the bleſſed ſtate in vertue, and  
reckon not miſfortunes among euill things: and  
yet thinke, that they are to be ſhunned euen  
by death. For that reaſon (saith he) is this, that  
calamities be not euill, and yet muſt be auoided  
euen by death: & goodlie felicitie (saith he) which  
muſt be performed by the helpe of death! And if  
ſo be that life be bleſſed, we ought to abide there-  
in: but if we will finiſh and performe the ſame  
by death, it is not hapie. For what felicitie is  
this, that can be overcome by thoſe things, which  
ye will denie to be euill? Cato (saith he) killed  
himselfe, did he be patientlie, or vnpatientlie? &  
ſurely vnpatientlie, and in bitterneſſe of minde.  
For his patientie was vanquiſhed, through the  
authoritie of Ceſar.

Others thus excuſe him, as though by his ex-  
ample he would teach holie miſerious a thing  
tyrannie ſhould be in a free Common-wealth:  
and that the publike freedom of our native  
countrie ought to be moze deare vnto vs, than  
life it ſelfe. And our life muſt be ſpent in the  
libertie of citizens; yet that muſt be in battell  
and conſtit. And it is not lawfull for anye man  
to kill himselfe by his owne hand. And it is law-  
full to waerne the people of their dutie, by all li-  
meanes; but it is not lawfull to teach them by  
naughtie examples. And if ſo be that Cato were  
ſo carefull of his countrie, what profit did he to  
it, by dying? By his life he might peraduenture  
haue proſpered the ſame, but being dead, he could  
by no meanes do it. A thouſand waies better  
did our Paule: for he when he was in priſon, and  
had ſuffered manie moſt bitter puniſhments, and  
would haue accounted it great advantage,  
if he might haue died; yet, becauſe his owne  
communitie, and for other mens ſakes deſired  
to remaine alie. This vntowardie is the  
part of a good citizen, to thinke vpon the publike  
vtilitie of his owne citizenrie. But Cato, before  
he ſhould die, warned his ſonne, that he ſhould  
hope well of Ceſar, and ſoone himſelfe vnto  
him. If this were diſhonored, by what reaſon per-  
ſuaded he his ſonne? If it were honeſt, why did  
not he himſelfe take the counſell that he gaue

2 q. i. his



his some? But it seemeth, that Caesar sufficientlie perceived, with what mind Cato did this. For when he heard, that he was dead; he enuied (saith he) his glorie, he would not haue me to be the author of his laste. But he was ashamed to liue in that cite, which should be held with the rule of a tyrant. Howbeit, he should haue considered, that that sinne was none of his owne, but an other mans. And we ought to be ashamed of our owne sinnes, and not of other mens; but if they be such sinnes as are gathered by our owne default. Seeing Cato persecuted not that tyrant into Caesar; but euer as Caesar grew in honor, so he put himselfe against him, there was no cause why he should be ashamed of an other mans fault.

But it is a very great matter (saie they) that a man can kill himselfe. I grant: yet sinnes also are very great. Greatness may be no lesse considered in vices, than in vertues. But these men, soylomuch as they be Christians, if they cannot be persuaded by our examples, yet at the least wiſe let them acknowledge their owne examples: [ whereof there be many found in the ancient histories. ] Marcus Aulus Regulus would not save himselfe, but chose rather to returne into Carthage, when he knew he should go to most extreme punishments. Whether of these two seeme to be of the greater courage? Chonoboulle Regulus; who Cato was overcome with impatience. Also

M. Regulus

of Lucetia

Lucetia is obeyed. But Augustine saith, that she could not abide the note of unchastitie, and for that cause she killed hir selfe. For Sexus Tarquinius entering into hir chamber, in the night, with his sword bayoned, threatened that he would slay hir, unless she would yield to him; and that he would place a seruant slaine in one bed with hir, as if he had bene taken in adulterie with hir. Here did she first begin to deliberate with hir selfe, and afterward the obeyed. Whereby (saith Augustine) there is offered a great scope of matter unto the Christians, for so much as some would passe that sad of Lucetia, and others would repaue it. As for hir praſers, they were wont to saie, that two indeed committed the wicked fact; but that onlie one was the adulterer. But (saith Augustine) the chastitie of Lucetia cannot be praised, unless hir murther be condemned. For if she were an adulteresse, why is she praised? But if she were chaste, why did she kill hir selfe? And so to conclude, that the same in Lucetia, was no bold courage, but a faint heart, because she could not abide the peoples ill suspicion of hir.

But this fault was peculiar vnto the Romans, that they were insensible beyond measure, with the desire of praise. Wherefore verie well wrote Virgil; that The loue of countrie, and diuine

desire of praise, had the ouerhand. But if thou demand, whether Lucetia were an adulteresse, or no? I answer that she was. For Aristotle, in his third booke of Ethics, when he disputeth of certaine actions, whether they be voluntary, or not voluntary, demandeth; that if some in a tempest throwe out his merchandise, rather than the whole ship should perish, what manner of action that is to be reckoned? And he answereth, that the same is a mingled action: for that it hath some part that is voluntary, and a part also that is not voluntary. But to make a more exquisite answer, he saith, that the action is voluntarie: for the merchant had rather it were so for that time. And that an action must be weighed, according to that time, wherein it is taken in hand. And he addeth another reason; that such a kind of action falleth out vnder the free choice of man: for the merchant deliberated with himselfe, afterward he made choice, and fully determined that this should be done. Seeing then Lucetia chose rather to commit that adulterie, than to be stained with infamie after hir death, of necessity the action was voluntary. For she would rather be an adulteresse, being alive, than to be accounted being dead. I grant indeed that the action had some mixture but yet (as I haue said) we must measure the same by that time, wherein it was taken in hand.

But we on the other side, against this example, will object the example of Sufanna. I knowe, what that storie is not canonically, yet, howeuer it be, the example must not be condemned. Where those elders stood about hir in the garden, and threatened that they would acurie hir of adulterie, unless she would yield to them; and she answered; that she had rather fall into the hands of men, than into the hands of God. Curius sought vs also in such distressed, not to cleaue into our owne good intents, and to imagine what may happen on each part; but to make ourselues conformable unto the will of God, and to leave vnto his iudgement whatsoever shall happen. Also Curius is objected, who, at such time as the earth opened wide in the midst of the market place, and that the gay could not by any means be filled by, and that an answer was made by the soothsayers, that our murtherer should be the market place, saith; Think ye that the cite of Rome hath any thing in the cite more excellent than, armor, and men? And seeing that his boſe, he leapt downe into the gap, and straightly the earth returned to hir owne state. What can here be said, but that these things were done by the deceit and fraud of diuiners? Fewertheless, if we will compare this

That Lucetia was an adulteresse.

Curius with Cato, we shall perceive, that he was of a far greater courage. For he did not kill himselfe through impatience, but through a care and lone of his countrie: for he was led by some fault of religion. But this was euill, in that he gave credit to the diuell, whom he thought to be God. Neither was that otherwise, why Plutarchi ſwereth of the virgins of Lemnos: for they hanged themselves, without any certaine cause. And when there could be no end made of this their furie, those which had to come to their death, were, by public consent of the cite, by a naked by a booke, with great ignominy among the people: and after that, they ceased to hang themselves.

the virgins of Lemnos.

Ionas, 12. Of ionas.

Of Iudas. 2. Ma. 14. 43

The Donatists.

16 But to set aside prophane examples, they saie, that Ionas also willed himselfe to be cast into the sea; and that this was no other thing than to kill himselfe. But we must remember, that Ionas was a prophet, and persecuted the will of God, and by his instant command he chose things to be done. Furthermore also, God would that in him should be a figure of Christ: that euen as he had bene three daies in the belly of the fish, so Christ should be three daies in the hart of the earth. Razis also in the history of the Apocryphals killed himselfe: for when he saue that he was inclosed on euery side by Nicazor, and that he could not escape, he strooke himselfe with his owne sword; afterward, when he saue his wound was not mortal, he cast himselfe vpon a headlong. Here Augustine taketh verie much paines. For the Donatists were wont to take hold on this example. Fewertheless, he first answereth thus; that some things perhaps were lawfull vnto them, which in our time may not be lawfull. Howbeit, this is but a weak argument: for the lawe of God, especially the moral lawe, is euershalting. But he addeth, that certaine ados boulties are mentioned in the holy scriptures, but not allowed of God in the behoouement of Noah, the incest of Loth, the selling of Ioseph, the adulterie of Dauid, and other such like. But against this answer it is objected, that in the 14. chapter, this act is commanded by the author: for thus he saith; And he would rather die honourable, than suffer any thing vnworthy of his progenie. Howbeit, this doth not much trouble me: I perhaps the author speaketh these things according to the opinion of Razis; it would be a great he should liue in such sort, as he was. Great shame, both to his stocke, and his name. I haue yet, another answer is much better; namely, that those booke are not among the canonically scriptures, neither may any opinion be confirmed by them. Thus thou wilt saie, that they were read in the church. I grant they were. Augustine saith, that those booke were accustomed to be

read; because of that noble vertue of the martyrs, to the intent, that godlie men might be encouraged against tyrants. But it is incredible, how desirous those Donatists were of voluntarie death. This they did, to bring out the tyrant, who had obtained against them the assistance of the emperours. And now, to the end they should deale more mildly, they threatened that they would kill themselves. And when it was objected by our men, that it was not lawfull; they vſed to ſie to that example, which he had mentioned of Razis; and vnto the place in the epistle to the Corinthians; I will giue my body, that I be burned, and haue not charitie, it profiteth me nothing. Wherefore, it is lawfull (saie they) so it be done in charitie; for Paul saith: I will giue my body, that I be burned, and haue not charitie, it profiteth me nothing. Another argument of the Donatists.

The Donatists desire to be voluntary death.

2. Ma. 14. 37 1. Cor. 13. 3

Another argument of the Donatists.

Dan. 3. 18.

Rom. 8.

Another argument of the Donatists.

17 But Ieronimus upon Ionas saith, that it is our part, not violentlie to plucke death vnto vs; but with a good courage to suffer it, when it is offered; whiche perhaps it be, where chastitie is put in danger. As if he had said; This is lawfull for one to kill himselfe, for preserving of chastitie. Of this same opinion Ambrose seemeth to be, in his third booke De virginibus: for he saith; Of Pelagia the virgin, that the tormentors threatened hir, that unless she would worship idols, they would rauish hir; and that she, to auoid as well the one as the other, cast hir selfe vpon a headlong. This as did Ambrose commend; and he addeth, that hir mother did escape alive with another two daughters; and that when in fleeing state, they were hindered by a river, they of their owne accord threw headlong into the same, and by that means they were diuined. Eusebius also, in his eighth booke, and 15. chapter,

Example.

2. q. 9.

when

when he rechoneth up the lewd lusts of Maxentius, saith, that he, bearing inordinate love unto a certaine matrone of Rome of singular beauty, pauline sent ministers of his lewdnesse, to bzing hir unto him. Who having bound hir husband, and bised all threatening towards him, lastlie obtained of him, that he yielded his wife unto the lust of the tyrant. But he, as though he would seeme to obeye, when he had obtained a time to make hir selfe ready, being retired into a parlor, did thrust hir selfe through with a sword. And that fact is not blamed, but rather allowed. Where Augustine somewhat doubteth, that answer to make. First he saith, that on the one part he saith that love of God; Thou shalt not kill: and on the other part, that they be celebrated in the church as martyrs. As touching the word of God, he is resolved: and concerning the judgement of the church, it might be, that God by some revelation made it be known, that their doings pleased him, and that they were stirred by the motion and instigation of the spirit, and by the special counsell of God. And like to this is that which we read to be done by Samson, in the booke of Judges.

But by Augustines leave, this comparison doth not sufficientlie agree: for as touching Samson, that he was set on by the spirit of God, it is certaine: also God refreshed his strength unto him, which he before had taken away. And Samson, when he died, did call upon the Lord. And the epistle to the Hebrewes giveth him a testimonie of faith and goodnesse, and reckoneth him in the number of the saints. Which can not be said of these virgins: for they have no testimonie out of the word of God. Augustine addeth; that that late (Thou shalt not kill) is certaine and well known. But no man must be persuaded to kill himselfe, though a divine motion; unless he knowe and have a certaine trial, that it is the motion of God. And so I confesse, that God sometimes doth certaine things by extraordinary means. For he commanded the Hebrewes to rob the Egyptians, and Abraham to kill his sonne: yet may we not hereby pronounce any thing, more than what is evident by the holie scriptures. Ecclesi. 3. for my part can not allow of the facts of these virgins: for whether they were done by the motion of God, I knowe not; neither do I thinke, that the same can certaine lieough be knowne of any. Yet may it be, that they acknowledged their finnes, before they departed out of their life, and that God forgave them. Undoubtedly, the incurable of defending chastitie and religion is verie laudable: yet must we take heed, that we defend the same by god means, and right considerations. These virgins, which did these things, be praised.

sed. Admit they be so. But sometimes things, which be done amisse, be praised also. The word of God is such, as in commanding thereof, we can not be deceived.

18 I knowe there be some of the latter writers, which thus decreet; that If any man, for his owne sake, because he can not induce either sharpnesse of punishment, or reproch, doth kill himselfe, he sinneth verie grievously: but that the onlie late before his eyes, the glorie of God, because he perceiveth that those things, which he shall suffer, will rebound to his dishonour, he may be excused. For so Samson killed himselfe, because he saw that his miserie was a dishonour unto God. And that same Razis also, whose other women, which we note spake of, did so likewise. But this distinction doth not weaken the truth, which we defend: for it is a steadfast and everlasting rule; that We must not commit euill, that good may come thereof. Rom. 3. And the martyrs also could easilie perceive, that their death would rebound to the glorie of Gods name; yet was there none of them that killed himselfe. Euen for that cause haue taken Saule alive, which neither he nor onie haue repayed him, but God also. Nevertheless, David commanded him to be slaine. And Augustine himselfe answereth this reason; That since (saith he) he did they feare: Surely the sinne, which seemed to be at hand, was none of theirs, but of wicked men. But if it be lawfull for us, to kill our selves, for the escaping of our sinne, then should euerie one slay himselfe immediately after baptism. As for these reasons it is concluded, that Saule, in that he killed himselfe, can not be excused. And the Hebrewes defend him on this sort; That when he knew he should die, yet he manfully returned to his campe, and failed not any thing at all of his dutie, but submitted himselfe to the judgement of God, which was declared by Samuel. Saule rather he himselfe those finnes grievously in one and the same time matter; first, in that he took counsel of a witch; secondlie, in that he gave credit unto his oyle; or rather unto the diuell. For both those doers of his were against the late of God. These things haue I reasoned at large, but (as I hope) not unpoffible. For these daies of ours be verie dangerous, and the life of godlie people is open unto perils, unto banishments, unto tormetments, unto bannings, a finale unto all kind of cruels. Whoebeit although he should enter into all kind of aduersities, yet must we none late violent haies upon himselfe. Also, doubtfull and intricate cogitations are oftentimes suggested unto vs by the diuell, touching some sinne of ours, as of offence towards God,

our shame of infamie. But these assaults we must ballantine resist, and not suffer our felices by anie persuasion of the diuell, to be carried away from God.

### Of resisting of violence.

19 A christian man is not forbidden, but that he may repell violence by violence; when either he is suddenly set upon in a desolate place, or can not otherwise call for aid and helpe of the magistrate. For seeing the lawes made by a iust magistrate, do give this leave unto him; he doth not this act as a private man, but as a publicke minister, armed by iust and publicke lawes. Christ said, If a man give to thee a blowe on thy right cheek, turne vnto him the other. But this must be done, when thou seest, that by this means thou mayst profit thy brother, or that it furthereth the advancement of Gods glorie. And out of these cases, it is not necessarie to do, as both Christ and Paule by their example haue taught. But while we repell violence by violence, we must vse a moderation of a iust benefit of our felices, (as the lawyers speake), that we seeke not to hurt or to kill him, that doth vs violence. And this must be diligentie regarded, that with as litle harme to him as thou canst, thou repell from thee his force or violence. Undoubtedly, if it had not bene lawfull to repell violence by violence; the apostles following Christ would not haue borne swordes with them. But they had swordes: for they said unto Christ, At his last supper; Behold heere be two swordes. And Peter, when Christ should be taken; Shall we smite (saith he) with the sword? Whereby it is manifest enough, that the apostles to this vie wore swordes. If this had bene repugnant to the late of God, Christ would neuer haue permitted it: for he was a most earnest maintainer of the commandments of his father.

### Of cursings, imprecations, or bannings.

20 It shall now be verie convenient for vs, to intreat somewhat of imprecations, and of bannings, or cursings. The vse of malediction and cursing is verie ancient in the holie scriptures. Noah cursed his nephew Chanaan; Cursed be Chanaan, let him be a seruant to his brethren. Baalac also the sonne of Zippor, called by Baalam to curse Israel. In Deuteronomie we read; Cursed shalt thou be in the towne, and in the field, in the barn, and in the store. Cursed be the fruit of the wombe. These execrations were to be recited upon mount Hebal. The law of Moses saith also, in the booke of Numbers, proper

imprecations; namely, that The bellic should swell and breake, and the dighes rot. All which things could not hurt the woman, if the were innocent; but vnto an adulteresse they were recited, not without force and effect. Iosua cursed him, which would receiue Iericho, with the death of his children. And this happened vnder Ahab, as the historie of the things mentioneth. And Nehemias saith; that he not onlie rebuked them, which had married strange wives, but also cursed them. In the new testament also, there want not examples, the which shall be afterwards alleged.

And the Cathins likewise used cursings, Actius an Tribune of the people of Rome, (as Plutarch declared in the life of M. Crassus) when he could by no other means disuade him from his expedition into Parthia, at the length, in the late, by the which Crassus should passe out of the cite, he set a chafing dish of coles, in the midst of the street. And when Crassus came against it, he cast in certaine perfumes, and with most horrible and bitter curses, cursed the generall, and all his host. Other curses were not in vaine, as the euent now well declared. Oedipus also (as the Poets tell) with bannings cursed his two sonnes Adrafes and Polyces; namely, that they should be without cite and house, that they should be beggers and wanderers as booz, and so at variance in themselves, that one should kill the other. Which effects, according to his wish, came to passe. And Horace saith; I will utterie curse you, and this bitter curse can no sacrifice appease. Neither is that to be passed in silence, which Auguline mentiouneth concerning Paule and Palladia. For they being cursed of their mother, miserable wandered about from countrie to countrie; untill at the last they were beliewed at the tombe of Steuen.

21 Seeing therefore to great plentie of cursings and bannings hath alwaies ben, as well among the Iewes, as also among the Gentiles; it is possible, that it should altogether be vniust, or be sinne, to curse, or to wish euill vnto any man, so that it should be lawfull at no time / Auguline undoubtedly was of this mind, that it is not lawfull: and he intertreateth of this matter, towards the end of his first booke *De sermone Domini in monte*. He also teacheth, that those imprecations, which are read in the psalms, pertaine onlie vnto prophets; so that, vnder that forme of prayer, the onie foretellers the things, which they saue should come to passe. And whereas they vse the Optative mood, in the of the Iudicative, that the faith is not to be wondered at among the Hebrewes; seeing they often times vse such figures in their speeches. For many times they vse one Text for an other, putting

Auguline opinion touching these examples.

Iud. 16. 18.

Heb. 11. 32.

Exod. 10. 13.

Exod. 11. 2.

Gen. 11. 2.

whereto for the cause of Gods glory the lawfull way one to kill himselfe.

Iud. 16. 30.

1. M. ch. 14.

ver. 43.

Rom. 3. 8.

John. 18. 13.

Act. 23. 3.

Iud. 16. 38.

Ibidem. 49.

In Ba. 11. 9.

2. Peter. 1.

Ch. 16. at the end, and

Iob. 1. 1.

Gen. 9. 25.

Num. 22. 6.

Deut. 17. 13.

Num. 5. 19.

Ibidem. 21.

1. Kings. 3. 34.

Neh. 11. 37.

Ch. 1. of the

2. Jas.

Other writers

saith.

Auguline.

Auguline.

Auguline.

the time paſt for the time to come: as;   
 Psalm. 1. Wherefore haue the Gentils raged, and the people imagined vaine things? **A**gain; They di-   
 Psalm. 119. uided my garments among them. These things were ſay to come, and were ſoſpoken con-   
 cerning Chriſt; when as neuertheleſſe they were   
 written, as things already paſt. **H**owbeit, he   
 confeſſeth, that otherwhile we praye, that ſome   
 may be puniſhed and chaſtiſed for their amen-   
 demēt: which is not (ſaith he) to praye againſt   
 them, but for them. And he citeth a place out   
 of the Apoclypſe, the ſixt chapter, where the mar-   
 tyrs crye vnder the altar; Take vengeance vpon   
 the earth for our blood, which is ſhed.

Some two manner of waies be-   
 traies it.

The mar-   
 tyrs praye   
 for the end   
 of the world

2. Theſſ. 3.

And it ſaſmeth vnto him, that thereby is   
 ment, that theſe martyrs prayed againſt the   
 kingdome of ſinne. And ſinne may be deſtroyed   
 two manner of waies. Firſt, if a contrarie diſpo-   
 ſition be induc'd: ſo that ſinne beinge excluded,   
 there ſuccedeth mortification of luſts, righte-   
 ouſneſſe, honeſtie, and all kind of vertues. **A**   
 gaine, ſinne is lubowed vnto God, when puniſh-   
 ment is applyed vnto the ſame; ſo; while it is un-   
 puniſhed, it hath nothing in it that is good: but   
 ſo ſoone as it is puniſhed, ſoſomuch as that puniſh-   
 ment is a part of iuſtice, ſinne is as the leaſt   
 toſe ſomewhat reſtrained and byled thereby,   
 from ranginge anye further abroad. And this alſo   
 is profitable vnto wicked ſinners. **W**here-   
 fore, if we will iudge bypightlie; the martyrs, in   
 ſo prayinge, prayed rather for them, than againſt   
 them. **N**eether alſo were it abſurd, if they ſhould   
 praye for the end of the world, wherein they haue   
 ſuffered ſo grāuous things, that vngodliueſſe   
 may once haue an end. Although I thinke not,   
 that all the elder fathers are of this mind, that   
 they ſhould praye for the end of the world; ſeing   
 rather on the contrarie part, Terullian in his   
 apologetic ſaith, that the chriſtians in their con-   
 gregations, praye for: prolonging of the end of   
 the world. And in the ſame place he ſaith; that our   
 men, by the determinate rule of the holie   
 ſcriptures, prayed not onely for emperours, but   
 alſo for the long perſeueration of the world. **S**o   
 after this monarchie of the Romans, as Paule   
 ſaith, that the Theſſalonians, ſhall come Anti-   
 chriſt, and the end. **T**herefore ſome of the gode   
 lyſt praye, that the time might be prolonge;   
 partly, that the tribulation which ſhould   
 come though Antichriſt, might be deferred;   
 a partly, that the children of the election might   
 be gathered together.

The Crache ſcholles write, that thoſe holie   
 martyrs prayed againſt the diuill, that his   
 power might be byled and brought to an end.   
 And thus much of Auguſtines opinion, who was   
 alſo of the ſame mind againſt Fauſtus, who ſaith;   
 Theſe words of exrecration, which we read in the   
 prophets, ſeeme to be the words of thoſe, which   
 ſay; ſpeake, not deſires of them that accurſe.   
 **B**ut as touching this matter, I would thinke it   
 ſhould thus be determined: to wit; that when   
 there is an enemie, which both wickedlye enli-   
 vnto vs, and alſo to the bittermoſt of his power too-   
 keh euill againſt vs; we firſt of all ſhould make   
 a diſtinction of the cauſe, for the which he hateth   
 vs; **F**or either it is our owne proper cauſe, hu-   
 mane and ciuill; or elſe it is, becauſe he hateth   
 God and his truth. **F**irst, that we make a diſtinction   
 as touching men: for ſome are led by an   
 accuſtomed affection of their owne; and other   
 ſome are moved by God, who reuēaleth to them,   
 both what he will doe, or what is the ſtate of the   
 which, a diſtinction of the cauſe,   
 which they doe ſpeake. **N**eether is this in the   
 meane time to be paſſed over, that the euils,   
 which we praye for, are either temporal, or eter-   
 nall. **A**fter theſe diſtinctions, I thinke we ought   
 thus to ſaie; **T**hat if our owne cauſe onely be in   
 hand, therein we ought to be patient, long ſuf-   
 fering, and gentle. **B**leſſe, and curſe not: thus   
 the ſcripture commandeth. **W**ile muſt alſo praye   
 for them that perſeute vs. **T**heſe are by God cre-   
 ated men, let us not ſpit out the venom of ſer-   
 pent: and ſoſomuch as we are men, let vs not   
 ſuffer ourſelues to be changed into brute beaſts.   
 **F**urther which hurt vs, are mad, and are forced by   
 curſe; and therefore are rather worthy of com-   
 paſſion, than of reuenge or curſings. **A** mouth   
 is giuen vnto vs, by it to helpe and remedie;   
 and not that we ſhould curſe and ban with the   
 ſame. **W**herebyſe God ſaith of ſuch exrecrations;   
 I commanded thee, that thou ſhouldeſt praye for   
 thine enemies, why doſt thou perſeute me now   
 againſt them? **W**hilt thou haue me to be a be-   
 lper of the to tranſgreſſe my lawes, and to be   
 thine executioner?

An exam-   
 ple of a   
 piſt of   
 Athens.

In ſome   
 cauſe im-   
 perations   
 are ſometimes   
 time lawe

In imprecations   
 there muſt be   
 ſuch that   
 theſe be   
 not directed   
 to.

Min. 17.

Psalm. 137.

Theſe be   
 taile of   
 curſing.

diligent and attentive conſideration. **A**s if a   
 miniſter of the church ſe himſelfe concerned   
 and deſired, although he often times regard   
 his owne dignitie; yet notwithſtanding,   
 neither can he, nor ought he, quietlye ſuffer the   
 word of God (which he miniſterly to be cōſer-   
 ued. **F**or this cauſe, the prophets ſeemed manie   
 times to be berie amgſt, for that their medi-   
 ges and prophesies were deſired. **W**herefore   
 I grant, that in this caſe, both imprecations   
 and curſings were iuſtlye admitted.   
 **H**owbeit, this I thinke neceſſary to ad-   
 moniſh you of, that we deale berie warrely, for   
 our glory is loſt, vnder the pretence of Gods   
 claime and honor; to fight and biall for: our   
 owne honor and eſtimation. **S**pooneer it muſt   
 not be neglected, that the wickedneſſe ſeuer   
 ſinnes from nature, and that in anie wiſe we   
 wiſh well vnto nature it ſelfe, that is, vnto   
 men: but let vs curſe and deale ſinnes. **A**nd   
 ſo much as it happeneth oftentimes, that men,   
 when they haue bene corrected by ſome afflic-   
 tions and puniſhments, doe repent: ſo, if vnto   
 wicked men, beinge ſtrangers from God, and   
 tranſgreſſors of his lawes, we ſometimes wiſh   
 ſome diſcommodities and aduerſities of the   
 fleſh, to the end they may feele the wrath of God,   
 I ſe nothing to the contrarie. **A**nd this wiſh-   
 out controuerſie we may wiſh vnto our ſelues,   
 and that iuſtlye; that God wiſh rather afflict and   
 ſeuerge vs, than ſuffer vs to fall into ſinnes;   
 or: if we ſinne, that he will at the leaſt uſe, by   
 this meanes, call vs backe to him. **A**nd if we   
 may wiſh theſe, and ſuch like things vnto our   
 ſelues; why ſhould we not wiſh them vnto o-   
 ther neighbours as our ſelues? **S**o Elias ſaid   
 to his ſervants, **S**o God ſhew home againe vnto him   
 ſelfe ſome of his elect, which wiſh aſtraie: for   
 there be ſome diſpoſitions of men ſo blackly,   
 that they can not be brought home againe, but   
 by this meanes. **W**herefore the psalmiſt ſaith;   
 Fill their faces with ignominie, and they will   
 ſeek after thy name. **S**o then, we may wiſh   
 the croſſe of affliction, both vnto our ſelues, and   
 alſo vnto others, for amendment and correc-   
 tion. **I**n which cauſe yet nothing ought our pa-   
 ſſie to be done; for oftentimes it happeneth,   
 that ſome by afflictions are not amended, but   
 rather made worſe.

**B**ut the better waie were to praye vnto   
 God, to correct them: and not to wiſh aduerſi-   
 ties vnto them, except it be with this condition,   
 to convert them, or that the gloire of God may   
 thereof iuſtlye. **A**nd this waie (ſaith Auguſtine)   
 we ſhould not praye againſt them, but for them.   
 **H**owbeit we muſt vnderſtand, that among   
 men there be ſome, which are the ambalaſſons of   
 God, who deale not as priuate men; but they

erect an extraordinary miniſterie. **A**nd theſe   
 by the ſpirit of prophesyinge know nothing of   
 the will of God: ſo; in their prayers they talke to-   
 gether with God, and in that talke they ſee and   
 vnderſtand many things, as concerning the   
 mind, and are wonderfull affected. **S**eing   
 then, that God theſe wiſh to them, that ſinners   
 ſhall be brought to amendment of ſome kind   
 of puniſhments; & that he hath determined to   
 puniſh them; or elſe that ſome are now paſt all   
 hope of ſaluation, and ſhall without doubt be   
 puniſhed with eternall miſery: ſeing (I ſaie)   
 that ſuch things are ſhewed vnto holie men,   
 and that they in no wiſe doubt, but that they   
 are decreed by the moſt excellent God (the which   
 beinge choſen by him, muſt of neceſſitie be good)   
 how can it be but that they pleaſe them, how   
 can it be choſen but that they are wiſhed of   
 them, whom as they continuallye praye; **W**here-   
 fore, they praye, they make imprecations,   
 they perſeute vnto exrecrations and curſings,   
 as we read in the prophets and holie hiſto-   
 ries.

**H**ereof the goſpils doe take conſolation,   
 who they ſee vnderſtand, in what ſort wicked   
 men ſhall at the length be hamdered: and the   
 weaker and wandering folk, which perſeute vnto   
 the ſlacke of God, are by theſe things correc-   
 ted, and doe take heed vnto theſelues, that they   
 deſerue not the like. **F**or thus ſaith Gregorie,   
 vpon thoſe wordes of Iob, wherein he curſed the   
 daie of his birth, pudentlye wrote, that the ex-   
 ecration of the ſaints proceedeth not of malice;   
 that is, from a deſpice deſire and worſhippe ha-   
 tred, but from a juſt conſideration, namely, in   
 that they doe for the ſame to be allowed by the   
 will of God. **B**ut (ſaith he) theſe things are not   
 prayed for by wiſhing and deſiring. **A**nto which   
 ſaith ſaſing of his I ſeek not: for (as I haue   
 already ſaid) the ſaints can not but alſo,   
 and carrieſtlye wiſh that, which they ſee God   
 wiſhed; ſo that they be aſſured, that God hath   
 thus ſent them heeded. **I**n this manner Paule   
 made Iudas Elinas the ſeuerer: **P**eter ſaith   
 Adas, **S**aphyranas and Saphyranas. **S**o likewiſe the ſame Pe-   
 ter ſaid vnto Simon the ſeuerer; **T**hy monie   
 ſhould be deſtroyed together. **P**auls deliuered   
 vnto ſatan, him that committed inſult, and ſaid;   
 I would to God they were cut off, which trouble   
 you! **N**either did Elias anie other wiſe com-   
 mand the fire to come downe from heauen,   
 the which conſumed the captains our ſilke, with   
 their ſilke robes. **E**lizaſ alſo curſed the child   
 den which deſerbed him, and they were tome in   
 ſunder of the beeres. **W**hat difference is there,   
 whether God execute by himſelfe, or by others,   
 whom he hath appointed to be his miniſters?   
 **W**herefore, that which he doth by himſelfe, he   
 can doe in like ſort by his ſaints and prophets.





The end thereof.

The matter of the same.

Alix. 15, 14.

Iude. 11, 39. Iepha.

Agamenon.

The efficient cause of the curse.

Deut. 7, 16.

Iofua. 6, 17.

Num. 21, 3.

1. Sam. 15, 3.

Num. 12.

and the consecration of gold, silver, iron, brass, pearls, precious stones, a costly thing, which were appointed onely to the use of the tabernacle. But the end was, that they might be monuments of Gods goodness and justice: and also an exercise and trial of the Israelites. Now resteth to speak somewhat of the matter, and efficient cause thereof. Certainly, the matter was, whatsoever was to be found alive in those cities: for all that ought to be killed. And the buildings, and other garnishings of the cite to be cleane destroyed: but as for the riches and ornaments, they (as it is said) were consecrated unto the worshiping of God. But there was to be noted, that none were vowed unto so horrible a destruction, except such as were already declared and openly vowed to be enemies of God. For it is not lawful to kill innocents. Wherefore, they sinned most grievously, which so vowed Pauls death, as they would neither eat nor drink, till they had killed him. And at this sale, they behave themselves more than wickedly, which conselle themselves to have made a vow, most cruelly to kill all the professors of the Gospel. When as Iepha without doubt was decreed, who because of this kind of boasting, thought that his daughter ought either to be staine, or else forced to perpetual virginity. Agamenon also is to be concerned, who (as Cicero in his booke of Offices reporteth) vowed unto Diana the fairest thing that should be borne in his kingdom: which foolishly vowed to performe, he sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia. But the efficient cause of the vow Cherem, sometimes is God: as it is written in the seventh & tenth chapters of Deuteronomie: For there it is commanded, that places dedicated to idols, altars, images, groves and monuments, should utterly be destroyed: and that was a perpetual curse in the law of Chanaan, and to be alwaies observed. Sometimes the prince made such a vow, as we read of Iofua: and sometimes the people, as we find in the 21. chapter of Iudges. The prophet also sometime did this: and thus did Samuel charge Saule, that he should beote all things which belonged to the Amalechites. The name of this cite, whereof there is mention in the first of Iudges, was afterward called Horma; whereas before it was not so called. And it was so called, of the word Cherem: for such a name were they wont to give the places that were destroyed, by reason of a vow or curse. In the booke of Iudges, a certain promise, which the Israelites kept by force, was (by reason of such a vow) called Horma.

But it would seeme to be a question, whether these destructions were against charity? For I say, they were not: for such enemies were shew sent to be utterly destroyed of the Jewes, by the iudgement of God, and not at the pleasure of men. And as concerning the leue or hatred of enemies, we must understand, that Augustine hath written toward the end of the former booke of the sermon of the Lord upon the mount, that he hath added a certaine step of righteousness, which toucheth his neighbour, although he as yet hate his enemy. But he shall then performe goodwill and goodness to the commendement of him (which came to fulfill the law and not to break it) when he shall extend the same even to the love of his enemy. For the other degree, although it be somewhat, yet is it so small, that it may be common also with unbelievers. Neither is that, which is said in the law; Thou shalt hate thine enemy, to be taken as a commendement unto the lust, but as a permission unto the weak. Thus must we love him, to whom if I shall love as the truth is, I do not agree, but am certainly persuaded, that to hate our enemies is not permitted by God; no not in them which be imperfect: for it is an euerting precept, that we should love our neighbour as our selves. And he is our neighbour, upon whom we light by any occasion: as Christ declared in the parable of the Jewes and of the Samaritane. Those undoubtedly were compared as enemies one to another: wherefore the condition of enmity, when it happeneth, cannot let, but that such as are enemies one to another, be neighbours notwithstanding. For ever, forso much as we see, that David and other prophets did offendimes curse their enemies: by what means can we call them wicked, to whom God gave libertie to hate their enemies? For they were holie men, and verte perfect.

Neither doth that seeme to make much to the purpose, which the same Augustine saith; namely, that the sayings of these holie men were no words and desires, but rather sayings and promises of them, who living under the old testament, did oftentimes prophesie the event of things to come. For the apostles are also found in the new testament, not onely to have spoken words of cursings, as Paul, when he saith; I would to God they were cut off that trouble you! but also to have imposed most grievous punishments. For so much as it is written in the Acts of the apostles, that the same Paul beprayed Elimas the magician of his sight; and Peter the Ananias and Saphira. Wherefore it were better to saie, that these great men did not such things of hatred granted to them against imperfect men; but forced thereunto by some other manner of means. And so me thinketh we must make this distinction; that they sometimes had to do for their owne causes, and sometimes for Gods cause. When they had to do for their owne matters, they reasoned all their sayings with all modestie

1. Sam. 16, 9.

What the most speake here of in saying the business of God.

Iude. 9, 14.

Whether it be lawfull to be cruelly to our neighbours, and to hate them. Augustine.

Augustine.

1. Sa. 15, 11.

Ierem. 9, 1.

modestie and gentleness: as we see David did, who sundry times spared Saule his deadly enemy. Moises also, and other holie men, did verte oftentimes infinite grievous things, both constant and valiant: but when Gods business was to be handled, they behaved themselves cruelly and noble. But this if they had done, while they tendered their owne matters, they might have seemed to twist the sword out of the hand of God, and of the magistrate: as they do, which revenge their owne injuries.

3. This also is to be added, that men appointed to take in hand, and to defend Gods cause, though they may then do things sharpe and severitie; ought notwithstanding preciselie and diligencely to beware, least under that pretence, they followe their owne affections. The apostles when they desired Christ to send fire from heave upon them the Samaritans (as they knew had bene done in the old time at the petition of Eliu) were rebuked of the Lord; because they knew not of whose spirit they were: which without doubt was a most fit answer. For they, whom God sendeth to execute these offices, ought not now to be counted private or mere men, but such as were prepared and instructed by him to dispute his come upon the earth. But whether it is lawfull for private men to puaie against virgole and cruel tyrants, by whom the true worshiping of God is hindered, and to curse them? Augustine answereth, that it is alwaies lawfull for good men to puaie against the kingdom of sinne; and that may be taken awaie, when the virgole forsaiketh their wickedness: for whose fincinen repentance we must alwaies puaie unto God. But if they seeme past all hope, it is lawfull to puaie, that their finnes may once at the length come to an end; namely, that they, being taken awaie, might cease both to hinder the worshiping of God, and also to trouble the range. For it is not convenient, that their sin should range abroad unpunished; for when it is left unpunished, it is more vniuersal: but when the punishment of God is imposed to it, then it hath in it selfe selfe destruction.

Wherefore, by the same Augustine, God is verte well called, not a cruel punisher, but a just corrector. For ever, seeing that holie men be verte familiar with God, and therefore, so come as by any heauenly reuelation they be certified of his will, they having an earnest love unto him, cannot but allow his iudgement: yea, they faithfully pray, that the same may be accomplished. Wholier, inasmuch as they be men, they be also flesh, and also take it grievously, to have their neighbours so vexed. For which cause Samuel inwardly for Saule, although he were not ignorant, that he was reiccted of God, did not say, Ieremie also wept for the captiuitie, which was

at hand. And Christ wept for the cite of Ierusalem, that should be destroyed. For they, which be men indeed, cannot chafe but be forie for their neighbours, and for their owne helpe, when it is afflicted. Neither doth God require of us a Stoicall lacke of compassion. But of this matter, if the reader desire to be more, let him peruse my Commentaries upon the Counties. And as concerning this present matter, I saie, that the people of Israel, in destroying or cursing of these nations, followed not their owne hatred; but the infirmation of God. For they were his iheritaments, and might be called his workmen; seeing they desired those, whom God himselfe had declared to be his enemies, and commended, that they should be destroyed by them.

### Of Affect, or affections in general; out of the commentaries upon Aristotles Ethike.

34. An affect is a certaine power or facultie, whereby we either seek or shun the objects laid before us. And in living creatures, in that they be living, and have sense, it cometh insue knowledge. And some affects do insue touching; but some do accompanie the cogitation and opinion. Those which followe of touching, sensibility, as the sense lightesth into an object, either agreeable or vnagreeable, do either pursue it, or shun it. For: when the sense and the object do agree the one with the other, then it is pleasure: but when it happeneth otherwise, it is counted griefe. And while the senses are hurt, there ariseth a great griefe; which griefe undoubtedly is not an opinion of a cogitation, as manie haue foolishly concluded: for, before the cogitation or opinion, the bodie it selfe is it affected. And it is not in the power of our opinion or imagination, to change such manner of objects: for those, which do cause griefe, will alwaies hurt the senses; which senses do sometime to the feeling, and will be the bodie. And on the other side, those objects, which of their owne nature are pleasant, will alwaies delight: so that the bodie be not it affected with some ill qualitie. But those affects, which do not insue in touching, spring and arise from the cogitation or imagination; although there be no outward object present. And they be the motions of the hart, whereby we pursue or shun objects: according as the cogitation, either true or false, telleth us those things to be either possible or vnpossible. Those affects are called \* motions, and are of two sorts: for they be not cogitations, but are deriued of them. Of these affects there be diuers sorts: for some of them be simple, and others compound. Of the simple we rection four; of the compound, six.



Sadness.  
Type.  
J'care.

Sadnesse, hope, and feare: for the object, which is presented vnto vs, is either good or euill. And the same is shewed by the cogitation, either as present, or by and by to come.

If god be shewd to be present, there ariseth gladness, which is a motion of the hart, whereby it openeth a speecheth forth its selfe. Aswether imbracing the present god. But if the god be not present, but is looked for; hope ariseth, being a motion of the hart, whereby it enlargeth and pre- pareth it selfe to imbrace that god, when it shal come. But the euill, when it is present, the hart is euill, the hart doth thinke it; for gladness is a motion of the hart, whereby it abasheth it selfe together, that it might anioide the present euill. But if the euill that is to come be shewd, then we feare. And that affect is a motion of the hart, whereby it draweth it selfe together, lest it should be oppressed by the euill to come. These are the simple affects, which are giuen unto liuing creatures, that they might not onely be a knowledge for their owne sake; but also, that if that knowledge should be to a weak helpe, such kind of spurs might be ioined withall, as might stir vs vp to our faultes, and call vs backe from things that are hurtfull vnto vs. They be as it were winds, whereby the ship is steered: and they are placed in the third kind of qualitie. And albe it that the first and second kind are of being greater force, to the gouerning and ruling of liuing creatures; yet are those of more force to rule, and do worke with a greater vehemence, than the habits of natural powers do. Forwhet, there are other affects of this sort, which are not simple, but are compounded of manie things; as is anger, which comprehendeth griefe and gladnes together: and such other like these be.

235 Now it remaineth, that we do what be the  
 organs of places of these affects. Plato doth place  
 anger in the hart; desire and glabneffe in the  
 liver. But Aristotle was of another mind, who  
 placed as well anger as græfe, glabneffe, and  
 such like, in the hart: albeit that Aristotle placed  
 also the natural affects; to wit, those which be  
 long to the vegetative or growing power, in the  
 organs, which he proper unto that facultie; as  
 if they be hunger, thirst, and the stirring up unto  
 procreation. Neither woud he denye, but that  
 the liver is the cheefe among these inward  
 parts; because therein is the principall store-  
 house of the bloud; and that bloud is both nour-  
 rishment, and also is the proper matter of the  
 sex. But setting aside these natural affects,  
 which are not joined unto knowledge; let us  
 deale with those, which are joined either to the  
 apprehension of the senses, or else unto the cogitation.  
 And since, according to the opinion of Ari-  
 stotle, we place them in the hart; let us prove  
 this opinion of ours by arguments. Certainlie

this must be done, wherefoever they are to be placed, either in the baine, or in the hart, or in the liver. They shall not be placed in the baine, since there the actions and powbers, which be repugnant to the affects; namely, iudgement, and reason, haue their abiding. But one and the selfe same powder bringeth not forth at one vertue time, actions which be repugnant. And that the actions of the affects, and those of iudgement and reason be one repugnant to another; euen Medea hit selfe in Ouid testified, who said;

Videomeliora, proboque; deteriora sequor:  
*The better I allow, and view;*  
*But yet the worse I doo infer.*

And by this verie reason it is apparent, that these  
affairs are not (as the Stoicks thought) cogitation  
of opinions; since these actions consist in  
the braine. And therefore it remaineth, that if they  
be not in the braine, they must be placed either  
in the hart, or in the liver. And belesse they can  
not be ascribed unto the liver; because those af-  
fects, which long hereunto, cannot be gener-  
ned by iudgement and reason, as hunger, thirst,  
and moving unto procreation may be. So  
doubt but iudgement or reason may over-  
rule the power that moveth, to wit, that it shall not  
eate nor drinke, nor procreate children; but it  
cannot let, that it should discolor it selfe, that it  
should yronche, disquiet, and stir up. But these  
affects, which followe perceiving of knowledge,  
may be ruled by reason and iudgement: and  
so they be not of the selfe-laine nature that those  
be, which are placed in the liver. Therefore, they  
shall not belong unto that part of the bodie, but  
unto the hart. And with this opinion, which true  
thinkers is Aristotles, the holie scriptures doe a-  
gree, which saie; Thou shalt love the Lord thy  
God, with all thy hart, with all thy soule, and  
with all thy strength, and thou shalt feare to of-  
fend him.

36 But the mind notes, that hunger and thirst are sometimes inward too for the defect it selfe, when we be quite empty; and in this respect they cannot be governed by iudgment and reason, nor yet haue their originall from thence: but that grasse, which both followe, belongeth to the hart; since the first emptinesse is in the organs, which doe belong into the vegetatiue power. And as touching the affects also, which followe the sense of feeling, there must be two things considered; to wit, the dissolutions of the whole, the renting in peeces, and burnings: which things are done in the flesh and sinewes. But the grasse, which followe them, be motions of the hart. Either must we passe over this, that the hart hath two other motions, beside affects; namelie, the pulses: But we are not now at this present to speake of them, and therefore I come againe to the affects: to which, since we haue cal-

of Affects.

that the  
affects an  
no violent  
motions.

led their motions of the heart, we must not think them to be violent: because they have their originall from nature it selfe, so they arise from the powers of the heart. But yet must we understand, that such is the course of nature, that those things which be over vehement, do hurt, yea they maye and corrupt. As for example: if the light be too great, it blindness the eyes; over-much heat, or over-much cold do destroye living creatures: but whatsoever is moderate, both profit and preserve. Which selfe same thing must be iudged of the affects. Excessive griefe, feare, or gladnesse be hurtfull; but when there is used a measure, they bring verie many helps and commodities. Now have we spoken enough of the formall cause: for we have proued, that they be motions of the heart, which do followe the knowledge of the senses; or else followe cogitation or opinion, which nevertheless are naturall and not violent. And we have also shewed what we must determine as concerning the matter of libetie.

the matter of motion.

Now it remaineth, that we speake of the efficient cause. As for this, it is the object, whereby the sense or cogitation is moved; namely, that good thing or evil thing, which offereth it selfe, either present or to come. And moreover, the efficient cause is a power of the heart, which forthwith moveth the same to pursue or to flye; that which is offered. Wholbet, betwene the object and power offered by of the hart, there cometh betwene a middle knowledg: for the power of the heart is not stirred by the object, unless it be through knowledg. As if immediately, so farre as the objects are apprehended, either by the sense, or by the knowledg; the spirits faculties, which bee attuned upon the knowledg, move the hart it selfe, and the power of the hart

The effi-  
ent cause of  
the affects.

why the  
effects are  
in some  
more feeble,  
and in others  
more vehem-  
ent.

How the  
naturall  
affects do  
belong to  
the hart.

That the  
hart is the  
seate of the  
affects.

from hence arise bluishings, according as the blood either retireth into the inward parts, or else pottereth out it selfe into the outward parts. And thus much shall suffice as touching the cause.

37 *John* remaineth, that we consider of two *whereby*  
things. First, that their affects be not either co- *affects*  
gitations, or opinions; as the Stoicks thought opinions.  
them to be. Secondly, that they must not be all  
condemned as vicious and evil. First it may  
evidently be proved in those affects that be cal-  
led natural, as are hunger and thirst: which af-  
fects invade us without any cogitation. Also,  
who will call it a cogitation or opinion, when  
we be afflicted with a dissolution of the whole;  
with a breaking of the fibres, or a burning by  
flame or fire? They may as well persuade be,  
as touching the natural affections of parents  
towards their children, which are not unlike be-  
haviour in men, but in brute beasts also. Yea  
it, since the matter is plain; I think it needs  
to stand much together. *John*, as concerning  
the second; I will not deny, but some affects  
have their faults joined with them. But I will  
shew, that manye of them are good; and that  
those, which are evil, are evil through many  
faults, not in their owne nature. And first may  
we speake of the error of judgement, for we do  
not alwayes judge aright of the objects which  
are before us. That which is evil, is otherwise ta-  
ken for that which is good; and that which is  
good, is esteemed to be evil. But the affects, as we  
have declared, doe accompanie the judgements  
of the mind; and so the fault passeth from  
the judgement unto the affect. The apostles judged  
the contumelious, which they suffered for the  
name of Christ, to be honourable unto them, and  
they departed with ioy and gladnesse from the  
Councell.

Of his contrariety, then David was different  
of his being bought by his some, he foretold;  
because he saw, that his casting forth would be  
an offence unto men, which knew that God  
promised into David by the prophets. He saith  
moreover, that these things did happen though  
his stout fault: and that that there were such  
he could not scape but foraine. Either of these  
both David as the apostles judged righte of the  
things obeyed, albeit in diuers manners they  
were judged of the things that happened. Some  
doe ascribe flatteries to be good things indeed  
and therefore are delighted with them. Others  
judge more rightlike of them; for they persecute  
them to be but mockers, and for that cause do  
despise them. Those that are god men, do re-  
ioyce in their vertues: so they judge rightlike  
of them. Again, that fault he judged, which  
heate them; because they be infected with a con-  
trite iudgement: so as the naughty and

whether  
effects be  
opinions.

ENTL.

ED ACTS, 5, 7, 10

goodness of the affects, proceedeth of the true or false judgement, concerning the things which are objected. *Yolubet*, it is not requisite to say, that all the affects are evil; because manie men being seduced by error, do light upon those ill motions of the mind: for they which erre not, are not hurt by the affects of error.

All affects are cryings  
mant to  
right reason

38 An other euill there is in the affects, *volubet* in verbe bad proceedeth not of error; but for that there be some, which are aduersaries unto right reason: such is the desire of other mens goods, of murder, of adultery, and such like. These affects must of god right be condemned; but yet for these fautes must not sentence be giuen generallie; fith there be other affects, which are agreeable to right reason and sound judgement; namelie, love towarde vertue, and hatred and anger against finnes. Which affects, being agreeable to reason, are not onelie honest and laudable, but also verie profitable: for they are giuen as certaine lymes to godlie life. For it is not sufficient to knowe those things that are god, but we must be earnestlie stirred vp unto them. For the affects be as they are *fi* netors, by whose stretching forth, or shrinking in, we are the earnestlier, or the lightlier stirred vp. *Volubet* saith not, that this is most true, that anger is as it were a whetstone vnto fortitude? We should be verie dull euen vnto honest actions, if we had not these provocations: we should be euen as a ship in the sea destitute of wind. Wherefore, the nature it selfe of affects is not euill, since manie of them be verie profitable and honest. And doubtles, God gaue the organs of these affects, and he appointed humors to attend vnto them, and knowledges to accompanie them: so as it can not be denied, but that they are the books of God; and especially since he in his lawe requireth such affects. For he willed vs to love and to feare God, to love our neighbours, and seruants to feare their masters: and full of such precepts are the holie scriptures.

Microscop  
or the im  
possibilitie  
of the Sto  
ics must be  
admitted.

39 Now let vs se, how these affects may be ruled and corrected. The first waie is ciuill: to wit, through moall vertues. For those do reduce them to a mediocritie; and those would suffice; if we should onelie haue respect vnto the present life. But in truth, because God they are not sufficient; neither doth this ciuill iustice suffice before his tribunall seate. And therefore another rule is yet necessarie; namelie, the rule of the diuine scriptures, the which do profit nothing at all, vntlesse they be apprehended by faith. This rule bringeth two manner of commodities with it. The first is, that that which is wanting vnto true righteousnes (considering the moall state wherein we be) is not imputed to vs, and that the whole fulfilling is ascribed to vs out of Christ his fulnesse. Besides this, there is giuen vnto vs greater strength to withstand lulls. And finally by faith, the vertie actions of vertues, & god affects, are altogether referred to God: which without faith cannot be done. And therefore, in men, which are estranged from Christ, those moderate affects, how gorgious soeuer they were, are finnes; not that they be in their owne nature, but they be become through our natural corruption. For we be euen as filthy vessels, the which do corrupt the wine, though it be god that is poured into vs. And therefore, fith God is the author of all creatures, and that he make nothing but is god, and make no bare substance, and, such as are furnished with no kind of helps, but gaue vnto euery one a promiscue and inclination vnto those things which be hollesome and profitable: it followeth, that not onelie nature and substance be god; but also the affects, which are by God ingrained in them. Albeit, that in those which be wicked men, they drawe vnto them these two euils,

their affections, as guides by them; but vnto them vnto those vertues and noble acts, which God commanded. And it is apparent in the holie scriptures, that those hereticall men were stirred vp of God, with certain moie vehement affections, than other men are. But it may be doubted, of from whence the exceeding corruptions of affects, or else to great a disagreement from reason in some of them (such as is the greedy desire of other mens goods, of murder, rape, & adultery, which can not anie manner of waie be allowed) had their originall. Vnto which question an answer may easilie be made out of the holie scriptures; because that By one man, that is by Adams fall, sinne entered into the world. But the philosophers, which vnderstand not this, do aslie vnto temperatures of the bodie; & vnto affects and motions of the starres: *volubet*, as the thing it selfe beclareth, they can not by those causes yeild a perfect reason.

Whereas  
cons that  
there is a  
differing  
of the af  
fects from  
reason.

Volubet  
cons that  
the affects may  
be gouerned  
by god.

which otherwaie of themselves are god. First, by reason of originall sinne, nature is so corrupted and weakened, that god affects are not of such efficacie as they ought to be. Secondly, they are not directed vnto God, as it becometh that they should be; but rather to the imbracing of pleasures and earthlie delectations.

Whereby we may perceiue, there are foure degrees of men. The first are the best, who be neither indued with moall vertues, nor yet with godlinesse: in these we may perceiue all things to be fraught with perturbations and disorder. Secondly, there be others as yet aliens from godlinesse; *volubet*, ciuill men, who by a certaine kind of habit, haue after a sort reuolued their affections to a mediocritie. The third sort are believers in Christ; who notwithstanding they are not without sin, no more than are other moall men, yet is not their sinne imputed vnto them. In the fourth & last place we may put, which either were made by God at the beginning, or else are led out of hence, and be now with Christ. They inuied haue no corrupt affections, neither on the second, nor yet on the third cause; but they haue them altogether god, absolute, and perfect. *Volubet*, in nature there be not anie affects to corrupt, and so vicious, but in them may be seene somewhat that is god. For in all of them there doth appere some part of the institution of God. For that same first beginning, (as I may so saie) the facultie & strength of these qualities had his originall from God; but the confuseness either of imperfection, or of deformeness, which cometh by reason of sinne, hath corrupted the same. Neither do those euill affects hurt alone the greater parts of the soule, but they also hurt the will and reason. For so did God fasten and bind together those powers of the mind, as they might serue one another; namelie, that the affects should obeye reason, and that reason should rule and gouerne the affects, and temper the motions of the part. *Volubet*, it saith otherwaie; and to great a faultlesse there is of the will, as being compared vnto the affects, it may seeme to be euen a fearfull childe, sitting vpon a verie fierce houlle. Wherefore, the moall philosophers haue prescribed to themselves this end; namelie, to qualifie the affections by vertues, and to strengthen reason being weakie.

In all affects  
there is  
some good  
thing.

All affects  
hurt the  
will and  
reason.

In what  
parts of the  
mind be the  
affects.

\* The part  
there enclit,  
\* The la  
ding part,  
\* The weak  
full part.

40 But which be the parts of the mind, that being intruded by vehement affects, do disturb reason, and make it feeble? Plato declared, who in the chiefe place appointed \* *Microscop*, and in the inferior place, \* *Microscop*, and \* *Supposed*. So that in these latter parts of the mind are placed the affects. And these powers of the mind, as it was said before, be intwed to be in the head, in the liuer, and in the hart.

But Aristotle, for the generall word, tolde *Microscop*, which he bindeth into three parts, to wit, *Microscop*, that is, Crasie deare, Affection, or Courtousnesse; *Microscop*, that is, Anger, or Vexation of the mind; & *Microscop*, that is, Will. These parts, because they are apparent of themselves, there is no need to expound them anie further. Yet this neuertheless will I adde, that according to right order, the inferior appetites ought to be moued, gouerned, and ruled by that same superior, which is *Microscop*, to wit, Will: euen as the hypermetall there guide both the lower, as Aristotle writeth in this, *Microscop De anima*. And thus doubtles the case standeth: the inferior powers, when they be stirred up, and compelled to the doing of anie thing, are gouerned by the cogitation; and the cogitation by reason.

Bea, and euery man hath experience in himselfe, that when anie natural reason is applied, the disturbed affections are set in quiet: euen as the winds are seined to be suppressed by Acolus. Wherefore, in man, the affects are obedient vnto the will it selfe; whereas in brute beasts, action immediatly followeth vpon the motion of the affects. But our affections do perpetuallie expect the commendement of the will, vntlesse that some impediment do oppose it selfe: as in children, and in mad men we see it falleth out. Here perhaps thou wilt saie: Do we not see, that in those, which are incontinent, the affects are moued euen against the will? We answer, that indeed they reuel against the will; but that, as touching the motion and actions, they bring nothing to passe, vntlesse that the will do command them. And so the affections do resist the will, and trouble it, and finally overcome it, and lead it abate to their owne opinion; which will, when it shall haue giuen his assent, and shall haue overruled the matter, actions do followe, not as it becometh at the beginning, but as it cometh when it is ouercome.

Whether  
the affects  
be moued  
against the  
will.

41 But some thinke, that the power of desire, and of being angrie, is all one; because contraries belong all vnto one facultie: but things agreeable vnto nature, and things hurtfull to the same, are contrarie; and therefore they be both objects of one part of the mind. As white and blacke, are objects of the sight; a right and crooked line, are objects of one and the same science; namelie, of the science *Microscop*; and a whole and a sicke man, are objects of physics. Here vnto we answer, that the objects of the angrie and of the desiring power, are not so to be distinguished, by that which is agreeable, and that which is hurtfull, but that either of these parts hath respect vnto god and euill; *volubet*, not after the like manner. The power, which desireth hath respect vnto god and to euill absolute; that is to wit, that it may attaine the one, and

and avoid another. Nevertheless, otherwhile impediments and things that do corrupt it, do fall out betwixt us: so that it is a difficult thing to obtaine this, or to avoid that. And there doth the power of anger then it selfe, for the overcoming of these difficulties; it is itselfe, and it canne likewise the impediments, to the intent we may either apprehend the good, or avoid the evil, according as we do desire. So then the object of the angrie power is god and evil, according as the thing difficult and hard offereth it selfe. Hope is chafelle an affection of the angrie power: for it is carried unto that which is god, but yet a god that is absent, to the obtaining whereof must be denoued the impediment of expectation; yea, the power and the difficulty of the impediments must be overcome.

But in what other those faculties shall be placed among themselves, it thereby appereth; in that the force of the angrie power beginneth at the power of desire, and endeth also at the same. For when any man hath an intire doctie unto him, he is sad; but the affect of sadness perteineth to the facultie of desire. Against this evil (whereby the offender partie is made sad, to the intent it may be avoided) both anger interpose it selfe; which, by renenge, coueteth to repulse that evil. But revenge (as we all knowe) is a hard matter; which when it is performed, then faccedeth gloriouse, which belongeth to the power of desire, and there we cease to be angrie. Therefore the power of anger is a defender, and also a striuer against, and doth resist the desiring part. For the angrie part lieth in labours and graces, but the part desiring overcometh them, endureth them, and entereth into them, whether it will, or no: and when the one of them enforceh his action, the other contrary toly doth slacken it. They which lust verie inordinate after women, are not angrie with them; and they which be angrie with them, are lesse inflamed with the desire of them. Therefore the object of the angrie part, offendeth the desiring part, because (as we said right now) it lieth from labours and difficulties, whereunto the angrie part offereth it selfe, a maketh it selfe ready to get the victory. And it is a manifest thing, that of those two powers of the mind, the angrie part commeth the nearer unto reason; for it is a helper of the same, to execute whatsoeuer counsels: but the desiring part commeth nearer to the sense. And to deale by examples, in a matter which yet I thinke is plaine enough. Boldnesse and feare, being parts of this mind, be affects: for boldnesse doth affect a good thing, which is difficult. But feare lieth an evil thing, which is hard to be avoided; for we feare not the evils, which be us not, and may easilie be avoided. And thus much of the affects in generally, where

of not onlie the morall philosopher disputeth, but also the naturall philosopher, and the Physician, and Mathematician.

42. Now to set aside naturall philosophers and Mathematicians, I will speake somewhat of the toxicians. They doubtlesse (as Aristotle testifieth) in his second booke of Metheorics do first endeavour by arguments, to make men believe that those things be true, which they asseme. And then do they confide of the minds and affections of the iudges, and of those which heare them: for that carthly a great weight buy the cause. For they favour him that is guiltie, do beleue, that either he fauoured not, or else that he made a verie small fault. But on the other side, if they shall hate him, they thinke both them selves, that either he is no innocent at all, or else that he is most guilty of all. These affects, unless that an Orator can change, qualifie, or turne unto the contrarie; he shall labour in vaine. Therefore Aristotle teacheth, that those things there must be considered. First, who they be that are prone to be affected, either this way or that. Secondly, towards whom they are bound to be so affected. And finally, for what causes their affects are moved, either one waie or an other; to the intent that the things being knowne, they may easilie make them ferme their purpose. But there be some, which thinke that this is not true, or to be permitted; that in pleading of causes, affects should be moved, since that the minds of the iudges, in discerning, ought to be at quiet: which cannot come to passe if the affects be troubled by an artificiall speech of Orators.

Wholseth, they which speake this, seeme to me, that they differing not the nature of affects, by the use of them; because in verie deed, the nature of affects is god, albeit that the use of them be otherwhile god, and otherwhile evil. As so stonnes being made of iron, which is a god creature of God, do serve sometime to a lust use, and sometime to an unliust. And where in I beleue you shall the Orator offend; if, when in a god and iust cause, he shall let the iudge ill affected towards the partie accused, he do temper him with the art of eloquence, and do vaine him unto a contrarie mind, yea and stirre by the motions of his part to deere gramine and iustice. Where undoubtedly there shall no offense commeth, but humane affects shall be directed into the ends prescribed unto them. For otherwhile the audoities, and also the iudges become cold; as unto whom it shall not suffice to have thewed that is to be done, unless they be dwayne thereunto, by stirring them by with a verie vehement affect. But those Orators are to be reprehended, and restrained, which to this end direct eloquence for the moving of affects;

affects; that the minds of the iudges may be disguised, and that they may not see that is true. But yet, for these mens ill demeanour, must not that profitable cunning be banished from the affaires of men. For to ought the holie scriptures to be blamed, wherein the spirit of God, not onlie warneth that things are to be done, and what to be avoided; but also directh by the affects, that we may be the more compelled to obedience. And this will I haue to suffice as touching this matter.

### Of some of the Affects seuerallie.

43. But now we thinke it good to speake somewhat of the affects seuerallie. Affect, as it is manifest, do belong unto the generall tripos of qualitie, and are contained in that kind, which commonlie is called passion, and passible qualitie. But among these, there be two of a greater sort, and verie common; I mean delectation and griefe. They chafelle have their place in the sinewes, which be dispersed in a manner ouer all the bodie: unto which sinewes, when things, either agreeable to nature, or else repugnant thereto are applied, then we be either delited, or else do sorrowe. Whereover, there be other affects, which followe knowledge it selfe: whereby, as the nature of them is, so the hart doth change his motion, according as god or evil that is laid hold vpon in the knowledge; and that, either present or imminent. For when we feele that god is present, the hart is pleasantlie delited, and sweetlie affected therewith; and this affect is called gloriouse. But if so be we perceive that the god is not present indeed, yet not far off, but ready; and that within a while we shall obtaine it, then are we stirred by lusty hope to pursue the same; and the hart in like manner is pleasantlie moved. But when we perceive that a greivous motion, the hart scarcely beache with a greivous motion: for it thinketh, it abhorreth, and it is vered. And this affection is commonlie called as well sorrowe as griefe of mind. In Greke it is *lym*; so called, as the Stoicks thinke of *lym*, that is, *lym*, for as much as the bodie of him that is sicke, is laden through sickness; so likewise the mind seemeth, after a sort to be consumed with sadness.

Where remaineth another knowledge of evil, the which indeed is not present, but such as is now nere at hand: that doth the hart etchem, & euidentlie enough starteth from it by his motion: and such an affect is called feare. According to these principall affects, we will now in treat of those, which haue their originall from sadness or griefe. And those are likewise recha

ned to be foure; that is to wit, mercie, indignation, enuie, and emulation: of the which Aristotle did singularlie well write manie things in his booke of Metheorics. But before I deale particularly with these, we must demand one thing to wit, whether affects are to be reckoned in the account of god or of euill things: the Stoicks accounted them in the number of euill, and condemned them generally: being loth to this reason; that by them the mind, the iudgement, and sound counsell is greatly troubled. For they so hale and dwayne the mind and reason to and fro, as it cannot peaceablie behold things naturall and diuine; neither yet determine of doing things operlic and rightlie. And further, because with the heauie load of them, they vaine men verie often to commit dishonest and vnliust things: yea, and when they be sensible what more becometh, they hurt the bodie it selfe. Where in a manner were the reasons of the Stoicks.

The Peripateticks teach far otherwise; namely, that it is not true, which the Stoicks declare, except when affects are not qualified by reason, but are hindered to haue their immoderate scope. Because those affects, as they be controlled within certaine boundes, are both good & profitable: as being the matter of vertues, and which by nature were given, as the affections of them. For fortitude is greatly furthered by the means of wrath; and compassion doth attend vpon the vertue of clemencie. And in the same sort it may be said as touching the most part of them. But among these philosophers, so dilagreed are they in themselves; sentence must be given according to the iudgement of the holie scriptures. They declare, that man, in respect both of the body, and of the soule, was created by God: and that all things, whatsoever God hath made, were good. Therefore, seeing he himselfe planted the affects in man (I mean not wicked nor joynt, as now we haue them, but perfect and sound, and which should obey and serve reason) they of necessity be good. Furthermore, the lawe of God doth in euery place commend mercie vnto vs: it preadeth repentance, which mercie without fauour & grace of mind. Paul also wrote, and Paule repeated it; Be ye angrie and sin not. Yea, as the matter hath stretched far forth, that affects are attributed vnto God himselfe; namely, wrath, mercie, sorrowe, and such like: which although they are not propriety spoken of him, yet this we must obserue, that in man, whatsoever by it selfe to vice and sinne in his owne nature, is neuer by the holie scriptures attributed vnto God.

### Of Shamefastnes.

44. Shamefastnes, which is a meane thing,



And enen as it was said unto another by the messenger of God; Thy soule shall be for his soule: so Soule, being a little before placed by God in the kingdome, was deprived thereof. What shall we then do? Shall not finnes be forgiven? Seneca, in his second booke *De Clementia*, the first chapter; Iardon (saith he) is a remission of punishment due, whereby he is forgiven, which ought to have bene punished. And so he thinketh it is not a wise mans part to give pardon; because a wise man will neuer commit that, which ought not to be done; or leave any thing undone, which ought to be done. This reason of his seemeth to be good and effectual enough, yett least we should be deceived thereby, we must here make a profitable distinction of persons; namely, of God, of princes, and of private men. A man ought to doubt, but that God may forgive whom he will, since that he is not bound to any other mans lawes. Wherefore, in forgiving, he is not faine to remit that, which ought to have bene punished. Besides this, he hath not to forgive them their faults, but that he hath punished them in his owne be gotten soune Christ.

But we must otherwise thinke of the magistrate, to whom it is not lawfull to forgive the punishments of finnes, because he is commanded to give judgement according to the lawes: to whom neuertheless it is commanded, either to release, or to aggravate the punishments, according to the weight, or manner of the crimes. So now, when he that is guiltie is curable, and hath not gravenously offended; the magistrate is sometime content with an easier punishment; and sometime he with a more sharpe reprobation; or admonition; and so he never leaeneth finnes unpunished. And enen he in punishing is not cruel, naie he rather correcteth, amendeth and healeth. Which worke is both a iust and mercifull worke; so farre is it off that it should be ascribed to severitie of crueltye. And this will I now adde by the waie, which is written by the same Seneca; that he have manie erections, is no lesse dispounerable to magistrates, than manie funerals to Physicians. But now, concerning private men, we thinke it must be thus answered; It is their dutie to forgive injuries done to themselves. Neither can Seneca his saying take place in them; namely, that a wise man will leave nothing undone that ought to be done, because reuengement is forbidden them by the laue of almighty God: and they are commanded after a sort to punish such as sinne against them; I mean in repoynding them. And they are willed to be content with that punishment, when those which have offended them, are amended and cured. But contrariwise, if they perceiue them to be stubborn, stur, by the com-

mandement of God ought to complain to the church, by whom at the last they are excluded, my lesse they will be obedient therunto. And when they are excluded out of the church, they may al so be accused to the magistrate; wherein neuertheless there is not any thing committed against clemencie: for such is the mind and purpose of the accusers, that by all means possible, according to Gods commandement, kill may be better taken awaie from among men.

## Of Crueltie.

50 And as concerning crueltye, we may easily gather by the punishment done unto Adonibezek, that to much crueltye displeaseth God; and thereof I thinke it came to passe, that as well by Gods lawes, as manie lawes of those I mean which are accounted iust and honest there have bene certaine punishments prescribed for crimes, according to the gravenousnesse of them; to the intent that iudges might haue the lesse libertie to erre in iudgement. And afterwards have added this rule, that punishments should rather be diminished by iudges, than augmented: which neuertheless must be understood so farre forth as the nature of the fault and the title of the Common-weale will suffer. Which I therefore speake, because otherwise those conditions, to whom commonly they call circumstances, doe make the crime so odious and horrible, that the iudges must there of necessity augment the punishment, which hath bene prescribed by the lawes; to the intent they may terrifie others from to great & detestable offenses. And so David, when Nathan the prophet had set before him an execrable and horrible thing, decreed a more gravenous punishment against him that was guiltie, than the laue had appointed against common theues, and stealers of cattell.

I haue therefore made mention of these, because there were in the lawe three kinds of death appointed for cruel doers; I mean, hanging, stoning, and burning: whereunto some of the Hebrewes adde a fourth; namely, the punishment of the floyd. But because there is not (as farre as I knowe) any mention thereof in the lawe, I haue therefore passed it ouer. We read that Adonias, Iobab, and Agag king of Amalech, were thus thorough with wood; but we find it not prescribed by anye lawe or precept, that the guiltie should be put to death. Seeing therefore the matter is so, yett we percelue, that the subuent of Israel vben in their tents a certaine extraordinary kind of punishment against king Adonibezek. Neither will I beleue, that they did this without the indiction of God: for God would punish the crueltye of this tyrant, with an exquisite punishment, which neuertheless

lesse was a rendering like for like. Which kind of horrible doing, to the intent we may the easier auoid, it shall not be gravenous vnto vs to speake somewhat thereof.

The definition of crueltye.

51 This word crueltye, is deriued either of this Latine word *Cruor*, which significth blood, wherein cruel men like wild beastes do belite; or else of *Cruelitas*, which significth hardnesse, which barbarous and beastlike people do sometimes cate: and it may be defined to be an euill habit, by the which we are inclined vnto sharpe and hard things aboue reason. And sometimes it happeneth, that crueltye is counted for a pleasure: with which wicked affection or habit, howe some wicked tyrants haue sometime bene infected, it is euidently to be perceived by manie examples. For the holie historie testifieth vnto our eyes Adonibezek: and the euangelicall historie maketh mention of Herod. The Ethiope poets haue made report of the crueltye of Atreus and Thielles. And the most cruel fact of Xerxes king of the Persians is set forth by Seneca in his third booke *De ira*, the 17. chapter.

Matt. 16.

The crueltye of Xerxes.

When a certaine man named Pydius, who had well becomen at his hands, came vnto him, and desired of him to spare him one of his five sons from the wars, he commaunded him, as though he would grant him his request, to come which of them he would haue to carie at home from the wars. And he did as he was bidden. But this most cruel tyrant commaunded, that the young man, whom he had chosen, should be beate one side of him one waie, and the other side of him another waie, untill at the length he was torne in sunder: the one part whereof he commaunded to be fastened in one corner of the waie, by the which the soldiers should passe; and the other in another corner: saying, that by this means he purged his armie. Wholmet, not long after, he being most shamefully overcome and beaten by the Grecians, was constrained to fle awaie through the ouerthrowes and dead carcases of his owne soldiers.

The miserable state of Sylla.

Clemente belideth.

A foolish kind of mitie.

Sylla banished an innumerable companie of the citizens of Rome: but at the length he was most horrible eaten by lice. Cuenther the like sort died that most cruel Herod, as it is most manifestly declared by Iosephus. Contrarie to this execrable great wickednes and shameful mistiefe is clemencie, which as a famous vertue doth becometh well becomee princes, and is an excellent ornament of churche men. Augustine in his third booke of Questions, question 17, defineth the same after this manner; It is an habit, whereby men being shred by to hatred against anye man, are through goodnesse kept backe. This vertue is a meane betwixt crueltye and softly mercie. I call it softly mercie, whereby our mind is so moued with other

mens miseries, that it declined from sound counsell and iust reason. And for this cause are we overcome of this affect, because we would neuer suffer such things, as we see others suffer, and defensible afflicted withall: and because we our selues endeavour to auoid the same, therefore we cease to punish the wicked.

52 David, having overcome his enemies, did gravenously punish them; he let the Ammonites forth of the ettie, and slue them, not after a vulgar manner, but he had fables, whereby he sawed them in sunder. And this is also shewed to haue happened vnto Esau. And in the cleuently chapter to the Hebrewes, it is said of the saints, that they were taken in sunder. This kind of punishment perhaps was vsual in those parts, wherocuer, he brought forth chariots and fleshes, that they should be beate vpon them: and he also betwixt them in sunder with axes and hatchets, he threw them into the hills of blishe of tile: all which are cruel things. David perhaps in these punishments, might seme to haue beene generated from his owne nature: for he was make and gentle; but these seme to be parts of execrable great crueltye. What did he becomee another Phalaris? No: but if we will iudge by things, as they were done, manie of them may seme in the holie scriptures to haue bene cruel. For the Hebrewes punished king Adonibezek, as they cut off the thumbs of his hands, and of his feet. Iosua brought forth the kings, which had hidden themselves in a caue, and they being prostrated vpon the earth, he would haue them to be troden vpon by the children of Israel, in such wise, that they should tread with their feet vpon euery one of their neckes: and afterwards he hanged them vpon trees.

53 Iosua, in the right chapter of the booke of Judges, slew the elders of Succoth with thornes and briers. Sauls fomes, by the will and commaundement of the Lord, were hanged by these things same at the first ought to be cruel: but they were not so. Which that it may appeare, do but consider this; that about the executing of punishments, there be found in the minds of men, ha bits of vertue, and of vices.

Clemencie causeth mindes to be bent vnto the mitigation of punishments, according vnto right reason. The vice that is in beset, is a certaine remissnesse and slacknesse in punishing: for we may fee manie, which do not once touch heinous crimes. And on the other part, there is a certaine habit of fiercenesse and crueltye, that punisheth measure. Iphoe he called cruel (if the greeke credit to Seneca, in his second booke *De clementia*) which erred a measure in punishing offenders. Him, as we heaile touched, cruel men are so called either of *Cruor*, that is, blood: men are so called either of *Cruor*, that is, blood: as who should saie, they be deliter therewith: or

7m. 2. Sam. 12. Psal. 51.

He better David was cruel.

Iudg. 1, 5. Iudg. 10, 17.

Iudg. 8, 16.

2 Sam. 21, 9.

My whom punish: means may be forgiven and how forgo.

A measure for magistrates to punish by.

What reuenge private men must use.

esse of Cruelties, that is, Rationelle. For euen as those things, which be fudden, haue a pleasant taste; so haue vaine things an vnpleasant taste joined with them, together with a certaine taste that is loathsome. Those be fange and cruell, which do torment without a cause, as though they were directed to the torment of other men; euen as beasts that knowe not goodnesse and honestie, but haue onlie respect vnto sweetnesse and commoditie: either for that the sight of blood is delictfull, or else because they will be fed with flesh. Now, since crueltie consisteth in this, that therein is a going beyond the measure of right reason; let vs see, whether Dauid and others haue passed the bounds of reason. Certes, they followed a mechoeritie; and those things, which they did, belonged vnto punishing iustice: for those were wayes of the greatest punishments. Dauid followed reason, but yet a diuine reason; the which reason alone is called good. God directed him vnto these things, not without a cause; and it was necessarie for him, being he was a grand capitaine, to followe that reason, which God had shewed vnto him.

53 That the Ammonites were most wicked men, we may knowe it by many causes. First of all, they against the lawe of nations, thamed the ambassadors of Dauid, in cutting thair their beards and garments. They gaue an ill judgement of the most goodlie king Dauid; namely, that he had sent that ambassage with a feigned hart, not to comfort the sonne of the king of the Ammonites, which was dead, but to destroye him. Again, when the head citie was besieged, and that they had slaine Viras, and other valiant men, they also wanted against God. This be cause among the Latinis, those that are enemies, are said to suffer enmie. But ensuing belongeth to them, which pine atwaie with this kind of grace. And therefore he thinketh, that enmie of enmiung is so called, because they, which be envious, do looke too narrowly to other mens properties. Therefore, enmie is a grasse taken of the propriety of other men; especially of them, which haue bene of like degree with vs. For a poore man enmieth not a king; no; yet beggers, noble men. Enmie is of equals, and such as lie vnto our felices. And likewise is considered in kinde, riches, beautie, age, wit, dignitie, and such like. The cause of enmiung is not in respect that we be afraid of harme to come vnto vs, but such men as we doe enmie; for that were feare; but that men of a certaine hatred and rancour cannot abide the propriety of others, especially of their like and equals: this toucheth enmie.

The punish-  
ment of  
like for  
like.

And alwaies in those punishments, which are not reposed in the scriptures, we must see vnto this; namely, that God governed those fathers, some, to make their punishments the

like, saie that all were not so handled; but the seigniors and princes onlie, which were the state and honour of the people. But Ioseph saith, that they were all rid out of the state. And the scriptures also seeme to make it a generall punishment. Iohobert, I would thinke that some were excepted: for in the 17. chapter of the second booke of Samuel, we read, that Sobi the sonne of king Nahas, did helpe Dauid, when he was banished out of the kingdome by Abiailom. Whereupon it is gathered, that the one sonne of king Nahas was slaine, and that the other was by Dauid made ruler of the countrie. These things are not so much to be wondered at in him, seeing he was a figure of the true Dauid, which at the last daie shall saie vnto all men; Go ye cursed into euill burning fire, which is prepared for the diuell and his angels. Those punishments which God shall laie vpon the wicked in hell, are not cruell. They shall be as it were intolerable punishments, but yet they proceed of a right punishing iustice. The saith in the Gospell, Being vnto me all them, which would not haue me reigne ouer them, and slaine them in my sight. Here let magnificantes learne to haue a regard vnto right reason, when the guiltie are declined to them to be punished. It must not graue their mind to execute those punishments, which are iust, and commanded to be done.

### Of Enmie.

54 Now come we to enmie: the same did Cicero thinke should rather be called Incidentie, than Inuidia: the which word Incidentie we may in English call Enmiung, or Ennemicnesse; because among the Latinis, those that are enemies, are said to suffer enmie. But ensuing belongeth to them, which pine atwaie with this kind of grace. And therefore he thinketh, that enmie of enmiung is so called, because they, which be envious, do looke too narrowly to other mens properties. Therefore, enmie is a grasse taken of the propriety of other men; especially of them, which haue bene of like degree with vs. For a poore man enmieth not a king; no; yet beggers, noble men. Enmie is of equals, and such as lie vnto our felices. And likewise is considered in kinde, riches, beautie, age, wit, dignitie, and such like. The cause of enmiung is not in respect that we be afraid of harme to come vnto vs, but such men as we doe enmie; for that were feare; but that men of a certaine hatred and rancour cannot abide the propriety of others, especially of their like and equals: this toucheth enmie.

Enmie is alwaies had in euill things; and it is greuouely reprehended in the holie scriptures; because it is most plainlie repugnant vnto charitie it selfe. For in the first epistle to the Corinthians,

Of Emulation. 13. chapter, the apostle saith; Charitie enmieth not. For Paule in that place did not take this Greke word *zelois*, in his proper signification. But vnto the Galatians he hath more plainlie forbidden enmie, saying; Be not detracors of vaine glorie, prouoking one another, and chiding one another. In which place, not onelie enmie is reposed, but also the more thereof is shewed; that is to wit, the desire of glorie. And this may also be note in the first epistle to the Iunges; for the Ephraims euened Geddon, because the glorie of so great a victorie seemed to haue come vnto him.

And this affect beareth rule in all those things, wherein we desire to excell. Neither yet doth it becomme vertues: for he that is envious would not haue his equals, and such as he be like vnto him, to excell in any ornament of vertue. And the reason why enmie is couenant among such as be alike, is that although the prosperous fortune of our equals, and their that be like vs, doth not plucke aue of our goods from vs, nor maketh be lesse than we be; yet the envious man doth so conceit of other mens goods, as if by them his honour and dignitie, his gaine and other ornaments should be diminished. Neither must we omit, that euill envious man is a reuerber in euill things: for he delighteth in the aduersitie of his equals. Yet must not both these be accounted for one and the selfe same vice; seeing they appertene to contrarie motions of the mind. For enmie is a grasse of sadnesse; whereas he that delighteth in euill things, is affected with desire. And these vice, therefore, although they be diuers, yet are they so linked together, as there can be no envious man, which is not moved with a gladnesse of other mens harmes. And hereby it euidently appereth, that enmie is more repugnant vnto mercie, seeing mercie is altogether for another mans miserie, but an envious man on the other for the same, by reason of the delight, wherewith he is affected to other mens harmes. This motion of the mind is in himselfe, that is, vnto the prosperitie of the wicked; for he that becommeth sad for the prosperitie of the wicked, the better same man taketh pleasure, when he perceieth them to be suppressed and in trouble.

### Of Emulation.

55 After this, we are to speake of Emulation; that is to wit, the grasse of mind, which we run into for other mens goods, which we our felices want, when as those things may become ours, and we be able to obtaine them. We desire not by this motion of the mind, to haue other reposed of those ornaments that they haue, but it greatly vs that we our felices be deuides of

them; and it cometh of a good nature thus to be affected. Therefore emulation is reckoned a commending commendable affection. Cicero in this Eniculae questioneth whether, that therof cometh a grasse of mind; when at other man in touch the good, which we our felices desire. The same author be sheweth, that emulation is otherwise to talen; not so strictly nothing from euill; and therefore is sometimes reposed. But it we vnderstand it in such sort, as we haue said, it is as commendable affect; because it maketh men the better: for it is accustomed to inuender the imitation of good things; but we must take heed of that, which indeed we are prone vnto; namely, that it becomme not into hatred, and that emulation haue no such scope, as we should desire to despoile nra felices be fortunate, honourable, and honest; of their ornaments and good things.

And for this cause Cicero saith, that that emulation is posse-possible, which is not like vnto the emulation that is in hunting; being this is the propriety of fowlers, that they would to enioy their pleasure, as they may better reclude others. These cautions being had, emulation is both good and good. Therefore Paule exhorteth the Corinthians, that they should strive to excell one another in charitie, and in the better sort of graces. This affection is most occupied about vertues, and about all such things as are had in honour and admiration: for what better thing a man contenteth and desirith, he doth not emulate. Emulation hath ioined with it a perpetual hope of obtaining that which it desireth; for if a man desireth that it is not possible for him to emulate, and is much of these affects.

### Of Reuenge.

56 Reuenge is of two sorts; one publicke, and another private. And as for publicke, which ought to be exercised by the magnifirats; so far is it off from prohibiting thereof, as God commandeth the same; insomuch as the magnifirats, that they should execute iustice and iudgement, and not suffer wickednesse to be done unpunished. But it is not lawfull for private men to reuenge, unless it be, according to reuenge the power. So reuenge violence by violence. This is not prohibited them, when the magnifirate cannot helpe them. For sometime the cause spaciouly to upon the sudden, as a man cannot straitwaie flee to the helpe of the publicke power. Therefore we may then defend our felices, using nevertheless great moderation; to wit, that we onelie inuocour to defend our felices, and them that be committed vnto vs, not wishing with a kind of reuenge to hurt our aduersaries; in such sort as that action may proceed.



not of hatred, but of charitie. Yet neuertheless, publike reuenge (as we haue said) is commanded by God. By the which precept, not onlie magistrates are bound, but the guiltie also are bound, that they should with a patient minde beare the correction and punishment, that is laid vpon them by the superiour power, for the crime which they haue committed. Which if they do, let them vnderstand, that it belongeth vnto the commendation of iustice.

But do not thou obiect vnto me the saying of Aristotle, in his Ethicall, that according to other vertues, it is honest and laudable, not onlie to do, but also to suffer. And he onelic excepteth iustice: for he saith; They which are punished, and do suffer iustice, must rather be dispraised than praised. For that, which he here saith, is true; if thou respect the cause, for the which they be punished: that without doubt is not praise-worthy: for they are punished for offences. Yet on the other side, if thou respect his mind in suffering, which for a publike commoditie, and for other mens instruction, because of the commandment of God, that he may obeye him, and in detestation of the wickednes committed, doth willingly submit him selfe to the lathes which are decreed; it must not be denied, but that such a one should iustlie, and is to be praised in such a stedfastnesse, a iust determination of his mind. But yet the prayer of Samson may seeme at the first sight not to be vertie goodlie: for he prayeth, that it might be granted him to take reuenge vpon his enemies; because they put out both his eyes. An verie truth, if he had meant to fulfill his ioynt, we might not iustlie allow of his prayer: for he should no more haue bene allowed of God, than if he had said expresse; I beseech thee Lord to prosper either my theft, or my adultery.

Augustine saith, that Samson did these things, not of his owne accord; but by the drift and counsell of the holie Ghost. Besides, we must not thinke of Samson, as of a priuate man; but as of a magistrate, whom God himselfe had appointed. And surely, it was not lawfull for him, as a priuate man, to reuenge injuries; but as a magistrate, both he might, and should do it. If we speake of a priuate cause, that must be of force, which Paule said; Give place vnto wrath; vengeance is mine, and I will repaie, saith the Lord. But in a publike cause, the magistrate by the commandment and authoritie of God, must reuenge the iniurie done vnto him: for he is Gods deputie vpon the earth. And God himselfe, although that oftentimes he reuenge his finnes immediatly, as they saie, by himselfe; yet doth he for the most part punish by magistrates. Wherefore those wordes; Vengeance is mine, and will repaie, do nothing at all hinder the

seueritie of magistrates, whereby they punish offenders. For they be the ministers of God; and that which they do, God himselfe doth it by them.

## The tenth Chapter.

The seventh precept; Thou shalt not commit adulterie: and first of Matrimonie, and hauing of concubines.



**M**atrimonie, wedlocke, marriages, and wedding, do signifie all one thing, and matrimonie (as it is in the first booke of the institutes of Iustinian, when mention is made of the power of the father, & in the Digests, *De iure nuptiarum*) is defined to be a coniunction of man and woman, an inseparable conuersation of life, and a communicating of the laue of God and man.

But this definition must be made perfect by the holie scriptures. Wherefore we must saie, that this coniunction of man and woman, was instituted by God, for the increasing of children, for the taking abate of yokesome, and that thereby the life of man might haue helpe and commoditie. In this definition, no doubt that the coniunction of man and woman are in three of the matter. Vnto the forme appertineth the inseparable conuersation of life; seeing with this mind and purpose man and wife must marrie together. For although that copulation be separated by adulterie; yet, when the matrimonie is contract, both man and wife ought to haue this in their minds: that being once ioined, they must abide and live together. This also belongeth vnto the forme, that betwixen them two there be a communicating of the laue of God, and of the laue of man: for it is belongeth that they should be both of one religion, and that they communicate humane things one with another. For the wife passeth into the familie of hir husband, and is accounted one flesh with hir husband. And the goods of both the wedded persons, in all respects, be made common to the one & the other. Whobetter, the efficient cause of this ordinance was God himselfe, even from the beginning, who made a helper vnto Adam. And the end (as we haue said) is the procreation of children: for God said; Increase and multiply. But as touching the other end, namely, for the auoiding of yokesome, Paule hath verie well and plainlie written, in the first to the Corinthians.

If thou wilt demand, whether bonds of writings are required for contracting of matrimonie,

we may answer, They be not required: because the consent of either parties is sufficient, as may be perceiued in the Authentiks, and in the Code, where it is intreated of marriages. But that, which Ieron writeth vnto Oceanus, that thereby a wife is discerned from a concubine; because a wife must haue bonds, and a dooilye (which concubins haue not) this I saie is not vnto the end to be receiued: for his saying is to be extended vnto that wife, which before was a concubine. As touching hir it was needfull to haue bonds, that the might no more be counted a concubine, and that the children, which the altric had, or afterwards should haue, might be legitimate. But a dooilye is not required of necessity; because (as it is a common saying) a dooilye hath not place without matrimonie: but matrimonie may consist without a dooilye. For a dooilye is giuen for the easier sustaining of the burthen of matrimonie. The canons haue added, and that protested public. For if the assent of the man and wife be secret, and without witness, iudges can pronounce nothing of such a matrimonie contracted. Wherefore, if their iouls should be changed, and after those secret matrimones, they should contract solemn and public marriages; the first marriages giue place vnto them, and the conscience is kept both doubtfull, and also wounded.

But to speake of hauing of concubines, two things are to be considered; first, what the Romane lawes ordeined concerning the same; secondlie, in what sort it was vsed among the Hebrews, or what is to be vnderstood, when we read that the fathers had concubins. As concerning the first, the hauing of concubins was by the ciuill lawe a certaine kind of matrimonie: for a concubine was not a barlot prostitute vnto manie men; no; yet a harlot, which was kept together with a lawfull wife. And how much the differer from a wife, it shall appere by the definition of a concubine. For a concubine is she, that hath the vse of marriage with that to which she is conuerted; but for that she is not vnto the same (inasmuch as they that are so ioined may easilie be separated) therefore a concubine differeth far from a verie wife. Moreover, the rites of the laue are not communicated with hir: for a concubine passeth not into the familie of him, with whom she is conuerted; yea and their goods and faculties are not common together. Neither are the children, borne of that coniunction, counted lawfull and iust hirers; but she they be made legitimate by the benefit of the priuie. Whobetter, it is by the Romane lawe forbidden, that a man should haue manie concubins at once. And it is prohibited to haue a concubine, together with a wife. Moreover, by

the Romane lawes, such cannot be counted as concubins, with whom rape may be committed, namely, a free borne virgine; and a twelue under 25. yeeres of age. For if a man haue carnall compaie with them, either that he be a matrimonie, or else iudged yokesome. But neuertheless, a widowe may be a concubine, if before widenesse it be declared, that she is taken, not for a wife, but for a concubine. And lastlie, there can be no concubine, which may not become a wife; although not in that place where the dwelleth, yet at the least towne in another place. Which I therefore saie; because by the Romane lawe, it was not lawfull for the president to marrie a wife of that prouince where he gouerned: which neuertheless he might haue as a concubine.

And if thou wilt demand, whether the Romane lawe alloweth concubines; I will answer, that they did absolute allow of them, because they did not condemn the hauing of concubins, as a thing vnlawfull; so that it was vsed in such sort as I haue said. Yet inuicely it is reprehended that coniunction, when as it is lawful and iustly borne, vnto the at the length of a concubine should become his wife; or vnto the by the authoritie of the priuie. Whobetter, we must vnderstand, that the children of a concubine were admitted vnto a certaine small portion of inheritance; but, yet not to a like and equall portion with the legitimate: yea and the children borne of a concubine, were not in the inheritance of the father. But when of a concubine the was made a wife, then it was necessarie, that there should be tables of matrimonie. If we will retaine the Romane lawe, a handmaiden cannot be made a concubine; seeing by that lawe a handmaiden could not be made a wife. For the continuation of a free man with a handmaiden, the Romane lawes called *Contubernium*, a kind of fellowship: neither did they account it as a full matrimonie. Whobetter, by handmaidens the Romans vnderstood not hired seruants, but such as they had bought. Which I therefore saie, because our hired handmaidens be free persons: so as it is lawfull to contract matrimonie with them.

But now let vs consider the laue of the Hebrews, and what is to be thought of the concubins of the fathers. In verie deed they were concubines, although oftentimes they were handmaidens; as Agar, Bala, Zilpa, and the concubines of Geddon. In the plea of court, and as touching the ciuill affaires of the places, in which those fathers dwelt, it seemeth that free men might not enter matrimonie with them: and therefore perhaps in the holie scriptures they were called concubins. But yet before God, that is, by the laue of matrimonie instituted by him,

Ind. 16. 58  
as be the  
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Rom. 12. 19

In Job 8.  
ver. 31.  
Of matrim.  
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The definiti  
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Gen. 1. 28.

1. Cor. 7. 2.

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So I. y.  
him,

Gen.16,3.

him, they were twins. Therefore in the booke of Ceneſis, Agar, which is called a concubine, is called a wife alſo. So then there were two differences between the Hebrew ladies and the Romane ladies; becauſe with them, the having of concubines was no matrimoine, but with the Jewes it was matrimoine before God; altho perhaps in the court of plea, and in ciuill reaſon, becauſe of the fertile condition of the ſuoman, he was not acknowledged for a wife. Further, herein they differ; becauſe the Jewes had handmaidens to their concubines; and the ſame was not lawfull to the Romans, it was leſſe than lawe, that the ſhould be a concubine, which may be made a wife; ſeing the Romane ladies counted not that for matrimoine, which was contracted with a handmaiden.

fewerthelife, this ciuill law was not in Ie-  
romes time retained in the empire of Rome; ei-  
ther because the ecclesiasticall lawes had miti-  
gated it, or else so, for other cause. For in an  
epistle vnto Oceanus, he speaeth of certeine,  
which had their handmaidens in stead of wiues,  
and tobare the name of a wiife, because they  
woud auoid burthens and became rich, maye not-  
withstanding, if they be charge rich, maye their  
handmaidens wiues. But two must further con-  
sider, that where concubines seeme to be allow-  
ed and permitted in the decrées, the same shoul-  
d be torkered of those, which are in verie de-  
ed wiues: although by the Romane lawes, and in  
place of pleading, they were counted concu-  
bines; because that woman was not foreleene-  
ly married, notwithstanding that there was  
betweene them a mutuall consent of matrimo-  
nie. This, which I haue alleaged, is read in the  
xxv. diuision, in the chapter *I qui et Christiano*.  
Whereof the first is the decree of the Council of  
Toledo: to the effect the testimonies of liours,  
in his book *De dispensationi & veteris reformationi*.  
But when in the decrées there is mention made  
of concubins, which in verie deed are not wiues;  
they are generally prohibited: and that is,  
when either partie will not alwaie beleeue to-  
gether, nor yet acknowledge one another as man  
and wife.

*Of Polygamie, or the having of  
more wives than one.*

In 1. Sam.  
25, 42.

4. Here haue I matter somewhat hard to be explained touching polygamie. This place commonly oftentimes to hand in the holie scriptures; therefore it shalbe better well one to vnderstand what we are to iudge of the same. I vndoubtedly will declare (as in a matter obscure) what may seeme good vnto me; not prescribing any thing in the meane time to anie

man, that can allege an<sup>de</sup> better. Polygamy is  
 two manner of things to be considered of. The  
 first is, that when the first wife is dead, a second  
 or a third is married : as touching this, because  
 there is at this daie no doubt, I will saie no  
 thing. The other is, when two, or more wives be  
 kept in matrimoine. But whether it be lawfull  
 for one man to haue two husbands at once,  
 I thinke it needlesse to inquire : for certeine it  
 is, that it was neuer lawfull by anie good lawes.  
 This matter may be considered, either simple  
 and absolute, or, as according to the nature  
 of the time and place. First therefore we will in-  
 quire, whether polygamy may be simple and  
 absolute among. Secondly, by what right the  
 same was used among the fathers in the old  
 lawe of Moyses. As to this, whether the same libertie  
 may be also transferred unto vs.

Polygamy  
 of two wives  
 The third  
 and last  
 question.

As concerning the first, there seems to be arguments from enough for the proof of either part. First 3 will bring forth their arguments, which would have polygamie to be lawful. Secondly 3 will shew that may be said on the other part. After that, 3 will confute the former arguments. First therefore they saie, that they haue examples, not of the common sort of men, but of the most holie men, Abraham, Isaac, Helians, and Dauid: these saie they haue folowe in other things; and whie should it be lawful in this matter also; further, if they liue in haerem, it is not illicke that God would haue difference that time; for he sent Nathan vnto Dauid, to reprove him of adulterie; and Gad, that should blame him for numbering the people. And other offences of the people were reuerenced by the prophets. Therefore it is not reard, that the fathers did repent for find him of polygamie: wherefore, if it were a sinne, they died without repentance. Besides this, when Nathan reprobued Dauid, he thus used his speech to him, vpon the perlon of Gods haue appointed thee king, and giuen thee the house of thy lord, & the wiues of thy lord, into thy bosome. He ment Egla and Ripha, the wiues of Saules; and more would promise him, if they might not seeme sufficient. Besides this, when God in Exodus gaue expresse warning of a going one, a twofold sinitten out, of euerie kind matter, he neuer forbod polygamie: nea contrariwise, by supposition it may be perceiued, that he did permit polygamie. For in the 21. chapter of Deutero. he made this lawe; if anie man haue two wiues, the one that he loueth, the other that he hateth, let him not preferre the sonne of the beloved, before the sonne of hir that he hateth. Whotwith, this place pzoneth not greater; for it might be, that the one wife had diuorced,

Furthermoze, if a man die without children, 6  
God commandeth, that the brother of him shuld Deut. 25, 5.  
marrie

2 Polygamic  
C of two lots

The division of this question.

Argument  
for polyga-  
mists.

Am. 12, 8  
L. 24. 12.

412,7.

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od.21.2  
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JUL 25,

marrie his wife: neither is there any exceptiō added; namely, that unless the same brother haue his same wife before. Wherefore, God not onely permitteth, but also commandeth, that there should be polygamie. If polygamie were permitted, so often diuorcements would not be vied: for husbands doe therefore refuse their first wives, because they may marrie remargined in matrimonio, would be greater by the Turks at this date doe defend polygamie; becaue they haue a singular respect vnto propagation and issue of children. Again, what account shall the make of those ancient patriarchs, vnto whom the Jewes haue alwaies attributed so much of Souerelty, vntles the accept of polygamie, they were begotten either in thoz home, or in adulterie; sith lawfull matrimonie it cannot appeare to be. And by that meanes should the fathers and authors of the stocke and name of the Jewes be bafarded. Where shall then become that nobilitie so often booke of? For onely Rachel was the lawfull wife of Iacob; and of his onely two were brought forth, Joseph and Benjamin. And of Ioseph were Pharaime and Manasse borne. For indeede Leas a wife, but yet a supposd wife; that is, a concubine; or rather a barlet than a wife. Wherefore all the other patriarchs were bafarded.

11 **Rebukes this, Valentinian the elder, a godlike**  
emperor, and a chaffian, had two wives together,  
as Socrates affirmeth in his fourth booke.  
For when as Seuera his wife had borne much  
commended unto him the fauour and beautie  
of the young maid Iuliana, whom she had in  
traine : the emperor therewith inflamed, was  
wholly determined to take her to wife. But he  
was not awaile Seuera from him, fearing of his  
beget Gratianus, which afterward did reigne.  
12 **Wherof, none of the fathers, which liued in that**  
time (although they were filled with spide, and  
excellent men) rephend him for so doing. **Pea,**  
and of this second matrimonie was Valentinian  
the second bozne ; and Galla, who afterward  
13 married Theodosius the emperor. And this also  
is affirmed by some, touching Charles the  
great ; although others write, that he put awaile  
the daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards,  
without publication of the cause; and that  
after the same he took to wife a maiden of Sueua  
a damzell of a noble house. **Whosoever**  
the matter be, yet all men grant, that he befors his  
wives, had foure concubins. Chrylosome  
14 **saith, that on that place of Paul (The husband of one wife**  
saith), that Paule added this for their sakes, that  
came from Iudaisme unto Christ. For to them  
it was lawfull to haue manie wives. Yet (saith  
he ) Paule gave warning that a bishop should

not be chosen from among the number of such: And Ierom likewise followed the same opinion. Wherefore, in those daies, they that had more wives than one, were suffered among the Christians.

And at this daie, if a *W*idow or a *Y*oung should come into *C*hrist with his two wiues, that should be done as touching them : So plucke either the one or the other awaye, against hir will, there cruelle. *I*tem should he permit them both : *S*pooreuer, being barrenesse is a curse of *G*od : if a man cannot by his first wife haue issue, shall he to remaine curst, or not rather marrie another : *A*ugustine, in his 22. booke against *F*aulus the *M*anichee, when as he deale in this matter, he doth shew, as he saith one is against nature, another against custome, and another against lawe. *T*he faith that polygamie is not against nature, for it is a surburiance but to fruitfulness ; neither against custome, because it was not openly received ; neither against the lawe, seeing there was no caution made by the lawes concerning the same : therefore he concludeth, that polygamie was lawfull. *T*he lawe also of marrieng another wife was granted, if any mans wife became a leper. *I*n thiswise, there is licence granted unto far countries, where husbands are wandered into far countries, or be dead, touching which it cannot be knowen or heard, either by letters, or yet by messengers, for a certaine space of time what was become of them. And yet the bond of matrimonie rested in both : for the first husband that was far absent returned home, he is compelled to take his owne wife, although she be married to another. And after this sort polygamie is permitted. *W*holobeth, this doth not much make for the matter ; seeing we speake here of those which be two wiues both together.

[illegible]

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Gen. 4, 19

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22 Genesis saith; Let the gobbie reader consider, that in expelle words there is no lawe written as touching polygamie.

Arguments against polygamie.

1 6 But on the contrarie part, to speake plainly of the thing it selfe, I saie, that polygamie is not lawfull. And to proue this, I will reason first from the verie institution of matrimoine. For if we will knowe the forme or reason of a no thing, we must haue recourse vnto the beginnings. God at the verie beginning created not three or foure; but two, and by the moity of Adam himselfe pronounced the lawe of marriage.

Gen.2.23. This is now bone of my bones, for this cause shall a man leaue father and mother, and shall cleaue to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh; that is, They shall be to vnted together, as they may be one flesh. If we percciee another thing hath happened [otherwise] in matrimoine, the same must be reuolued to this originall forme. But if thou wilt saie, that the latter lawes as the lawiers terme it, doe ouer-rule the former: As answer, that if anye things were brought in, or dispersed afterward, the same be humane inventions, and that the first institution is the lawe of God. And if thou wilt likewise contend about the time, the same is also in time the latter: for Christ in the 19. of Matthew, and in the tenth of Marke, called home the same as it were by a kind of reuocaturie: Knowe ye not (saith he) what he, who from the beginning made them, said vnto them: For this cause shall a man leaue father and mother, and shall cleaue to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh? Whom God therefore hath ioined together, let not man separate. By these wordes the former lawe of God is repeated, and newlie established.

An obiection.

An other obiection.

verse 4. 5.

2 And if it be that Christ would not suffer, that the first wife, being put auaie, an other should be married; howe lesse credible is it, that he would suffer anye man to haue mane wiues at one time? Heic rather, he speaketh more than he saith. That which married an other, committed adulterie. Neither is the matter, which some here obiect, of a great force, that Marke saith;

Ibidem. 11. He committed adulterie against hir: as though he were not an absolute adulterer, but onlie that he doth inuirtue to his first wife. As true, he committed double sinne; first, because he is an adulterer; secondlie, for that he doth inuirtue to his wife. Ierom in manie places doth ponde the wordes; that they shall be two in one flesh. Against Iouinian he saith; It is written, In one flesh, not in two or three. And he addeth, that Lamech was a naughty man, which did do one rib into two: but (saith he) he suffered the punishment of his naughtinesse in the flood. The same thing he saith in an epistle vnto Saluina. Although I must needs grant this, that these reasons proue not Ieroms purpose: for vnto

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Gen.2.23. He shall be two in one flesh.

Saluina and Geruntia, he inuirtue against second marriages. Vnto the which error Terullian also fell, when as he erred with the Montanists. Wherefore these reasons doe verie well serue vs in this place.

But Ierom addeth; And he shall cleaue vnto his wife: Not, vnto wiues (saith he). I verlie, when I ponder with my selfe these wordes, in one flesh, I percciee a great emphasis, or force in them. For one flesh, is either by colligation, as when all the members be knit one with another, or else by continuation. Both the waies make, that all the parts of the bodie do ferue one another. So the hand doth his indeuour vnto the mouth, the mouth vnto the bellie, the bellie vnto the whole bodie: as it is moze at large described by Galen, *De vitijs partium*. Such kind of flesh is not possible to be communicate, so as it cannot passe from one liuing creature to another liuing creature. We fe therefore, that by the force of these wordes, both adulterie, and polygamie are taken auaie. But thou wilt obiect; While then in adiuaie, by reason of adulterie, is it permitted to haue an other marriage: As answer; for that the cause of the vntie is taken auaie, and that is the fastening together. Wherefore it is said; And he shall cleaue vnto his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh. But he which committed adulterie, cleaue not vnto his wife; and so he is not one flesh with hir. The verie same is to be indged, if a faithfull wife, for hir faith sake, be cast off, hir husband being an infidell: for there also is their cleauing together taken auaie; that is to wit, the cause of vntie. Wherefore Paule saith; The Lord hath not called vs to bondage. Neither must it be a lie let vnto be, that the name of Two, is not expressed in Genesis: it is sufficient, that Christ hath added that word. And the same must be fully supplied in Genesis, sith when those things were spoken, there were onlie two; Adam and

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for Paule cith the same place out of Genesis. Neither doth he speake of one house, or another, but absolute.

It seemeth that a better answer may be made on this wise; that so far as belongeth to the nature of the thing it selfe, the flesh is altogether one: but seeing that whosomeuers come not together according to the Lawes institution, that continuation is not firme, but may be dissolved. Anded they are made one and the same flesh as concerning the fact, as they be due to; howbeit, by stealth, not lawfully. But in matrimoine both are god: as well the continuation, as the precept of the Lord. What did Paule laie hold of, because he saue it made to the purpose; for this hath whosome common with matrimoine. Which hereby appereth; for that through such a conuention with harlots, there ariseth an affinitie: so as it may not be lawfull afterward to contract matrimoine with the parents, or children, or brethren of such a one, as thou hast before unlawfully kept companie with. This

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is evident by the scriptures: for when Abolom had kept unlawfull companie with the wiues of his father; David, when he was afterward refused, would not receiue them vnto him, because he did perccie, that by reason of that ill companie, there was now some affinitie contracted. Howbeit, no lawe is by that means procured, whereby the whosome may compel the harlot to remaine with him.

7 Paule vnto the Corinthians toucheth verie well of this matter. For first he saith; Let euery man, for auoiding fornication, haue his owne wife; and euery woman haue hir owne husband. But, Hir owne, is contrarie vnto Him that is common to another. Again, if the husband haue mane wiues, the wiue is necessitie must haue a husband common to others, and not proper to hir selfe. The Leogicians haue verie well defined that to be proper, which alwaies and onlie agreeth vnto one alone. Paule addeth; I would not haue you to defraud one another. But in polygamie, one or other must of necessitie be defrauded: for the husband cannot keepe companie with them all at once. Wherefore Iacob was constrained so to deuide the matter, as he by turnes was sometime with Rachel, and sometime with Lea: seeing herof there ariseth perpetual contentions and bialles betwixt women. For we see no liuing creature that is so bad of course, but both in feeding and propagation, would be free from impediment: and had rather fight, than to be kept from these things.

8 Another reason is deriued from the signification of sacrament. Paule saith vnto the Ephesians; Husbands loue your wiues, as Christ Ephes.5.17.

Husbands loue your wiues, as Christ hath loued his church, &c. And; They shall be two in one flesh. Great (saith he) is this sacrament, or myserie in Christ, Iste, and his church.

But Christ hath one onlie church; wherefore, if our actions ought to be correspondent vnto the originall forme, it shall not be lawfull for to marrie more wiues than one. This reason I learned of Iouinian in which place he earnestly inuiceth against Lamech, who (as he saith) diuided one rib into two. And so he affirmeth, that the hereticks diuide the church into sundrie conuenticles. This doth not much trouble me, seeing this reason might serue for polygamie. For Salomon had seuen hundred Adonies, and three hundred concubins. And in the Canticles it is read, that he had three score Adonies, and foure score concubins: howbeit, one of them was his owne, one was his perfect one. What doth Augustine in his treatise *De bono coniugali*, the 18. chapter, thus interpret; that Christ of all his particular churches, throughout the world, hath collected one church vnto himselfe. I passe ouer, how others doe interpret Rachel to be the church; and Lea the Synagog. In verie deed, there was one onlie done, that is to saie, one perfect church.

9 The Schole diuines saie, that these things speciallie are requisite in matrimoine; fruitfulness; diuelling together, that the man and woman may one helpe another; and the sacrament (as they terme it) that is, the signification. What first god thing touching fruitfulness, polygamie nothing hindreth; naie rather, it is an increase

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marrieth a wife, giueth his bodie vnto his wife: how can he then deliuer the same afterward to another? It is a great intinacie, when one will not abide by his promise. Wherefore, thou wilt saie; The delinquent his bodie in deed, yet not altogether. I heare this: but wip then, yet he haue his wife to giue his bodie altogether vnto him. In contracts, consideration must be had to both alie. Besides this, the principall point of matrimoine is friendship; and friendship doth chieflie consist in iusticie; if iusticie fail, matrimonie must needs be lame. Paule addeth; That The husband hath not power of his owne verie.4.

body, but the wife; nor the wife of hir owne body, but the husband. Wherefore, the husband cannot marrie a second wife, without inuirtue done vnto the first. He affirmeth also, that the troubles in matrimoine are verie great: For such hath tribulation of the flesh. And it is not the part of a wise man, to increase his owne troubles, when no need is; for there be verie few, which be able well to susteine one such kind of crose as this is.

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crease to the same. Yet that they can dwell together in that state, and the husband helps all his wives alike, it can hardly be. In matrimonie there must be a singular charitie. But, both reason it selfe, and Aristotle in the eight book of his *Ethicks*, do teach, that special friendship cannot abide among manie: for among the more in number that friendship is spred, the weaker it must be towards every one in particular. These ought also to be a singular vitiue in wedlocke: for they be together in one flesh. And Paule saith; Bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. But no one man can be one and the same towards manie. Further, in polygamie, all the rest are of tentimes condemned in comparison of one, and they are counted in the place of handmaides, and that some one doth beare rule, and command the rest. Neither doth malice there state it selfe: sith oftentimes, for that one woman is false, the rest are miserable afflicted. And this appeareth out of the second chapter of Malachie: for there the wives that were wareed old, when they were despised and wronged by their husbands, by reason they had married other wives, came into the court of the temple, and complained unto the Lord. And here in the husbands committed double sinne, both in that they married others wives, and because they afflicted their former wives.

12 It seemeth also, that the hauing of manie wives, maketh against good manners: sith enuities are not onelie sprung up among their wives, but also are hyed and increased among their children. For Agar, when the false hir selfe to haue conceived, she despised hir mistres, then the selfe afterward, when the was returned, and could not agree with Sarra, Abraham was constrained to cast her forth. Touching Iacob, the history is well knowen. Of Helcan and his wives, we haue spoken in our Commentaries vpon the sixth booke of Samuel. Epiphanius against the Massilians saith; that the ancient fathers, when they had manie wives, neuer felt twined them together in one house. Whence he toke that, I knowe not: yet from thence I suppose he had the same; for that Laban, when he persued Iacob, and sought his dole it is written, that he first entered into the tent of Rachel, afterward of Lea: whereby it appeareth that they dwelt asunder.

13 Salomon although he gave no good counsell to himselfe, yet by inspiration of the holie Ghost he gave good warning to others. For in the *Proverbs* he saith; Delight thy selfe with the wife of thy youth, let hir be thy dynd, let hir be thy fauue, satisfie thy selfe alwaies with hir paps. But this cannot he do, which hath manie wives. And not onelie Salomon did fee this, but Laban also. For he, although he had forced Iacob to take

the two sisters; yet when he ouertooke him fleeing into Gilead, and had made a covenant with him, he added this; Molest not my daughters, nor yet bring in other wives vnto them. For this he saue could not be done, but that those should be greatly disgraced. Lamech had two wives, Ada and Sela; and Sela signifieth in Latine, *inhomine*, that is, his shadowe. For the learned rather to be the shadowe of a wife, than a wife indeed.

15 Sea and the Comode also teacheth, that polygamie is a great corrupting of matrimonie: sith in the Comedie Phormio, the old man Chremes, when he had a wife at Athens that was rich, and would marrie an other in Lemnos, was constrained to change his name, and to call him selfe Scilpho. Which beuile he had done, perhaps that second woman of Lemnos should not haue bene married vnto him. Sea, Chremes by the Parastie Phormio is accused of polygamie, as of a greuous crime and offense. The Romane lawes could neuer abide, that a man should haue more wives than one. For in the Code, concerning incest, and vnpassible marriages, Dioclesian and Maximian decreed, that none should haue manie wives: and who that did contrarie, should be punished. And they adde, that the same was received before the Praetorian edicts. In the *Digests De iis, quos notant infamia*, lawe the first, in the Paraph, at the end; They be noted of infamie, which haue two wives together, or be trothed to two at once. The same he find in the Code, *Ad legem Iuliam de adulteriis*, in the lawe, *Eum qui*. The which also is the more to be marvelled at, in the Code *De Iudeis*, in the lawe *Nemo*; Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius decreed, that it should not be lawful for the Iewes, which liues vnder the Romane empire, to marrie mo. So the godlie emperors, though they did beate with manie other things in that nation, yet would they not suffer this. In the Eliberine Council (which is also cited in the 11. question, chapter *De iis*) it is decreed, that the ministers should not bless such kind of marriages. His place hath naughtilie and peruerelie bene twisted into second marriages; for the Council speaketh plainly of polygamie: which also the Glosse perceiued. The reason is alleged, because the priest ought rather to persuade them vnto repentance, than to bless them. The same is in the Exurgant *De secundis nuptiis*, lawe the first. By these reasons I am moved to thinke, that polygamie is not absolutele lawful. And much lesse so I allow of them, which thinke, that marriages ought to be common. Such were the Gnosticks, the Valentiniens, and the Secundians: of the which opinion some wrote that Plato also was.

16 Now I come to the second point. That

what we are to iudge of the polygamie of the fathers.

17 wilt thou then saie, shall we thinke of the fathers? Euen thus, that they may two manner of waies be defended. For first I saie, that God, according to the state of those times, dispensed with them, for the lawe which he had made at the beginning. Afterouer, some adde a signification. As touching the first, God could haue raised men out of the time of the earth; but seeing he had decreed, that mankind should be spred by procreation, polygamie was necessarie. And this reason doth the Apostle of the Gentiles followe. For propagation of the flesh was the increase of godliuie: seeing God would, that the people, in whom true religion was planted, should continue euen vnto Christ. So then it was lawfull for them to haue manie wives, to the intent that that people might be mo in number: neither can it appeare that they sinned, when they so did. But here some must be distinguished: for if, to sinne, be to transgreesse most perfect reason, surely they sinned. Doubtless, if we determine that to be sinne, wherewith God is offended, and is provoked to reuenge, they sinned not: sith God dispensed with his lawe, to the end that the people, of whom he would be worshipped, might be of the greater number. For although among other nations, some perhaps were god men; yet the publike worshipping of God was no where else but in Iudaea. Further, there seemed to be no new thing brought in by them; for the whole East partied polygamie. Therefore, God punished, that euen that, which others vied in, should the Iewes be without committing sinne.

18 But thou wilt object; Seeing we confesse, that herein there is some imperfection, why did God suffer it to be in his church, which ought to be most perfect? I answer, that in berie bad that those times did permit: because as yet they killed beasts, and had grosse sacrifices. For they which to defend the fathers, are wont to saie, that the age of the whole world must be to considered as, the age of one man, in whom is childhood, youth, mans state, and old age. And there be manie things lawfull to children, which would not become an eld age. Augustine noteth, that to wear garments with sleeves, and doluine to the ground, among the ancients was a token of incensitie; but now (saith he) it would be noted, if one should vse a short garment, and without sleeves. Doubtless, thou wilt saie, that those fathers were most perfect, as Abraham and Iacob, as Dauid and others. I grant it. But therefore, it is one thing to consider a man in himselfe, and another thing, as the time serueth. Those fathers were perfect in themselves; yet, by reason of the time, they had much imperfection. For they saie, that those times were full of

darknesse, if they should be compared with our light. Indeed the Iewes of that time, being compared with the Gentils, were in a manner the light of the whole world: but they were nothing in comparison of our state, after that the holie Ghost was giuen, and the Gospel spread abroad. And there be manie things well done in the darke, which would not be abidden in the light.

19 Therefore, thou wilt yet inquire, by what scriptures it may be shewed, that God did dispense with his lawe. I answer, that the same may sufficientlie appeare, by the examples of Abraham, Iacob, Dauid, Helcana, and other godlie fathers. But those (thou wilt say) might erre; and that their fact is not sufficient to confirme the consciences of others. Yes verelie, it ought to seeme sufficient vnto vs, for that we percieve not, that anie other, that were reproued by the prophets for this cause. Afterouer, God, when he made the lawe, if anie thing were before done amiss by the fathers, he amended it. For before that time it was lawfull for Iacob to haue two sisters in wedlocke. But this did God forbid by the lawe, and distinguishing the degrees: yet did he not reuoke polygamie, although the place may seeme most of all to require it. And this the rather, also he allowed, in that God saith, that he gave the wives of Sule into Dauid into his bosome. Therefore, he allowed that he sinned not in that matter; for they did it without lust: which we doubt not but manie did. And they kept the faith of wedlocke better religiously: for they had access vnto none, but vnto their owne wives. And by this means the issue was provided for. Doubtless, thou wilt object, that if the lawe of God were dispensed with, in consideration of bringing forth children, the same should chiefe haue bene done vnto Adam. Augustine *De nuptiis & concupiscentiis*, the first booke, and ninth chapter answereth, that God would let forth in Adam the forme of perfect matrimonie. Afterouer, he adde, that at that time there was no idolatrie: but afterward, when idolaters were increased, it was necessary that the godlie should also increase; and for that cause God dispensed with his lawe.

20 Now thou wilt saie but it is the peruerfence of nature, and therefore not to be altered vnto God. Philip Melancthon (whom I name for his honour sake) in his Epitome of the *Ethicks* distinguisheth natural bonetie, and faith, that one is giveth natural bonetie, and faith, that one is eternal; to wit, that God must be worshipped; that thou oughtest to do to others, as thou wouldest be done vnto: for these things be eternal, and cannot be changed without great trouble. The other is that, which somewhat declineth from a perfection; yet not so, as anie great naughtinesse or confusion doth followe. And of this sort be reckeneth polygamie, which he saith God did allow

whether it be a peruerfence of nature.

Leuis. 18.

2. Sam. 12. 9.

why this lawe was not licentious vnto Adam.

Gen. 3. 10.

Gen. 4. 19.

15

16

the more manie fides in his church.

the conclusion of this argument.

where the fathers were perfect.

What is po-  
lygamie  
there was  
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implicite.

allow among the Israelites. Then so was it, for a man to marie the wife of his brother: which for that time God not onelie allowed, but also commanded. Some of the fathers adde, that God did dispense with his lawe, not onelie for propagation sake, but also, that he might by some meane shadowe that which should afterward come to passe. Ambrose in his first booke, and fourth chapter of Abraham the patriarch, because he first had a child by Agar, and afterward by Sara, faith, that therein late hidden a great mystery. The verie which thing Ierom also faith to Geruntia; to wit, that Sara represented the church, and Agar the synagoge. The same they iudge of Rachel and Lea. The same of Anna and Phocenza. Of this mind was Iulianus Martyr, in his conference that he hath with Tryphon; namely, that it was not lawfull vnto the fathers to haue manie wiues at once, vntill it be to deserue a miferie.

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dum poly-  
gamie.

To vnderstand the fathers themselves haue held concerning the polygamie of those of old time, it may easilie appere by their owne testimonies. Clemens Alexandrinus, in his *stodice*, the fourth booke, faith; that God, in those first times did erat polygamie of them. Chrysostome faith, that God granted polygamie vnto Ierom. Ierom to Geruntia faith, that the same was done according to the varietie of times. Augustine *De doctrina christiana*, in the third booke, and 12. chapter, faith, that that fact of the fathers must not be regarded, according to the outward action, but after the manner of their lusting. Therefore he faith, that they sinned not, if they did it onelie for issue sake; but if there were anie, that therein sought after lust, they could not be excused. In the Augustine in that place treated of meats; but this he added in the end as touching polygamie, and faith, that the same was blamelesse, because of replenishing the world with sufficient issue. The same father against Paulus the Manichee, saying faith he, it was then the manner, it was no sinne. And in the same booke *De doctrina christiana*, the 18. chapter, he faith, They might haue euery manie wiues in chastite, and one with lust. And he adde, that they which had manie for an other cause, that is, for propagation sake, are to be preferred aboue them, which had but onelie one for lust sake. Ambrose of Abraham the patriarch faith, that he did nothing for fulfilling of lust; therefore he may be excused. Finally, the same thing both the spassier of seruents as mine, in the fourth booke, distinction 39.

What is  
of the  
fathers con-  
dum poly-  
gamie.

12 Thus therefore may the doings of the fathers be defended. First, because those most ancient vnderstood by the spirit of God, where with they were indued, that God did dispense with his lawe. Secondly, because the posteritie followed the example of their ancestors, especial-

lie when they perceived, that the doing thereof was neither reprobated any where by God, nor yet afterward by any lawe. Others there be, which thinke, that the same lawe sin, though not verie heinous, as it was remitted them by reason of their faith. And they thinke, that the same time might be eased in this, by reason of probable ignorance; likely probable ignorance may in some part excuse sinne. For he that knoweth the will of his Lord, & doth it not, shalbe beaten with manie stripes. Perhaps in those times of darkness, either they thought not of the lawe, or else they vnderstood it not. Whereupon, they saue that polygamie was received nolu vualleie ouer all the East part, so as they thought, that there was no other matter in it, than a ciuill ordinance. And whatouer sinne was therein, God made as though he knew not, both for propagation sake, because he ment of that stocke to raise by a great number of people; and also by reason of the ignorance of the same people; for as yet they were not otherwise instructed; y<sup>e</sup> latlie for the figures and myserie sake. This is an other reason made by the latter men, whereby the polygamie of the fathers may be defended. Third reasons seme vnto me probable, and so probable, as I fe there be both learned and godlie men, which sometime do follow the one, and sometime the other.

For Philip Melancthon, (vnto whose manifest learning and godlinesse I do attribute verie much) though in his *Chyke* (which place I cited before) he faith that God allowed polygamie in the Israelites; yet in his booke *De coniugio*, he wittely manifestlie, that matrimoine ought to be a communion of one vnto one. And he faith, that God did beare with that imperfection in the fathers; because they, although otherwile they were perfect, yet were not without their blemishes. Wherevnto, this Melancthon of the tree of consanguinitie more plainelie faith, that the same sinne proceeded of ignorance; yet he adde, probable; because as yet no lawe was extant concerning the same. But what lawe he speaketh of, I do not perceiue: for the lawe giuen to Adam went long before. Vntill per- haps he meane the lawe manifested by Christ; or else that Moses, which put that lawe into writing, was not yet come: seeing before that time, it was onlie kept by tradition. Yet else peradventure he went, that that custome was polie the; and that in such ciuill ordinances, alwaies something is suffered to be amisse. Wherevnto he faith, that God pardoned their faith, because it was not done against the expresse lawe. But whereas that great learned man inclined to this other reason, it was not of inconstancie; but because he perceived them both to be probable. Vntill peradventure he were alwaies of this mind; and that when in his *Chyke* he faith,

Lucas 11, 17

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nion of this  
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that God allowed it, he ment, that he forgave it. The choise shall be in the (gentle reader) which reason thou hastest rather to folowe: both of them be probable; neither of them bugodie.

What is po-  
lygamie  
there was  
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implicite.

Anded for my part the first lieth me best: for I fe that God altogether would that his people should be increased. Further, albeit I doubt not, but that those fathers were not void of wit; yet where they may be well defended, I would not charge them any much. Yet Ambrose wittely somwhat of this matter, which I fe not vnto it may be allowed. For he excuseth Abraham; first, for issue sake; secondlie, for the shadowing [of things to come; lastlie, because he comming out of Chaldeas, retained some gentillisme. This latter reason is not of anie great force: for Abraham had obtained a great willie, neither did he toine Agar to himselfe of his owne accord, but was spoked therevnto by his wife Sara. Yet both Ierom vnto Geruntia report the same of Iacob. He faith it is objected, that Iacob had two wiues. Indeed, faith he he had; but that was in Melopotamia, and vnder Laban. But what another will be make of Abraham? For he vnderstande was not in Melopotamia. What will be saie of David? With he had his wiues in the midst of Iewrie.

What is po-  
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13 And as touching the third part of that he purposed to speake of, namely, whether that libertie may be also transferred vnto vs: I answer, that it is in no wise lawfull. For now hath Christ made manifest that lawe of God, and hath called it backe to the first institution. Wherefore, he that now transgresseth the same, both against the plaine word of God, & moreover, the cause being taken aboue, the effect must needs be taken aboue. And the cause was, the increas of posteritie: where there is now no need, seeing God hath now those that worship him ouer all the world. But before it beyoned that the worshiping of God should be retained among one people, vntill the comming of Christ. And it was verie profitable, that the same lawe should be expounded by Christ: for then as Adam was the first man that had one wife, it was met that Christ the second Adam, of whom the same first was a figure, should opene the marriage of one alone. But thou wilt faie, that Christ came not to make lawes, but to preach the Gospel, and to rebearme mankind; and that therefore it be hounded him to leaue matrimoine in the state it was in, as well as the sune, the stars, and other outward things.

What is po-  
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A answer, that Christ made no newe lawe, but onelie renewed the old. For he onelie declared the will of his father, and taught nothing anew. Further he toke atwaie sacrifices, so that now he is a wicked man that will kill anie beast for sacrifice. He also byake the strength of the iudi-

cial lawes, so as no man, that is of sound iudgement, will beue inagistrates to execute those lawes against their wills. Neither only did Christ this by himselfe, but also by his apostle Paule. 1 Cor. 7, 1. Also he renewed whole that matter concerning diuorcement; so that if anie man depart from his wife, a marrie another, he committed adulterie. But thou wilt object; For this meane the fathers may seme to be adulterers. I answer, as I haue said before, that God dispensed with his lawe, and that therefore they sinned not: nevertheless, the matter being now expounded and declared, he that shall do otherwise both groundlesse sinne. And reuoluing hath a respect alwaies to the time to come, and not to that which is past; seeing such is the condition of all lawes: otherwise, as concerning the nature of the fact, the same vnderstande no appertene vnto adulterie. For the ten commandments bane the same respect to vertues and vices, as the ten preceptments bane towaras all kind of things: inso much as there is nothing, but may be reduced to some preceptment of other; so there is not anie vertue nor anie vice, which may not be reduced to some precept.

Now then, if we stand vnto that second opinion, which late bane expounded, that there was some vice in polygamie; the same must needs be adulterie. And although in plaine reason it were not sinne, as in the former opinion I declared; yet was it (some reuoluing from perfecti on. Panormianus in the title of diuorcements, in the chapter *Gaudemus*) faith, that the forerathers, when they had giuen a bill of diuorcement, and had married another, were faultlesse excused of adulterie: because adulterie cannot be committed but by collusion of by co-wines. And this be declared by two lawes: the one ecclesiasticall, and the other ciuill. As the ecclesiasticall is out of the Tribunic Council, as we read in the 34. canons, question the second, in the chapter *In Iulian*. A man had a wife, and she a sister, all in one house. When the wife was absent, that same sister went to his bed. A cer- uoid came the husband, and thinking it had bene his wife, had the companie of her. The Council absolved the man, vpon condition, that he did it not fraudulencie: but he was constrained to sweare, that he did that which ad- ignomantie and vnderstanding. And it is called a wicked act, not because it was so in verie deed, but because the matter pertained to wickedness. It was the fathers are excused, because they per- mitted not their second wife by collusion: for they perceived, that the same was accustomed and viall among all.

The other late ciuill, is in the Digest *Ad legem Iulianam de adulterio*, in the last lawe but one. A certain man put his wife to him, but gave

1 Cor. 7, 1.

What the  
fathers  
may seme  
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terers.

hir not a full bill of divorcement. An other man married hir that was put adiver; he was accused of adulterie; but he was excused, because he knew not that there was anie thing lacking unto a full divorce. This I speake, least it should seeme unto anie man, that Christ accused the fathers, of adulterie. But if God, for propagation sake, dispensed with the forefathers, as touching his lawe, while (wilt thou saie) may not the same be done at this time to them which profess the Gospell; seeing, if they be compared with the papists & Aethiops, they be but few in number? Doubtless, the reason is not all alike; because it belongeth the religion of God, until the coming of Christ, to be retained in one nation onlie. But the succedent of godlines is not fought for out of one doctric or line, but is spread over the whole world.

14. To this opinion of mine do all the fathers agree, say; Chrysostome in his 56. homilie on Math. sayth; We must not judge of the fathers according to our owne reason; for at that time it was lawfull, now it is not lawfull. And he addeth, that Christ came, to the end he might bring vs to the state of angels. For now he granteth vs one, till we come to that place, where they are neither married, nor yet married wives. The same father, in his oration *De libello repudiij*, sayth, that Christ was therefore come, to lead vs unto a higher philosophie. The true religion he calleth philosophie, to take away the yoke of the Grecians, who attributed so much unto their philosophie. Ierom sayth hereof in diuers places to Gerontius, to Eustodius, and against Iovinianus.

Ierom.

Apoc. 18.

Eph. 1. 10.

And among other things, he sayth, that Christ was Alpha & Omega, that is, The first & the last. And when the matter was now come to Omega, that is, Vnto the last, the same was reached by Christ to Alpha, that is, Vnto the beginning; for that it pleased God (as Paule sayth in the *Ephe. 1.*) to bring all things into one, & reduce them in Christ; that such things, as yet were imperfect, might be brought to perfection. Vnto Eustodius he sayth, that the world before time was unperfected, but when the barack was ripe, God put in his syn, that is to saie, he cut off such licentious.

The Valentians and Marcionites, by reason of this fact of the old fathers, accused the God of the old testament; but Christ, they sayd, the sonne of the god God, renewed this sufferance of the cruell god. Ierom answereth; We diuide not the lawe and the Gospell, neither do we let Christ against his Father: but we worship one God, who would haue it so; that time, but now hath decreed against it. For that then was the time to scatter flowers abroad, now is the time to gather them by: then was the timest of imbrassing, now is the time to abstaine from imbrassing, 12. as he sayth, that the fathers leaue vs

times. And that that thing, Ineuale and mol. eptie, is not in the same force at this date; for in old time, virginite was reposed; that not Paule sayth; The time is but short, and therefore they which haue wives, let them be as though they had none. And he addeth, that Christ hath allow of them, which haue made themselves chaste for the kingdome of heauens sake. Also Augustine *De doctrina christiana*, in the third booke and 13. chapter, sayth, that those fathers were so chaste, as if they had happened to be in our cases, they would haue made themselves chaste, for the kingdome of heauen.

These things among the fathers must be read with iudgement: for their mind was by all means to extoll virginite, and single life. In berie did Paule passeth virginite; yet so, as if a man perceiue, that by that means the kingdome of heauen may be enlarged; or if by doing otherwise, it may be hindered. He passeth it if he saie, not as a thing, which of his owne force, or of its self, pleaseth God; but as a state, where in we may the more commodiously and readily liue the Gospell. Augustine sayth, that now we cannot haue manie wives, but with lust, because it would be against lawes and custumes, which cannot be violated without lawfull lust. Also against Faustus he sayth; Whereas it was then the manner, it was no sinne; but now because it is not the manner, it is sinne. Clemens in his *Stromata*, which place I cited before; when he had said, that God in the lawe required polygamie, added afterward, that the same is not now lawfull.

And Iustine against Tryphon sayth, that now euerie one doth reioice vnder his vine, that is, Euerie one hath his owne wife, and that is but one onelie. And he reprehendeth the Rabbins, who as yet gaue leave to themselves to haue more than one wife. Out of Origin we cannot learne anie thing for a certainte, he do playeth in his allegories; and manie wives he maketh manie beets: and he sayth, that he is most hapie that hath manie. By all these things it appeareth, that polygamie is at this date forbidden. And to all these, I also add this; that the Romane lawes do neuer permit polygamie: and it is the part of a good citizen to obeye good lawes. Peter and Plurarch sayth, that there followed a most grieuous disturbance of the publicke weale, and of the whole world, when that lawe was broken. For after that Ananie (who alreadie had in marriage Octauia the sister of Octauius Cesar) had also married Cleopatra; the people took it in ill part, and Augustus most of all: so as they put themselves in armes one against another, with all their indeuour and peluer.

15. Now must I confute those arguments, which he brought at the beginning for polygamie.

In antioch the reason

making for polygamie. to the first reason.

Parallelie giunt.

to the second.

Parallelie giunt.

to the third.

1. Sam. 1. 8. to the fourth.

to the fifth.

to the last.

to the sixt.

mie; Abraham (saie the) and other fathers were holie men, and had manie wives. Here might I make answer at a word; that we must liue by lawes, and not by examples. But I adde moreouer, that God either willed it; or bare with it. It is therefore a paralogisme, or false argument, *Axiomatum quid sit simpliciter*, that is, Christ that which is but in some respect, is put for that which is absolute. God dispensed with them: will he therefore wish vs also? Or else it was a good thing in them: is it therefore good of it self? But the prophets reposed not that fact. What maruell is it? For they liue it was either licenced by God, or else doubtlesse permitted. Doubtless, here there is a false argument, when that which is not the cause, is put for the cause; seeing it was permitted them for propagation, or for figure sake. Now there is no need, either of so populosus a propagation, or else of such a figure. They repented not. It is no marvell; because no man can repent him of the fact, which he is ignorant of. For it was a tollerable ignorance, or else (that which I rather beleue) they sawe it was lawfull for them. God gaue the wives of Saule into the bosome of Dauid. It was lawfull; inasmuch as he had dispensed with his lawe. If anie man will saie, that God permitted that vnto Dauid onelie: this is the meaning; namely, that God gaue the kingdome vnto Dauid: then it followed, that he might marrie the wives of Saule if he would; with no man could then let him. But the first answer pleaseth me better. God made no lawe against polygamie. And no marvell; for his will was, that that people should mightie increase. Afterward by Christ he reuoked it to the first situation. So that which was wanting in Moses is supplied by Christ.

A brother, although he had a wife, yet he was compellid to marrie the wife of his brother that was dead. The case is particular, and prerogatives must not be bygone vnto examples. God would haue that to be done for certaine causes, not onelie in the lawe, but also before the lawe: as appereth by the children of Iuda, and [his daughter in lawe] Thamar. Apocrypher, the Rabbins saie, that that woman was not counted for the wife of that brother, which remained aline; but of the husband which was dead, and that the name of the first husband was given to the children which were borne of hir. So as the brother, which remained aline, was not propertie his husband; but onelie had access vnto hir, that he might raise by her vnto hir. We should haue false diuincements and vhorreomes. Neither of them is true: for they which hate their wives, will then out of their house, as they which cannot once abide the sight of them. For yet was that the cause, why God permitted a

man to haue more wives than one. And as touching vhorreomes, certeinlie Dauid, when he had manie, yet he could not temper himselfe from Benabe.

Greater should the fruitfullnesse be: I grant it: and therefore God dispensed with his lawe. Doubtless now, when as religion is not tied to one nation onelie, but is dispersed ouer all the world, there is no need of such fruitfullnesse; seeing now the church hath her resting places of rest; although not alwaies in one place, but whereformer God hath offered occallion. Vnto the marriages of the fathers might seeme to be adulteries. So forsooth, seeing God either gaue licence, or bare with it. For (as we said out of Panormitane) adulterie is not committed, but with collusion. And that he proved by two lawes; the one ciuill, and the other ecclesiasticall. Undoubtedly the marriages they were, although not to perfect, as that of one man to one woman. But what shall become of that nobilitie of the Jewes? It shall finally abide in his olone state; inasmuch as those old patriarchs were borne of lawfull wedlocke. For Zilpha and Bilha, although they were but in the state of seruants, and might be called concubines; yet in berie they were true wives; howbeit they were not mistresses of the house, nor yet were honored with Isac. Neither did that nobilitie depend of the mothers, but of the blessing and promise of God.

Valentinian had two wives. Admit he had; neuertheless, we must see whether he had them rightlie; or no: for although he were a good emperor, yet was he not such a one as could not sinne. Claudius Cesar, when he perceivede that by the lawes it was not lawfull for him to marrie his brothers daughter, made a lawe, that it might be lawfull: but scarcelye there was anie one claue-backe to be found, which would followe that fact. Now both these lawes are betterlie extint and forgotten; seeing they be neither in the *Indexte*, in the *Digests*, nor yet in the *Code*. Doubtlesse, the fathers reposed not in this Valentinian. How canst thou tell that? Surelie (as I haue declared) they haue sufficentlie set forth in their writings what their meaning was. But let us consider the cunct, Iustina that second wife became an Arrian, and did greuouslie vse Ambrose. The ponger Valentinian, which was borne of Galla, the daughter of Iustina, followed the religion of his grandmother, and did vehementlie oppresse the churches; and he laie miserable flaine in his litter. Chrysostome saith, that Paule added [The husband] of one wife, because of them, which haue manie wives, were converted from Iudaisme vnto Christ. And therof it appereth, that polygamie also was bygone withall euen in the church. 3. An

Tim. 3. 2.



flower, that the same was therefore borne with; because that declaration of the lawe of Christ, was of force, for the time to come, and not for the time past. Wholbeit, it was borne with, as a certaine infirmite, because with a good conscience they agreed among themselves.

Yet do 3 otherwise understand that place of Paule: for him do 3 thinke that Paule called the husband of one wife, who liueth chastlye with his owne, and followeth not the wiues of other men but is altogether of perfect and good fame. And 3 am led to so thinke, because the same Paule saith, that Widowes should be chofen, which had been the wiues of one husband. But it was neuer lawfull for a woman, by anle lawes, to haue two husbands: Paule would haue hir to be a widowe, which should be chaste, and well reposed of. If the Turke at this date, with his two wiues, should be conuerted vnto Christ; might that polygamie be suffered in christian religion? Doubtless it might be suffered for a time, for they that with a good conscience agreed betwixen themselves, neither must inturie be done vnto those wiues, nor for euery of them hath right in hir husband. And that lawe, which Christ made, must be of force (as we haue said) for the time to come. What thinke now is borne with a good conscience and in probable ignorance, cannot be vndone. Wholbeit, an other kind of answer is made here of, in the Decrees of diuofements, in the last lawe. If the first wife will dwell together with hir husband, she shall be counted for the wife, and the rest to be dismissed; if the first will not, the rest must be had in that place: and so of the rest.

I do not here contend. But yet 3 wonder at these men: for in the same title, the said Innocentius, being asked his counsell of a Jew, which in matrimonie had his brothers wife: Answereth, that the may be kept still, after that they be contracted in god faith. If this be lawfull, why is not that other lawfull, seeing Christ tolke aboue both? But they might peraduenture answer, that the Jewes had an expresse lawe for marriage of the brothers wife; but none at all for polygamie. Whereto, that the Romane lawes would not suffer more wiues than one; but one they would suffer, although the did not to rightlie marrie. Fruitfulness is the blessing of God. Wee it is, but now (as 3 haue often said) the same is not so needfull. And indeed it is a blessing, but yet not so, that he is cursed which hath not children.

Augustine saith, that it was neither against the custome, nor against the lawe, nor yet against nature; and yet it is now against the lawe, and against custome. Those things, which were allowed concerning leapers, and them which far distant, make nothing to this purpose. For neuer ther do we speake here of him, which at one

time diuvelly and is conuertant together with manye wiues.

A wife dismissed was married to an other, when as in the meane time the bond of matrimonie was not vndone. 3 answer, that a bill of diuofement did sufficientlie excuse hir from a diuorce, especially when the did it of probable ignorance. Lamed is commended by Chrysostome. Doubtless it is not for polygamie, but for repentance. Yet for what cause to enoe it here, others do not so praise him. A wife, if the bill, may peeld of hir owne right. Wholbeit, this is not to depart from hir owne right, but from that which is Gods right: for we must not haue respect what the wife would, but that God will. And as concerning that, which Sara did, the did it by the setting on and persuation of the holie Ghost: whereunto, there is no doubt, but she, and other goodlie women were indued. The Scholem men, among the number of whom we cite Calcranus, saie, that There is not anle lawe extant, which expressely forbiddeth polygamie; although they asserme, yet certeinlie others haue it in. In deed the verie forme thereof in plaine termes is not found and expresse; yet is the same necessarie gathered by the words both of Christ and Paule. And thus much of this question.

### Of Barrenesse.

16 Among the Jewes barrenesse was verie great. 1. Sam. 1. 10.

prochfull, and was accounted a verie grievous 1. 10. infamie, and that for manye causes. First, because it seemeth to be repugnant vnto that precept, wherein God commandeth, both immediately after the making of the world, and straitwaie after the flood: saieing, Increase and multiplye. Further, because those that be barren, attaine not to that blessing of God, which he promised vnto Abraham: to wit, that his seed should be as the starrs of heauen, and as the sand of the sea. Again, they which wanted children, feared after a sort to be hated of God, in that he would not haue their generation end sicke to be sped any further abroad. Thus others thought, that barrenesse was therefore infamie among the Jewes, because spellas should proceed from their posteritie. And to euery one indowened to haue manye children, that out of his progenie spellas might one date be borne. Wholbeit, he was promised onelie vnto the tribe of Iuda, and familie of Dauid: so as it bepownd onelie these to be careful of that matter. Wholbeit, of that desire there may be brought an other reason much more true. For the true religion and pure worshiping of God, before the coming of Christ, was in publicke profession retained onelie among the Jewes. Therefore the

the more that the Jewes increased in number, the greater multitude should be of the worshippers of God. For this cause therefore did holie men truite to haue a large posteritie, that the true God might be worshipped of a great manie. But it to anie man there happened no children, he was noted with a kind of infamie a rebuke. Therefore, when Rachel (saith she) had borne a great child; The Lord (saith she) hath taken away my rebuke. And Elsie saith; In that daie shall seven women take hold of one man, & they shall saie: We will find our felues bread and apparell, onelie take from vs our rebuke.

Howeuer, among Ethniks it was reprochfull to be without children. And among the Romans those, which had begotten many children, were euered by the ciuill law from charge and publicke offices: as it is manifestlie set forth in the title *De his, qui numero liberorum se excusant*. At Rome doubtless, they were sufficient for an excuse. In Italie were required foure. In the prouinces five, for they were not adopted, nor yet were taken of the enemies, nor died out of the lawes. Wholbeit, this number of children excused onelie from personal offices, not from offices of inheritance: but firste children in number excused from both kinds of offices, as it is in the Digest *De iure inmundati*, in the last *Semper*: which was made by Pertinax. Afterward also twelue did excuse, as appeareth in the Code *De decurionibus*, in the lawe *Si quis decurio*. Besides, the bearing of children hath alwaies bene an honorable thing among all nations. A certain Lacedaemonian being an old man and unmarried, as he passed by the high way, sawe a man that did not rife vp to giue him honour, and he asked of him why he did so: Whereto answered him; Because thou hast left none vnto the Common-weale, that may rife vp vnto me when 3 am old.

And albeit that among the christians, this kind of rebuke may seeme to be taken awate: yet must we inuowen to our power, that we may leaue verie many children vnto the church. But by the example of Anna we are warned, that the lacke of children, and fruitfulness, are not to depend onelie of the second causes; seeing they proceede chieflie from God himselfe. For in the word of king Abimelech, God thut by the wombes of the women, that they might not bring forth. Afterward, at the prayers of Abraham they were deliuered that they might beare children. So as Rachel, when the grieuoufull affliction hit selfe, and said to hir husband; Giue me children, for esse I shall die. Iacob beinge angrye said; Am I vnto thee in Gods stead? If God keep from thee the fruit of thy wombe, why dost thou erie vnto me? So on the other side, fruitfulness is the gift of God. Therefore in

Elsie the 66. chapter he saith; Am I he that makeh other to beare, and beare not my selfe? And Dauid in the psalme pronounceth; It is God that makeh the barren woman to keepe house, and Psa. 113. 9. to abound with children.

Whether it be lawfull for children to marrie without the consent of their parents.

17 Now shall it be verie well to see, whether it be lawfull for children to contract matrimonie without consent of their parents. Certainlie Anaximus Sannion would not. And it is a matter of much importance, and of thankfulness towards the parents, if matrimonie be not contracted without their knowledge and consent. At the beginning, Adam did not chofe himselfe a wife: God was his father, and brought Eue vnto him. Abraham, when Isaac was a man, sent his servants to his kindred, to fetch out a wife there for his sonne. Isaac also sent Iacob vnto Melopontania to his vnckle, to the end he might get him a wife there. Afterward followed the lawe that was giuen of God by Moles, that children should honour their parents. But the honour, which must be giuen vnto them, is not onelie to vncouer the head, to giue the vpper hand, and to rife by (yet these things must also be done, though they be not sufficient;) but they must also serue their progenitors, if need shall require, and shew themselves dutifull towards them.

Wherefore, the power of a father is defined to be a bond of pietie, whereby children are bound to their parents, to performe the duties of humanity and thankfulness.

If so be children in other things ought to obeye their parents, doubtless they ought thereby to do it in contracting of matrimonie. Hereof there is a peculiar lawe in the 22. chapter of Exodus; If a maiden, which is not betrothed, shall be deceived, he that hath seduced hir, ought to giue hir a dowrie, and to take hir to wife. What it is added; If the father will. Otherwise he shall onelie giue a dowrie; neither shall he haue the maiden to wife against the fathers will. And in the booke of Iudith, the thirtieth chapter; If a maiden vow a vow, and the father heare it, and leteth it not, the vow shall be firme; but if he gainsaie it, it shall be in vaine. And that is a vow: A promise made vnto God. Wholbeit, matrimonie is a promise, which is made vnto man. If God permit a vow made vnto him, to the indowement of the father; much more will he permit matrimonie vnto him, seeing it is a promise made betwixen men. In the second booke of Samuel, Thamar answered vnto hir brother Amnon; I on 3 Iow desire me at my fathers hand, he Gen. 11. 1. will

will not denie me vnto thee. The custome was then, that the daughters were desired of the parents. Here 3 dispute not, whether it were lawful for David to giue to Ammon his sister to wife.

Ephe. 5.1. Further, Paule saith to the Ephesians; Children obeye your parents in all things. He excepteth nothing, when he willeth so; but faith, In all things; namely, which they command not against the word of God. And in his first epistle to the Corinthians the seventh chapter, is most manifestly declared, that it belongeth to the parents to giue their daughters in marriage to husbands. And that was knowne, not onely by the lawe of God, but also by the light of nature. Which, euen the Comedies of Terence and Plautus manifestly declare. And in Euripides a maiden answereeth; Of my marriages my father will haue care, seeing these things are not in me to determine. Which verbe certeinlye liked Ambrose, as he placed it in his booke of the patriarchs. Further, it serueth verie well for domesticall peace: for the daughter in lawe ought to be to the father in lawe in steed of a daughter. Contrariwise, of rash marriages rise great discords at home. And so; so much as the father ought to helpe his sonne with his godde; it is mete againe, that the sonne should obeye his father in contracting of matrimonie. In other civil contracts, the sonne can do nothing, without the consent of his father; as appereth in the Digests, *De nuptio, ad senatus consultum Macedonianum*. Therefore it is met, that the iudgement of the father should be tarried for; in so weightie a matter.

The selfe same thing haue the ciuill lawes decreed. Iustinian in his institutions, in the title *De nuptijs*, will not that marriages should be firme, without the consent of the parents. And in the Digests *De statu hominum*, in the law *Paulus* 3. If a sonne marrie a wife against the will of his parents, the child, which shall be borne of those parents, shall not be legitimate. And in the Code *De nuptijs*, in the lawe *Si propositis*, the case is likewise to be marked. The daughter marrieth by consent of hir father; the afterward being as greued at hir husband, departeth from him: after that, he returneth into fauour, and the father is hired againe against hir fathers will. It is answered, that that matrimonie is not lawful, whereby it appereth, how much those lawes esteemed the authoritie of a father. Again, in the lawe *Si inuolunt*, children, if perhaps their parents be mad, or bereft of their wits; seeing they cannot be the consent of them in contracting of matrimonie, they shall be the consent of their tutors.

18 So then it seemeth maruellous, that Christians at this daie determine, that marriages

are lawfull, without consent of the parents. And to counter this, they alledge the Canons; of which 3 thinke it goddly to declare some. And first 3 will make mention of the better Canons, which were the more ancient: for the later they were decreed, the more corrupt they were. In the Decrees, cause 30. question 5. chapter *Alter*; Matrimonies are then lawfull, when the maidens are desired at the parents hands, and delivered openlie: otherwise they are not matrimonies, but whoredomes, withoneth compoundings, adulteries, and fornications. Thus decreed Euarius. Nicolaus also at the consultation of the Bulgars, cause 30. question 5. chapter *Euaristus*, *Nicolaus*. Those matrimonies are firme, which be knit by the consent of them which contract them; and of those in whose power they are. Leo Leo. also the first, in the 30. cause, question 5. chapter *Quidam*; That it is to be counted matrimonie, when the maiden is by hir parents delivered vnto hir husband. And in the 1. cause, question 2. chapter *Non omnis*; A woman, which marrieth by the consent of hir father, is without blame, if anie man shall afterward find fault withall. And thus Gratianus concludeth that place; that Gratian. he saith, In contracting of matrimonie, the consent of the parents is alwaies to be required.

Further, Ambrose increating of the place in Genesis, where it is written, that the servant of Abraham came into Mesopotamia, and found a wife for his masters sonne; the parents of the maid, when they inducured to reteine him longer, and he would not carrie, they called the maide, and asked hir, whether she would go with him. After this manner he saith; as also it is declared in the 23. cause, question 2. chapter *Horarandum*; They asked not hir of the wedding, but onely of the igniting of thame. For it pertaineth not (saith he) to maidenlike chastitie, to chuse vnto hir selfe a husband. And the same be affirmed of widowes, which be yong. Although (to saie the truth) 3 cannot herein agree vnto Ambrose, that the maiden was not demanded the question; whether she would marrie him. Neither do 3 doubt, but she was demanded as touching both matters. For in the 30. cause, question 2. chapter *Ubi non est*, we read, that there can be no matrimonie, where is not the consent of those, which contract: yea euen in the marriages of the children, which are but fewen yeares of age. And seeing at that age they are thought to vnderstand somewhat of matrimonie, necessarie is the consent of them which contract. And because there is mention made of sponsaues, we thinke godd to note this by the way; that children to contracting, ought to be fewen yeares of age: for otherwise the parents can promise nothing for them. Those children, if they afterward, being of more yeares, shall contract

another matrimonie, the same is of effect, and not the (former) sponsaues: which yet must be vnderstood, if the parents consent to the second matrimonie. Bozonier, in the 31. cause, question the second, chapter *Tunc*; Homidas answereth, that children, when they contract after this manner, ought to stand to the will of their parents. And in the Extraneants *De sponsatione imperatoris*, in the chapter *Tunc*, it is ordained, that children, when they come to ripe age, ought to obeye their parents, so long as they also gaue their faith, and contented.

19 3 thought it good also to bring forth somewhat of the Councils. The Council of Toledo, the fourth cause, question 21. chapter *Hoc sanctum*, decreeth; If widowes will not profess chastitie, let them marrie to whom they will. And the same it decreeth of a maiden: but it addeth; so that it be not against the will of the parents, or hir owne. Such an addition we see that Nicolaus the second addeth, as we find in the 27. cause, question second, chapter *Significat*, where he willeth after this manner; To ioine matrimonie, the consent of those which contract is sufficient; and it followeth, According to the lawes. Which is added, because the matrimonies of children be not acknowledge, if they be made without the consent of the parents. Yet the gloss reuerereth not those words vnto the ciuill lawes, but to the canons: because as the Canonists saie, the ciuill lawes are sometimes corrected by the canons. But oftentimes it happeneth, that those canons are in verie deed *deceit*, that is, Rules without rule: as in the Extraneants, *De coniugij seruorum*, chapter the first; If bondmen contract, yea against the will of their lords, such matrimonies shall be ratified. Whereby (saith the gloss) the canons amend the ciuill lawes: for therein it is forbidden, that a bond man should marrie a wife against the will of his lord. Yea, if a free man haue verie often reconciled vnto another mans bond woman, he is made a bond man. And a free woman, if she haue much access vnto another mans bond man, the also loseth hir freedom. The gloss saith moreover, that more is attributed vnto matrimonie, than vnto holie orders; because it is not lawfull to bring a strange bond man into orders, but it is lawfull to contract matrimonie with him. Wherefore, it manifestlie appereth, that the later canons were corrupted and begayned, which take auaie from marriages the consent of parents, as a thing not necessarie.

But now let vs see what reasons they pretend. In the Extraneants *De sponsalibus*, in the chapter *Conclusum*, it is said, that in contracting of matrimonie, there ought to be a full libertie. And in the same place, in the chapter *Perueniens*; If anie scare happen therein, the ma-

trimonie should be void. And there is giuen a reason: because the cannot long please him, of whom he is hated; and because such contracts haue oftentimes vnhappie successe; and that thing is castile contented, which is not beloved. Peca it seemeth, that the canons haue so loue libertie in contracting of matrimonie, that the Council of Paris (as we find in the 30. cause, question the second) decreed, that it is not lawfull to desire a wife, by the request of the law: although the same be also ordeined in the Code *De nuptijs*, in the first chapter *Scripturae exscriptae*. The reason is, because the scriptures are declared in a manner impious commandments. Neither do 3 disallow that; although 3 do not a little marvell, that the canons haue proceeded so farre, that matrimonie may be contracted between him that sleaeth abate a maid, and hir that is stolen. In the Extraneants *De raptibus et incendiarijs*, in the chapter *Concatus*; A Maiden that was stolen abate out of the house of hir father, and contracted matrimonie with him that do slea hir; the father withstood the marriage.

Here the good Pope answereth; Forasmuch as the maiden consenteth, she cannot seeme to be stolen. Wherefore, he decreed that matrimonie to be godd. And in the next chapter *Accedens*; If anie man had stolen abate a maiden, not onely against the will of hir parents, but also against hir owne will (which maiden neuertheless the afterward agreed with him that stole hir) he decreed, that firme matrimonie might be contracted between them. The same seemeth to be decreed in the 36. cause, question the second, chapter *In summa*; where is intreated of the stealer, and his wife that is stolen. And it is decreed; If the that is stolen, shall consent with him that sleaeth, matrimonie may be contracted betweene them: but yet in such sort, that first they do some penance. But because some canons do make against this decree, therefore they moderate the matter thus; That wherefore they read, that matrimonie cannot be contracted betweene such persons, that, they vnderstand to be said for some one of these three causes: either because the that is stolen, did not consent; or else, because the was betrothed before to another by words (as they use to speake it) of the present tense; for 3 saie not of the future tense, because the husband was not bound to marrie one defiled; either else for that she was not marriable.

20 But in the Code it is far otherwise decreed, touching the stealing of virgins; namely, that matrimonie betweene these persons may by no manner of means be contracted: no not although the father giue his consent vnto hir that is stolen. And Iustinian also in his Authentiques, collation the ninth, in the title *Quarationibus* Et. ii. bii

The ciuill lawes touch this thing thus.

Marriage with the Canons are termed here.

The Councils concerning this thing.

Euaristus, Nicolaus.

Ambrose.

Gen. 24.48.

It is alleged to be contrarye the canons and ciuill lawes touching the marriage of servants.

Et. ii. bii



The draughts of the

Deut. 25, 5

Whereas had leave to tell their children

Exod. 17, 2

Exo. 10, 12  
Eph. 6, 1

ver. 8.

cannot be allowed them. And whereas libertie is to manie times obtruded vnto vs, and the power of the bodie baunted; let vs againe re- vlie vpon them with the answer of God, as touching the daughters of Zaipeah, who saith of them: Let them haue heritage among their brethren, but let them marrie in their owne tribe. These women are compelled to marrie the night of their kinne, neither bated they the libertie which these men imagine. And the brother sometimes was compelled to marrie the losse of his brother being dead: neither could the marrie otherwise. Therefore, so great libertie is not necessarie in marriages, as these men pretend. And by the ciuill lawe, so great is the authoritie of the father ouer his sonne, that he may sell him, if he fall into grousous necessitie. And least it seeme to anie man to be a barbarous point; it is permitted by the lawe of God, in Exodus the 21. chapter: but yet adding certeine cautions, which I thinke not good here to repeat. Therefore, they do not rightlie argue; when they say, that matrimonie is a kind of seruitude: which the sonne ought not to take vpon him at the appointment of his father.

24 And whereas they saie, that the consent of parents is required for the benefit of matrimonie, and not vpon necessitie; it is vaine and fruitious. For what greater necessitie can there be, than that, which the lawe and commandment of God doth import: Children are commanded to honor father and mother. Also Paule the apostle perscribeth them to obey their parents in all things. And the same thing twiseth he vnto the Philippians, the fourth chapter: That which remaineth brethren, whatsoeuer things are true, whatsoeuer are honest, whatsoeuer iust, whatsoeuer pure, whatsoeuer profitable, whatsoeuer things are of good report, do ye. Now these words aspeare, that the things which be honest, must not be separated from the commandments of God. So then, loke how necessarie it is to obey Gods commandments, so necessarie it is, not to marrie without the consent of the parents. And whereas they ad, that the consent of the parents is indeed required; but yet if they will not consent, the matrimonie may be firme: that is nothing else but to beride the parents, for what reproach is it say the sonne, so to beride the consent of his father, as though he be against it, and gaine saie it; yet nevertheless he will abide in his purpose, and go through with the same: It were much better not to beride it, than to beride it with that mind. This also seemeth a wound to me, that the spallier to peruerth the words of Euaristus, that when he saith, that matrimonies, contracted without the consent of the parents, are whoredoms and fornications, and not matrimonie; he dare expound, that the matter

is not so indeed: but because they so come together, as whoredoms and adulterers life to be. But the fauour of Euaristus is manifest: They are not (saith he) matrimonies. And indeed be adoth what they are; namely, fornications, adulteries, and whoredoms. And be saith not that they were to be these things, but that they are so.

25 There be others, which obiect the booke of Genesis, where it is written, that Elau married the wines of the Chanaanites, which his parents toke in verie ill part: for he had married them contrary to his commandment; and yet the scripture calleth them lawfull. Therefore it seemeth, that matrimonie may be contracted, euen against the parents will. I grant indeed, that in the holie scriptures they be called lawfull; but yet therefore, because he so counted them, and because the nations, among whom they dwelt, so repute them. Notwithstanding, it is not gathered hereby, that the scriptures do confirme such a matrimonie. The same forme of speaking vsed Paule in the first to the Corinthians, the eighth chapter; Euen as there be manie gods, and manie lords. He saith that there be manie gods; not that there are so indeed; for there is but one God; but because the most part so beleue, and common persuasion conceiued that there was an infinite number of gods. Therefore be saith, Manie gods. But to vs, which iudge aright, there is but one God, and one Lord Iesus Christ. It is no vnaccustomed or strange thing in the scriptures, so to call things, as men vfe commonly to speake: yet else where, when they speake properly, they call else thing by his owne name. Holbeitt thou wilt late; when he read, that the children of Elau were not legitimate. I answer, that Elau had indeed a great posteritie; but whether it were lawfull or no, the scripture sheweth not. Where vnto adde, that by these nations, among whom he liued, they were counted legitimate; for those had not the word of God, wherein it is commanded, that this should not be done: and they had wonderfull corrupted the lawe of nature.

26 Others crye: What shall we thinke of our forefathers: What also of manie, which liue at this date, & have contracted matrimonies contrary to the consent of their parents: Shall we call out their matrimonies, or else adulteries: And shall we count their children to beome, for legitimate, or for bastards: I answer: that when as such marriages were had in that time of darknesse, before the new light of the Gospel; those men in verie bad were not excused from sinne: for it was not lawfull for them to be ignorant of the lawe of God: but yet, because they were done publickly, and by the permission of the magistrate: I am persuaded, that such matrimonies are firme and ratified. If they obiect, that in mar-

Gen. 11. 29  
The marrie  
age of Elau

ma. ver. 8.

what the  
were to be  
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parents

marriages the consent of the parents wanted: I answer, that it was therein, and it was not therein. For the magistrates had made the ciuill lawes subiect to the canons: which vnderstandeth they ought not to haue done. Now in this, all men agree. And forso much as the magistrate hath the authoritie of the people, if he consent vnto anie thing, there, after a sort, is the publicke consent of the people. As at this date in Parlements, when they assemble for the payment of some summe of monie: although foune private men of the people be not contented with it; yet, because it is agreed vpon by the magistrate, they also should seeme to haue giuen their consent.

So indeed, the father would not that the matrimonie of his sonne should be firme without his consent. Holbeitt, being he submitted his will to the iudgement of the magistrate, he should seeme after a sort to haue giuen his consent. But now the truth of the thing being knowne, the magistrate ought to reuoke the error: So as the matrimonies, which hitherto that is, in darknesse, haue bene contracted against the will of the parents, ought to be firme, and the children borne of them ought to be legitimate. Nevertheless, if the lawe should afterward be repealed, then should they be no matrimonies, but onely premissaged; and in verie bad whoredoms, fornications, and adulteries: euen as Euaristus rightlie iudgeth. Holbeitt, while the lawes, which are now in force, are not abrogated, I dissolue not the matrimonies which in the meane time are so contracted. Neither do I saie, that the children borne of these marriages are bastards; but I declare that both firme most agreeable to the word of God, and to honestie. But Euaristus might iustlie looke to; because in his time the Romane lawes were of force, which accounted not such coniunctions to be matrimonies. Further, I adde, that fathers are not to be obeyed, when they tell the marriages of their children onelie for religion sake; because in that cause, God must be obeyed in all things, who is the head father of all things. And the first to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter, ver. 37.

Of Raine, or violent taking awaie.

27 This word Raptus, Raine, in the Hebrew cometh of Chazarb. The Greeks saie, *ἀρπάζω*; the Latins *Rapere*, which is, to take awaie by violence; not after euerie manner of sort, but as it were by a certaine force and great violence. Therefore raine differeth from theft; because theft may be committed secretly & without violence; for which cause, in the Digests *De*

*in iure iurando*, in the late *Duo de iure*, it is written: If a man sweare he hath not taken anie thing awaie violently, yet is he not straitwaie quit of theft. For although that thing, which a man doth, be not raine; yet it may be theft. So the ciuill lawe putteth a difference betwene theft and raine. But to what things raine pertaineth, it is mentioned in the Digests. *De conditione critica*, in the late the first. Things immoueaible, as houses, lands, & farms are entered vpon: but those, which be moueaible, as things not hauing life, beastes & men are violent taken awaie. Holbeitt, we treat here of the violent taking awaie of things moueaible; yet nevertheless, not of all, but of mens bodies, that are by violence taken awaie for lusts sake. This is another kind of raine, but not proper, which Augustine toucheth in the 19. sermon *De verbis apostoli*: and it is mentioned in the *De veris*, 14. cause, question the first, in the chapter *Si quidam munda*, where he saith, that things, which be found, must be restored. Which if they do not, thou shalt taken them awaie forceably; forso much as thou shalt done what thou couldst: so that if thou shalt found more, thou wouldst haue taken awaie more.

Where the Clouer beie well declareth, what is to be done with things that be found. Either (saith he) the same are counted for things cast awaie: as if the owner haue cast awaie anie thing, the same, if a man retine, when he hath found it, he committeeth not theft; but if that thing, which is found, be not forsaken, neither thought to be cast awaie willingly by the owner (as when a ring is found, or a purse, or anie such thing, which is not wont to be cast awaie) if thou deteine it, it is theft, vntill thou haue it by the with a mind to will to restore it againe. So then, thou must openlie tell that thou hast found these things, whereby the owner may come to his owne againe; as it is decreed in the Digests *De furtis*, in the late *De falsis*, in the Paraph. *Qui alienum*. But if thou hope it by the with a mind not to restore it, it is theft. And this doth Augustine in the place now allegged repute. The verie same is decreed in the Code *De leuano*, in the late *Nemo*, and in the institutions *De reum diuisione*, where it is ordeined; that if a man find treasure in his house or ground, it shall be his that findeth it. Holbeitt, if he find it in another mans foote, either he hath gotten it by chance, or else he fought for it. If he haue gotten it by chance, let it be diuided betwene the finder and the owner; but if he fought for it, the whole must be yielded to the owner. If the place were holie, and the treasure found by chance, the finder shall haue it. It is added, that if a man do take for treasure in his owne ground, and then forsake it for sparge, and arte forbidden; the thing found

what he  
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found, ought to be yeldd vnto the common  
treasurie. For he, which by euill meanes hath  
sought anie thing, seemeth vnto vs to be pos-  
sessor thereof. But to returne to Augustin, I  
affirme that which before I said, that it is not  
properlie rauine, if a man hold backe that which  
he hath found of an other mans.

And this word Origin plainliche declare in his fourth homilie upon Mattheus; Some (saith he) will not relize that, which they have found: for they saie, that God hath giuen it them. Wholue it, whateuer they saie, it is a crime like unto raine. Ye faith not, faith it is raine, but a certaine thing like unto it. Although we haue out of the ciuill laue differing ouerth these from raine, yet may raine be called theft; but yet so, that there be added a violence. In the *Epistola de uirtutibus*, in the law *S. uenerabili*, it is thus written; Ye that taketh awaie by violence, euerie woe comitteth theft, and is an open theft. But omitting these things, let us returne to that kind whereof we now intrat. Some haue said, that this Latine word *Rape*, is nothing els, but violentlie to leaue awaie a maiden from the house of her father, to the end that he willowfully hir, may afterward haue hir; for his wife. This definition is not full and absolute, although it be used of the Canonists in the 6. cause, question 1. chap. *Lex illi*, in the *Paraphrasi* *con ergo*. For in the billopp of iudges, the maidens were violentlie caught awaie, yet were they not taken awaie from their fathers house, but out of the said or vineyardes. Neither is that it uic, which is added; namely, *eo marrie bir*, or to haue bir to his wife, when he hath disowned bir: for the maidens of him that taketh bir awaie by violence, may be to haue bir for his concubine, or to abuse bir at his pleasure, though he take bir not to wife. Further, this so laid definition onli maketh menty of on offendments, when as yet neuertheless, both married women & widowes, free-maid-feruants & bond-maid-feruants, & also yong children: may be violentlie taken awaie. Wherefore the crime must be extended further than that definition both import. While harlots faine to be crempet; so they doe not faie to be caried awaie violentlie, although they be taken awaie by force. And certeinelle, it is then no action of violent taking as awaie, but of injuries onli. But it is ment, that such persons are violentlie caught awaie from the custodie either of their parents, or of their tutors, guardian, patron, or lord; to the end there may be used an unlawful copulation, whether matrimony followe; or no.

28 Now must we declare what punishments be ordained for such violent takers. In the Code *De Raptu virginum, & viduarum*, in the lawe *Unica*, Iustinian intreateth at large of that matter, & maketh the taking awaie of the persons,

And I have before rehearsed, guiltie of death; so that the companions also, and they which assisted the raptor, are comprehended in the same punishment. Neither was that thought to be sufficient, but there were other punishments invented more grievous than death. For so it decreed, that not onlie the Iudges and magistrats shall put him to death; but also, if the raptor be taken with the wicked deed doing, either by the parents, brethren, kinsfolke, tutor, governor, lord, patron, or finally by him, in whose power he is, that is taken awaie, they may kill him, and that without anie punishment. It is also ordeined, that they, which are pfect with the raptor, and defend him in his dishonest ad, may also be slain without anie banger. He addeth likewise, that violent taking awaie is sometime committed against a mans owne spouse: as if one by violence take awaie his, whom he hath not yet married. And if a man take awaie another mans wife, he doth not enlie commit a dulterie, but also raine. If the raptor be not slaine (as they saie) in the very heate of the crime, he ought afterward to be put to death by the Iudges; or magistrats: and so, that if he appeals unto a superiour magistrat, he shall not be heard. And that (saith Luplinian) was ordeined by a law made by Cosustantine.

Unbottled it is græuous, not to be heard  
if thou appeale. And that is here decreed. So  
great a matter did the cruell lawes make of ra-  
uine. In fre-maid-seruants & bond-maid-ser-  
uants, the punishment is ended with death, but  
if a fre-woman be taken awaie by violence, the  
goods of the raptoz, and of those which be present  
with him, doe turne to yir life that is taken a-  
waie. Neither can the raptoz giue awaie his  
goods, or bequeath them by his will, but they fall  
to yir that is so taken awaie: and that not on-  
lie for a time, but also for euer: in such sort,  
that the may either for them, alternate them, or giue  
them for a dowrie. One thing onlie is excepted,  
that to wit, whilste she that is taken awaie, be af-  
terward married to the raptoz. The goods of the  
raptoz, were giuen yir vpon that condition, that  
he should not marrie him: and the reason of  
the lawe is added; because in our publike weale, we  
suffer not, that a man should marrie a wife, after  
the manner of an enemie. For citizens are wont  
to marrie their wiues, and not to take them by  
violence awaie. But that was done with them,  
which although they were not present at such ta-  
king awaie; yet were of counsel therof: or be-  
ing willing therof, offered it therof: or else af-  
terward receiued the raptoz into their house. Iustice  
therefore decreed, that they indeed shuld not lose their  
goods, but onlie be put to death. Nevertheless, if a  
bond-man, or bond-woman were taken, either  
in committing, or aiding this crime, it was com-  
man,

manded that they should be burnt with fire.

29 But what if a man will, by his owne consent, be taken awaie; yet must no part of the punishment (saith Iulianus) be diminished: it is euen all one, whether the woman will, or will not. And the reason is added; Because, if the rapto; would abstaine from the rapto, it is not verie likelie, that anie woman will offer her selfe, of his owne accord, to be taken awaie. Wherefore it seemeth probable, that the was twome by flatteries and decits. And as the parents of the maiben, if they consent to the taking awaie, are commanded to be banished. These things Iulianus decreeth in the Code: who neuertheless afterward in the Authenticks (where it is intreated of women taken awaie, which marrie the rapto;) was compelled to make the lawe anoth; because there turre come, which cauled, that if the that was taken awaie did consent to be married, he might possesse the goods of the rapto;. So; for they interpreted the first lawe, that the goods of the rapto; ought to come vnto hir that was taken awaie, if she marrie him, or if in his will make hir his heire. But tve (saith Iulianus) ment no such thing: for our lawes do not appoint rewardes for a twiced crime. Besides, neither can he make anie will, so long as he is not condemned to die. Neither do anie of our lawes suffer anie such matrimonies to be in force. And if it be no matrimonie, how can he possesse the goods of the rapto;, in the name of the dowrie? And so he decreed, that such matrimonies should not be ratified.

What then shall become of the gobes of the raptoꝝ? If the main (saith he) have parents, which have not thereto consented, those gobes shall come unto them; but if they have consented (as I have already said) they were banished, with out any prospect of gobes of lanoꝝ. Which kind of punishment was much more proper, than plain exile. But of the madnes of this opinion, I have already said the thoughts of the being executed; to wit, a sufficient satisfaction, let her not beaine so understood; but if the consented unto, he is by his fault sufficient to purge: so shall the raptoꝝ be compelled to publick penance, as is apperch in the 36. cause, question the second, chapter 8. report. But what if he will not do penance: he shall be vnto manifestate, according to the Cabylon and Chalcedon Council.

rents; or had those which conuicted, the goods in  
the raptoir reue conficcate to the cōmon trea-  
surie. Wher things it appeereth, that in those  
times ruine was counted defetable. Where  
unto I will also adde this; If anse daughter  
had married against the will of hir parents, or  
otherwise behaved hir selfe wantonly and in-  
chastitie, it was lawfull for the parents to dis-  
sent hir; as appeereth in the Code De iusticiis  
fiameto, in the lawe Si filiam. This one thing is  
excepted: If the father knowe that the best time  
of matrinomie was past, and would not be-  
stowe his daughter, then hath he nothing to  
deale against hir, if the marrie without his  
knowledge; or against his will: nate rather, he  
is compelled to give her a dowrie; as appeereth in  
the Code, in the same place, in the lawe Si post

*viginti quinque annos.* Whereby it appereth, that  
25. yeeres was the furthest time that marriage  
might shoulde be deferred off. The same is mentioned  
in the *Digesta, De ritu nuptiarum*, in the lawe  
*Quilibet.* Other lawiers determine the same  
thing, if a woman take awaie a man by vio-  
lence: although they saie that happeneth but sel-  
dome.

30. **Now** must be added the opinion of the Canonists, and that they bring out of the Scriptures. In the 3<sup>d</sup> cause, question the first, Gratian bringeth that definition of rapit, which he haue before confuted. **But** this he addeth; that in raucine, inturie is sometime done to the maiden, and not to the parents, and sometime to the parents, and not to the maiden; and sometime to them both. For if the maiden will be taken auaie of her owne free will, there is no inturie done vnto her, but vnto her parents; becauise, if the parents giue the man power to take auaie their daughter, becauise the will not consent to marrie him; then there is no inturie done vnto them, but vnto the daughter. Yet there is inturie done to both of them, when the daughter is led auaie from her parents against their will. And in the same place he bringeth the Council of Orleans, in the chapter 20. *Quia* there also he confitteth that rapit leaues.

Desperatures, w<sup>ch</sup> are avoyd  
 vine was want to be punished with death. But  
 it is further said; that If the raptoz take the  
 church, he escapeth the punishment of death.  
 Whom then? If the maiden (saith) be consented  
 unto the raptoz, first she shall be taken from  
 him, and restore to her parents. Nevertheless,  
 she being erculed, to wit, a caution being ac-  
 cepted, let her not be thaine o; otherwise: but if  
 she consented not, it is by her self sufficientlie  
 purged: yet shall the raptoz be compelled to  
 publike penance, as it is apperch in the 36. cause,  
 question the second, chapter *Raptores*. But what  
 if he will not do penance? he shall be excom-  
 municate, according to the Cabylon and Chal-  
 cedon Council.

The Com-  
 mitor of Chal-  
 cedon and  
 Ablasyn.

The Council of  
cell of Op  
lance.

The Council of Chalcedon and  
 Babylon.

<sup>11</sup> Deut. 22, 28

monies may be firme betwixt the raptor, and hir that is taken awaie. It also appereth by the Decretals *De raptoribus & incendiariis*, in the chapter *Cum causa*, and in the chapter following: which without doubt is against the civil lawes, and against the Canons of the better sort. But the Councell *Melitenus* decreed far otherwise: for first, it ordained, that the raptor, and the that is taken awaie, should be publicke penance; afterward it permitted matrimonic, but yet not betwixen themselves, but with other. And it is added; that if the husband or wife of either of them die, he which hath committed the ravine, or consented unto the raptor, cannot contract new matrimonic, except the bishop release him. Besides this it is decreed, that by no means, any such matrimonic should be firme, nor although the parents consent thereto. And the same Gracian confesseth, that the same thing was decreed in the Councell which was held at Aquigrane; yet afterward, both he him selfe acknowledged becometh, and also the Decretals of the Popes.

What then make they of those Councels? They answer that those Councels meant this, that it should not be lawfull to contract matrimonic in that case, unless open penance be first done, and the consent of the parents had. And to prove that sentence, Gracian in the 36. cause, question 2. chapter *Tria*, citeth Ierom, who seemeth to acknowledge these kinds of matrimonic to be lawfull. One, when a maiden is given in matrimonic to a husband by hir parents, or tutors. Another, if a maiden be oppressed of a man, and hir father afterward consent to give hir to him in matrimonic. The third is, if the father consent not to such marriages, but give hir unto another man. These three matrimonic he saith are lawfull in the holie scriptures. But in the 27. cause, question 2. chapter *Additur*, by the testimony of Ierom, there is added an other lawfull kind of matrimonic; namely, when a widow, which is not under the authoritie of the parents, marryeth in the law. Where Gracian saith, that Ierom acknowledged matrimonic betwixen the raptor, and hir that is taken awaie. But I perceive, that in the 22. chapter of *Crobus*, there is nothing intreated of violent taking awaie; onely mention is made there of whosoever committed, and not of violent taking awaie. For it is said, If by flatteries shall allure hir to lie with him, then hath he libertie given him that he may take hir to his wife, having the consent of the parents. But if a man had taken awaie a maiden, or man-child by violence,

then he was iudged by the lawe *Plagium*, that is, stealing of men: which is in *Deuteronomie*, and this it testifieth, that Whosoever stealeth a woman or man in Israel, should be punished with death. Wherefore there is nothing contained in the holie scriptures so farre as I say touching the firmesse or establishment of such a matrimonic.

31. But here some man will object, that Iacob and his sonnes did consent, that Sichen the sonne of Hemor should have in matrimonic Dina, Iacobs daughter, being violently taken awaie by him, upon condition, that his sonnes would suffer themselves to be circumcised. I grant this; howbeit, that was done before the lawe of Moles was given. Neither can we read, that the Patriarchs had any word of God concerning this matter. Neither can it be denied, that before the lawe was published, verie manie things were committed against it. Iacob, of Gen. 31. whom we now speake, had at one time two sisters in matrimonic. Amram had to twise his aunt, of whom he begat Moles, Aaron, and Marie. Which matrimonic, after the lawe was given, were not lawfull. So as the example, now brought, signifieth nothing. But if raptors should have any hope of matrimonic, there would be opened a wide doore for yong want men to take women violently awaie: for they will make no doubt to take women awaie violently, if they shall have any hope to marry hir, whom they have taken awaie. But all occasions of evil must be removed out of the Common weale, and the Church. Wherefore, seeing parents must have great honour done unto them, they should iustice a great reproof, if matrimonic should be contracted betwixen the raptor, and hir that is taken awaie against their will.

This also seemeth to be added, that Lucius the Pope writeth unto the bishop of Burgis, as appereth in the Extraugants *De raptoribus & incendiariis*, in the chapter *Cum causa*, that he decreed, that if a maiden sale, that before she was taken awaie, there were wordes passed between them touching marriage, it cannot properly be called ravine. What shall then be done? say the raptor? his parents will marrye the raptor: Innocentius the third, in the chapter following, decreeth; that if a maiden be taken awaie against his will, and afterward consent to marrye the raptor, that marriage is also firme, yea although it be against the will of hir parents. And he addeth that this is done in the honour of matrimonic; when as indeed it openeth appereth to the contrary. Therefore, if a man with deeper indignement weigh the whole matter. In the 27. cause, question 2. chapter *Raptor*, it appeareth, that a maiden that is taken awaie, be betrothed unto an other by the wordes of the future tense, he must be restored unto him, if he will receive hir; and if he will not, it is free for the maiden, which was taken awaie, to marrye an other. But if the woman be betrothed by the wordes of the present tense,

and that the canonize, that she was taken awaie against his will: the spouse, if he will not receive hir, ought to be compelled.

32. The whole business writt not much disagreeing from this. Thomas in the 22. question toucheth this matter, when he writeth, that violent taking awaie spyring of a belement lust, whereby the raptor is so troubled, that he neglecteth all dangers. And he will have hir that is taken awaie, to be rendered to his spouse, if he have any; and if he have none, unto his parents; or if he be without parents, to them in whose power she was. And then, if they will agree, he may marrye the raptor; but yet so, that there be first made a restitution: because in all theft and robberie, restitution is due before marriage. Peter (saith he) ravine before restitution be made, is a hinderance to the contraining of matrimonic; that is, that they sume, if they contract matrimonic: neuertheless, if it be contracted, it breaketh not the contract. But to the canons, which determine against it, he answereth, that they were made in detestation of the crime; but that the Pope afterward considered the matter better. Howbeit, this was not the part of a goodly man, to worship the Pope for God; and so to flatter him like a bondslave. And to the end he might seeme to speake rightlie, he bringeth the wordes of Ierom, which are in Gracian, concerning the three kinds of matrimonic. But how that place serveth to this matter we have in hand, I have shewed before. Lastly, he objecteth unto himselfe the Melitenian Councell. Howbeit, that place (he saith) must be understood, as if a man will take awaie hir that was married unto another: as though that were obscure or doubtful. We need no canons to understand this.

Against Thomas, a certaine Divine (none of the simpler sort) earnestly opposeth himselfe in this matter. And where Thomas saith, that the violent taking awaie hindreth not the matrimonic already contracted; he answereth that manie decrees make against that doctrine. Further, he bringeth a reason; namely, that he, which is excommunicated, cannot receive the sacraments. Therefore he addeth, that the raptor is excommunicated: wherefore, unless he use penance, and reconcile himselfe unto the church, he cannot contract matrimonic. Where Caietan would altogether defend his Thomas, saith he, that he, which is excommunicated, can be partaker of the sacraments. Howbeit, this he confesseth: that he, which is excommunicated, cannot receive the sacraments. And he saith further; that an excommunicate be admitted to confirmation, or to holie orders, it can not be denied, but that he hath received the sacraments: neither is it lawfull for him to begin

them againe, if he afterward do penance. Besides he saith, that the spawler of the sentences in the fourth booke, where he reckoneth the impediments, which take away matrimoniall contracted, maketh no mention at all of rapr.

Wherefore, he teacheth that the raptor, and the that is taken awaie, are not excommunicated *Ipso facto*, but are to be excommunicated. But because he saith that it is in the canons of the Councell of Chalcedon and Cabilon; Let the raptor, and hir that is taken awaie, be accused: he answereth, that the gloffe interpreteth that saying to be of the same force, as if it had bene said; Let them be accused. And againe he answereth to the other two things, touching restitution and penance; and saith, that the which is taken awaie, ought not to be restored: but it is sufficient, if the father by some means, although he be not belivered into his hands; even as in theft, it is not alwaies of necessity, that things taken awaie should be restored, but sometimes it is sufficient, that the thing be recompensed, either by a price, or by a bond. But concerning penance, he saith; The raptor, if he contract without it, he sinneth indeed; but yet after he hath contracted, the matrimonic is firme. As likewise he saith, that the canons, which decree to the contrary, either be abrogated, or else speake of spouses. After this sort Thomas, Caietan, the Divines, Ecclesiasticks, and Canonists strive among themselves, and plaie the parasites with the Pope their god.

33. Now I will declare what the holie scriptures do determine herof, or what they will have us to iudge of the same. The first place is out of Genesis, the first chapter, where it is written. The sonnes of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were faire, took them to wives, such as they liked. I know there are brought sundrie expositions of this place. Some interpret The sonnes of God to be angels, which being inflamed with the beautie of angels women, had fellowship with them. This exposition cannot agree; for seeing that angels have no bodies, they cannot burne in such lusts. Others understand by The sonnes of God those, which came of Seth, and were brought up in the true worship of God; who being overcome with beautie and faireness, contracted matrimonic with the daughters of Caine; that is, with idolaters and infidels. Whereby there now remained nothing sound and perfect; and therefore God sending a flood, destroyed the whole world. The Chaldee interprets; saith, that the children of God were mighty men, and magistrates; who when they had taken to wives the daughters of base men, all things were fraught with wickedness. Here do I see that rapr was committed, which thing the Chaldee paraphrast hath signified, whose author

The Council Meliten.

The Council of Aquigrane.

Ierom.

ver. 26.

Exo. 21, 16.

What the Schoolmenudge were of Thomas Aquinas.

Gen. 31, 14. Chapter 2. of 28.

Gen. 31.

Exod. 3, 10.

The Pope teacheth us God.

One papist against another.

Caietan.

The Chaldee interprets.

C. 1, 1.







the exam-  
ple of Jol-  
phat.

30

1. Kin. 10. 36

Ticus 3. 10.

31

vel. 32

Two popes  
of contrary  
opinion.

god father (namely of Iosaphat) casting aside the whorshiping of the true God, did imitate the kings of Israel: Athalia his wife begg him thereunto. Now let vs compare together the Israelites and the Jewes, betwene whom there is the same consideration to be had, that is betwene the heretikes and the Christians. For the Israelites did professe the lawe of Moses, they had circumcision: neither were they by any means strange from the faith of the Jewes, and yet notwithstanding was the amitie, which the kings of Iuda had with them, repoynded; and by the will of God their ships were broken, while they joined together in friendship. What shall we then saie concerning heretikes? In the thirde to Ticus it is written, Shun thou an heretike, after the first and second addition. Dost thou give eare unto the apostle, if thou marrie such a one? Such were the Israelites in times past, being compared with the Jewes; such are the Papists and Anabaptists: if thou compare them with the professors of the Gospel. And hereunto, that in Iohn the fourth chapter, it is written, that the Samaritans had no conversation with the Jewes.

These reasons doe verie much move me: howbeit, I would that the matter should be to me mitigated, as we might not be more careful than reason would about the rather sort of contraverties and dilagreements. But let vs shewe examine, whether the parties, which are to be looked in matrimonie, doe agree together in the chiefe points of religion; namely, whether they beleue in one verie God, as touching the essence, and these persons together in one substance; whether they beleue, that for our sinnes we have need of Christ to be an onlie mediator; whether they beleue that we be iustified by faith without works; that there shall be such a resurrection, as a general iudgement: and other things of like sort: which I adde herein, because it were an infinite thing to descend unto more particularities. But admit, that when the marriage is made; the husband and the wife do agree in religion; what must afterward be done, if one of them shall fall into heresie? The Papists answer: They must be separated from the bed, as we said before, but not from the bond of matrimonie.

But Celsentius iudged, that those matrimonies should be verie be voided, and a licence of new marriage granted them. Innocentius, which followed after, abolished this decree: saying; It may be, that they, counteing to be at libertie from the marriage which they millike, would accuse their wives as heretikes; or would faime themselves to be heretikes: as appeared in the extravagant De divorcio, in the chapter Quan-

do, &c. But I acknowledge no divorce, but that which is free, wherein libertie to marrie againe may be at the least wile granted to the parties offended. Neither do the holie scriptures shew of anye other kind of divorce. Whombeit I would answer Innocentius, that the one marriage partie must not be beleued, that accurst the other of heretike, unless the matter be proved by iust and lawfull examination. For sovereyn I thinke it best, that such punishments be laid upon heretikes, as none may lightlie be led to professe heresie. Therefore we must determine, that the surest waie is, to take heed of such marriages at the beginning. And if it happen afterward, that there arise anie heresie of great impozance among them, which is tried out by lawfull examination, let there be waies and means attempted, whereby the infected partie may repent. Which if it take no place, and that the infected partie will not dwell within the faithfull: or else is not ready to do this, without committing blasphemies and contumelies against Christ: they must be separated with a free divorce. And remaineth, that we answer to the arguments, which seemed to make against our opinion.

39 First it was said; that God ment such matrimonies of unlike religion onelie as touching the seven nations of the land of Chanaan. I answer, that the cause, which is afterword added, is general; namely: least men should turne from the true God, and from the right whorshiping of him. But here we will demand, that if turning unto the true God had happened among them; whether it were lawfull for the Iehoyes to contract with those nations? I thinke it had not bene lawfull, without some special dispensation of God; because God had would cast out those nations. And as for that, which was brought touching matrimonie licensed with a captive woman, I first saie, that if a man will move narrowtie beyond that lawe, he shall callke pervertie, that such matrimonie was not allowed by God: the which neuertheless he granted to the Iehoyes, by reason of their incredible follie. Which I hereby gather, because he tolled, that the head of a strange captive woman should be shaven: that if perhaps the pleased an Iehoye, by reason of his beautiful haire, now being shaven, he might beginne to mislike of his Ipe also ordered that his garments should be changed; because even those (as often it cometh to passe) might procure that love. He also commanded that they should let their nails growe, to make them the more befriended. And he tolled, that there should be a mourning for thirte daies; that if the were loved before for his mirth and amiablenesse, now the should lesse please for his mourning and vndesirablenesse. With these conditions God intended to make

Whom-  
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A free di-  
vorce be-  
tweene an  
heretike  
and true  
prophesie.

Deut. 7. 3.  
An answer.

Deut. 17. 17

make a medicine for raging love. And this, there is added a great burden, that if he began to be misliked, he ought not to have his wife a divorce, or else fell him to another; but he was commanded after a divorce was made to let him go free. Those conditions being observed, at the last he commanded, that the should be a wife; which must be understood (although it be expressed) that the should be first well instructed in religion, and should be converted unto the true God.

But touching those examples brought of them, which in old time married such women; I confesse, that some such were married, who nevertheless did first admit the true and sound religion. But I iudge, that Salomon had perhaps done better, if he had refrained from the daughter of the Aegyptian; because I do not thinke that Pharaos was much better than Ahab, with whom the matrimonie being made was repoynded by God. And whereas it is written in the historie, that Salomon loved Iechous; that I do understand was ment by the love, which he had at the first, before he was yet converted. For afterward, when he was growne to old age, his hart, though strange women, was alienated from God. And as concerning Augustine, which said, in the new testament there is no expresse commandement extant, whereby such kind of marriages are forbidden; I set as a good example Tertullian, Ieron, and other fathers, who refer to this place the words of Paul to the Corinthians, the second epistle, and first chapter, which I alleged before. And that which he wrote in the former epistle (Let him marrie in the Lord) they refer unto this place, and shew, that they were spoken against this kind of matrimonie. And where it is alleged, that manie in old time did not abstaine from the marriages, neither did thinke that they sinne thereby: that have not we to do with. For while Paul lived, there were manie, which had recourse to idolatry, and thought not that they did ill therein; even as manie thought that whosoever was not to be reckoned a fault; which nevertheless, the apostle both earnestly repoynded, and sheweth it to be sinne.

And that, which to the Corinthians is decreed by the same apostle, that The beleevuing husband may dwell with the unbelievuing wife, if he will, and be contented therewith: we answer, that we in this place doe reason of marriages to be made, and not of such as be already made. So as the apostle saith there; Ipe of the that hath an unbelievuing spouse. Whereby it appeareth, that he speaketh of matrimonie that was contracted before. But touching Salomon, whether he broke the lawe, which is in Deuteronomie, of the not bringing in of nations into the church of the

Jewes, either neuer, or else till manie generations were past; I saie, that that lawe must be more diligetly weighed, and more narrowly scanned, what is. To enter into the church. For (as I thinke) we must not beleue, that a man being a proselyte, and converted unto the true God, and circumcised, should wait so long after he were iudged, to be admitted unto offering of sacrifices and common prayers. Wherefore it is verie libellie, that in the lawe was ment their intruding into the cite, whereby they might be in possibilitie to execute offices, and to be in the state of marrying wives of the tribes of Israel. And so, as concerning this, Salomon should not be accused for breaking the lawe, seeing the same poudly it for men and not for women. I thinke therefore, that matrimonies of this kind are not to be made, because they be rather snare than marriages.

### Of Degrees forbidden to make contract in marriage.

40 This seemeth first to be agreed upon, that in the 18. and 20. chapters of Leviticus, are not reherced all persons of degrees, in whom marriages are forbidden. For there is no mention made of grandmothers: when as nevertheless all men will confesse it to be most shamefull, if anie man should take his grandmother to wife who is so far above him in yeeres. The wile also of the grandfather is not mentioned. And though the wile of the uncle, by the fathers side, be spoken of; yet is there nothing spoken concerning the wile of the uncle by the mothers side. And (that we more marvel at) there is no prohibition for the father to marrie his daughter: when as all men confesse, that those marriages be most incestuous. So as it is to be thought, that in that place are set forth by the holie Ghost certaine degrees prohibited: and those not manie; yet such, that by them (as by certaine exquisite and manifest rules) we may iudge of the like. Therefore we must thinke, that whatsoever is spoken as touching the grandfather, is also commanded as touching the grandfather, or grandmother: seeing that all these are reckoned to be parents. Whole things also, which are spoken as touching the wile of the uncle by the fathers side, do manifestlie shew that is to be done as concerning the wile of the uncle by the mothers side: sojourn as these affinities of degrees have by the same space of distance, relation one to another. So that I am of this mind, that I thinke the prohibitions mentioned in the lawe, are therefore set forth, that by them we might evidently understand, what is meet to do in the like degrees.

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who more than others offend against the degree of blood.

3 grant nevertheless, concerning Paulus Burgensis reason, that they much more break the law, which do contract matrimonies with persons forbidden: and that they also pervert the order of kindreds. For unto me seemeth to do farre worse, which marrieth his grand-mother, then he which marrieth his niece or his brothers sise: although I thinke, that both these matrimonies are unlawful. What the Hebrews of our time do, I passe not much; yea, I much doubt of that, which Paulus Burgensis assevereth himselfe, as a thing plaine and manifest: namely, that the Jewes at this daie are most diligent in observing of their outward lawes. For me thinketh I should do well, in not giving to them more dignitie, or religion than to Christian. Wherefore, as it is manifest enough, that we have for mens traditions, farre verie much from the right observation of the commandments of God, and also from the right knowledge of the scriptures: so is it also like that the same hath happened to the Jewes, especially in this our age. So as I am not invidious against them, when I will not yield more unto them, than unto our selves.

Fourthly, I will not let declare, that their Rabbins have added to the degrees forbidden in the law, manie more as well in descending as ascending: which thing I understand the great learned man Paulus Phagius hath declared in his annotations on Leviticus. Neither can I be persuaded, that they were added by them for any other cause; but onely for that they thought that those degrees were comprehended in the degrees expressed by God. Wherefore that (as I thinke) will not be sufficient for judging of lawfull marriages, if the degree, wherein they are contracted, shall not by manifest and proper words in the law be forbidden, nor yet the order of kindred perverted: for it may be, that the like degree, and of the same distance, is forbidden by authoritic of the law. Neither doth the scripture (so far as I can see) allege in any place such a reason, as belongeth to the perverting of order, although (as I have said before) I will not utterly reject the same.

51 Some man peradventure will saye; What matter is it for us of this age, either to knowe or to marke those precepts, which are contained in the 18. and 20. chapters of Leviticus; seeing that we, after the coming of Christ, are no more bound to the civill laws of the Jewes: I grant that the Christians are not bound to the civill precepts of the law: but yet I ascribe those precepts, which are there given for marriages, not to civill lawes, but rather to moxall. And I thinke, that I may bring a reason out of the same place to confirme my saying. For God when he gave those lawes, added these words

therunto: Take heed therefore that ye defile not your selves with whooredoms, and such incests, as the Gentils have done, whom I have driven out of those lands, which I have now given unto you: for seeing those nations have been polluted with so greuous wicked acts, I have therefore so defiled them, and will do the like unto you, except you shall diligently shunne those things, which I command you, as touching these cuils. I thinke no man will doubt, but that the Chanaanites, which received not the lawe by Moses, neither were citizens of the publike weale of the Israelites, could not by that lawe be condemned; because they obeyed not the lawes of the Hebrews. They were subiect onely to the lawe, which is called moxall. Seeing then God reproveth them for that cause, that they were so defiled with such filthy lusts and incests, and affirmeth, that for the same cause he depiceth them both of their land and life: it is manifest, that these lawes must be joined, not to civill precepts, but to moxall, which all men are bound to observe.

Further, I thinke, that the first sight to be against this doctrine, in that Abraham (a man otherwise most holie) is thought to have married his brothers daughter, namely, Sara. Amram had also Iohabed his aunt to wife, of whom he begat Moses, Aaron, and Marie. And it seemeth, that to godlie and holie men would not have done this, if the moxall lawe (as we have said) had bene against it. As this we ascribe: first, that the lawe of nature was much blotted by corruption and wickedness, which overhelmed all mankind some after time: and so for that cause they, which contracted such matrimonies, thought peradventure that the same was lawfull. And therefore, although they cannot altogether be excused by that ignorance; yet it is to be thought that they committed lesse sinne than those, which durst do such things, after the lawe was given. I adde moreover, that among the facts of the fathers, certaine things are now and then spoken of by which other men must not take example, seeing they are sometimes to be interpreted as perogatives, or certaine privileges given them. But how to cuse it be, we must not (as I thinke) much labour to excuse the fathers in all things. Although I knowe there be, which saye, that Sara was not the daughter of Abrahams brother, but of his some other waie. And therefore the might be called his sister, after the ancient manner of speaking; as though the were of some kindred unto him, but yet not so near of kinne, but that they might marrie together. And in like manner they sale of the kindred of Amram and Iohabed. Whobeyt, I will omit these things, seeing the whole matter may be made plaine by these two kind of answers before alle-

Levit. 18, 19. 22, 23.

Gen. 22, 14.

Exod. 6, 10.

The lawe of nature was blotted, and things thus.

The fathers must not in all things be excused from blame.

alleged.

42 It might also be demanded, that if the precepts of matrimonies be moxall, and doe appertaine to the lawe of nature, why God would also establish them in his lawes? Whence the light of nature was come to that point, that it was not sufficient. The brightnesse thereof was darke unto those moxall men defaced in the hearts of men. Which doth manifestly appere, not onely in these, but also in the tenne commandments: where it is commanded, that men should abstine from theft and murder. And yet we read in the histories, that robbing on the sea, and also on the land prevailed in such sort, as they might seeme to be full of honour and dignitie. Plato, in his first booke of lawes, thought, that concerning procreation of children, we should abstine from mothers, grandmothers, and the degrees above them; againe, from daughters, neeces, and degraes beneath them: but as for other persons he made first Ierom against Iouinian, in his second booke testifieth, that the Scots in his time had no certene marriages; but accompanied with their women, as they lusted themselves, even with such as came first to hand. He saith moreover, that the Medes, Indians, Aethiopiens, and Persians, consensually contracted matrimonies with their mothers, sisters, daughters, and neeces.

Which seemeth nevertheless to disagree with that, which Herodotus writeth of the Persians. For Cambyces (as he testifieth) desired to marrie his sister, for the which he asked counsell of the lawiers and wise men: and demanded of them, whether that matrimonies were lawfull or no. To whom they answered, that they indeed had no lawe for the brother to marrie his sister: but yet they had another lawe among them, whereby it was lawfull for the king of the Persians to do whatsoever himselfe listed. Scythians they answered well in the first part of their answer, but in the latter part they most shamefully flattered the tyrant. Whobeyt, the things, which be written by this historiographer, though sometimes fabulous, and those that Ierom bringeth, varie not. For the common sort, being thus corrupted with shamefull and wicked customs, contracted such matrimonies: whobeyt, the wisest sort, in whom the lawe of nature did shine, perceived that those matrimonies were not lawfull; although, being overcome with concupiscence, they would not forebare them. Whom Paule to the Romans hath sharpelie reproveth, saying; Whiche men, notwithstanding that they knowe the righte counsell of God, they yet onely do such things, but also they consent unto those which doo them. And these matrimonies are knowne as it were in their owne nature to be so unlawfull, as they, which beare relation

Rom. 1, 31.

made of such things, be stricken with an exceeding great horror. And that they themselves, which have committed such things, upon the heats of their lust, came to detect those whom they have defiled.

The poets make mention of Cynara and Myrrha his daughter, with whom his father perceiving that he had binne kept unlawfull companie, he so hated her, that he persecuted her, all that ever he might. Ammon began to hate his sister, whom he had disonced, that he commanded her to be violently thrust out of his sight. Thon thail also neuer in a manner find (if thou looke into histories) that incestuous marriages, or carnall copulations came to good end. Ptoleme king of Aegypt toke to wife, by fraud and guile, his sister Euridice. What ill successesse came thereof, the histories, and (speciallie Iustine) have plainlie set forth. Antonius Caracalla, who married his stepmother; and Nero, that committed abomination with his mother, not onely came to a most vnhappie end, but (according to their deserts) were wonderfull hate of the people, and were openlie called monsters of mankind. Wherefore we grant, both that these commandments, which do prohibit those sins, pertaine to the lawe of nature; and also, that they were for; lust cause renewed by God in his moxall lawes.

43 It may also be plainlie enough declared by another reason, that incestuous marriages are forbidden by the light of nature; seeing that they were earnestlie forbidden by the Romanes lawes, which were counted among the most excellent and honest lawes: and those marriages were specialie named, wherein any man had married his neece by the brothers side. Although Claudius Cæsar, when he would marrie his brothers daughter Agrippina, caused the first lawe to be abrogated; and to be decreed, that it might be lawfull for euerie man to haue his brothers daughter to wife: but there was none at Rome, except it were one of two, that would followe his example. But the first lawe, which was the best, was observed among the Romans. Whobeyt, we must understand, that there were certaine persons prohibited by the laws of the Romans, whereof Gods lawe made no mention; and yet their prohibition was not without reason. So as the citizens of Rome were bound to observe them, although by the light of nature they could see no cause why they should so do. Which kind of lawes was wont to be called peculiar, because it seemeth to be a thing private unto certaine persons. I will make the thing more plaine by examples.

The Romans (as may be seen in the Catoe) would not that matrimonies should be made betwene the gardian & the pupill; because they

Cynara and Myrrha.

Ammon.

Incestus haue in a manner also vnhappie end.

Ptoleme.

Antonius Caracalla.

Nero.

The Roman lawe looked to marrie the brothers.

The gardian might not marrie his pupill.

Cicero.

He was married to a Jew. Acts 24, 15.

Cicero.

The prohibition of Salvia.

lawe it would easilie come to passe thereby, that the garridan, which had consumed the goods of his pupil, might he should be constrainede after the time of his tuteiship, to render an account of those goods, would sollicite the maten to marriage; which being obtained, he should be free from rendering an account of his goods. Surely the lawe was good, but yet it was not perfectible otherwise. Cicero (otherwise a grane man) was ill reported of for the same cause: for being free in other mens debt, when he had forsaken his wife Terentia, he married his pupil, of whose goods and affaires he had the charge as garridan. Al- so the Romans decreed, that no president of ante pounce should take to wife, either to himselfe, or to anie of his, anie woman within the same province, wherein he governed. For they knew right well, that it might so happen, that the p- re- tor, or consul, or president in a province, ha- ving affaile in the families and households comming to him by his wife, might conspire new matters, and at last alienate themselves fro the Common-weale. They also laid a great danger to hang thereupon, lest he should not be iust and seuerate in giving of iudgement; be- cause he would gratifie his kindfolles more than others. And thus, it should not be free for them to have marriages within the provinces; because magistrates might in a manner compell them of the provinces, to contract matrimonies either with themselves, or with their friends.

Was also this excellent lawe violated. For Felix, which governed Iurie under Nero, (as it is written in the 24. chapter of the Acts of the apostles) had Drusilla a Jew to wife. But what need is it to rehearse, that these lawes of lesse weight were not observed, when as that people had taken off even those lawes, which were called mo- rale, and are knowne by the lawe of nature? Cicero declareth in his Oration for Cluentius, that Salvia, a certaine wicked woman, was so infamed with wicked lust, that the indignated hir forme in lawe Auris Melinus, (to whom she had before married hir daughter) to refuse his wife, that he might take her to wife in stead of hir daughter: which at the length he brought to passe. And whereas that deed was accounted full of dishonestie, yet was it not punished by the lawes. Neither doe we read that the matrimo- nie, which Cicero affirmeth was unlawfull con- tracted without order of authority, was disol- ved by the power and commandment of the magistrates. Therefore, there is here also offer- red a good reason, whye God would againe inuol- ute by a newe lawe, those things, which by the light of nature were judged to be honest: for the bounds, bars, & closures of nature were broken, by the impotent lust of men; and therefore they were to be made surer by another bond. For the

Israelites were no more shamefast in keeping of natural honestie, than the Romans were.

44. Neither is this to be forgotten, that God had certaine proper things in his lawe, which may be called peculiar: seeing all men were not bound unto them by the lawe of nature, but the Hebrews onlie. For he would not have them to contract matrimonie with the Chanaanites, Amorrhites, Jebusites, &c. For other people seemed not to have bene bound to that lawe. Neither should we in this one (if there were such nations still) be letted, but that we might ioinc our selves in matrimonie with them. Although the cause of that lawe ought at this date to be hol- den: which cause is, that matrimonies should not be contracted with them that be of a con- trarie religion; for we must beware, that the goodie be not ioined with the wicked. I knowe that Augustine, concerning unlawfull mar- riages, writeth to Pollencius, in the second booke, and *De sermone Domini in monte*; that there is not a place in the new testament, wherein by ex- press words, matrimonies with infidels are forbidden. But of this matter I will not write much at this present, seeing I have largelie in- treated thereof upon the epistle to the Corinthi- ans. His will I saie moreover, that a godd man, in contracting of matrimonies, ought to followe chastie that which is honest; not legittie to occupy from commendable orders, & usual customs, which are not against the word of God. And if there hapen peradventure anie doubt, let him not thinke it much to aske his magi- strate: otherwise he shall rashly put forth him- selfe, his wife, and his children into danger.

For if he be married in anie of the degrees prohibited, he shall not be counted a husband, and a lawefull owner; and his wife shall be called a harlot, and the children, in that marriage be- gotten, shall be taken for bastards. Whome- ver, the magistrate, although he may not, conceiv- ing matrimonie, should certaine other con- tracts, besides those which God hath forbidden: yet can he not, neither ought he to remit anie of those, which God hath commanded, and which he hath forbidden by his lawe. For he must most diligente take heed, that he burden not the people too much, or without an earnest cause, as we see that the Pope hath done, who hath two lawes sinne therein. First, in that he durst by force the office of making lawes in a Com- mon weale, which undoubtedly pertaineth not unto him. Secondly, because in his lawes he followed not the word of God; but without rea- son forbade first all degrees, even to the seventh, which he perceiving afterward not to be obser- ved, that all things were full of confusion, he restrained his prohibitions to the fourth de- gree. Wherein he is constant and obstinate, if there

Exod. 34, 16.

The goodie must not be ioined with the wicked, as Augustine.

Deuts. 5, 1.

Of marry- ing a wife whose to- tie is not al- kin.

The goodie of the Chri- stians mar- ried their sisters.

Looke In Sam. 13, 1.

The hope hath two lawes, one touching the first kin.

Augustine.

there come no monie in: but if monie be offered (whereof he must haue much brought him to fill his greedy desire) he dispenseth as pleaseth him, both with his owne lawes, and the word of God. 45. This also must be knowen, that God hath in his lawes another decree, which we may call peculiar: because it should not extend to other nations: neither ought it to be in force at all times. And that was, that when anie husband had without children, the brother that remain- ed alive, or some other next of him, should mar- rie his wife that was left: so that the first, which should be percerated of that marriage, should be con- sidered the soune of him that was dead, and as in the inheritance should succede him. For God would not in that Common-weale, that men should altogether be extinguished. And he provided, that this kind of lands should be kept as much as might be. And seeing the same is not used in our publike lawes, neither that God hath commanded it; therefore it doth no- thing appertene unto us. Wherefore we must keepe our selves under the generall and com- mon lawe; namely, that no man presume to marrie the wife of his brother being dead, al- though he died without children.

And be it knowen unto vs, that in the begin- ning, when onlie the familie of Adam lived on the earth, brethren were not forbidden, as they were afterward: for brethren were diuen of necessitie to marrie their sisters. Whome, af- terward, when as men were increased in num- ber, they began to be ashamed, and by the in- stitution of God, or nature, either to absteine from prohibited persons, or at the least, wife to knowe that such continuations were full of igno- minie. But what time they began first to ab- staine, it appereth not by the historie. The hea- then poets perhaps thought that necessitie of them in old time, which byged the familie of the first parents to match the brother and sister to- gether, when they came, that their gods had their sisters to wives. For the cheefe of them; name- ly, Iupiter had Iuno, who in Virgil thus speaketh of hir selfe;

But I, which walke the Queene of gods, both sister and wife to Iove.

46. And though the word of God, and the in- stit of nature, should be sufficient of it selfe to make vs abstaine from the foregid continen- cies; yet are they brought by diuers teachers, causes fit enough to forbid the same. Augustine, in his 15 booke *De ciuitate Dei*, and 16. chapter, writeth; that Chast abstinence doth thereby much helpe to enlarge the bonds of humane societie. For if marriages should be concluded betweene the parents of one familie, there would bene kindreds betweene others. Furthermore, it is not convenient, that one and the same man

should suffice the persons of sundrie kindreds; to wit, that one man should both be the uncle and husband of anie one woman; and that one woman should both be the aunt and also the wife of anie one man. Which reason also Cicero made in his first booke *De iudiciis*; and Plu- tarch in his 108. problem. And seeing both their men were Chymiks, they could not per- ceive this, unless they had bene illuminated with the light of nature. Altho the third reason is added; because these persons, from whom we must abstaine, bee so for the most part dwell to- gether in one house. So if they should haue leaue to ioinc in matrimonie together, they would not so graue a modestie be conuerant one with another, as domestical ciuillite requieth.

Plutarch, in the place now alledged, hath shew- ed two other reasons, besides these, which we haue brought. One is, that betwixt marrie con- iuncs, diffinitions were to be feared: for they would frame complaint, that the right of kindred were taken away. Which saying I thus under- stand; For either that they were to be married, or he that would marrie, should overskip the neer- er of him, for to marrie one of further alliance: then that partie, which were nearer of him, would take it to be an inturie received; as if by over- skipping, it had bene purposefull done, to put the other partie to shame. Euen as it cometh to passe in making of wills, wherein they, which be the neerer of him, neither may nor ought to be forgotten. And in the lawe, touching the raising of seed unto the brother already dead, the first place was to be granted unto him that was neerer of him; who if he would not live his owne right, was made ashamed; as that lawe more at large hath declare. Therefore, seeing that dis- orders betwixt all sorts are to be hated, then those betwixt kindreds must be detested. Also Plutarch bringeth another reason; namely, that women be weaker, and therefore haue need of manie and sundrie vpholders. So that in mar- rying with strangers, if they be afflicted by them as it cometh to passe, they haue all their owne kindred to be their patrones and defenders: but if they should be wiues unto their owne kin- dred, and be ill intreated of them, they should haue a vertie force to defend their cause, with their kindred, to fall at controuersie with their owne kin: which would not Greene them to do against strangers.

47. But seeing now I am in hand with Plu- tarch, I remember that which he hath written in the first probleme: and I thinke it not impossi- ble to rehearse the same, seeing it appereth to be against that, which Augustine hath in his 15. booke *De ciuitate Dei*, and 16. chapter, touch- ing the marriage of cousins germane. For he as- serts

Cicero. Plutarch.

The causes of diffinit- ion betwixt kindreds are to be cut off.

women be weaker, and therefore haue need of manie and sundrie vpholders. So that in mar- rying with strangers, if they be afflicted by them as it cometh to passe, they haue all their owne kindred to be their patrones and defenders: but if they should be wiues unto their owne kin- dred, and be ill intreated of them, they should haue a vertie force to defend their cause, with their kindred, to fall at controuersie with their owne kin: which would not Greene them to do against strangers.

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of mar-  
riage  
agrees  
between  
cousins  
germane.

meth there, that the same was lawfull before his time; although such kind of matrimonies seeme to be contrary, because men did in a manner for-  
bear to contract with persons so neere of blood. But he saith, that afterward that libertie was taken away. Which in verie deed I can not perceiue in the Romane lawes, and yet neuer published, received and allowed; and per neuer thelesse, those lawes were in force through out Africa. So as it may seeme obscure to some, of which lawes Augustine speaketh; vnto whom he saith, that matrimonies of this kind were forbidden in his time. But it must be vnderstood, that when Augustine lived, the lawe of Theodosius the elder was in force, who first among the Cæsars (so far as I know) forbade this sort of matrimonie. Which also Aurelius Victor, and Paulus Diaconus doe testifie. And the same we find at this date in the Code of Theodosius, concerning incestuous marriages, the sentence as touching these persons remaining in these words; He that shall violate himselfe with the marriage of his consine germane, or of his sisters or brothers daughter, or of his viuers daughter; lastly, of anie the marriages of whom is forbidden and condemned.

Holbeitt, at this date the lawe is not extant in the Digests, nor in the Code, nor yet in the Authentiques. Which neuertheless King Cledorius followed, as it is read in the Almanke lawes, in the title *De illicitis nuptijs*; yea and it is confirmed by the ecclesiasticall Canons and Decrees, by Gratian 35. question 2. and 3; out of the Agathen Councell, the 61. Canon. And Gregorie the first, in that place, is found to be of the like force opinion: in the chapter *Quædam lex Romana, &c.* These things he answereth by to the first interrogatiue of Augustine the bishop of Canturburie. And he affirmeth, that they which loine together in the degree of cousins germane, ought to refrain from contracting of matrimonie betwene themselves. And Ambrose alio long before Gregorie, in his 66. epistle to Paternus, condemned marriage betwene brothers and sisters children; and withneseth, that the same was forbidden by Theodosius lawe: which I also have already alleged. And if it be lawfull to use concituate, I thinke that Theodosius did it at the request of Ambrose, who had a maruellous respect to publicke honestie. Yet neuer thelesse was not that lawe so secure in those daies, but that the same might sometime be dispensed with; as the epistle to Paternus hath shewn. And in that Ambrose affirmeth there, that such kind of marriage was forbidden by the lawe of God; it cannot be proued vnto anie, which thoughtless consider the words of the lawe, and the acts of the fathers.

How the Romans ordered themselves in au

ent time, as touching the marriage of cousins germane, this I haue observed. In the second booke, 4. first Decree of Liue: Ligiustinus saith, that his father gaue him to loue his vnles daughter. Cicero also, in an oration for Cluentius, writeth, that Cluentia was lawfullie married to M. Aurius by consine germane. And M. Antonius the philosopher married Faustine his consine germane, as Iulius Capitolinus writeth. And before the building of Rome, there is mention made of the marriage between Turnus and Lavinia, who defended of two sisters. But Plutarch, in the place before cited, saith, that in the former times at Rome it was prouided by lawe, that they which were neere of kin should not be ioined in marriage; but that the same lawe was afterward released vpon this occasion. For a certaine man, which both was honest, and of good reputation among the people of Rome, being verie much pressed with penurie, married a consine germane of his, which was verie rich and wealthie: for which cause he was accused of incest. But his cause being heard, by the iudgement of the people of Rome was absolved. For fauour here a great strophe in the citie. This means thereof, there was a lawe made by the people, that from thence forward it should be lawfull for consine germane to marrie. These things I thought good to declare of this kind of marriage, both out of the lawes of God, out of the lawes of the Romans both ancient and later, and also out of the fathers & ecclesiasticall Canons.

Wherevnto I will adde, that there be manie cities acknowledging the Gospel, which doe not allow the marriage of brothers and sisters children; namely, Zurich, Berna, Basil, Schaphouse, Sangal, Bienna, &c. Also in the Kingdom of Alsace (where I was) there this degree was excluded from marriage. So as in places, where the magistrate hath forbid these marriages, the faithfuls must not disobey them; for those reasons, which I haue before declared. But Ohaniel, if he were the consine germane to Adia, he might marrie her by the lawe of God: but if he were her vnle, he might not do it by the common lawe; holbeitt, he married her. Wherefore one of these two things we must take; either that there was a fault in him (for the fathers, as we haue already said, were not alwaies free from sinne) or else, that God, by a certaine privilege or prerogative, would haue these things to be done: which neuertheless must not be challenged for an example. Neither must we forget, that by a custome verie vsuall in the scriptures, they which by anie meanes were ioined in blood were called brethren. Cuen as Lot is called the brother of Abraham; and the kindred of Iesse. Thus the sonne of God, in the euangelicall his storie, he called his brethren. So likewise in this place

In the  
scriptures  
kindred are  
called by  
names.

place it may be, that Ohaniel was called the brother of Caleb, when he was onelie ioined vnto him by some neere kindred. And this exposition the interpreters, for the most part, doe doe: the which I would not mislike, vnlesse I haue added in the text this particle: (The younger) which is not accustomed to be added, but when brethren or sisters are in verie deed compared together.

Whether anie dispensation may be made in degrees of kindred prohibited by God.

In 2. Sam.  
13. ver. 5.

The school-  
men befor  
the Popes  
dispensati-  
ons.

Leuit. 18.  
and 20.

Gen. 2. 13.

Deut. 25. 5.

48 Now let vs declare, whether anie dispensing may be in the degrees forbidden by the law of God. For at this date, those which would be counted christians, being matched in the degrees forbidden, doe lazie. Let vs go to the Pope, let vs talke with him, he will dispense with vs, so we reward him with money. Neither do we the common sort onelie saie this, but our masters, which be the Schole-divines, in the fourth booke of sentences, the 4. distinction, concerning matrimonie writeth, that the Pope can dispense. And they endeavour to proue that this he may doe. For they saie, that those precepts, which be in the 18. and 20. chapter of Leuiticus, touching degrees forbidden, partly be moiall, and partly iudiciall. The moiall and naturall are, that the father may not marrie his daughter, nor the sonne his mother. Here they saie is such an indecencie, as by no means it can be taken away; but that it should be a perpetuall impediment. For they saie, that the father and the daughter, the mother and her sonne be one flesh. But withstanding, int matrimoine it becometh, that one flesh become another than it was: so one flesh become not severed.

But if the reason were firme, Adam might not haue married Eue: for she was his flesh, for he saith, This is now flesh of my flesh. They answer, that Eue was the flesh of Adam; not by toke of nature, but by miracle: for God so fraimed Adams rib, as it was made a woman. Holbeitt, when kinship is defined, we haue no recourse to miracles: but it is said to be a bond of those persons, which be derived from one begetting by procreation; so Eue might not be called a kindredwoman of Adam. Wherefore they saie, that in those precepts, which be in Leuiticus, the indecencie betwene father and daughter, mother and sonne, is naturall, moiall, and perpetuall: and that the rest of the degrees doe appertaine to the iudiciall lawes. Some indecencie they would haue to be there, but yet not so much as hath bene alwaies forbidden. For brethren & sisters did at the first time marrie one

to another: yea and the sister of the brother departed, was married in the lawe, for the raising of seed, Jacob had two sisters in twelooke; Amram had his aunt; Abraham had Sara, whom he called sister. Wherefore (saie they) these degrees; namely, the father and the daughter, the mother and the sonne, are after a sort perpetuallie forbidden by the lawe of nature, and by the moiall lawe: but other persons, which be forbidden by God, were kept backe from marriages; holbeitt, that was by the iudiciall lawes.

But those lawes endured so long, as the citill regiment of the Iewes continued: which being decayed, we are not tied to those lawes anie further, than the church hath allowed of them; so as vnto vs they be lawes of the church, and not moiall lawes: neither are they laid vpon vs by the lawes of God, but by the lawes ecclesiasticall and positive. And whereas they make the Pope to be president ouer the whole church, they saie it is in his power, for certaine ill causes, to release these impediments. They loe thither the Pope, that Caietane *Secunda Secunda* Thomas, question 154. article the ninth, saith, that the Pope would for iust causes dispense in all those degrees (except for marriage betwene the father and the daughter, and betwene the mother and her sonne); not by a common lawe already ordeined, but by the Popes licence. This he assigneth to be the cause, for that they be iudiciall. Experience teacheth, that these things haue sometimes happened. Emanuel the king of Portugal married two sisters, Catharine the king of England two brethren, Ferdinandus the king of Naples married his aunt; Pope Alexander the first aliooping the same. I haue read, that Martin the first gaue licence to marrie with a naturall sister: whereof manie of the Canonists saie, that it is to be doubted, whether it were lawfull or no. This licence is horrible. We see how great matters these men challenge vnto themselves.

I am of another mind: and those things, which be contained in Leuiticus, touching degrees forbidden, I esteeme them to be moiall. Such marriages seeme rather beaustie than dishonour, and that the same [prohibition of degrees] is rather naturall and moiall. I proue by the verie words of those lawes, when God made those lawes, he spake on this wise: Observe ye these things, and desist not your selves with these abominations, as the Chanaanites, which were before you, and I did cast them out. If ye shall ingoing them, shall still desire your selves, the earth also shall cast you out. Thus I reason; The Chanaanites were not the people of Israel, God did not giue lawes vnto them by Moses, yet were they punished for such kind of marriages; therefore they were bound to these

Gen. 29.

Exod. 34. 16.  
Gen. 22. 12

Emanuel  
king of  
Portugal,  
Catharine  
Queene of  
England,  
Ferdinandus  
marriages.

The prohibi-  
tion of de-  
grees in 2.  
Leuiticus 18.  
is moiall.

Leuit. 18. 24.

And a. 1.

Aurelius  
Victor,  
Paulus  
Diaconus.

Augustine  
the bishop  
of Canturburie.



precepts, if they were bound, they were bound by the light of nature; and the precepts being also pertain to other nations. A nature being also instituted, might perceive that shamefulness. The Lord said, that he for that cause hated the Chanaanites. So then it should not be commend for us, that those precepts were but of small value, perishing together with the civil administration of the people of Israel.

of the children of Adam.

What do they speak of the children of Adam? For cause and theirs is not all one. Their cause stood upon great necessity. Spouse, or dispersed, fatigued; Increase and multiple, and fill the earth. And God can dispense when he will. It was not his pleasure to bring forth other women. That this should be done without such a necessity as that was, we have not a word to shew it. In that it was once done, men must not imitate the same. True it is, that Jacob married two sisters; but public honesty was after a sort defaced in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. Neither were all things well done, which the fathers did; unless we can say; that the spirit of God would this to be done peculiarly. We speak of the common law, and usual custom. Jacob had two sisters against his will: his will was to have had but one; but through the wills of Laban, the one was put to him against his will, and the other vice by the will, before he entered into the holy land. The Hebrews said, that God would not that to great wickedness should be in the land of promise.

we must not line by examples, but by laws.

Against that example we allege the law of God. We must not line by examples, but by laws. There were such things in other nations also, but not to be allowed thereof. Eusebius Cæsariensis in *Preparatione evangelice*, writeth, that the Persians had marriages between the father and the daughter, and between the mother and the sonne. Berolus writeth, that giants before the flood did not refrain from such marriages. Caracalla said to his stepmother; if it were lawful, she would have answered; if it be lawful, this it is lawful; An Emperor greiveth lawes, by which none. Among the Athenians it was lawful to marry sisters. These things be shameful. Against those shameful things, let us oppose the good lawes of the Romans. As touching this matter we see things be very repugnant in the popes licences. As a common and forbidden law, they abridge the liberty of marriage, and forbid more degrees than God did appoint. For once they forbid the seventh degree, within a while the fourth degree; afterward they go to licence at their own pleasure, as they except on lie the first degree.

So will I, so do I command.

Let us for reason stand.

I desire not, but that in these contracts, the in-

cred is greater in one degree than in another; but that things seemer God hath forbidden, be unlawful. If they said that they do this by a fullness of power; let them say (saith Baldu) by a fullness of tempest, whereby the church is troubled and corrupted. Do not think that any man (God I will except) can give licence, that he brother should marry his sister.

### Of Dowries; In the Commentaries upon Judges, the first chapter, and the 14. verse.

49 But whether husbands received dowries of their wives, before the law, it is uncertaine. The servant of Abraham rather gave gifts unto Rebecca, than received; for so much as he brought with him golden and silver vessels, in the name of Abraham and Isaac, which were to be given to the spouse. But there is no mention made of the maidens dowries. Also Jacob feared for his wives, so farre was he from receiving any thing of them in the name of a dowrie. Sichen also, the sonne of Hemor, imputable for loving Dina the daughter of Jacob, with whom he had committed fornication, said unto the sonnes of Jacob; Increase his dowrie as ye list. I will refuse no condition, so I may have your sister to be my wife. Holobert, I cannot tell how the customs of the ancient fathers, in not taking but giving dowries to wives, which they should marry, ought to be commended; yet I thought good to rectify those things, which I have read hereof by the law. And to begin with Megadorus in Plautus *Comedie Anulidæ*, when he should take to wife the daughter of a poor man, being also without dowrie, commended his counsel by those words; If (saith he) other men would too after my example, the little would then be in better conceit, and erunt spoli non fore foris among us as it is. They (namely the wives) will leave us the more, and we shall have them with much less cost, &c.

When I consider these things, they seeme to be very wise spoken. For now and then it happeneth, that one wife is after a sort bounden into two parts; when as the daughters of poor men are without hope to marry with them that be of the richer sort; either for the sterility of their dowries, or else because they have no dowrie at all; for they attaine not thereto, except it be by chance, or else verie slowe. Therefore the richer and mightier sort are much crueller, and greedier hated of the poorer. Besides this, wives which have god dowries, stand in the less state of their husbands: yea rather, they despise and set nought by them, counting them as but

to witte

Plutarch.

to witte to be matched with them. And their decking and luffs cannot be satisfied, but with extreme charges. Plutarch in his *Apophthegms* of Lycurgus, when he was asked thereto, he had commended that virgins should marry without dowrie, answered; So the intent that some should not be left unmarried for poverty sake, or other some should be over-much desirous of wealth for their wealth; but that every man diligent considering the maidens conditions, might chose him a wife for vertue sake. He sheweth also, in the thirteenth problem, that the bride brought to the bridegroom house on a distaffe and a spindle. The Decemviri of Rome decreed also, by the lawes of Solon, that a woman should be without a dowrie, and should bring from her fathers house onlie three garments, and also certain vessels of small price; because they would declare, that the fellowship of marriage is not confirmed by riches, but through the love of children.

Certainly these things do verie well agree with that, which is written by Paulus and Vipsianus, in the *Handels*, as concerning the free gift between the husband and wife. It is written also of the Aegyptians, that if they received dowry of their wives, they should then be counted as their wives bond-men. Which custom did sufficient teach, that it seemeth both infamous and unprofitable to take a dowrie of our wives; when as nothing is more noble than libertie. And nature hath ordained, that the husband should rule the wife. And it is written, that the Spaniards had a custom, that the wives should bring to their husbands a distaffe wound with flax, instead of dowrie. I might thereto a great many besides, to signify, that all the men in old time allowed not, that husbands should have dowries given them, when they married their wives. But in verie deed the lawes of God do make mention verie often of dowrie.

And yet I am assured, that the same was some where used before the law. In Exodus, he which had defiled a virgine, was bound to marry her, so that his father were content; but if he would not marry her, then he was forced to give her a dowrie, even as the lawe appointeth the dowrie of virgins to be. Spouse, in the first booke of Kings, the ninth chapter; Pharaos gave for a dowrie unto Salomon, who had married his daughter, the citie Gazaz, which he had taken from the Chanaanites. Besides this, the Hebrew lawes, which otherwise be most indifferent of all other, do make verie much mention of dowries; and have many whole titles, wherof this matter onlie is treated.

So being we are now come thus far, it seemeth more to define a dowrie; that therefore we may the easier knowe, how much must

The definition of a dowrie.

be attributed thereto by public men, in the contracting of matrimonies. A dowrie is a right to wife things, which are given to the husband by his wife; or by others in his name, to suffice the burthens of matrimony. And although a dowrie be properlie said a right of using; yet notwithstanding, those things, which are given by to the man, are oftentimes called by this name dowrie. Whobert, the end is this, that be noted in this definition; namely, to define the burthens of matrimony. It seemeth also, that the husband bestoweth verie much in nourishing of his wife, and in the honest maintenance of his justice and equitie would, that some what in like manner be yielded unto him. Then, seeing a dowrie hath this foundation of justice, there is no doubt, but that it is a thing lawful. Nevertheless, therein is an error; not to be suffered; because some are not ashamed to say, that by a dowrie, concord between man and wife is easily obtained. This, both reason and experience teacheth to be most false. Who is ignorant, that that kind of friendship (which hath respect onlie unto profit, and which is grounded onlie upon pleasure) is verie fraille and transitory?

Spouse, experience teacheth, that marriages which be so contracted, as there is no other consideration had therein, but onlie the wives beauty and her dowrie; have verie ill success. Therefore these are reprobated by the common proverb; *Qui uxorem oculis et digitis decernit*, Such as marrye wives with their eyes and fingers, that is, which are moved onlie with beauty and monie. So then it becometh such lawes not altogether to take dowries alone, but rather straitly to provide, that they be not over-much increased, nor none without right of reason. And for this cause the Romans lawes commended those dowries to be cut off, which were greater than the ability of the girt might bear; as we read in the Digests *De iure dotium*. And contrariwise, we must take heed, that neither parents nor tutors, being overcome with countenance, give lesse than honest requit; as it is written in the title *De dote infancie*. And because dowries be given, to define the charges of matrimony; those cannot be excused, which banishing received them of their wives, afterward dare use their wives miserably.

And because dowries be given, to define the charges of matrimony; those cannot be excused, which banishing received them of their wives, afterward dare use their wives miserably. Besides that, they be unkind, because they violate the lawe of God, whereby they ought to love their wives as themselves, and as their owne proper bodie; when as they will not content the help that they with their owne goods.

Yea there be some, which if they were not let by public lawes, would consume, sell, and utterly alienate their wives dowries. And that this might not be, the lawes, especially of the Romans, have carefully provided. For they

An error touching dowrie.

Dowries must be given with moderation and reason.

Decree.

decre, that the state or title of the dowry should remaine with the wiues, although the husbands had the fruit and use thereof, so long as the marriage should last. But what (3 pte you) shall we say of them, which suffer to greivous and intolerable burdens of matrimony to be daily augmented, while they to much flatter and covet their wiues? Surely they thinne verie good woulde: so much as now, neither their owne matrimony, neither their wiues dowries can be sufficient; because they exceed so much in sumptuous attire. Certainlie, among good husbands and good wiues, all things ought to be w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>th</sup> moderation and temperance. But wherefore (thinke we) have the lawes ordeined for manie things, and by so manie lawes concerning dowries? Euen because they would keepe the citizens without hurt or damage, when as they marrie and are ioynd together in matrimony. For it is expedient for the locale publicke that if the husband die, the dowry should remaine whole unto the wife: whereby if the will, she may marrie againe: or if the wife die first, that the dowry should serue to nourish, apparel, and bring up the children, which are begotten in matrimony.

For notwithstanding, thou wilt demand; Why are dowries said to be given vnder this title, of insuening the burdens of matrimony? Euen least the same dowry should be counted a price: as though wiues and marriages were things to be sold. For the which cause, in the Decretals, gifts betwene husband and wife are prohibited; to wit, that in matrimonies & contrades, gifts betwene man & wife be neither given nor received. Furthermore, when as blougements were given in manie places by that ciuill lawe, if gifts betwene man and wife had bene lawful, marriages would verie easily haue bene dissolved. Seeing if one of the married parties would not giue vnto the other, so much as he demanded; that partie should forthwith haue bene refused. The men in deed might giue certaine gifts vnto their wiues, before the marriages, which were called ioutures, as some certayne recompensings of the dowry. Yet neuertheless, when they were once married together, the Romane lawes permitted not, that they should giue gifts one to an other.

Whereof Plutarch also hath made mention; out of whom neuertheless is brought an other reason than that, which 3 declared to be taken of the berie lawe. These be the words, in the 33. and 36. pcept of matrimony: Certaine bodies are said to consist of feuered things, as an armie, and a nauie; other bodies of things ioynd together, as a house and a ship; and all liuing creatures are united and compact together, as all liuing creatures are. Wherefore matrimony, which consists

of liuing creatures, is united and compact; but the matrimony, which is made either for dowry sake, or for children, belongeth to bodies ioynd together. And that which consisteth for pleasure or carnall copulation, thou must number among the feuered bodies: for there man and wife may be said to dwell together, but not to line together. And as in liuing creatures, the temperatures of humors runne through all parts: so marriage must mingle bodies, monie, friends and kinfolke together. And the maker of the Romane lawes forbad persons coupled in matrimony, to take or to giue gifts one to an other: not to the intent they should not be partakers of any one thing; but that they should thinke all things to be common.

Whobest, these things are to be understood of free gifts, and not of dowries: which otherwise were both lawful and most used in the Romane publicke use, for the daughters of Scipio, Curio, and Cincinatus had dowries out of the treasure; because of the pueritie of their parents, to the intent they should not be married without dowries. Yea and the generall Council of Aris, as it is rehearsed in the thirtieth question, the first chapter *Utilitas* iue, decreed, that no matrimony should be contracted without a dowry. Let it the dowry (saith it) be according to the ability, neither let anye woman psume to take a husband, or anye husband a wife, without publicke marriage. This canon 3 will ingite alone, in that it condemneth secret marriages; but where it decreeth, that marriages cannot be contracted without a dowry, seeing that is not confirmed by the testimony of Gods word, 3 cannot admit. For there are and haue bene verie manie, which haue married wiues altogether without dowry; yea and these men of so great honestie and auisozitie (as it should seme) a rash part to condemn their doing, seeing the holie scriptures are not against it. Neither do 3 iudge, that matrimony should by anye means be denied to those women, which are without a dowry. If marriage be necessarie for them.

Spocouer, Paule testifieth, that matrimony doth shadome the coniunction that Christ hath with his church. Wherefore, if the truth of the matter be well considered, the church had nothing to offer vnto Christ in the name of a dowry: naye rather (as Ezechiel teacheth) the same was founde layed in blood and mire. Also the fathers in the old testament seme sometimes to haue had wiues without dowries. So then it seemeth meet to be decreed, that men may, if it is lawfull to receive dowries, when they are given, and that the same custome is honest, so that a iust measure be not exceeded, and that he which marrieth, be not allured thereto through the name of the dowry, as being the principall cause.

cause. The manners and goodlines of the wife ought chiefly to be regarded. Neither ought anye man forthwith to persuade himselfe; If 3 shall marrie a wife without a dowry, 3 shall therefore haue hir the better, and the more at quiet, till (as Ierom declares) in his first bushe against Iouinian) Caris Censorinus had Actoria Paule to wife, borne of a free kinred, who was partly also and without a dowry; and yet neuertheless she was a chonharo, impotent, and shee haied hir selfe poudible toward Cato.

### Of Dinorsemets, and putting awaie of wiues.

Into the Velvies and Ethinks it was but a light matter to put away their wiues, and it was lawfull vpon enerie occasion: but vnto the Christians it ought not to be so. This batty Christ declared in the 19. of Matthew: Where (when he saith) Moyses gaue you a bill of dissolution it ought not to be understood, as though Moles did of this himselfe, without the commandment of God: for he was most faithfully, as G D D beareth record of him. And that which is decreed in the lawe, touching dissolution, afterward is commanded in Malachie: to wit, If thou hate thy wife, put hir awaie: For the Lord would not, that hatred and enmitie should be retained in so neare friendship. Wherefore, in the new testament, Christ calleth vs home vnto the first institution, For inasmuch as now, the spirit is more plentifull, and grace more abundant; men ought to be greater patience and charitie towards their wiues, and not to do as they did against them, as they should reioice for euery cause. In like manner there is require of the wiues a greater obedience and modestie.

For where thou wilt sale vnto me; What if thou shalt find at this date, among Christians, such as be so hard-hearted, and so obstinate in retaining of hatred and enmitie in wedlocke, as they be not one equall to the Jewes, but also go beyond them therein? Seeing then the difference is all one, why is not the same remede left? Vnto whom we answer, that they, which be of such sort, be strangers from Christ: whereby we commit them to the Common-weale, to determine of them as it shall seme most expedient: For when they cannot be amended by the church, let vs commit them for Ethinks and Publianes, let vs deale with them by the ciuill lawes. We haue it plainlie enough declared by the word of Christ, that a divorce ought not to be done, vnlesse it be for the cause of adulterie. Which exception, if it be intermitted by Paule, it is no marvell, for when Paule saith; that

he speakech not these things, but the Lord, he seith vs to be the Lordes owne words: neither both he plaice and thing awaie from his commandment. And then he saith, that the commandment not, but the Lord; be made out of those things of small force, which be taught before: when they are not want to be (expressed) spoken of Christ, sith euen those things are of the Lord: so he saith; And I thinke that I also haue the spirit of God.

But before we speaketh of the commandment of Christ, he inuigite the sharpnes of his speech; he restrained in allowable to the flesh, that matrimony should be witholden: It is euen as much, as if Paule had said; I set not before you strange or new things, and such as haue not bene heard of before my time; this the Lord hath commanded. Else, both this and those things, which the apostle would bringe are firme, and full of authority. But this is the difference, that these things the Lord saith by his owne selfe, and repeareth them by Paule; but those other he would make credible by the apostle onlie. And touching his sentences, that matrimony should not be dissolved, Christ allowed it by a testimonie out of the booke of Genesis, where it is said; For this cause a man shall leaue his father and mother, and shall cleave vnto his wife: And these neare friendships are laid together in their words; the one is betwene parents and their children; the other betwene the husband and the wife: And seeing the bond of the father, or of the children is such, as it cannot be sundered and broken off by anye means, much lesse this bond betwene man and wife. And as the bond of amitie betwene the child and the parents endureth perpetually, so doth the conjunction betwene the husband and the wife. This is Christs interpretation of that place, and the reason that he bringeth thereof: but yet he will haue the cause of adulterie to be excepted. And Paule (by whom Christ speaketh) excepteth another thing; namely, if one of the married persons, in that he is an infidel, will not dwell with the other being faithful, as it shall be declared in place consequent.

For as touching the cause of adulterie, whether which Christ excepted, some doubt whether that be the onlie cause; when they are bold to saie, that Christs meaning was to comprehend theye in all other wickednesse, which is either equal, or more heinous than adulterie; and they saie, that the manner of the holie scriptures is, that in one cause rehearced, they include others like vnto it. Euen as we read in Deuteronomie, of Deut. 19, 5, man-slaughter, which is committed by chance, and against a mans will: where one onlie reason is described; namely, when the batchelrity of the helme. But what? Shall we not iudge the berie lawe, if in building or caruing of anie

As a. ii. thing,

Why the  
dowry  
should re-  
maine  
whole to  
the wife.

A dowry  
is no price  
of marriage

Joiments  
called  
ioutures

Plutarch.

Ierom.

The wife  
of Cato.

Jo. 1. Cor.  
7. vers. 10.

Math. 5. 31  
and 19. 31

Heb. 3. 1.  
Deut. 24. 1.

Mal. 16.

Christ calleth  
vs home  
vnto the  
first insti-  
tution.

Christ calleth  
vs home  
vnto the  
first insti-  
tution.

Christ calleth  
vs home  
vnto the  
first insti-  
tution.

Eph. 5. 31.

Ezech. 16. 30.

Ezech. 16. 30.

Why Paule  
intermitteth  
the excep-  
tion of  
adulterie.

1. Cor. 7.

A reason of  
Christ why  
matrimony  
must not be  
dissolved.

Let us see  
the emperours  
for causes of  
divorce.

1. Cor. 7. 15

Condemne  
of divorce.

Note the  
sentence of  
Popes & ec-  
clesiastic.

They will  
that a mis-  
doing of the person,  
disfelloweth  
marriage.

thing, one man shall kill an other unbridlingly. Given so (saie they) there are presentie manie faults (equal) and perhaps more grievous than adulterie: so as they iudge, that those offences doo also make a cause of divorcement. Which meaning perhaps caused manie emperours, & therwise gollie and studious of Christianitie, to expresse manie crimes in their lawes, for the which it should be lawfull to make a divorce: but cause they iudge them to be no lesse than adulterie. And that other causes also, besides the crime of adulterie, are to be abolished; whereby it may appere, for that Paule added, as touching the unfaithfull spouse, which will not dwell with the other being faithful: which case, Christ spake not of. And at this daie, if a woman be not of. And at this daie, if a woman be not of. And at this daie, if a woman be not of.

And, and as they will throughly consider that licence the bishops of Rome have given to themselves herein, they shall perceive, that they have opened arrogantly to themselves the power to dissolve matrimonie already contracted; so that there followed not copulation (as they call it). And moreover it is reported, that there hath bene a Popes dispensation here, which hath taken away matrimonie; not onelie contracted, but (as they saie) finished. And Popes Zacharie, (as it is written in the fourth booke of sentences) when a certaine man had committed adulterie with his wives sister, wrote thus unto him: Seeing thou hast committed this horrible act, thou shalt have neither of them to wife; both thou and she, whom thou hast defiled with adulterie, shall remaine without hope of marriage, and thine owne wife shall marrie in the Lord, with whom the will. In which case, thou seest it manifestly iudged by this bishop, that a divorcement made for the cause of adulterie, doth admit a marriage afterwards. They will moreover have matrimonie dissolved, if there be an error; or a mistaking of the person; or condition: as if a woman shall thinke that she hath a certaine husband, and shall (afterward) prove the same to be an other than she ment to have; or else, if she had taken him to be a freeman, and of an honest stocke, whom she findeth to be a bondman. There is added also the cause of the degree of kindred, even of the degree not forbidden by the lawe of God, when they would have the matrimonie that is contracted to be cut off. So it appereth, that it was not so straitlie iudged, that the same onlie cause, which Christ doth expresse, maketh a divorce. Otherwise, seeing Christ expresse onelie cause; how cometh it to passe that emperours being christians, and men also which be of the church, have added so manie other

causes? Certainlie it was even this, that they thought, that in that one onlie cause, Christ ment to be contained both the offences which be equal, and those which be worse grievous. Erasmus (who treated hereof at large) added; When the Lord commanded that thou loveste not, that thou be not angry, that thou take not Revenge, if a man Manu, shall strike thee upon the one cheek, turne unto him the other, if one will take away thy cloake, give him also thy cote, and such like: we admit interpretations; that we may understand these things to be spoken oftentimes of the preparation of the mind; to wit, that it be not done easily, or lightly, nor without a just cause: and shall we be here so hard and precise, that we cannot admit anie interpretation of expiation?

55. And the reason why Christ did expresse but one onlie cause of adulterie, seemeth to be, for that there is nothing to great an entrie unto matrimonie as this mischiefe is. They shall (saith the scripture) be as one flesh. But he that committeth this offence, doth so toise himselfe to other flesh, as he is plucked away from his owne wife: for; Shall I (saith Paule) take the member of Christ, and make it the member of an harlot? This (as I have declared) is the opinion of some, which although it be not true, and perhaps it cannot easilie be confuted: yet for my part, as I with all my heart mislike those causes, which be expresse in the scriptures; so can I hardly endure, that divorcement should stretch beyond these bonds. And in vertue hereof, as touching such crimes as the scripture speaketh of; if a magistrate, being a Christian, should use the severitie, which both the blaine lawes, and the Romane lawes have decreed to be must lawe, they should not be troubled with these inconveniences. I speake not now of the impediments of nature, which may happen so to be, and be sent in such sort by God, as matrimonie cannot anie longer consist. That which I have declared, I would have it to be understood onelie as touching wicked acts, which of manie are sought to make matrimonie doth. Those things I saie, cannot (in my iudgement) be easilie knowne, otherwise than by the holie scriptures.

56. And moreover, and in those things which the scripture hath expresse, I thinke that nothing ought to be adventured, except the magistrate do ratifie the same. For matrimonie, although it be ordained by God; yet, as touching the circumstances, it hath manie things belonging unto the civill lawes and customes. Therefore they, which contract unto the magistrats witt, and against the common lawes, do contract new matrimonies, the first wife being defiled, do incur speaking great dangers. They give the children, which be borne of the latter matrimonie such a blemish of infamie, as they be com-

Why Christ  
expresse  
onlie the  
cause of  
adulterie,  
Gema. 14

1. Cor. 4. 11

Natural  
lawe before  
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consist.

the magi-  
strate must  
be intreated  
to determine  
of this  
thing.

1. Cor. 7. 15

Natural  
lawe before  
by marriage  
can be longer  
consist.

commonlie taken for barbarous: and unto such a shame do they delivier the wife, whom they have married, as she is accounted an adulteresse and an harlot; and so cause that they themselves also are noted with the same dishonour. And must paine therefore, and by all means intreat the magistrate, that he being faithful, will determine hereof, and that he will aplice his lawes to the word of God. And it must be confessed, that it be to determine, as a window be not set open to horrible offences, whereby matrimonies are in manie places easilie dissolved. And on the other part they must take heed, lest while they will defend a divorcement to made, whereof the holie scriptures never give anie testimonie, that the bond of wedlocke still remaineth (the husband and the wife being severall, & so severed, as they cannot dwell together.) I saie here must be taken, that no occasion be given unto stailie lusts, and companie of harlots.

And if so be that anie, for fornication sake, or because that he will not by anie means that his wife should dwell with him (as Paule writeth of the infidelis) is constrained to abide sole, and live continuallie without a wife, he remaining in a doubt, and not knowing that he ought to doo, when the lawes will give him no libertie to marrie a second person; certainlie there are but two remedies, which he must have recourse unto; that either, when he is bound to this stailie, he may now thinke that he is called unto this single life by God, whom by continuall prayers he ought to moune and sollicit, that he will be present with him, whereby he may live chaste and purelie; and when he perceiveth that inturie is done unto him by the lawes, let him convert his cause unto God, for that he did not willfully, and of his owne accord, cast himselfe into this state, but being tyed of necessity, is constrained to retaine this lot. And if he shall altogether perceive, that he is not able to live a chaste and continent life, and that he cannot be persuaded in his mind to live single and without a wife; and thinke it expedient for him to use the libertie, which God hath appointed, least he should doo it against the will of his owne magistrate, and against the common lawes; let him depart, and gett himselfe into other countries, where this may be lawfull: there let him marrie, and addia himselfe unto that Common-weale, by whose lawes it is permitted him. These things are in such sort taught by me, as I can readie allowes to hear and admit that counsell, which shall be better, and more perfect.

57. But of this I marvell oftentimes with myselfe, how it came to passe, that Valentinian, Theodosius, and Iustinian, otherwile most christian princes, partlie made lawes themselves of

divorcements, and partlie by their authoritie confirmed them which were made of olo; and that such lawes were not openlie published by the most gollie bishops, which lived in those daies: seeing otherwile, Ambrose procured Theodosius to make a lawe of deterring the punishment of death for certaine daies, and found means by his authoritie, that the decrees, which Symmachus would have established, to take no place. Seeing therefore that those princes, which were being gollie, durst ordaine such things by their lawes, and that the church withstood not the same; how cometh it to passe, that magistrates at this daie do stand in doubt to determine hereof? I peradventure they would saie, that the bonds of wedlocke still remaineth the Hebrews, Grecians, and Romans, where divorcements were lawfull, we read not that there was anie great number. But and if so be they thinke, that our men be worse in these daies, than either the Hebrews or Christians were in old time; both they do inturie unto the name of christianitie, and by this means are bought, that they the rather consented unto divorcement; because it was permitted as a remede of wickednesse. For who will have a medicine to be taken away, while he perceiveth the disease still to remaine? The Lord spake unto kinge the Hebrews, therefore his wordes are to be remembered of the usuall divorce amongst that people. Also the Christians, as well Romans as Grecians, had onelie this sort of divorce knowne among them; that the one married person was to loosed from the other, as new marriages might be lawfull. And if so be that Christ had otherwile ment, it should have seemed not to have answered unto the question propounded unto him: for they reasoned then of that kind of divorce, for the which a bill of putting away a mans wife was granted by the lawe. The dispensation was of that, wherefore the wordes of Christ ought to be understood. For whether it is more likelie, that the Hebrews inquired of the divorce, which Moises had granted to them in the lawe? I thinke that no man is doubtful, whether they asked of the thing, which was usuall among them.

58. This moreover ought to be certaine, that Christ, when he expresse the cause of adulterie, ment not a divorce, whereunto the wife and the husband should be separated onelie (as they saie) from the bed and body, and that the bond of wedlocke should still remaine. The Lord spake unto kinge the Hebrews, therefore his wordes are to be remembered of the usuall divorce amongst that people. Also the Christians, as well Romans as Grecians, had onelie this sort of divorce knowne among them; that the one married person was to loosed from the other, as new marriages might be lawfull. And if so be that Christ had otherwile ment, it should have seemed not to have answered unto the question propounded unto him: for they reasoned then of that kind of divorce, for the which a bill of putting away a mans wife was granted by the lawe. The dispensation was of that, wherefore the wordes of Christ ought to be understood. For whether it is more likelie, that the Hebrews inquired of the divorce, which Moises had granted to them in the lawe? I thinke that no man is doubtful, whether they asked of the thing, which was usuall among them.

59. What also the ancient fathers in the church have iudged hereof, it is no difficult thing to perceive. Origin greatly, that some bishops gave leave unto wines (being separated from their

Ambrose  
procured  
Theodosius  
to make a  
lawe to  
determine  
of this  
thing.

Such and  
other  
lawes  
were  
made  
by the  
Romans  
and  
Grecians.

Orig.

Ierom.

A Canon of the Council of Carthage.

1. Tim. 5. 14

The Epistle said Canon expressed.

Ambrise admitteth these causes for a wife to depart from her husband

their husbands to marrie others: which fact of theirs he saith, was against the scriptures, and yet be cruethe the bishops, that they did it not without consideration. Of the same mind shall thou find Ierom to be, in the Epistle of Fabiola, which was married to an other, while her former husband yet lived. Ierom there confesseth, that she did not live therein; but yet in the meane time he executeth her fact, by humble and manifold reasons. And it appeareth manifestly, that the other marriage of this woman was not quite cut off. The bishops therefore of those times did not give counsell for have new marriages; but it seemeth that they did bear with those, which happened in the meane time. Albeit as we have recited out of Origin some of them gave licence to marrie againe. But we are to beleve, that the greater part did rather suffer than persuade.

Therefore I understand the Canon of the church of Neocesaria to be such ministers of the church are forbidden to be present to bless the second marriages) to be ment as touching this sort, and not of those which are renewed after the death of the other spouse; forso much as these marriages are good and godlie, and are commanded by Paule, unto whom so ever they shall be needfull, seeing he saith unto Timothie, that he would have The younger widows to marrie, and to bring forth children. But those other marriages (in so much as the other married partie was living) were taken for suspected; although they were borne withall: and therefore the ecclesiasticall blessing was not given to them. And this doth the reason shew, which is added to the Canon: for it is said; for how can they their inioine repentance for these marriages? Whereas it is not read, that ever such repentance was inioined for second marriages, after the death of the husband or wife, as though they had bene sinne. But for matrimonie, which hath bene done, the husband being yet alive, it is manifestly thewed in the epistle of Ierom, which he ever now saith of. There was repentance inioined to Fabiola, although as I have said we read, that that matrimonie was neither dissolued, neither yet counted unlawfull, for that woman was with the latter husband so long as he lived.

60 And as concerning Ambrise, how little he misliked second marriages, the one partie being alive, his exposition upon the second to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter, doth plainlie testifie: where he doth understand, that the wife may depart from her husband for three causes. The one, if he be an adulterer; another, if he be a backe-sliver from the true religion; the third, if he would abuse his wife touching lust, contrarye unto the lust and custome of nature: for these causes (saith he) let a woman depart, but

let her remaine unmarried; with that is not lawful to hir, which is lawful to the husband. For if the husband put away his wife for fornication sake, he may marrie an other. And be saith therie plainlie, that the mans cause in this respect is better than the womans, and the reason he allegeth; because Man is the womans head: and that therefore it is not meet he should be tied by such great labors. Whereunto, besides this reason, which he brought, he had respect unto the lawe of the old testament, where it seemeth to have bene lawful onlie unto the men, to give a bill of divorcement. Which hereby is proved; because at no time in the scriptures, there is any mention made of women, that they should give a bill of divorcement unto their husbands. And in the prophet Malachie, when God doth reprove the crueltie of husbands towards their wives, which he doth lamented in the temple, and wept in their prayers, making relation what they endured at their husbands hands; he commandeth, that he which hateth his wife, should give hir licence to depart.

But and if to be had bene permitted unto women, to give unto their husbands a bill of divorcement; they would not have endured such crueltie, and to hard a state of life. They would have departed of themselves, and would not have waited for an admonition from the Lord, which should haue by his prophet; If thou hate thy wife, put hir away. And undoubtedly, God saith in the old testament, for sinnes sake, to have subiected the woman unto the man, by a certaine kind of servitude; so as his state in manie things should be worse than the state of man. It was lawful unto the husband (if he had been gelous) to make triall of his by publike and solemne cerenonie: which was not lawful for women against their husbands. Polygamie, or to have more wives than one, was sometime granted unto men: which was not permitted unto women. And we might reckon by manie such like things, which notwithstanding were not without consideration appointed by the lawe of God, which would be now overlong to rehearse. As among the Romans, there was no such punishment of lude vice against men, as was against women. The woman was counted adulteresse, with that man for ever she had kept unlawfull company; but there was no punishment vied against the man, except he had beene plaid the harlot in a strange bed, or had ravished those which were honest and free borne; but if he had done wickedly in barlots houses, or against his owne handmaidens, there was no punishment for him.

61 But Ierom in the epistle to Oceanus hath otherwise, and be saith; that what which the holie scriptures commandeth the man, the same doth also

1. Cor. 13.

Quint. 4.

Mal. 2. 16

Quint. 4. and by the prophet Malachie.

Nun. 5. 18

Among the Romans also it was more lawful for the men than for the women.

Augustine.

2. deinde de uis de adulterio de sententia.

Ambrise.

Augustine.

also recount to the woman: and he will haue the like decree of both. Further, as touching the Roman lawes he saith; In one sort speaketh Caxar, and in another sort Chast; one Iane Paule, and another Iane Papinianus. For my part, although I cannot deny, but in the lawe of Moses the condition of women and men was unlike in respect of manie things; yet in this cause, as the state of our time standeth, I would not subscribe unto Ambrise: against whom also Augustine is, who, in the second booke and eight chapter to Pollentius De adulterio commiggy, maketh both their states alike. For understanding that, which the Apostle of the first Corinthians, is most vaine; whose iugement is, that these things are paid into Ambrise his books by heretics. But to might all controuersies be easilie dissolved, and we might saie, that those things, which make againt vs in the lawes, were thurst in by heretics. Wherunto, the same Ambrise afterward giueth the scope of new marriages unto women also, if the vnder leuure will not dwell together with hir. Which in verie deede standeth in in fead of a reason to proue, that the libertie of both is alike. For if the cause, which the apostle teacheth, extend it selfe unto both the man and wife: it shall no lesse be granted in the cause of fornication, which Christ expresseth.

Moreover, that which is permitted unto the man, shall no other wise be, but that matrimonie is dissolved, because of fornication. But if to be it be dissolved, and the woman loosed from the same; why shall it not also be lawful for hir to be married unto another? Last of all we see, that the lawes of the bishops do grant unto a woman her diuorce, if the pame that her husband is verie cruell vnto hir. Which thing they do as touching her diuorce, how dare they denie that it may not be done in a man? In the old lawe it was not lawful for wives to give a bill of divorcement; because it was giuen for cruell cause. And seeing women be incontinent, it is not meet that they should depart from men for cruell cause. But not if the certaine causes were limited, which might easilie be rid of that incontinentie. I will also adde, that the time it is not easie to be knowne, wherein it began among the Romans to be lawful for women to put away their husbands, vntles it be in those questions mixed together of the old and new testament, which are intitled to Augustine. In the question 115. it is written, that vnder Iulian this began to be lawful for them. For their leaue was giuen vnto women; that they might put away their husbands. For without doubting, who this Iulian was, it appeareth not; seeing we read of two empouers of that name.

62 But these were women to be counted the

causes, why the fathers would, that new marriages should not be lawful, after a diuorce was made for fornication sake. First, for that it might seeme that the husband followed after a new wife, would inuent a feigned crime of adulterie against the first. Further, for that it might seeme no little mans part, that when it hapned ill with him before, he would trie the same like againe, as after a sort he the same infelicite. Besides these, there are brought in the places, as well to the Romans as to the Constantinians, where the apostle seemeth to be of that mind; that a wife, so long as her husband shall live, is bound to his lawe. The latter writers also do rauill, that matrimonie is a sacrament, and that therefore it cannot be made void. And Innocentius, when he decreeth that it is not lawful for the one partie married, to enter into new matrimonie, if the other shall be fallen into heretic, addeeth this reason; that there would be a way open unto great incontinentie: for any man would looke seine himselfe to be a heretic, that he might be deliuered of his wife, and obtaine another. Further, they be wont to urge this saying; That which Matt. 19. 6. God hath coupled together, let no man separate. 1. Cor. 7. 8.

These reasons Erasmus both plainlie confute. Touching the first; if a cruell iugement be appointed by bishops and magistrates, false reports might easilie be prevented, neither will there be any leaue giuen of diuorce, vntles that fornication shall plainlie and euidently be proued. Of the other reason it is said; That which is objected, is verie ridiculous, seeing we often times see, that those which haue failed once with out god successe, and haue addiden theyr wache, do retorne againe to shipping. And the partie, which is innocent, while he endureth prickings and berrings, and cannot easilie keepe himselfe dead; what maruell is it, if he call in his mind to marrie againe? Touching the place to the Romans it may easilie be answered; The apostle did not there dispute, whether diuorcements might be by any means admitted; but it sufficed him, that he shewd vnto the believing Iewes, and to them which were conuerted to our religion, that it was now lawful to marrie againe in Christ, after that death was come, which is the certaine and vndoubted cause of dissolving matrimonie: wherein, although there were a singular continuation and peace between man and wife, yet by death the same is dissolved. Where likewise therefore did Paule in that place put forward the cause of dissolving matrimonie, which of necessitie he was to grant; although no other cause had hapned in the meane time. So vnto the Constantinians he would shew, that it was lawful for a widow to contract new marriages, if the woman; because for first husband was dead. He reasoneth not there, why

The causes being thus would admit no new marriages after diuorce in case of a adulter.

1. Cor. 7. 8. Rom. 7. 11.

Matt. 19. 6. 1. Cor. 7. 8. Erasmus.

ther a divorce may be made for; any other cause; but onelic the death, that there is no cause why second marriages be not lawfull, when either the husband or the wife happen to die.

whether  
matrimo-  
nie may be a sacra-  
ment.  
2.coke par.3  
pia.8.art.15

Eph.5.32.

Dionysius.

Iovinian.

Esaie.59.1.

tedlie men should then separate, if for curie cause not expresse by God, they should attempt to undo matrimonie. And Paule, when he said; 1.Cor.7.11. Let hiremaene vnmarrid, speake of them, which being led by light causes, departed from their husbands. It was a custome among the Hebrews, to give a bill of divorcement upon any cause. And divorcements were so common and usual unto the Egyptians, as Iuvenal said; So are these three husbands made, first for the barren time, &c. Wherefore, not without cause the apostle teacheth these things unto the Corinthians. The Romans were not ready to put away their wives. For the first, which made a divorce, was Spurius Serullius, and that because of barrenness of the wife; in the two hundred and thirtie yeare after the building of the citie: as Plutarch mentioneth in the life of Romulus.

Paule therefore speaketh not of the cause of fornication; for as touching that, he is disagreeeth not from Christ who (as we have proued) did grant there a iust licence. Further must the apostle be understood, as though he allowed those departing of married folkes one from an other: by relie he connecteth them, and would not haue them for scillable, and upon such trifeling causes to depart one from an other. But as a good mis- nister he prouideth, least perhaps, if they fall in to this vice, they may commit an other more greuous, namely, to be married vnto an other. Let hir (saith he) remaine vnmarrid, or else let hir be reconciled vnto hir husband. And he seemeth in this place, not so greatlie to reprove a blame the crime of departing one from an other, as it deserueth. For he saith, that sometimes it happeneth that women be not separated of their owne accord; but cast forth by their husbands, in such sort, as if they would returne, yet is there no present means for them to do it. Wherein the magistrate ought to prouide for such afflicted Soules by approoued and good lawes.

65. But now I thought good to weigh and examine certine things, which be spoken by Augustine, in his two little booke *De adulteriis coniugis* vnto Pollerius, according as I shall iudge them to serue vnto the purpose of this place. He thought in verie deed, that it was not lawfull for him, that should put away his wife for the cause of adultery, to marrie an other. But whereas in Matthew that cause is accepted he answereth, that either of them both is an adulterer, as well he which for adulterie sake, as he that without that cause, putteth his wife from him, and marrieth an other. And he saith, that Matthew expressely onelic one of them, to note him which committeth the greater sinne. Both of them do commit adulterie, by putt- ing away their wife, and marrieng of an other; but he more greuouslie, that shall do this

Augustin De  
adulteriis  
coniugis.

Mat.5.32.

without cause of fornication. And so he would, that the same exception should onelic be of force to moderate the crime of adulterie: but not to this effect, that it should be quite taken away. And this he thinketh that he can get by the words of God: for Luke and Marke uttered the same sentence absolutely, and without any exception. They saie; Euerie man, which shall put away his wife, and marrie another, committeth adulterie: therefore he concluded generally, that the saying of Christ must be vnderstood as Luke and Marke wrote. But Matthew (saith he) noteth him, that shall do it for fornication sake, that it may be vnderstood he smetheth the lesse.

But certeinlie I would iudge this kind of ar- gument to be most weakie: for it seemeth too should rather saie, that Luke and Marke wrote not the perfect or compleat sentence of the Lord, which we ought to gather out of Matthew, and to vnderstand it definitiue. Which rule I bringin vnto vnto, and that not once, in his booke *De consensu euangelistarum*, where he plainelie saith; that where oftentimes in the other euangelists, some things are spoken not verie plainelie and perfectlie. The which ought more perfectlie to be gathered out of Matthew. And it is to be vnder- stood that departure, wherof the apostle speaketh, for that which may be lawfull, seeing the apostle plainelie said; Let not the wife be sepa- rated from hir husband. So as it is manifest, that the apostle speaketh of that departing, which is not lawfull; seeing he followeth the same. Whereby it easilie appeareth, that there is no speech touching the cause of fornication. But in that case the apostle would not command, that the wife should not depart from hir husband: for that were to nourish whoredom, if adulterie should be suffered, the wife being present and abiding with hir husband.

Wherefore Paule commandeth that the should not depart for these small causes, seeing that is not lawfull. And if perhaps the do depart, he commandeth that the should remaine vnmarrid; or else that he be reconciled vnto hir husband. Euerie one is bound to put away euill from among his owne familie. Who should a husband but exche his wife, when he findeth hir in adulterie? And yet the apostle saith; I let not a man put away his wife. Might he there- fore to harbour hir adulterie? Whereby is suffici- entlie thewed, of what manner of departing and election these things be ment. And in this place too hath Chrysostome, whols of our opinion: for he saith; Sometimes they depart one from another by reason of contentions, or faint con- rage, or else for continencie, or for other pte- fices: neither both he make any mention of adulterie, Tertullian, in his fourth booke against

Mark.10.4.  
Luc.16.13.

Matthew  
saith to ex-  
plicit that  
which  
Marke  
and Luke  
saith more  
absolutelie.

Paule ad-  
dresseth  
vnto the  
first cor-  
inthians.

1.Cor.7.10.

Idem. 11.

Chrysostom  
seemeth to  
interpret  
this place  
as he doe.

Martion, saith; that Iustice hath the Lord to be a defender of diuorcie. By which words he shew- eth, that Christ did confirme diuorcie, and that he take it not vnto the same. For by this reason the hereticks went about to proue, that Christ was contrarie to God in the old testament, for condemning of those things, which he ordeined. Which sentence of Tertullian should not be true, if such divorcements (as the heathens vsed) should not be admitted among the Christians.

66. Heir ought this to trouble vs much, that in the old testament, a bill of divorcement has permitted for euerie cause; seeing now Christ hath the matter into to ordain a come: this is no cause, why thou shouldst thinke him to be against the decrees and lawes of his fa- ther. But this thou must consider, that in those daies, the same lawe of giuing a bill of diuor- cement, which was ordeined in the 2. of Deute- ronome, was still: and Christ dealt not as Christ dealing not touching the ciuill affaires. They, which gouerne a Common-wealth, appoint themselves such a scope, as if two euils or difformities be offer- red, the lesse must be permitted; lest they should fall into the greater. Which may easilie be shew- ed in harlots, whom they suffer to liue in crime, least more heinous crimes should be commited. Which neuerthelesse, the lawe of the Lord in this Common-wealth did not permit. But now I bring this as an example, which although it be not done according to discretion; yet is it to be scene here and there in manie Common weales. Such so, as concerning the affaires of matrimonie, when the matches be vntoware, one of the two difformities seemed necessa- rie, that they, which hated their wives, either they would perpetuallie afflict them, and at length kill them; or else a licence of divorcement was to be giuen them.

This latter euill seemed more tollerable, ther- fore God granted the same to be in his Com- mon-wealth: but yet he so granted it, as a bill of divorcement should be written. Whereby if of sharpe and vnderstandable man, even in looking of it, might some waies be moued, or might some desperate ponder how disposed a part it should be, to ouer his wife from him, with whom euen from the beginning he had liued most familiarlie. For we be bound more attentiuellie to ponder those things, which we lothe, than those things which we speake. Whereby he com- manded, that when the should be cast out by a bill of divorcement, they might neuer be recei- ued againe vnto matrimonie by hir first hus- band. So as in these political lawes, let a chi- ldren and goodlie man, so because himselfe, that he did not this lawe, which he saith is granted him, least he fall into more heinous crimes: sith he may perceiue that it hath some euill also to-  
ward  
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Tertullian  
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Christ dealt  
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ned with it, although it be the leſſer. Wherefore our ordener hath appointed decrees vnto his people, both of pietie and religion. In the meane time he condemned not the counsell of G D, which he vsed in the Common-welth of the Hebrewes, for restraining of more græuous finnes.

Gen. 11. 7.

Auguſtine.

67 Thou ſhalt not find in the old teſtament anie men of ſpallie or renome (ſo far as the holiſtiſtiſſes make mention) that vsed a diuorſe. Do not obiect Abraham, which put aſide Agar, and ſuſtained his child from him: for this he did not of his owne accord, but at the ſute of his wiſe, and commandment of God. Alſo Auguſtine, in the place aboue recited, did write; that It is vnbefeiſing for Chriſtian husbands, to take the matter to græuoulty, that they ſhould not be reconciled to their wiues (which fall into adulterie) when they be penitent, and theſe hope of amendment of their life. They muſt ſaith he conſider with themſelues, that they be Chriſtians whoſe part is to incline to mercie, and not to be hard-hearted. David (he ſaith) took Michol to him againe, who neuertheleſſe was coupled to an other man. But this example of his ſeemeth not verie effectiſall, becauſe Michol committed not a full and complet adulterie: for the young woman was compelled by her father, who was king, to marry her ſelfe with an other man. So that ſhe was taken vnto that latter marriage, not onely by the lawe of the countrey, but alſo by the commandment of the king. In the ſecond place he bringeth in the example of Chriſt, who ſeemeth to haue pardoned the adulterie: which (no doubt) is of force to perſwade the minds of husbands into mercie towards their penitent wiues. Yet doubt it not, ſaith he, that adulterers ſhould not be puniſhed by lawes and magiſtrates with death. For Chriſt, by that acti- on, did not take anie thing aſide from the ciuill lawes, but from the ſeueritie of publike punishments. After men (ſaith Auguſtine) did ſo hate that chapter of Iohn, as they blotted it out of his place. Whiſp which words he ſeemeth to note (as the thing it ſelfe declareth) that the ſame chapter ſhould not be found in all the copies. Certainlie theſe men ought to haue remembered their owne frailtie, and to marke how oftentimes they them ſelues fell into ſimilke miſdeeds; and ſometimes perſeuerance into the verie ſame kind of ſinne, accumulating the ſaith of marriage.

John 8. 11.

Chriſt pardoneth an adulterie.

Auguſtine.

68 They mooue, which do obſtinately hate their wiues; ſaith it is not meet, that husbands who be the bents, and wiues, ſhould be both under one lawe. Saie rather (ſaith Auguſtine) binding the man to the woman's head, his ruler & guide; therefore it had bene meet he ſhould erre by in breaking. And he citeth the lawe of Antiochus the emperor, which he ſaith, he read in Gregorius booke, which is on this wiſe; I widge it to be

verie unſiſt, that a man ſhould require chaſtite of his wiſe, which he himſelfe perſormeth not to hit: Whereupon he decreed, that the ſhould not be condemned of adulterie, which pꝛoued his husband either gualtie of that crime, or elſe that he gaue him an occaſion of falling. By theſe and ſuch other meanes, Auguſtine exhorteth men to pardon their wiues, when they haue offended. Which I verie well allow, when there is hope of true penitence, and change of life. So then, if the magiſtrate once apply his mind to take a waie theſe euils, and to reſtore the faults that are in matrimonie; let him pꝛomize, that husbands, which comaine of their wiues ſinners, being pꝛoued in the ſame fault themſelues, eſcape not unpuniſhed: and let him pꝛomize by good lawes, that husbands giue vnto their wiues no occaſion of ſinning.

69 But when the apoſtolic ſaith; Vnto the remnant ſpeake I, not the Lord. I ſaie brother here. I haue a wife that is an infidel, and ſhee is content to dwell with him, let him not put hir away, &c. that note, that dwelling together is required to a laſt matrimonie. Wherefore the Lord ſaith, that he would appoint man a wiſe to be a helper vnto him. Which I ſpeake not, to the intent it ſhould neuer be lawfull for man and wiſe to be one from an other, either by occaſion of ſinfullneſſe, or elſe for other great and vident neceſſities: but that married folkes may underſtand, that there ſhould be no let in them to dwell together, and that they ſhould not ſhune to liue one with an other. Alot ſould demand perhaps; If the unbelieuing partie be pꝛoued abſolute together an Atheiſt, an Epicure, & which hath no regard of religion, ſo as there is deſpote of his ſalutation; whether in that caſe the partie that beleeueth, ought to remaine in ſinfullneſſe. The anſwer: Certainlie, when the partie married is paſt all hope of ſalutation, a ſeparation may be made; for the effect being remoued, there is left no place for the cauſe. All the reason of dwelling together, was for charitie ſake; that the faithfull man might win his wiſe vnto Chriſt.

But becauſe it is not lawfull to deſpote of a nie man, while he liueth; and he that this date is an Atheiſt, an Epicure, and contemner of religion, to inqueſte perhaps will not be ſo; to inqueſte God hath the hearts of men in his hands; therefore, vntill there happen to be a manifeſt and ſpecial reſolution of the condemnation of ſuch a one, theſe ought not to be a departing. And if the ſame parties in the meane time ſhall be a blaſphemous, and a curſer of Chriſt; ſo as the beleeuer cannot reſpaine in matrimonie, vnto the continuance of Chriſt (ſo perhaps the husband cannot abide to be reſpained of blaſphemie); nor elſe that the truth of Chriſt muſt be reſpained by conſeſſion: is it lawfull then to depart?

part: I ſea verſe; for he, which honoreth Chriſt, if he do not belue his name from contumelie, if he may; or at the leaſt-wiſe paſſeth not vnto her he ſeeme to conſent vnto the iniurie done vnto him, he ſimeth græuoulty, and in baine taketh himſelfe to be a Chriſtian. Wherefore pꝛudent be the apoſtolic wiſe; (If the unbelieuer will dwell together with the beleeuer: by cauſe he is not iudged to be willing, which both deſire the religion of his ſpoule; who both reſuſe his G D with blaſphemies, and ſuſtenth not that his conſcience may reſt in tranquillitie and quietneſſe. This is not to dwell together, but to torment the other partie, to raiſe by ſtrife, and vtilitie to ouerthrowe all domeſtial peace.

Rom. 3. 8.

Eſa. 10. 11.

Auguſtine.

70 Alſo, if it happen, that the faithfull partie be weakie, and perſeuech him ſelfe, by meanes of that matrimonie, to fall aſide by little and little from Chriſtian religion; ſo that he is almoſt led aſide from the faith, and ready to fall bea- uing into idolatrie, by being with idolaters, that ſhall he then do? He ought not to abide: for that ſentence muſt ſtand ſure and vnbaken. We muſt not do euill, that good may come thereof. Neither is there anie hope then remain- ing, that the unbelieuing partie can be conuer- ted, which was the cauſe of retaining matrimo- nie: naie rather it hath happened contrariety, that the beleeuing partie ſhould be put in iſcap- tie of inclining to infidelitie. And this was the reaſon why Chriſt, which was contracted with infidels, to be diſſolved by Elders: becauſe men were by that means ſtirred by vnto ſuch whoſhip- pings, as were forbidden; ſo far off were they from winning their wiues into the Jewes reli- gion. Auguſtine, in the place now cited, reaſo- neth on this wiſe; for this cauſe Paule wrote theſe things, for that it was to be feared, that if though the Goſpell began, the matrimonies contracted ſhould be made bold Chriſtian religion on ſhould be condemned; as though it troubled the Common-weales, and did cut in ſunder po- neſt and lawfull contracts.

And there was added another diſcommodi- tie; namelie, that the unbelieuing partie, ſuffer- ing a repulſe of her husband for religion ſake, intangled herſelfe with new marriages, where- by her mind might be the more debementlie hardened in infidelitie, and more and more be come ſtrange vnto Chriſtian religion. Which would not haue happened, if the faithfull wiſe had ſtaried with him. So as it ſeemeth good, that all meanes be attempted, before a departure be had. Whereby therefore we ſee, that Paule doth giue leave to depart, not for religion ſake on- ly, but in caſe that the unbelieuing partie will not dwell together (with the beleeuer.) So as he

maketh the obſtinate will, to be the cauſe of de- parting, rather than unlikenes of religion: ſee- ing he teacheth, that the ſame after a ſort might be albiden. And it appeareth, that the ſentence of Chriſt, wherein he onlie excepteth whoredome, was not complet: leaving the apoſtolic here ad- ded another.

Math. 5. 32.

71 Here ariſe this great doubts. Firſt it ſeemeth, that Paule laich open the partie that beleeueth vnto great perill: for he perſuadeth him to remaine with an infidel, whereby he perhaps might fall into idolatrie; for it is an eſſe matter to be feared of the unbelieuing partie. But it is anſwered, that it is not ſo; for, God being their mooued by prayers, will helpe the faithfull partie, when he perſeuech him to followe his vocation, and that he do not fail- linglie, and of his owne accord, proceſſe thoſe dangers. Which had bene as much as to tempt God, who ſaith, that he abideth not in this kind of marriage by his owne will, nor by his owne commoditie ſake: but that he may obſerue the commandment of God, and therefore will helpe him. Wherefore, if it happen that the beleeuer, being weakie, perſeuech himſelfe to be led from Chriſt, he hath leaue to depart; as we haue in- ſtruted before.

The ſecond doubt is, ſo; that in committing of whoredome, we therefore ſinne; becauſe we take the member of Chriſt, and make the ſame the member of an harlot. Now happeneth it here, that ſinne is not committed, when as we make the member of Chriſt (I meane the partie that beleeueth) to be a member of idolatrie: It is ſo anſwered; that we do it not: he was the member of his wiſe before. Vntill this muſt be holden, that there ſhould be no parting for the Goſpell ſake. There is no leaue giuen to him, which ſhall be the member of Chriſt, that he ſhould become the member of an idolatrous woman, to marrie with one that is an infidel: but it is onlie ſaid, that he ſhould not ſinfullly de- part. But in committing of fornication, we which alreadie be the members of Chriſt, are pul- led from him; and make our ſelues the mem- bers of an harlot. Vnto ſuch that the reaſon is vnbile. Furthermore, it cometh to paſſe, that in coupling with an harlot, either partie is vni- pure; as well the harlot, as he which hath the companie of her. So is it not in marriage of perſons of unblemiſhable religion, where the one partie; namelie, the beleeuer is pure. For he, which committed whoredome, is not onlie mi- gled in boie with an harlot, but alſo he conſenti- eth with her in the wicked deſire of fornication. So that both of them, as well touching the mind, as the boie, are deſiled. But here, in mar- riages of contrarie religion, they are not cou- pled together in reſpect of ſaith; but in boies

There great doubts.

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1 Cor. 6. 15.

15 b. j. ancle:

Michol the daughter of David.

2 Sam. 3. 14

Auguſtine.

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onelic: and Paule teſtifieth, that from the bodie of the iuſtcell, once anneſſe is taken aſwaie, that the other partie may not be contaminated. In the meane time, ſaith remaineth found, and the mind pure, in the partie ſanctified: which ſaith hath no place in committing of whoſe dome.

The laſt doubt is; if a Chriſtian husband dwell with an idolatrous and an unbelaueing wiſe, and that he ought not raſhly to depart, and yet may depart from an adultereſſe; it ſeemeth to follow, that adulterie is a more greuous ſinne, and more intolerable than idolatrie is. Chryſoſtome anſwereth, that God is ſo verie god, as ſometime he preferreth our commoditie before his owne: for he willet, that the ſacrifice be left at the altar, and before we do offer ſacrifice, a reconciliation is to be made with our neighbours.

Chryſoſt.

Marth. 5. 23.

He ſometime ſeeketh to haue a debt paid vnto him, and forgiveth the ſame: but vs he will not abſolve, unleſſe we ſatiffie our neighbour. Wherefore the argument is but feeble, wherein thou diſceſt gather, that idolatrie is a leſſer ſinne than adulterie, becauſe the ſpoule is permitted [to tarry] with the idolatrous wiſe, and from adulterie he may depart. But it appeareth, that we may make a more perfect anſwer; that in verie deed idolatrie, in his owne nature, is a more greuous ſinne than adulterie: but that adulterie is more repugnant to twolue than idolatrie, wherein man and wiſe ſhould be one ſelf, and by adulterie be diuorced one from another. It is true indeed, that idolatrie is more repugnant vnto God than adulterie is; but adulterie is a greater enemie to marriage than idolatrie. Which doth hereby appeare, for that marriages are had betwene idolaters and ſpau-rits.

Idolatrie a greater ſin than adulterie.

Adulterie more agaiſt twolue than idolatrie.

In 7. John. 1. at the beginning.

Whether matrimonie is to be cut off for the impotencie of the man.

72 But whether Dauid did well, in taking of the Syriack to wiſe, it appeareth doubtfull vnto ſome. For thoſe that are cold [of nature] when they marrie wiues, they ſeeme not to be the part of a married man, becauſe according to humane laies, ſuch marriages be not firme: for cold perſons do inforce themſelves to performe that which they are not able. Certainlie, there haue bene manie things decreed touching this matter, as well by the Canon lawes, as by the Civile law. That if there be a continuall defect; thoſe which be contracted, ought to be ſeparated; ſo that the partie, which ſuch for perparation, had no ſuch knowledge of that diſeaſe. For if the woman, contracting with a man in ill ſtate, did know therof before, ſhe cannot for that cauſe ſtep backe from hir husband. There is a laue had concerning ſpoutages, in the laue *Muler*, which obſeined in this wiſe: If before matrimonie contracted, the wiſe knew of the infamie or the impotencie of the man, let hir impute it to hir owne ſelle, ſhe cannot ſeeke for di-

uorſe. In the *Digels Ad legem Iuliam de adul-* *terio*, in the laue *Si vxor*, about the end it is ſaid; If a man knowe that a woman hath committed adulterie, and ſhall afterward marrie hir, he cannot accuſe hir of adulterie: for ſeing he took hir to wiſe, and had knowledge of it, he ſeemed to allow of her conditions.

The ſame hath the Canon lawe determined, as in the 33. cauſe, queſtion 1. in the chapter *Re-queſiti*, the Clergie ſaith; The woman knew the impediment of the man, and contract with him, ſhe cannot ſtep backe. But admit the knew it not, ſhall the matrimonie be firme? Gregorie, in the Canon alleged, did counſell, that they ſhould dwell together; to the intent the woman, if ſhe cannot be a wiſe, may be a ſiſter. But they ſhe ſpeaketh by counſell, not by commandment. For if the denie with loud voice, and ſaie, that he would be a mother, and beare children; ſhe is heard. Howbeit, they make a condition; namely, that the ſhall gaine ſaie it within the ſpace of ſix months (as appeareth in the *Extra-ga-gants De ſigilla & maleficiis*, in the firſt Canon;) ſeing in the aſide long, the ſame by hir owne conſent to haue confirmed the marriage. But the rigor of this lawe is not obſerved at this daie, but a longer ſpace of time is appointed, and that ſuffice; for perhaps may ſeme cold at the beginning, which will not be ſo afterward. What ſhall be done then, if the gaine ſaie it, and yet allow it? If the husband will ſtand at deni- all, he muſt be credited: but if he conſelle it, they ſhall be ſeparated, and leaue is given vnto the woman, to poude an other marriage.

Which neuertheleſſe ought not to be done over haſtily: for they will haue the ſpace of three yeares to be expeted; to the end a longer, and a more ſure experience may be had. The ſame haue the civile lawes lodged, Iulianus *De repu-* *diis*, in the laue *In cauſis*, firſt altogether two yeares; but there in the *Paraph Sed bide*, he al- ſigneth three yeares, and it both verie well agree with the Popes Canons. The ſame he ſaith in the *Authentiques*, in *Collatione 4.* in the *Paraph Per-ceptionem*; namely, that three yeares be giuen. Howbeit, this muſt be vnderſtood on this wiſe; Whiſe a plaine proofe thereof can be had before, becauſe it ought not then to be deferred. But ſome men ſaie; that it is poſſible, that ſubges may be deceiued, that the diſeaſe may ſometime be cured, and that the ſpace of three yeares ſeemeth not to be ſufficient, that he might marrie with an other, and haue children, & that in con- uerſation they might both of them ſometimes confeſſe their colnedie, becauſe they might find the meanes to be ſeparated. If this ſhould hap- pen, they would that the man, being afterward found fit for procreation, ſhould renew his for- mer marriage. But this is not obſerved. The ſame

ſame do they affirme of them, which be hindered by diuelliſh practices. But becauſe the diuelliſh hath ſometimes hinder, ſo as a man is able to viſe the companie of one woman, and not of another; therefore matrimonie is alſigned to be with hir, from whom he is not lett. Theſe things are ſaid touching women.

If the hus- band were ignorant before of his wife's impotencie, he may require a diuorſe.

73 But if the man do either knowe, or be ignorant that he is cold, what then ſhall he do? If he be ignorant of it, he is after a ſort excuſed; & it is lawfull for him to aſſe a biſhop, whereby he may be excuſed of the charges of marriage. But if he knowe before, that he had the diſeaſe of col- nedie, he is compelled to find and mainteine his wiſe, whom he deceiued. The Popes canons de- creed, that he ſhould marrie no more: as it is read in the place a little before alleged, *De ſig-illa & maleficiis*. Howbeit, there be ſome, which ſaie; If he can find aſie that will haue him to hir husband, ſo he make knowne this imperfection, he may contract matrimonie with hir. But what manner of marriage will that be, when it is done neither for procreation of chil- dren, neither for avoiding of whoredome: vnto this they anſwer, according to the ſealing of Au- guſtine, which we read in the 27. cauſe, queſtion the firſt, in the chapter *Nepotianus*; and it is written in the ſight chapter *De bono con ugiis*. In the old time, marriage was an obediencie of the laue, now it is for the reliefe of our infirmitie, and for the comfort of mankind. But the place is ambiguous, for the comfort of mankind may haue a reſpect vnto procreation of children; ſith thereby the parents conſeue no ſmall pleaſure, therein they delight themſelves. Howbeit, at this daie, they admit this kind of marriage: and there be manie found, which do peaceable liue together.

It ſaith that ſuch ad age to marrie.

They, which intreat of theſe things, haue con- ſidered, that there is a great difference betwene colnedie and old age. And they deſine, that old age may neuer be diuorced from marriage. An ancient time was made the laue called *Papa*, or *Papea*, vnder Tiberius Cæſar (whereof Tran- quillinus in *Claudio* maketh mention, and ſo doth Lactantius;) whereby it was provided, that they which were paſt three ſcore yeares of age, ſhould not marrie wiues; and that the women ſhould not be married, which did exceed the age of ſixtie yeares. But theſe lawes were aboлиſhed by Iulian: as is to be found in the Code *De nepi-* *lian*, in the laue *Sancimus*. For this colnedie is not in all perſons alike. Howbeit, neither the lawes of emperours, nor of biſhops gaue libertie to them, which were geled men indeed, to marrie. Yet it becometh, that that colnedie or diuelliſh practices, which may diſſolve matrimonie, ſhould be perpetuall. For ſtillfull men do ſometime make a remedie for things, which hurt but for a

time. Before this, it is neceſſarie, that the impo- timent be before the contracting of matrimo- nie: for if they once become aſſe, marriage is not vnderdone. At this matter alſo wrote the ſpaulier of the ſentence, in the fourth booke, the 34. diſtinction.

74 So much remaineth that we intreat particu- larly of the matrimonie of Dauid. And this ſoill we firſt note, that he was not moued vnto that marriage, of his owne accord, neither of luſt, or of naughtie deſire; but by the aduiſe of his no- ble men, and by the pudent counſell of phyſi- cians. Wherefore, thoſe that will ſaie, that a naughtie aduiſe and a looked, muſt not be admitted. This in verie deed is true: but in this matter (ſo far as may appere) neither lewdnes of mind, nor naughtie deſire can be proued. Firſt, old age nothing hindered, but that the king might contract matrimonie: who perhaps alſo was thought, that as touching colnedie, he might be reſcued; although not to the ſtrength, which he was wont to haue, yet ſo as ſhould be fit for his old bodie. Certainlie Abraham was reſcued, when he was an hundred yeeres of age: ſo that after the death of S. r. he was married another, and by hir he did beget children. Neither was there wanting natural help to Dauid, whereby the phyſicians thought they might reſcove him. Howbeir, if they declared vnto the damſell the old mans impotement, and the ſame being knowen, the gaue hir conſent, the ſuffered no in- iurie. It might be added, that his mind was per- ſuaded by God, that the ſhould conſent for the benefit of the whole kingdome. Whatſoever ſaying, if the were moued thereto by ambition; the counſell had not bene good. But to iudge raſhly of theſe points, it ſtanderth neither with our golinelſe, nor yet with our authoritie. Seeing theſe things might be done of a ſincere mind, and by the will of God; & I thinke they ought rather to be taken in good part. ſith doth the hiſtorie teach, that this damſell was not long with the king; becauſe within a while after he di- ed; howbeit, his life, which was verie neceſſa- rie for the Common-wealth, was prolonged for a while. Yet thus much I will admoniſh, that he need not labour ſo much to excuſe the fathers of blaſphemy; who alſo ought not to be charged, unleſſe the hiſtorie compell thereto. Neither will we paſſe it ouer, that God did vnto the occaſion of this damſell to oppreſſe Adonias, and to eſtabliſh the king- dome of Salo- mon.

1 King. 17



## The eleuenth Chapter.

Of Whoredome, fornication, adulterie, and other noisome things, which are contrarie to the seventh commandment.

In Job. 16, vers. 4.

verfe. 10.

1. Tim. 4. 4.

Of c. 2. 1.

Augustine.

**N**ow I thinke it good to speake somewhat of whoredome of fornication. For as there were manie in old time, so now there are not a few, which asseme, that it is not sinne. But I will proue by the scriptures, and by most certeine reasons, that it is a grieuous sinne. They which extenuate this wicked crime, haue no ground vpon diuers arguments. First, in the Acts of the apostles, the 15. chapter, when in those first times there arose a dissention among the Iewes and the Grecians, it was by common assent decreed, that the Gentiles should abstaine from blood, from strangled, from things offered vnto idols, and from fornication. Where (saie they) whoredome is reckoned among those things, which in their owne nature are not sinnes; wherefore it appeareth, that of it selfe it is not sinne. For these things were then for a time decreed by the apostles, that Christians might liue peaceable together. For No creature of God is euill: as Paule vnto Timothee saith, Furthermore, they saie, God would not command that, which of it selfe it selfe is sinne; he had Oeas the prophet, to take vnto him an harlot, and to beget children of fornication; so that of it owne nature it kersheth not to be euill. Moreover, euerie sinne is against charitie: either against that charitie, which we owe vnto God; or else that, which we owe vnto our neighbours. But in whoredome of fornication, there seemeth to be nothing committed against God; for his honour and religion is not hurt; neither al to against our neighbour, for there is no violence fled against his wife; neither is there any wrongfull oppression committed.

Moreover, Augustine in his booke De bono coniugal, teacheth, that as meate is vnto the bodie, so is the bed for procreation. But if a man eate and drinke a little more than he ought, he is not accursed of sinne: so likewise, if a man do strake a little in the companie of women, he is not to be iudged guiltie of sinne. Likewise, those things, which God hath forbidden as sinnes, are so plain and manifest, that euen by the light of nature, euerie one may vnderstand them to be sinnes: but fornication, in mans iudgement, is

not so accounted; and manie thinke that it is no sinne. Micio in the Comedie in Terence saith, Heloue me it is no wicked act for a young man to commit fornication. And there wanted not some in the church of Corinth, which were of that opinion. So as by these reasons, the filthyne of whoredome is to eternate, that either it is not counted for sinne; or else thought that it should be reckoned among the least sinnes.

2. We must not haue a respect vnto the reasons of men, but vnto the word of God; not what men thinke of iudge, but what the holie Ghost speaketh in the holie scriptures. In the prophets, and in Salomon there is detesting of fornication in euerie place; but in the lawe they saie there is nothing detested against it. Seeing they will reason by the lawe, I also will bring testimonies out of it; whereby it may easilie be vnderstood, that fornication is forbidden. In Leuiticus, in the booke of Numbers, and in Deuteronomie, the Iewes are forbidden to linke themselves vnto strange women. Again, in Deuteronomie the 25. chapter, it is commanded, that there should be no harlot nor common woman in Israel. Let these places be compared together. It was not lawfull to haue anie harlots, neither strange women; nor yet women of Israel: wherefore they were all forbidden. But some will saie, Now then had Samson fellowship with an harlot: Some of the Hebrews answer, that he was not an harlot, with whom Samson had fellowship; but one that kept a bawling house. But so much as that is but a weakie answer, one thinketh that an other answer must be made. The publike leaue of the Hebrews was at that time corrupted: for they liued then vnder the Philistines. Neither is it anie marvell, if they had then receiued some of their vices and corrupt manners. Wherefore, some harlots they had; but not, but by reason of their owne lawes, and through the use and conuersation of the Philistines.

3. But in the new testament, whoredome is openlie and manifestlie forbidden. To the Hebrews it is thus written; Adulterers and fornicators the Lord will iudge. The Lord is not faine to iudge and to auenge, except it be for grieuous sinnes. And to the Christians, not onlie couetous men and idolaters, but also fornicators are excluded from the kingdom of God. To the Corinthians also, where Paule teacheth of excommunication; I speake not (saith he) of all sorters of fornicators, but if anie brother be named a fornicator, with such ye shall not so much as eate. But he teacheth much more manifestlie of all this matter, in the first chapter of the same epistle, and that of vertie purpose. For manie (as it is said) were of an euill opinion as touching this kind of wickednesse. First (he saith),

Fornicators are they: who by the testimonies of the lawe.

verfe. 17.

Iud. 14.

It is forbidden by testimonies of the new testament. Heb. 13. 14.

Ephesi. 5. 6.

1. Cor. 5. 11.

Meate

1. Cor. 6, vers. 13, 14.

Idem.

The nature of relations

verfe. 14.

verfe. 15.

Meate is ordeined for the bellie, and the bellie for meate, but God shall destroy both this and that; now the bodie is not for fornication, but for the Lord. Moreover, all meate of his owne nature is pure; but for the offense of our neighbours, we ought sometimes to abstaine. Wherefore, if some man might saie, I speake is necessary to be by it, it is (saith Paule) in this life, but in the blessed resurrection God shall destroy both the meate and the bellie. Wherefore, thou must not so much esteeme it, that for such a cause thou shouldst offend thy brother. It is not commanded, that thou shouldst abstaine from all meate generally, but from that onelie, whereby thy weakie brother is offended. But as touching fornications (saith he) of which ye make small account, there is a far other respect; Your bodie is not appointed for fornication, but for the Lord.

And this must not be passed ouer, that Paule teacheth great wisdom saith not, that the bodie is not giuen for procreation, but that it is not giuen for fornication; for the bodie is also giuen for procreation sake. Oftentimes men are loath to excuse their faultes, and to impute them vnto nature. The nature of the bodie (saith he) is that it may be giuen vnto the Lord: so that the rule of life must be taken thereby, and not by euill examples. This is the nature of relations, euill examples, which is the nature of relations, not onelie of those relations, which in the selfe same thing that they be, belong to other; but also of those, which by anie meanes are referred to another thing: as the head vnto the bodie, and likewise the bodie vnto the head. For when we see the head, we straightwaie require the bodie; and againe, when we see the bodie, we require the head. Such relations, as the Logicians saie, are called *Secundum dicti*. The Lord is the head of the bodie of the church, and the church is the bodie of his head. Wherefore Paule, both wisely and pitifully disputeth, when he saith; The bodie is not made to this end, that it should pollute it selfe with lusts, but to be correspondent vnto the head, and to be conforable vnto it. And he adde; God, which hath raised vp Christ, shall raise vp also by his power. The first argument was taken from relations, the second from God himselfe. For if he shall raise vp our bodies, as he hath raised by Christ, why then do we shamefully vse them? The procreancy further, and faith; But do you not knowe, that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the member of Christ, & make it the member of an harlot? Vnderstande it a weightie argument, which he concludeth; Shall I take (saith he) the member of Christ? As though he should haue said; Ye without doubt: for this were to rent in peeces the bodie of Christ. And it is a most cruell thing to plucke auaie the members from a liuely bodie, and to reioine them to a

rotten or dead bodie. But herein the strength of the reason doth consist; Christ cannot commit fornication; wherefore, if thou wilt commit fornication, thou must be first plucked from Christ. Here is shewed, that fornication is not onelie a sin; but also a heauie and most grieuous sin, because it plucketh vs auaie from Christ.

4. Afterward he adde; He which coupleth himselfe vnto an harlot, is becominge one bodie [with hir]; for they shall be two in one flesh. And he, which is ioined with God, is one spirit. This place is verie full of consolation: forso much as it declareth, that we are ioined most nigh vnto Christ, from whom we must needs be plucked auaie, before we be made the members of an harlot. He, which cleaueth vnto an harlot, is becominge one bodie with hir: for they shall be two in one flesh. The apostle seemeth at the first sight to abuse the wordes of Genesis, in transferring them to whoredome, which is spoken of marriage. For these wordes were first spoken of Adam and Eve: because the flesh of Eve was before in the flesh of Adam, from whom God took a rib, and made thereof a woman, which he againe ioined vnto Adam, to be with him one flesh. But in verie deed the apostle abuseth not this sentence, forso much as whoredome is a certaine corrupting of marriage: seeing one matter; namely, the continuation of the flesh, is common to both. For bodie is communicated as well here as there. So as Paule hath a respect to that, which is common to them both, when as yet there is this difference betwixt them; that in whoredome the coniunction is against the lawe of God: and therefore fornications must be pulled one from another, or therwise there is left no hope of saluation for them. But in marriage the knitting together is brought to passe by God, and therefore it is become an indissoluble knot. Seeing then the coupling together is all one, and the selfe same in either of them; Paule doth rightlie apply that sentence to whoredome. He that cleaueth vnto God, is one spirit. These wordes serue much for this present matter: for if we be with God one spirit, we must with earnest labo laye from it ye things, which he hath forbidden. Wherefore applye hath the apostle adde; Flee from whoredome. He saith moreover; Euerie sinne, which a man committeth, is without the bodie; but he, which committeth whoredome, sinneth against his owne bodie. If the arguments, which I haue brought before, do not moue you; at the least, vnto haue a regard to your owne bodie, the which you seeme to hate and contemne, when ye commit whoredome.

But it may be demanded, howe other sinnes be without the bodie; and how by fornication ye sin against our owne bodie; for ye doubt not,

as before in the tenth plac. att. 6.

as before in the tenth plac. att. 6.

25 b. ij.

not,

not, but he which is verie angry, nourisheth and augmenteth choler: whereby the bodie is not a little hurt. *Michell* also doth verie much teachen the bodie: wherefore Salomon saith; A sorrowfull spirit drieth vp the bones. *Againe*, vpon kenneles and gluttonie do hinder health, and do in a manner utterlie destroye the bodie. *Pea* and enuious persons do seme also to finne against their owne bodie: for thou must perceiue them to be dyed, withered, and in a manner dead thyl leauene. *Whom* can it then be, that other sinnes are without the bodie? *Some* saie that fornicators do finne against their owne bodie; because verie manie times, through the compaignie, which they haue with vniuers, they are infected with the poxe, and with leprosie. But let others saie that they will: I had rather thinke, that the apostle had respect vnto those things that went before; in so much as he had said, that the fornicator is made one bodie with an harlot. And he seemeth to finne verie greuouslie against the tootheie state of his bodie, who maketh it all one with the most vile and filthie bodie of an harlot. For if aue hieing or pynce thow marrie a wife of a simple and base degre, it will be said, that he hath stained his hindbe. I knowe there be some, which thinke that these wordes are spoken hyperbollically: because there be found other sinnes also, which hurt the bodie; but this sinne doth most greuouslie and most of all hurt it.

*21* *similitudo*  
The same Paule doth yet further argue; *1. Cor. 6, 19.* Do ye not knowe that your bodies are the temple of the holie Ghost? And assuredlie, he which destroyeth the temple of God, him will God destroye. As if he had said; We haue not pour bodies of your felnes, but of God; God hath made them his temple, & the holie Ghost dwelleth in them; ye are not your owne: wherefore ye do not a little violate iustice, in despoiling the thing that be longeth to an other. Ye are bought with a great price, glorifie therefore God in your bodie. These arguments of Paule are excellent, and of verie great weight: wherewith if anie man be not well satisfied, let him looke vpon Samson. He was no foolster, no murderer, no thief; and yet was he drunken, bound, his eyes put out, cast into prison, and compelled there to grind, as if he had bene a four-footed beast. Paule by manie arguments labouring to proue vvhoredome to be sinne. And no maruell, seeing he then wrote to the Corinths, who at that time exceeded others in fornications: wherof came the prouerbe; *Non cuius Corinthorum*; that is, It is not met for euerie man to go to Corinth. And generally, all the Churchs were in an ill opinion touching this vice. For which cause, when the church was yet in growling (as Eusebius testifieth in the 7. booke of his historie, the 29. chapter.) The Nicolaits did openlie and manifestlie commit fornication

and fathered the customs of their naughtiness vpon Nicola the deacon.

*Wherof* Clemens, bishop of Alexandria, in his *Stromata*, doth excuse Nicola; for he saith, that he neither thought nor taught anie such thing. But having a verie faire woman to his wife, and was thought to be gelous ouer hir, he brought hir forth before the people, and said; This is my wife. And ouer her he might vnderstand that I am not gelous ouer hir, I am content for my part, that anie man take hir to wife. Which also he ment; to saue as the laue of God would suffer. *Wherof* they which were afterwards called Nicolaits, vnderstanding his wordes peruerselie, supposed him to thinke, that vniuers among Christians ought to be common. At this sort it is written in the Apocalypse; But this thou halt, because thou hast hated the doings of the Nicolaits, which I also hate. So that it is no marvell, if Paule towe to great paines, to teach that vvhoredome is sinne.

*6* This mischefe is an entire vnto matrimonie, seeing they which follow vnto wanton lusts, & harlots are enemies vnto marriage. Wherupon Terence saith; They which lone, can ill abide to take a wife. For which cause Clemens saith, that *Whoredome* leaueh from one matrimonie vnto manie, that is from one lawfull continuation, to manie vnlawfull & wicked. The epistle to the Hebrewes jointly fornicators with adulterers, & so stithly, that God will iudge them. And these two vices are so ioined together, that they are comprehended in the selfe-same precept, wherein it is said; Thou shalt not commit adulterie. Also this pestilent vice is repugnant both vnto charitie, and to the publicke weale. Vnto charitie (I saie), because the fornicators do much inurie vnto their children, not being lawfullie procreated, are kerselle at anie time brought vp to honestie and vertuouslie. And they hurt the Common-weale; because they defraud it of god citizens. For *Monex*, a baird; I meane, and one borne in fornication, is forbidden to be received into the church: not that he is restrained from the holie communion, or from the mysteries of salvation; but because it is not lawfull for him to rule the publicke weale, and to be numbred among citizens. Some thinke, that this cuill coult be remedied, if a man might haue a concubine at home: so (saie they) the illue shall be certeine. Certeine perhapp it might be, but lawfull it shall not be. Seeing therefore that this mischefe is both against matrimonie, and charitie, and also the publicke weale; it cannot be denied, but that it is a sinne most greuous.

And for so much as it is; so; whye are the felus at this daie openlie suffered in cities? I speake not of the Churchs, I speake of the Churchs; and of those Christians, which will alone seme

to be the successors of Christ, and to be called by that name. Within their conuention whoredome is most shamefullie maintained; they not onelie being willing vnto it, but also taking aduantage and reuenues for the same. That which is against the wordes of God, against matrimonie, against charitie, and against the publicke weale; either it is no sinne at all, or els it is a notable sinne. If it be a sinne, why is it not taken away, and loosed out? *Wherof* I knowe that they will babble. They bring forth Augustine, who in his booke *De ordine*, testifieth thus; I take atome bothell houses, and all places will be filled with filthie lusts. But let vs consider at what time Augustine wrote this booke. Doubtles, while he was yet Catechumenus, that is, vnbaptized, and not sufficientlie instructed in religion. And although he had not bene Catechumenus, yet this saing of his doth not agree with the word of God, neither with verie Augustine himselfe; who in another place affirmeth, that the good, which cometh of euill, as a recompense, must not be admitted. Which also Paule vnto the Romans taught, euen as they were wont to saie of vs; Let vs do euill, that good may come thereof, whose damnation is iust. They must neuer haue regard to the end and euent, then we are vged by the commandment of God. Sometimes men saie vnto vs; Whilste thou commit sinne, this or that euill will succede. But we must answer what God hath commanded; the care of the successe shall rest vpon him. Neither is it meet, that one anello sentence of Augustine should be of greater authority, than lo manie reasons, which we haue brought, and so manie plain places of the word of God.

*7* God commanded absolute, and by these wordes, that there should be no harlot in Iherusalem. But some go about to twist this place from vs, in saing that these Hebrew wordes, *Kedechba* and *Kedechim*, signifie not Whores or Harlots; but rather the priests of Priapus, which were bowed and consecrated to things most filthy. But contrariewise, I thinke, that *Kedechba* signifieh an Harlot; and *Kedechim*, Whoredomes and effeminate persons. God would haue neither of those suffered among the people. And that, which they object of the holie sentences of Priapus, it is nothing. For it was sufficientlie before decreed touching idolatrie; and that need it to be repeated againe? Yet that we may the more manifestlie vnderstand, that *Kedechba* signifieh an Harlot, let vs read the historie of Iuda and Thamar in the booke of Genesis; and there we shall see, that Zarah and *Kedechba*, are taken both for one and the selfe-same thing. For which cause we must note, that there are certeine wordes, which may be taken both in the good and euill part. As which sort among the Hebrews, is

this word *Kedechba*, which signifieh, both Whore, and also an Harlot: euen as is this word *Sacrum* among the Latins, & it signifieh curried. And thereupon Virgil saith; *Auri sacra fames*, Virgil. That is, the curried hunger of gold. This Hebrew word *Kedech*, is to prepare, or to be prepared: whereof is deriued that word, which signifieh an Harlot; because diu women are prepared and set ready for all men; or els, because they are wont to go trimlie decked and painted. Wherfore Clemens saith, that the Lacedemonians suffered harlots to weare wrought garments, fine apparel, and gold: which things were not lawfull for matrons to be.

Let vs loe for what folloineth in Deuteronomie; And the hire of an harlot shall not be verse. 18. brought into the sanctuary. Here againe the late calke that Zarah, which it had in hebreu calke *Kedechba*. But thou wilt saie; If the latine should not haue harlots to be suffered, that neede it to haue forbidden their oblations; What neede this late? They which speake on this toise, do seme indeed to speake withie; but yet they speake not sufficientlie. For foreine nations also sent gifts for the furniture and life of the temple. The Cunnys of the Quene of Aethiopia came to Ierusalem, to offer in the temple. The Macedonians and Romans gave preter oblations and sacrifices in the temple. Wherefore the late Hebrews, that if anie thing be offered by strangers that is gotten by the gain of an harlot, the same should not be admitted into the sanctuary. Besides this, God had giuen a charge, that there should be no harlot in Iherusalem: but he knew that they would not observe that late. And when the Philistines, Macedonians, and Romans reigned ouer them, they had harlots. *Pea* and Christ maketh mention of harlots and publicans together. After right well doth God first forbid, that there should be no harlots among the Hebrews; and afterward he decreeth, that if in case they were bad, the gaine coming of them, should not be admitted into the sanctuary. Which vndoable be commended, because of the vileness and filthiness of the same. In the same place he addeth; The price of a dog shall not be brought into the sanctuary: because that beast is filthy and vncleane.

*8* Caligula, otherwise a detestable monster, decreed (as we haue in Suetonius) that they, Suetonius, which should commit whoredomes or adulteries, should be openlie punished. Hereof Holstenius, Holstenius, testifieth ridiculous; Harlots indeed (saith he) are bound to pite and to offer, but the church cannot so; ought not to rectifie the same. Yet the glorie doth much better beere in the Decretals, within the 90. in the chapter *Oblations*; namely, that nothing at all, which cometh of the gain of an harlot, should be offered in the church,

Wherof  
of sholias  
the deacon,  
Clemens  
of Alexandria.

Apoc. 1, 6.

Clemens.

Heb. 13, 14.

Ecc. 10, 14.

Deut. 23, 17.

Deut. 23, 17.

Gen. 38, 29, 30.

The Pope makes an annuall gaine of harlots. 2.ooke 3m. cxxx. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

church. But priests and monks, when they feared that some of their profit should be gon, have devised an other reason. For although (say they) the gaine of harlots cannot be received for an obligation; yet nothing letteth, but that it may be received for almes. But after what? for doth the Pope receive the monie of harlots? Soberlie, not as an obligation, because he cannot; nor as almes, because he is not pope: it resteth therefore, that he receiveth the same as a prince. The Law would not have this kind of monie in his sanctuaries; but the Pope will have it in his treasure; and he hath it, and getteth a wonderfull great gaine by it. Those vicar then is the Pope? Gods vicar? State, God refused such a gaine. What? As he the vicar of Christ? But Christ never departed from the will of his father. Then must it consequently followe, that he is antichrist; when as he both teacheth and doth those things, which are expresse and purposeth against the word of God of Christ. But he will saye, that he gratefully this monie as a prince. Let him then be a prince. But I demand, whether he be an euill prince, or a good prince? It is not lawfull for a good prince to depart from the lawes of God. Let him then be an euill prince: let him be euen a Caligula.

peradventure he will answer, that in respect he is a prince, he doth according to the ciuill lawes, which do not take awaie harlots out of the Romans dominion: yea rather, they disallowe not to decree somewhat touching their price or reward. In the Digests *De conditione ob turpem causam*, in the lawe *Idem est*, it is decreed; that they cannot demand againe, that which they haue giuen to an harlot. And there is a reason added; for though it be a shame for an harlot to be an harlot, yet it is no shame to take hire being an harlot. These wordes are obscure, so that they may seeme to be a riddle. Further in the Digests, in the title *De donacionibus*, in the lawe *Affectionis gratia*, it is decreed; that it is lawfull to giue as well vnhonorable as honorable. It is lawfull honorable to giue, as to parents, kinfolks, friends, &c. vnhonorable, as to harlots. But I would know, by what licence that is lawfull? I saye God giuen goods vnto men, to call them awaie on harlots? I doubtless they confesse here, that some shamefulness there is: for though it be lawfull to giue, yet if thou hast promised arie thing vnto an harlot, thy obligation bindeth thee not; neither can the harlot challenge thy promise: as it may be seene in the Close, in the title *De donacionibus*, in the lawe *Idem est*.

But it is a doubt, that if he do not receive it shamefully, whie it may not be lawfull for him to take it without shame. They answer, that this followeth not; because manie things are taken honestly, which are not honorable deniement. And for that matter he citeth the lawe 1. *De varijs* &

extraordinarijs cognationibus. Wherefore the Pope will not, by the ciuill lawes, take awaie harlots; but receive monie of them: which he feeth cannot be suffered by the lawes of God. But here I will reason with him a little. Certainely he professeth himselfe to be a ruler over the ciuill lawes, and in verie deed he hath altered manie of them, as though he would amend them; when as yet he hath taken awaie the good, and sometime, in the stead of them, hath put such as be euill. Whie hath he not amended those lawes for the suffering of harlots; seeing they be repugnant to the lawe of God? Vndoubtedly, the true cause why he hath not taken awaie the lawes of harlots, is this: because it should be ouer hurtfull vnto the Popes treasure. For at Rome they measure their lawes by profit, and not by honor.

Whobest, by what ciuill right do they receive monie of harlots? They answer, for tribute. But why do not they rather saye, for bothe hire? Doubtless, if we will speake trulie, Popes in this respect are not altogether free from bothe hire. Let them diligently marke the ciuill lawes, where by they now go about to defend themselves, and ouer which they boast themselves to be rulers; and let them looke what those iudges of bothe hire. In the Digests *De ritu nuptiarum*, in the lawe *Palam*, it is thus written: He which hath bond-women for gaine, the same committed bothe hire. Now I demand of these men, in what condition they count the harlots in Rome? For citizens? Nothing lesse. They count them therefore in a manner for bond-women, and of them they make gaine: so as in a manner they are bothe hire, or lawes. As much might be said of vnicers. In their dominions they suffer felmes, which are vnicers; and they take gaine of their vnicers, euerie piece a certine part, the thirtieth part at the least. Wherefore the Pope is not onlie a lawe, but also an vnicer. And that which I ascribe of the Pope, let yorshane princes also take heed, least the same should be also said of them, which exercise this kind of gaine of the felmes. So they vnhonorablely agree that salueng of Dauid; if thou sawest these, thou ranst with him, and laicdest thy portion with adulterers.

Whie they saye that these be tributes. But in the Code, in the title *De veltigalibus* & commissis, in the lawe *Ex pretatione*, and in the lawe *Allegatus*, tribute is defined to be that, which is paid for those things, which are brought into the publicke weale from foren nations: for they are called in Latine, *Veltigalia*, of the verbe *Velere*, which signifieth *to carrie*. And the eight part of euery thing was paid, in the name of a tribute, or custome. Wherefore custumiers were called *Oltarij*, of *Oltum* partes, that is, the eight part, which they gathered. But what (I praye you) do harlots

What the lawes doe are touching bothe hire and tribute.

harlots being vnto the publicke weale? Euen fisherme and luntis; of the which the Courtiers and Popish priests doe gather not the eight part, but the whole. These *Veltigalia* are also called tributes and customes, which are taken of felles and lands. But what felles haue harlots? What lands? None forsooth: then let them leaue to exercise that shamefull thing by so honest a title. I knowe they will saye; If harlots were suffered to be free and at libertie, they would time more licentious. A goodlie kind of correction!

Can harlots be restrained by no other means, but so? They ought rather to decree, that they should not remaine in the citie, that they should haue ill-favoured and darke houses, that they should cast awaie all the ornaments of the bodie, that they should not come abroad openlie; and they should be shamed by some notes of dishonorable, that thereby they might be moeking stocks to the world. By this means they might peradventure be called home into the right towne. But now (God will) how are they kept vnder? Their houses be most gorgeous, they ride openlie in chariots, apparelled like princes, they ride vpon their finest cloths. They haue in their companie men wearing chaines, and disguised persons, yea and sometimes Carbinals, especiallye in the night, and a most sumptuous traine of waiting women. Will they deny that these things are true? When let graue and faithfull men, which haue at aune time bene in Rome, shew together the thing be so or no. If they will not beleaue me, I can bring for witness both Carbinals and Prelates of Rome.

10 Paulus the third of that name declared once, that he minded some reformation of the church; he committed the matter to certaine Cardinalls and Bishops, which were counted more pure than the rest. And what they iudged, it is extant in the third volume of Councils. And they complained, that the power of harlots is so great at Rome, as it was in no other place the like. But hath Paulus the third amended this? Also in the synod of Trent, the clergy of Rome promised some great reformation: but they did it not; neither did they indourne it at all. Whie do they not rather imitate and followe the lawes of Iustinian? Ye, in his Authentike, in the title *De leonibus*, willeth, that harlots should be vicerie thrust out of the citie; and that, if they promised arie thing vnto a harlot, they should not be bound to paie and accomplish the same. Iste rather, if they haue twome to be harlots for a time, the Pope absolue them of their oib. These things do these men dissemble, and do suffer and mainteine harlots. Which neuertheless we are not to wonder at: for seeing they do diligenlye reueue and increase spiritual nourishment of minis; namely, superstition and bo-

latter, hold can they but ioune therewith the for-nication of the bodie? But seeing they toke awaie twome from their making priests, it was a hard thing, yea and vnpossible, to be without bothe houses.

Iustinian forsooke, because he sawe bothe houses so high vnto the churches of God; but now they dwell in the midst of cities, not far from the houses of diuine seruice; it grew not the Pope one will. But let the sinners, in whose houses these harlots dwell, please their owne cause. What such houses, for the most part, appeare to Bishops and churches; and they will saye; We do not take part of the gaine of an harlot, (as if inuete is) we receiue rents of our houses. Which is not prohibited by the ciuill lawes: for in the Digests *De petitione hereditatis*, in the lawe *Annullum*, it is said; that bothe houses are used in the citie rents of honest men. And in the same title, in the lawe *Si possessor*, it is ordeined; that if a man haue vnhonest gaine, he should be compelled to restore them, least an honest meaning might bring profit vnto him that is an owner, by an vnhonest gaine. Whobest, seeing they will mainteine it by lawes, why haue they not a respect vnto the interpretation of those lawes? Iames lie, if this kind of gaine be once exceded of harlots, that ought to be restored vnto the here: otherwise it is not lawfull to require them. I saye there can contrarietie of lawes be auoided by aune other means: for these lawes should not agree with those of Iustinian, which are to be read in the Authentike *De leonibus* & *senecis* mulieribus.

But let them (I beseech you) marke the wordes which are read in the title *De ritu nuptiarum*, in the lawe *Palam*; and in the title *De ijs qui nati sunt infamia*, in the lawe *Abietas*; that what two men is infamous, which professedly hire sell an harlot, and be also that is partaker of the gaine; and generallie, that all lawes are infamous. Let us also (which is of much more weight) haue a regard to the word of God, who commandeth; Be ye holie, for I am holie. What do we gather by these wordes? Euen that that is not to be suffered among christians, whereby men are made infamous. So then let lawes and harlots be removed awaie, forasmuch as these kind of persons are noted infamous by the ciuill lawe. But they will saye; When oftentimes fall, and sometimes commit those things, whereby they are made infamous. I grant it: yet is not this to be borne withall, whereby they are made infamous, whether they will or no. But though they had a thousand ciuill lawes on their side, yet ought we more to eschame the word of God, Ieron. speaking hereof, wisteth verie well in his epistoll of Fabiola; Ciuill lawes (saith he) ought not to be care-fulle

A decree for gifts vnto harlots.

whether it be lawfull to giue vnto harlots.

pal. 3. 18.

Leuit. 11. 44

Ieron.

fullie to be sited; Papinianus twitheth one Terullian thing, and Paule another. And before Ierom, Terullian *De anima*; Is bothell houses (saith he) acerbite stable before God.

11 But if harlots (saie they) should be suffer-  
red, there is some hope of their conversion.  
For Christ saith; The harlots and publicans  
shall go before you into the kingdome of hea-  
uen. But let them shew me, whether they can by  
no other means be called home into the king-  
dome of God, but by sufferance. But he mean-  
eth not harlots, so long as they be harlots, and  
be not converted. For what cause then is it said,  
that they shall go before the Pharisees and  
scribes into the kingdome of God? Because they,  
being converted, doo achintolage and be-  
lieve to their finnes; but the Pharisees & scribes  
regarded not their wicked acts, but would seeme  
to be most holie. If harlots should be suffered, be-  
cause they may be converted; then shall there be  
no sinne so grievous, which ought to be punished.  
For there is none so farre past grace, but that  
some hope remaineth, that he may be called  
home into the right waie. And so by this means,  
all lawes shall be silent. They saie moreover,  
that God did forbid harlots, as we read in *Deu*  
*teronomie*; and yet they were afterward per-  
mitted: for Salomon gaue iudgement betwixen  
two harlots. First I answer, that it is not cer-  
taine that they were harlots: in so much as this  
word *Zanah*, signifieth hir also that hapeth a vis-  
iting house, and one that getteth hir living by  
sundrie sort of gaine. Further, though they were  
harlots; it is yet but a weak and frivolous ar-  
gument. For we must not reason from that  
which is done, vnto that which ought to be done.  
God doo vnbondulize for bad harlots, but after-  
ward discipline qualles, and manie things were  
committed against the lawe. Howbeit, we must  
haue a regard, not vnto that which is done; but  
vnto that which God hath commanded to be  
done; otherwise, if we will lye according to  
examples, there are ill examples enow euery  
where.

For Popes and Cardinals do not onelie suf-  
fer harlots; but also they themselves keepe them  
as things most beintie. Neither can they abide  
the Canons, which beere, that a priest for whome  
dome should be depcaied; in the diuine 82.  
chapter *Presbyter*; when neuertheless the Close  
saith there; *Quia* a daies no man is deposed for  
whoredome. The same we haue in the 3. cause,  
quoniam 77. chapter *Lator*. The apostle erelicteth  
whoremongers from the kingdome of God, but  
these exclude them not from the church; neither  
thinke they that they ought to be deposed. But it  
is no maruell, seeing they saie that the bishop  
may discipline with adulteries, and other light  
crimes: as may be perceived in the *Extrau*

gants *De iudicijs*, in the lawe *At clerici*. They  
be the wordes of Alexander the third: whereby it  
apertly, that these men account adulteries for  
verie small crimes. Why should we then de-  
pend vpon their examples? Philo a Jew saith; Philo lu.  
that in the publicke weale of the Jewes, harlots  
might not be suffered: for of necessitie it be-  
hooued all, when they came to the peeres, to be ei-  
ther husbands or wiues. Some indowes indeed  
there were, but those were ancient in yeares,  
and of a trien chastitie. This example should be  
followed; namely, of such an holie publicke weale;  
and not the example of the Popes court.

At a certaine time I being in Rome, remem-  
bered a twittie saleng of Crates. He, when he came  
to Delphos, and sawe in the temple of Apollo, a  
golden image of Phryne a verie notable harlot,  
cried out; Wholo a triumphant token of the  
wantonnesse of the Gracians? I considering  
there the sumptuousnesse and magnificence  
of harlots, said; Wholo a token of the wantonnes  
of the bishops of Rome prelates? But let vs  
leave them, and proceed with the wordes of God,  
and the reasons brought from thence. Basil, in *Basil*  
his first booke vpon the Psalmes, expounding  
these wordes; And had not sit in the chaire of pe-  
silence, twitteth verie well: Whoredome (saith  
he) is not to be seene in one man, but inuadeth  
a whole cite. For some one young man coming  
vnto an harlot, taketh vnto himselfe a fellow;  
and the same fell vnto also taketh an other fellow.  
Wherefore, euen as fire, being kindled in a cite,  
if the wind blowe vehemently, staeth not in the  
burning of one house or two, but spreadeth farre  
and wide, and draweth a great destruction vnto  
it: euen so this mischiefe, being once kindled,  
rancheth ouer all the cite. Ambrose also prudent-  
ly twitteth vpon the 119. psalme, allugning the  
wordes of the 6. chapter of the *prouerbes*; Who  
can nourish burning coles in his bosome, and  
not be burnt with them? Who (saith he) can thinke  
that harlots may be nourished in a cite, and  
pauing men not be corrupted with whoredome?  
And so may we aptly inuent that sentence of  
Augustine; If thou take auaie harlots, all places  
shall be filled with filthie lust. Wile rather saie  
the contrarie; Foruith harlots, and all places  
shall be filled with filthie lusts.

They obiekt againe a recompense of finnes,  
and will haue bothell houses to be suffered, lest  
violence thereof be offered vnto honest matrons.  
I haue answered before, that Euill things must  
not be done, that good may come thereof. *Pea*,  
but God himselfe (saie they) hath ordeined a re-  
compense to be made for finnes; seeing he  
for the hardnesse of the Hebrews hearts, to the intent  
they might not fall into greater inconuenience,  
appointed them a bill of diuorcement. But these  
men ought to remember, that we must not call

1. King. 3. 16

The papiste  
reckon ad-  
ulteries as  
among light  
crimes.

God vnto answer; neither is it lawful to re-  
quite of him a reason of his lawes. Wherefore it  
is no foune conclusion; God doo so; Therefore  
it is lawful for vs to do the like. Wile must not  
looke what God hath done, but what he hath com-  
manded vs to do. But God saith that hatred  
happeneh oftentimes betwixen man and wife,  
and danger of committing of murder: rather  
than the same should happen, he appointed that  
a bill of diuorcement should be made. But it is a  
false argument; God appointed a bill of di-  
uorcement; Therefore it is lawful for vs to keepe  
bothell houses.

12 Now remaineth to confute the obiections  
of the adulteries. First they saie; Whoredome  
in the Acts of the apostles, is numbered among  
those things, which of their owne nature are not  
euill: as blood, things strangled, and things be-  
dicated vnto idols. For No creature of God is  
euill, that is receiued with thanks-giuing. Where-  
fore, seeing fornication is reckoned among these,  
it is no sinne. Howbeit, this is a weak reason;  
for these things are not reckoned up by the apo-  
stles, because the nature of the fault should be  
alike euient one of them; but because all these,  
if they should haue bene such, would at that  
time haue disturbed the church. As the Jewes, by  
the custome of the lawe, abstained from blood,  
and from that which was strangled: and the  
Ethiops made no account of whoredome. So,  
to the intent that peace might growe betwixen  
them all, they decreed, that they should all ab-  
staine from those things. Whereby it followeth  
not, that all these things be alike faultie; but this  
rather we may infer, that all these things were  
an occasion of disturbing the church. Further,  
they obiekt, that God commandedeth not liars;  
but he commanded Hosea the prophet to haue  
fellowship with an harlot. I answer; Heer  
finne, in that respect is sin, because it is against  
the word of God; but if God particularly com-  
manded anie thing to be done, which otherwise dis-  
sents from the word twitteth, that beelie is  
no sinne. Sinne it is to take other mens goods  
auaie: yet God commanded the Hebrews, when  
they should goe out of Egypt, that they should  
borrowe steele and flouer bedells of the Aegyptians,  
and take them auaie with them: which they  
did without sinne.

Also, no man doubteth, that that murder is  
sinne: and yet Abraham, if he had sacrificed his  
sonne at the commandment of God, which he  
was ready to do, he had not sinned. So may  
we saie of Hosea the prophet, if he committed  
whoredome at the commandment of God, his  
whoredome was no sinne. I knowe there be  
some, which thinke, that Hosea was not bid-  
den to commit whoredome, but to take a harlot  
to his wife: but that agreeth not; for it followeth;

Also, no man doubteth, that that murder is  
sinne: and yet Abraham, if he had sacrificed his  
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we saie of Hosea the prophet, if he committed  
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whoredome was no sinne. I knowe there be  
some, which thinke, that Hosea was not bid-  
den to commit whoredome, but to take a harlot  
to his wife: but that agreeth not; for it followeth;

A consula-  
tion of the  
quarta  
morbore-  
ness.  
To the first  
reason.  
Ad. 1. 20

Hosea. 1.  
To the 2.  
cond.  
what is  
the proper  
nature of  
finne.

Gen. 3. 1.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

And thou shalt beget of hir children of forni-  
cation. Children gotten after that manner; name-  
lie, of a lawful wife, should not haue bene chil-  
dren of fornication. Ierom doth better interpret  
these things hyperbolically, and saith; that Is-  
tales image was expresse of the wickednesse of the  
Jewes, which had forsaken God a husband to  
them all, and had committed fornication with  
the idols of the Gentils, and had begotten un-  
lawfull and bastard children, as touching the fer-  
uice and religion of God. Apocour, that it is  
false, which they alleged; namely, that whore-  
dome is neither against charitie, nor religion.  
For we haue before declared, that it is other-  
wise; neither is it here needfull to repeat that,  
which we haue said. Augustine was brought,  
which faith; What meate is vnto the bodie, that  
is the best; procreation; But to eate of drinke  
a little more than needeth, is not a grievous  
finne; so more therefore is whoredome.

It is sinfuller agreeth not in euery point,  
but cerueth onelie for that part, for which it is ta-  
ken. And vnbondulize, he which eateth of drin-  
keth more than he ought, but not straitwaie  
forgo the health of his bodie; but he, which drin-  
keth in carnall fellowship, and placeth his heart  
may easilie say, twitteth procreate a child, vnto  
whom he hath inturie, because though his fault  
be borne a bastard. Apocour, three folloeth  
euill education, and by that means charitie is  
hurt. I might also saie, that euen as euill and  
noisome meate befructueth the bodie (yea Adam,  
by eating of the forbidden fruit, corrupted his  
posteritie); so whoredome killeth the soule.  
Lactie, whereas they alleged, that fornication  
is therefore no sinne; because this cannot be per-  
ceived by the light of nature, that I saie is no  
thing. For the precepts of God may be knowne  
euen by nature, that they are int; howbeit, by  
such a nature as is found and vncorrupt; seeing  
a corrupt nature doth oftentimes allow vices  
in stead of vertues. For among the Lacedaemo-  
nians, theft was commended; and (as Thucidi-  
des twitteth) among the ancient Greeks piracie  
was counted a vertue. Furthermore, it follow-  
eth, that the precepts of God may by nature be  
knowne to be iust and honest; but by a na-  
ture instructed and framed with the lawe and  
spirit of God. Wherefore (as Paule twitteth) at the  
end of this booke,  
A carnall man knoweth not the things, which are  
of God.

Of Bastards, and children vn-  
lawfullie borne.

13 Whereas Iepha had a noble man to his  
father, yet it did profit him nothing; because he  
was base borne, and not borne in lawful mar-  
riage.

3. 1. 11. at the  
beginning  
of this  
booke.

bastards  
had no  
place in the  
Common-  
wealth of  
Israel,  
Deut. 23, 1.

riage. Therefore by the civill lawe of the Hebrewes, it was not lawfull for him to have place in the congregation of Israel. For in Deuteronomie it is written, Maner shall not enter into the congregation or assemblie, *Zur*, is in Hebrew a stranger; and a bastard is so called, because he pertaineth not unto the familie of the father. As he that bare Iephia was no wife but an harlot. This Iephia word *Zonab*, signifieth two things. First a veller, that is, such a one as selleth things pertaining to viduals: for *Zon* signifieth sold or moured. It signifieth also a harlot, perhaps for this cause, namely, for that vellers are sometimes ill spoken of for chastitie, as appereth by a certaine lawe of Constantine, which is extant in the Code *Ad legem Iuliam de adulteriis*. And doubtlesse, either signification may be applie applied to this place. Some of the Hebrewes thinke, that Iephia was not the sonne of an harlot; but onlie the sonne of a concubine, which was not espoused with a lawfull contract, and dowrie. But that seemeth not verie well to agree: for the Hebrewes called not a concubine *Zonab*. Neither had it bene lawfull for Iephias brethren to have expelled him as a stranger, if he had bene the sonne of a concubine: for the having of concubines, of that sort, was with the Jewes true matriconie. Further we must knowe that the Hebrewes had an other word. But this word would not God have a bastard to come into the congregation: that because he had bene the womans man, so that he had lived well; but that the people might knowe, that God detesteth whoredome.

what was  
not to enter  
into the  
congregation.

And not to enter into the congregation, was nothing else, but to be made unfit for the executing of an office, either civill or sacred: although otherwise he had to his father either a priest or a ruler. So then it was not lawfull for bastards to execute the office, either of a tribune, or president, or magistrate, or priest. This therefore doth God now make a bastard ruler over his people. Because he prescribed the lawe unto men, and not unto himselfe. An other cause is, least they, which are so borne, should therefore straitwaies be discouraged. Further, to the intent they might remember, that they be not excluded for their owne fault, but for their fathers fault. And now, to returne unto Iephia: his brethren could not have thrust him out, except he had bene borne of an harlot. Wherefore, a concubine was a lawfull wife. And the children of Jacob, which were borne of his concubines, abode with their other brethren, and were inheritors together with them. But thou wilt saie, that Abraham cast out Ilimael. That was done before the lawe, and by the speciall will of God; to the intent the whole and perfect inheritance might come to Isaac. Wherefore, by the ordinarie lawe of the Hebrewes

the children of concubines were not utterlie excluded from all inheritance.

14 And that the matter may be made more plain, it seemeth good thus to distinguishing children. Some be legitimate and not natural, as those be, which are adopted and chosen. Others some there be, which are natural, and not legitimate, as they which are borne of concubines. But I speake here of concubines after the Roman manner: for as touching the Hebrewes, they which were borne of them were legitimate and natural; as they, which be both legitimate and natural; as they, which are borne in lawful matriconie. Lastly, there be some, which are neither legitimate, nor yet natural; as bastards be. And a bastard is he, which cannot tell who is his father: or else, if he can tell, it is one, whom it is not lawfull for him to have for his father. As it is written in the Digests *De statu personarum*, in the lawe *Ubi concepti*. There is a great difference in the state of children. But we (as concerning this matter, which we have in hand) will neither treat of children adopted, nor yet of children naturallie legitimate: but onlie of natural children and bastards, who seeme to be more obscure than the rest. The children, which are natural, and not legitimate, may be made legitimate: as it is in the Code, *De naturis filijs*, in the lawe *Analyti*. And the waies how they might be made, are described in the same Code, in the lawe *Siquis*. But bastards could not be made legitimate.

If we shall speake of the children of concubines, after the manner of the Jewes, they were legitimate; as we have taught before. But the Romans counted them not as legitimate: onlie this they ordeined; that they might be made legitimate. Sponsorer, bastards be not in the fathers power, neither can they be. This I say, to the intent that we may see in how great a miserie bastards are. So Iephia could not ataine to the inheritance of his father. And these lawes were made, that men might be withstandinge from whoredome, if it were but onlie for the ignominie of their children: for when they beget bastards, they hurt them without hope of recovery. Whereupon Chrysostome, upon the epistle to the Romans, when he interpreteth these lawes (Now is the house for vs to rise from sleepe) earnestly tinneth against whoremongers: While doth thou knowe (saith he) that which is not lawfull for thee to reape; or if thou dost gather it, it is repugnant unto thee: For if fame will arise thereof, both to him which shall be borne, and to the also. For he, so long as he liveth, shall be full of ignominie; & thou, as well when thou art living, as when thou art dead, shalt alwaies be noted of shamefull lust, &c. Therefore it hath bene ordeined by lawes, that bastards

what child  
is called a  
bastard.

Chrysol.

Rom. 23, 14.

bastards should not be admitted to the inheritance of their fathers.

15 The father, when he dieth, may give some thing unto natural children; yea, they inherit, though the father die intestate, when there are no other children: yet they succeed not in the whole, but onlie in two twofold parts, as appereth in the Code *De naturalibus liberis*, in the lawe *Licet patri*. But the bastard was so far from inheriting to his father, as he might not so much as demand food of him: as it is in the Code *De melius nuptijs*, in the lawe *Ex comple-*. Howbeit, the Ecclesiasticall canons deale somewhat more gentle: for they permit, that a bastard should have somewhat given him to find him withall: as may be seene in the Canonians, of him that married her, whom before he had polluted with adulterie; in the chapter *Conhabere*. And thus both the lawes of God and man do agree. Neither (as I have said before) were those lawes made for hatred or crueltie against bastards; but that at the least, by this means, the shamefull lusts of men should be restrained. For withstandinge, I will not overpasse this, that by the lawes of Rome a bastard might succeed his mother: as we have in the Digests *Ad senatusconsultum*, Terullian *l. b. i*. He may also claime of his mother, if he leaue him out of his will, as we have in the Digests *De mortis causa testamentis*, in the lawe 29, where this is to be understood; Except the mother be a noble woman.

And why bastards are not reputed in the place of children, and are deprived of their fathers inheritance; Augustine, besides these reasons, which I have brought, bringeth also another reason out of the holy scripture. In the 22 of Leviticus it is written; He that commeth to the wife of his uncle, shall die without children. But (saith he) manie are borne also of incest, whose parents are not children. He answered, that the Law doth speake in the lawe, because such are not counted for children: wherefore their fathers are iudged to be without children, although they have children; because it is all one, as if they had none. And because such children are condemned of their father, neither are they rightlie brought up nor chastised; oftentimes they prove worse than the other. Chrysostome, upon the epistle to the Hebrewes, the twelfth chapter, in his 29 homilie, exhorteth the people to thinke, that God doth like a father, then he chastiseth his. For the father neglecteth his lawfull begotten children and bastards: therefore God, when he chastiseth, doth the part of a true and lawfull father. Plutarch, in his Problems, the 30. Probleme, saith, that the Romans had foure humours, so that some were called Curi, and other some Caij: and those names they noted by two letters onlie, or by

The canons  
Ecclesiasticall.

Augustine.

Lev. 22.

Chrysol.

Plutarch.

this. Wherefore he demandeth, why Spiritus that is a bastard, was written by these two letters Sp. Because (saith he) the first letter S. signifieth Sine, that is, without, and P. Pare, that is, a Father, because he was borne of an unknown father: although the same may also be applied unto those, that are borne after their fathers is dead. But to them it was no reproof to be called bastards: for Sp. Melius. Sp. Cassius, and other of that name, were noble citizens. The lawe heard the lawe of God, and also the civill lawe: now it remaineth that we search the canons.

16 In the Decrees, the distinction 56. in the chapter *Presbyterorum*: they suffer not bastards to be admitted to holie orders, unless they have bene first brought up in Sponsadics; as though by this means they might be amended. But the canons which afterward followe, be somewhat milder. Chrysostome, upon Matthew, in his 4. homilie (as it is in the same place recited, in the chapter *Namquam*) teacheth, that such manner of births ought not to be hurtfull unto the children. For if a man have bene a theife, a whoremonger, or a murderer, and then be repentant; his former life shall not be hurtfull unto him. Suchlesse ought the sinne of the father to be hurtfull unto the child: naie rather, if the child behave himselfe well, he shall be so much the more notable, and worthy of more praise; in that he hath not followed the steps of his father. Ierom, in his epistle unto Pammachius, against Iohn bishop of Jerusalem, as in the same decrees appereth, in the chapter *Nascitur*: Bastards (saith he) are not to be contemned; for they had God the worshiper of them, neither did God desire to make them, and to give them a soule. 36. Gregorie also in the same place, in the chapter *Satis personam*, saith; that it would be an unwisest thing, that the child should be reputed for the pleasure of his father, as he might not be preferred to the holie ministrerie. Ierom in the same place, in the chapter *Domus*; If Christ blesse such bastards be reckoned in his genealogie, why shall not we then admit them to the ministrerie, &c.

After these canons, which be more favourable unto bastards, is brought a strong argument on the contrary part. Whoremongers (saith he) do seeme to poluize in a certaine force into the flesh, which passeth also into the children; whereof followe evil inclinations: and therefore are they iudged to be worse than other, especially when they be not corrected in their childhood. Wherefore, if they be promoted unto the holie ministrerie, the church shall be brumaged. Yet at the last it is added in the chapter *Communio*; If there be one that are notable, they may be admitted unto holie orders; but yet not that it

what the  
canons  
have  
creed  
these  
things  
bas-  
tards.

Ierom.

Gregorie.

what harm  
is brought  
by parents  
unto the  
bastards.

Eccl. j. should



should be a generall rule for all, but a p<sup>ri</sup>uilege onely. And these things be written in the Decretals. *De his presbyteris*, we read; that B<sup>a</sup>llards, if they be made monks, may come into orders; yet for necessitie, as they may not be promoted into dignities; nor be made either abbats or bishops. Doubt it, if they live without the monasterie. Whom it, if they live without the monasterie, the bishops may give them orders, and bestow small benefices upon them; but that is by interpoling his owne authoritie, as they communicate call it by dispensation. But the ecclesiasticall dignities shall not be given them, of any other than the Pope; for that power he heepeth to himselfe alone: albeit such dispensations of Popes and bishops have respect to gaine onely. The judgement of these things should have bene left vnto the church, which herein ought to have regard vnto two things; namely, to the necessitie of the church, and to the excellent vertues of him whom it would promote. If the church shall have a great need, and he excell in vertues, the manner of his birth shall be no let vnto him. As for Paule, in his epistles to Timothee and to Titus, when he diligentlie w<sup>it</sup>hly of the election of bishops and priests, did forbid none of this kind of men.

But thou wilt saie, that in the old latine B<sup>a</sup>llards were excluded from the ministry. I grant it: neuertheless, we are not now bound to that law; & it was made onlie for the benefit of an adulterie. Yet now, if they be able to profit the church greatly, their election must not be forbidden. And it is vaine, which is written in the Decretals, that legitimates may be chosen; but B<sup>a</sup>llards ought to be released; except with dispensation, as we have in the title *De legitimis*. As for these counterfeit colours and decrees, the Romane bishops have invented, to amplify their dominion. But the iudgement, which I have allowed, agreeth with charitie; and we may gather the like of it out of the civill law; where it treateth *De decurionibus*, that is, of capitaines over ten soldiers; say these were civill iudges for private cities and towncs. Therefore it is decreed, that B<sup>a</sup>llards might be made *De curionibus*, if necessitie so required. In the Decretals *De decurionibus*, in the late Epistole, in Daray *Debet enim*. The late therefore would have that order; namely, of *De decurionibus*, to be full. Doubt it, if another borne legitimate, were a suter together for the same, he should be preferred before the B<sup>a</sup>llard. So thinke I that we must doe in the church; that if any man be as good, and as apt to the ministry, being a legitimate borne; let consideration be had to him, before the B<sup>a</sup>llard, who must give place in that case vnto him that is legitimate. It is added in the law; If he be honest and good, the blessing of birth shall nothing hinder them: in the same title, in

the late *Spurias*, and in the late following. These things haue I therefore mentioned, that we might understand, by what right Iephas was by his b<sup>a</sup>llard thrust out, and that the agreement of the civill lawes with the lawe of God might be perceived.

Of Adulterie.

17 Doubtles, adulterie is a greivous sinne, and by no greivous it is (as Terullian gathereth in his bookes *De monogamia*) we may perceive by the contrarie, in comparing the same vnto matrimonie. Let vs consider wherein matrimonie consisteth. God made man and woman, he joined them together in one flesh: wherein matrimonie dwelleth. And so to be that one flesh by tent and pulled asunder, is as one is mingled and set in place, adulterie is committed. This heinous crime hath bene forbidden, ever since the first originall of mankind, as many of the fathers have proved. God made man and woman, not men and women; to the intent that euerie man should be content with his owne wife, and euerie wife with his owne husband: if now then a man be not content with his owne wife, he shall not be one wife; but manye. Man shall leaue his father & mother, and cleaue to his wife: if he be pulled asunder, doubtlesse he cleaueth not to his. Chrysostome, vpon the 5. 7. psalme, in the first homilie, saith; that the fruit of adulterie is murder and poisoning. In his 42. homilie vpon Matthew, he saith; that adulterous women were oftentimes punished more, and that not of one man onely, but of all them also, vnto whom they shewed that their infamie may come, as did Herodia. Ierom against Iouinian, toward the end of the first booke, *De concubitu* saith he; here in tragedies, is the spite that is between married wiues, and their husbands barlots. *De concubitu*, Agamenon was slaine by the adulterer Aegisthus. Atreus and Thietes, by reason of adulterie, toke in hand these cruell enterprises. The ranshaling of Helen stirred by the most cruell war of Troie. In this is a certaine sinke of all euill.

Cyprian, in the second epistle of his fourth booke to Antonius, writeth; that in the first times there were such bishops, as would neede let adulterers to rest in the church; but there were other bishops, that after a good space of time, if they shewed any such fruit of penance, would reconcile them after a sort. Augustine, in his 42. epistle to Vincentius the Donatist, allegeth this epistle, and saith; that the discipline of custome the bishops had, and yet they kept the vntie of the church. Christ willeth, that matrimonies should not be broken off; and yet he to account of adulterie, as he made it the cause

In 2. can. 11. c. 6. who greivous a sinne adulterie is, looking at the beginning of the same chapter.

Gen. 1. 24.

Of Adulterie.

why matrimonie should be indone: By adulterie the husband is dishonoured, the bed if selfe is dishonoured, great iniurie is done vnto the children: for either they be B<sup>a</sup>llards, or selfe taken for B<sup>a</sup>llards. Bartholow *Allegem Iulom de adulterio*, in the Pandects writeth, about the title of the same booke that Adulterie is the most greivous crime of all other, except treason; to wit, as concerning civill regiment. Thales Milesius iudged, that perurie is not a more greivous sinne than adulterie. For a certaine adulterer was ready to take his oth, that he committed not adulterie; and perurie (saith he) is not worse than adulterie.

Chrysostome, in his 62. homilie vpon Iohn, was bold to write, that adulterie is a more greivous sinne than idolatrie. And he alloweth two reasons, both which neuertheless are deriued from matrimonie, and the nature thereof. Which is writen by Paule in the first to the Corinthians, where he decreed, that A beleuing husband may dwell with his vnbeleuing wife; but he greatly not that an adulterer may dwell together with an adulteresse; wherefore, that the same is a more greivous fault. Another reason is: The beleuing wife is not deuen with the companie of his idolatrous husband; but an adulteresse is alwaies polluted, if she be joined with an adulterer: therefore he concludeth, that adulterie is a thing more greivous than idolatrie. But vnder correction of so notable a man, I may saie, that the arguments be weak. We must not compare matrimonie with idolatrie; but matrimonie and adulterie must be compared betwene themselves. These two are in such sort, as the one of them in his owne nature, and by the appointment of God is god, and the other is sinne.

And whereas in matrimonie, the one part is sometime an vnbeleuer; that happeneth by accident. But the greatest of sinne must not be iudged by these things, which come by chance, or as they speake in the scholes) which happen by accident. A beleuing wife may dwell with an vnbeleuing husband, so he be willing therein to. For matrimonie is a good thing; it is not so polluted with the idolatrie of the other partie, as it cannot be god vnto the beleuer. In Christ. But adulterie is alwaies an euill thing, none can well and rightlie use the same. And though the reason of that father be not firme, and that it is not true, that idolatrie is a lighter sin than adulterie (for idolatrie is the greatest sinne of all) yet the sinne of adulterie daunteth so neere vnto idolatrie, as in the holie scriptures it is compared with idolatrie. Idolaters be called, whoremongers and adulterers: for the lawe of God with men is violated.

Adulterie hath with it more vnto idolatrie.

In 2. can. 11. c. 6.

18 But we might stand in doubt, whether it

be lawful for any man to take his wife, whether an whom he hath before polluted with adulterie. If adulterers the civill lawes, or the Jewish lawes were in, may marrye, this case would not so oft happen to be. Adulterie was an offense, whereof death was due. If the adulterers, both man and woman, should be put to death; yet might they contract marriage: & yet might not in another law; where no marriages shall be: But sometime perbaps a man might be punished, as selfe adulterers committed ought not specially to know; that they ought to be done. In the 18 and 20. chapters of A. cutters, there are appointed manie punishments, and manie degrees adherent matrimonies be forbidden; yet is not this named in that place. Perhaps for the cause which I have now spoken of; namely, for that adulterie be served death; or else, because it was a secret crime. In that case there seemeth to be no lawe of God, which prohibit. I doubt it, the Popes lawes did afterward opene this mity; that if one of the married persons did feele the death of the other, whereby such a one might erioie the desires matrimonie, such marriage should be hold. As he same we find in manie places of the *Extraganas*, in the title where dispensation is had of him, that marrieth his wife, whom he had first polluted by adulterie.

And in the title *De conversione infidelium*, in the canon, which beginneth *Laudabile*; If a busi band, while his former wife liueth, committeth adulterie with another woman, and they contract marriage together, ought faith one to another, such a marriage is of none effect. Which also I saw in the *Tridentine*, in the first chapter, was also in Augustine in his first booke *De nuptijs & concupiscentia*, in the tenth chapter, so much to disallowe matrimonie betweene adulterers. In the Antientikes, there is nothing crant of this matter: indeed they denie that marriage that is made betwene the ransher, and his that is ranshered. As for David he cannot properly be called a ransher; inso he committed adulterie, & the sentence is treated of by the spallier of his matters, in the fourth booke, and 5. 10. distinction. These things may be gathered cunct by humane lawes. Doubt it, God separated not David and Bethsabe; he suffered them to remaine married, but put in great affliction. I thinke meth that the bishops were led to make these lawes, least men should be inclined to the murdering of husbands, to the end they might enioie their wiues.

Of Idleness, and other intemperments vnto wickednes.

19 But now that we may the easier p<sup>ro</sup>ueth the

In 2. can. 11.

the causes of this toichemelle, let vs see by what steps David was carried into adolterie. The circumstances of place and time must be obserued. In the afternoon he slept quietlie in his toyle dawning place. This was an argument of a carelesse and idle man. Ioboth, when he on that toyle slept in an afternoon, was laine. David, when he liued idle after the same manner, was well neuer ouerthrowne. But if he had earnestly meditated of Gods laue, and of Gods benefits, which he had abundantly bestowed vpon him, of the warfare which then he made, and of the danger of the Common-weale, he should neuer haue fallen into these mischances. So great a matter was it to be idle. And therefore, idleness is condemned by the iudgement of all wise men. Seneca, when he passed by the manor house of one Vacia a citizen of Rome, that was an idle and slothfull man; where (saith he) is placed Vacia. He did mismeane, that a man idle and unprofitable for the Common-weale, was in a manner buried there. But this I also add, that such manner of dead carcasses, both haue a terrible stink fauer, and do also bring forth toichemelle and loynes. I knowe indeed that there is a certaine better kind of idleness, whereby good men being become the better prepared, are wont to returne to execute their offices, either private or publicke. After this manner Christ did oftentimes spend the whole night in prayers alone vpon the mount; but so, as he returned in the morning to preach. Some times was he in secret places, but yet so, as he instructed his disciples. There is also an other idleness that is holie and commendable, whereby we keepe the Sabbath holie from sinne; that must we alwaies haue in estimation.

But we condemne a dull and slothfull idleness, whereby mens minds and wits are dulled. Cato, in his originals, writeth well tofore, that It becometh an excellent man to yeeld no lesse account of his idleness, than of his businesse. And Christians must consider, that they be those excellent men, and that they shall one daie be called to that account. Ezechiel, in the 16. chapter, This (saith he) was the iniquitie of Sodome thy sister, pride, fulnesse of bread, abundance, and idleness. And albeit that idleness do wrought oftentimes manie euils; yet doth it not hurtfully anie thing either more, or more raffe than lust. This also do the Iobets feare, and Quid among others, the saith;

Ambrose hath an excellent similitude of the crab and the otter. The crab (saith he) most longlingly eateth the meate of others; but yet so much as hee be well fortified with most strong shels on both sides, so as they cannot be hidden by force, he crastle bateth, while they open themselves to the soine. Then, while they open themselves, and take the aire, the crab putteth a stone into the mouth of them that gape, so that they cannot bring together againe their shels; afterward he easeth enough himself in his clauies, and feeth of the meate. So (saith he) when men be gotten to idleness, and open their minds to pleasures, the diuell cometh and putteth in filthy cogitations: so that, when they are not able to drawe backe their shels, therewith they were armed before, they are deuoured.

20 David washed carcelles and at hart's ease. But princes are not created, to lead their life in idleness: for they are subject to that laue, which in old time was laid vnto Adam; In the sweate of thy face thou shalt eat thy bread. In deed they do not plough nor delve, yet ought they to be vigilant, and to floure for the Common-weale, to examine causes, to giue sentence, to write good lawes. And not alonely kings should be idle, but bishops also, and monies especially still more. Note at the beginning liues of their labours: afterward, they being wearie (as I thinke) of god works, found the meane (as idle men) to be maintained with stipends of the church. But when, by godlie men, they were set on worke; surely (saie they) it is not lawful, sith this is not according to the gospell. For Christ teacheth that We should not be careful for the morrow, but should consider the lilies of the field, & the birds of the aire. But against this Augustine disputed, in his booke De opere monachorum; If ye will (saith he) imitate the birds and the lilies, why do ye not also imitate them in this point? The lilies do not care by diuine, the birds do not late up till to morn: but ye do care and dinke, and do carelesse late up in day. And he rightlie expounded that senten of the 13. ps. Be not careful for the morrow: for he saith, that the 13. ps. forbiddeth onely a yennell carelesse, toined with incontinencie; as though we are not maintained by the poudertie of Quid, but by our owne proper industrie.

David, when he was idle, fell into adolterie. Nabuchadne-zar also, when in peace he gaue himselfe to idleness, he became proud; Is not this (saith he) that great Babylon? As though he had gotten that to great a power of his owne selfe, not of God. Manie euils (saith Ecclesiasticus) hath idleness taught. So then we must specially beware of this euil: For our enimie the diuell

well goeth about roing and seeking whom he may deuoure. If he alwaies lie in priuie watch, ready bet and prepared to our destruction; it is meet that we also should perpetually watch, and be ever ready to resist. D. Lactimere, sometime bishop of Worcester in England, and afterward a most constant witnesse and martyr of Christ, when he would exhort bishops to do their duty, among other things saith; that there was not a diligenter bishop in England than the diuell: for that he did alwaies teach, admonish, instruct, and adorne his church. Wherefore he exhorted them, that if they would not followe God, they should at the least, wise imitate the diuell. Howbeit, he cried to them that were deafe: for manie bishops at that time were so set, as they would neither followe the diuell, nor yet God. Whereto did Ierom admonish, in his translation to the husbandman; We thou alwaies doing something, that the diuell, when he cometh, may alwaies find thee occupied.

21 David, walking vpon the house top, sawe a faire woman bathing of her selfe. But what needed David, with such curious eyes, to behold what was done out of his house? As though he that soile woman bath his selfe alwaie out of court, where the might be name feared of men: In that the washed his selfe, the was not to be blamed: for there were manie legal purities, which it behoued at that time to walke awaie, by such purifications. Howbeit, the should haue washed his selfe within, and vnder court. David sawe, and was caught. As he (saith saie) the first entrie of louers. Howbeit, I may more trulie saie, that As saie is the first entrie of them that perish. For David looked not vpon this woman with a single eye, but with an vn-cleane and euill eye. The traitor saies cast from him the wholeme word of God; Thou shalt not commit adulterie. When the which word, there is not a more present or better remedie, if at anie time we feele our felues tickled with carnall pleasures. This wicked act of David will seeme the more heinous, if we compare it with that most chaste young man Ioseph. He was a young man; David was old: he was a bachelor, David a husband; yea, and that of manie wiues, that there might be no want to fulfill pleasures, he was poudred, and that of his mistresses, who might after a sort haue commanded him; David of his owne care poudred, and that his owne felues, whose chastitie he should by all meanes haue defended. The woman was beautiful, and well fauoured.

But yet we must not thereby gather, that beautie is an euill thing, for as it foineing together of the parts, with pleasantnesse of colour, which they becom to be beautie, is the cunning too; humanity of the Creator, and the image of

God; neither can it do anie harme, except it light vpon vncleane eyes. Euen as the light of the sunne, although otherwise it be pleasant and grateful, yet is it greivous vnto beare eyes. But we are corrupted, not onely by the corruption of original sinne; but also by other finnes drawne vnto vs by life and custome. Chrysostome, in his first homilie vpon the 1. of 1. psalme; Thus an example (saith he) all men ought to be moued, that they appoynt not vnto vncleane sights; where barlots are theuery, and all gestures of vile lust expressed. For that is ridiculous, which some men do answer; that they are not moued by those sights. For what (saith he) are they made of iron, of stone, or of adamant? We they suffer, or stronger, or holier than David? If a speche be cast into hate, will it not take fire? Our flesh (saith the prophet) is haie, and may easily be set on fire: and for that cause the holie Ghost setteth forth vnto vs the fall of David, that we by his example might beware of the like contagion.

The physicians, if by chance they light vpon a man that is grāuoulous and dangerously diseased, are wont to bring their disciples; that they may the more easilie vnderstand both the force of the disease, and the waie how to cure the same. King David was to be cut, so as we ought attentiuely to consider, by what act he is cured of the 13. ps. If I did let vs see by that means he was liuen to salu. He refraineth not his eyes: wherefore he hauing forgotten himselfe, was easilie caried headlong into mischance. So in the booke of Genesis, the sonnes of God, which were defekted of Seih, when they saue the daughters of men, being in berie daie of the posteritie of Caine, they began to loue them beyond measure; and so being blinded, began to degenerate from their former goodlikenesse, which they had retained euen from their great grandfather Seih. Paule, in the Cōtinians, commendeth vs to haue their hearte covered in the holie congregation, at the least, with because of the angels. And euen as women ought to shadoine their face, that they be not (as for the other sexe, men ought to temper themselves, that they do not over-curiositie behold them. Of which matter Tertullian wrote manie things verie well, in a little booke intituled Tridubius ueludulus. And Solomon thus wiselie admonished; Lust not after hir beuante, (saith Grego. Prou. 5. 1. ric the first; Aliey (saith he) which abuse the courtward etc. be too wise to haue the inward eye thus blinded. I haue made a couenant (saith Iob) with mine eye, that I will not thinke vpon a virgin. The saith not onely, that I would not looke into you, but that I would not admit into my mind an imagination of hir. This saying David did not, he cast himselfe into the danger, which also

Idleness condemned by the iudgement of the wise Seneca.

Not all kind of idleness condemned.

Cato.

verfe. 49.

Quid,

Gen. 3. 18.

Gen. 3. 18.

Gen. 3. 18.

Mat. 23. 34.

Ibidem. 16.

Augulino.

Exo. 34. 14.

2. Sam. 11.

Dani. 4. 35.

Eccl. 3. 16.

Eccl. 3. 16.

Gen. 4. 1.

Gen. 4. 1.

Gen. 4. 1.

1. Co. 1. 10.

Prou. 5. 1.

Job. 31. 1.

C. c. ii.

4

but the matter was brought before a judge. 30 veric. 37.

might they him to be a wanton and a  
sinister person. After which time he lived in  
pettinal infamie among them. The people ca-  
mezel for an adulterer in the market pla-  
ce upon an infamous stone, and there of the peo-  
ple was put to shame; then being lett upon an  
the was carried through the citie. At execution  
house of ignominie, it was said unto him,  
O. Salerus a citizen of Croton (as Lucianus  
testeth of them, which being fierce ferre for reu-  
ence made a lawe, that adulterers should be bur-  
ialine. Within a while after, he himselfe tooke  
him in adulterie with his brothers wife: i-  
ther accused, made an oration, wherein he re-  
propp himselfe, that all men heard their mi-

bonum "to gratify the Greeks were men,"  
 for the audacious and violent taking abate of  
 Helene, all men know, which have since small  
 still of the poets. Mahomet (as appears by his  
 come later) would have adulterers to be ship-  
 ped in a manner to death. The Gods made a  
 law of death against adulterers, as it is read  
 in the first book of Procopius *De bello Gothicis*,  
 sparte times of fumble nations might be de-  
 troy'd; but here for this time I shall leave it.

24 Come now to the Roman Empire. Remulus  
 Halicarnassus comes to Rome, and tells Remulus  
 the first king of the Romans; for that he would  
 have, by his laws, maintenance to be inviolate;

Rom. 6. <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> 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and yet (so far as we can find) he made not as the law was to be punishable by death. Whose was permitted for the cause of adultery. And afterward, for the suspicion of adultery, a putting away of the adulteress was admitted. And so did Caesar: for he put away his wife Pompeia, finding her with Clodius in the house of the head bishop. But he being afterward bound to declare against his some witness of adultery, he would not: and being demanded therefore he had then put his wife away, he answered that his house should not onlie be free from the suspicion of adultery, but also from the verie suspicion thereof. By the lawes of the twelue tables, an adulterer was put to death. But in so much as belongeth to publike punishments, it seemeth that in those former ages, they were more easie.

Tacitus in his second booke declareth that a certaine man was accused of treason and of adultery, in the time of Tiberius Caesar. And touching adultery, it seemed that it was as easie enough poulded for, by the late *Iulius*. But Tiberius, who about the beginning of his reigne was gentle, did by intricate put away those great punishments, and said; After the manner of our ancestors, let the adulteresse be removed two hundred miles from the citie, and the adulterer be banished both out of Italie and Africa.

We read in the tenth booke of Titus Livius, that one Fabius Gurgus, which was a Centurion, had condemned manie matrons of adultery. The amercement that they paid was monie, of the which monie he afterward builded a temple unto Venus. Out of the opinion of M. Cato, which is rehearsed by Aulus Gellius in the tenth booke, and the title is *De castis*; we may perceive, that before the late *Iulius* made, it was lawful to slay both the adulterer and the adulteresse.

Augulus, in the third booke and fifth chapter *De adulteriis*, he saith; That the ancient Romans tooke care to burye the befalling virgins alive, if they had committed whoredome; but that they did not deale so severallie in punishing of adulterers. He saith, that they rather protected the temples of their gods, than their owne beds. And no small it is: for they whipsmoted adulterous gods; Jupiter, Mars, and Venus. After that time was the late *Iulius* made, whereof there is mention in the Digests, and in the Code. Sparte did falselie imagine that the same lawe had bene made by Iulius Caesar.

It was made by Augulus, who was also called Iulus; for so much as he was the adopted sonne and heire of Iulius Caesar, Suetonius saith, that he made this lawe, and he made it upon just cause; for his daughter Iulia, and a niece that he had, were most licentious monsters. The emperor went to call them, his rotten impostumes. When he had made the lawe, there was brought

unto him a young man taken in adultery both his daughter Iulia. The which the emperor would take in so full part, as he flew at him with his fist. The young man with a loud voice cried out: *Quia Caesar onie pati fedissime iste latro*. Caesar, for that he was blamed, as if he had bene an inconsistent man, would not take his finger for his reward. By this Iulian lawe, where first, in the time of Cato, it had bin lawful to thrust through both the adulterer and the adulteresse; then those this power taken from the husband: and it was lawful to kill the adulterer onlie. In the Digests *Ad legem Iuliam*, in the lawe *Martia*; and in the Code, in the same title, in the late *Gracianus*.

Yet I read in Suetonius, that Claudius Cæsar killed Messalina, under the name of adultery; but for so much as he was an emperor, he did what he would. It was lawful for an husband to kill the adulteresse, although not absolute; but when he should be taken with the matter, and in his owne house. Whether might he be to a surerie one, but to one of the common sort: say if he had bene a noble man, unto whom he sought a reverence, it was not lawful: yet might he keepe him that he was in his house 24. hours. We still be too long in this. We see, that there was some exception of persons. Why leave was taken away from the husband to kill his wife, a reason may be given. Husbands do sometimes beare hatred unto their wives, when they be contentious & deformed. They might come to gaine a dowrie, and to marrie an other woman: therefore the lawe would not consent, that the wife should be slaine. Whereof, it was lawfull for the father of the adulteresse, to slay both; as well in his owne house, as in the house of his sonne in lawe: as may be seen in the Digests *Ad legem Iuliam*. But it was not lawful for him to kill the adulterer, unless he also killed his daughter; the reason was this, that *Sparte* teacheth the parents to love their children heartie: whereby it is probable, that he would not slay his daughter, unless she were taken in adultery.

25. Seneca, in his first Declaration, seemeth to asse, that it should be lawful to kill them both. For he put this case. A certaine soldier, who had lost his hands in war, found his wife to have fellowship with an adulterer: even while the act was committed, he called his sonne to slay them. The sonne refused to obey, wherefore the father reled his sonne: it is demanded, whether he did this justlie or no. But perhaps Seneca had respect unto the time of Cato. But if so be the husband, when he was in his house, had killed his wife being an adulteresse; he, being the Roman lawes, should have easer punishment, than if he had bene an absolute murderer.

When the power of killing the adulteresse was taken from the husband,

For he fell not into the danger of the late Cornelius of murderers: his punishment was exile. Which is to be seen in the *Idem*, *Ad legem Corneliam de homicidiis*, in the first and third chapters. The cause, question the second, in the chapter *Inter hæc*; that sometime it was lawfull by the Roman lawes to kill a wife, being taken in adultery, & not by the Christianall lawes; yet must understand, that the matter is not altogether so; but bicause the punishment was light, after a sort it was said to be lawfull. As also perhaps, why which made those canons, had respect unto the lawes of Lombardie, in the which that was lawfull.

We see also above, that the husband might, by the Roman lawes, slay the adulterer: yet on the contrary the towne him at home with the manner, so as he could not denie it; but all out of the house, when the case were so, that he was lawfully seized, and that the husband could bring testimony, that he had given him warning once, twice, & thrice, that he should not have communication with his wife. Whereof, if he had found them talking familiarly together in the temple or place of prayer, then it was not lawful so to do: but they were delivered unto the bishop or defender of the church. But the bishops were marie: wherfore the putting of them to death: neither would they give licence to kill them. It seemeth, that those first Canonists were led with a desire of saving soules, that they should not die upon the sudden, without repentance. The latter Canonists favoured this matter, perhaps because they, more than others, late in wait for the chastitie of other mens wives.

Wherefore there were manie punishments for adultery provided by this late *Iulius*. First, the crime was brought before publike assemblie: the accusation was admitted, not raslie; (for so) by a certaine officer. The wife, if she accused her husband of adultery, was not heard; but her selfe was accused. The first place was given to the husband, the second to the father; & both men and wicels also might accuse: and afterward, at certaine times, place was given unto strangers. Whosoever was appointed betwene them, they lost the dowrie and donation, which came by marriage. Both the adulterer and adulteresse became infamous, but after diverse fashions: the adulterer, not, unless he were condemned; the adulteresse, so long as the was attached.

And there was some certaine peculiar thing in the crime it selfe, which could not be accorded with the accuser: as it appeareth in the Code *De Transihibitionibus*, in the late *Transigere*. At the late of Dioclesian & Maximian, they would not have it agreed upon, that monie, being given

unto the accuser, he should cease from pursuing; this was not lawfull in other crimes of death; namely, to redeme the soule for monie, as for a thing else. Whereof, the husband might not retine the adulteresse, nor put her out of his house, after he had put her away: neither might, he should have incurred the crime of whoredome. Wherfore this, when a woman was thus convicted, no other man might take her to wife. In satisfaction of this crime, this also was added; that not onlie they, which had committed adultery, were punished; but they also, which had received a woman, though they could not attaine to their purpose. In the Digests *De crimibus contra fornicatorem*, in the first lawe, we read; that the father ought to be punished without order of lawe. Wherof, if soldiers had bene convicted of adultery, they were banished from the city of war, they were put out of paye with shame; whereof the lawiers were leasards in the Digests *De militum*, *Plinius* us Leodanus, in his first booke of epistles, in the last epistle unto Cornelianus, writeth; that Trajanus bid Brasiliatus for adultery wherof a soldier of his selfe dismissed him with shame.

Of these punishments wherof we have mitigated, and it came to passe, that it was countenanced (as Juvenal writeth) upon late *Iulius*, what at them did so: they made but a forme of it. Sometime they were contented with this shame; that the adulteresse should be brought forth openly in the garment of a man. Wherupon the poet Martial saith; When Iulia slayes the adulteresse (one a farre in his gonne, then he said that the was a condemned adulteresse. At Rome, in the daies of Theodosius, there was a more shameful custome. An adulteresse being taken and condemned, was brought to the bishop's house: as Socrates in the first booke of his epistles, a third chapter writeth. Theodosius coming unto Rome, toke away this most shameful custome; least finnes should be added unto finnes. Constantinus Magnus (as we read in the late *Iulius de adulteriis*, in the Code, in the late *Quoniam adulteriis*) appointed a verie severe punishment of adulterers. He called adulterers, forgers, or robbers of matrimonie, and they were thought them to be unworthy of this life. When was that lawe renewed, which did come unto the time of Ieron: as we read in the epistle to Innocentius *De muliere scripta illa Verellii*. Where he saith also, which asseme, that adulteresse, even before Constantine, was punished with death by the Roman lawes: and they allowed a lawe wherby to be knowne, which was made by Alexander Severus the sonne of Marius Antianus, in the Code *Ad legem Iuliam de adulteriis*. Thus it beginneth; It is agreeable to the chastitie of our times, that adulterers be punished. 3f

not onlie adulterers, but also the father thereof was punished.

The punishment of soldiers was banishment.

The punishment of adulterers was mitigated.

Constantine laws.

Whether at some death was put by adulterers before Constantine.

The lawes of the twelue tables.

Other old lawes of this thing.

Aulus Gellius.

Whom he bewaies De castis.

The effect of the late Iulian lawe touching adultery.

It was not lawfull in this crime to make an accuser with the accused.

anic woman did by anie means escape capitall  
punishment, he ordeined, that none should mar-  
rie hir. And yet the same Alexander was long  
before the time of Constantine.

26. Some ſeek for this diff. and ſaie; that by capitall puniſhment, according to the ancient lawes, is meant baniſhment. But that maketh no matter: for there is an other lawe of Dioceſian and Maximinian (who were before Conſtantine, though not long) where it is thus read in the Code, in the title *De tranſactionibus*, in the lawe *Transgreſſore*: There is no let, but there may

be composition made for capital crimes, except it be for adultery. In capital crimes the lawes doe permit, that a man might redeeme blood for money, if need should be, and might composition with the accuser, to cease his accusation. As by this word *Capit*, *upon* *life* is meant banishment; the wordes that followe doe forbid it. In the redempcion he saith; In those faultes, which cause not the punishment of death, it is not lawfull to *fratern* composition. Whoboth, is the common opinion of the lawiers is, that by the lawes of the *Indiges*, it is no crime of death; but the laine of the *Codice* it is, by reason that the lawe of Conscience, which ordaineth that the soule should be, and late, that the lawe *Indiges* ordaineth grievous punishment, and yet not the punishment of death: it will therefore in philosophies the contrarye. Iulius Caesar had a transgressor man, whom he loved dearly; this man being knowne to have committed adultery with a matrone belonging to a certaine gentleman, he put to death.

of five years. If the husband did not demand her again, but were dead in the mean time, she was constrained to live there during his life.

After this, adulterie was so smallie regarded, as they made a mocke thereof, and would do it in a manner ofset purpose. In some place they

made it to be a pleasure in man's heart, to see  
poore (poor) in (deed) might be rewarded, but, the  
richer had a greater decay of his sinne. When in  
like manner we see hapennes of a law, which Gallius  
speakes of, that supposing a certaine summe of  
monie, one man might take it another. Whereby  
a certaine man giuing a blow to a citizen, though  
he were by the law, commanded his friend that  
followed him, to goe and take the blow that summe  
of monie which he had forfeited. By this means  
it came to passe, that men sawe, if he is a tale-  
bearer that hee for his sake the chief iudges haue a  
greater auerſitie: as if he might take it, he might  
lose all courage, that thither not through both  
the auerſitie and the adulterie. But although  
the lawes are silent, yet the iudice of God the-  
weth it selfe for to punish adulterers with woun-  
dable, with furie, and with other most greuous  
punishments; euen as we see in Dauid. ¶ If these  
things had I to declare of ciuill punishments,  
which had they were distributed into a certaine  
measur, were either punishable by death: so as  
the magistrate himselfe punished them: or  
it was appointed to be done by private persons:  
as by the husband, or the father of the adulteresse;  
or else, if they escaped the punishment of death,  
they were noted with some infamie. ¶ The infamie  
was sometime naked (without outward tokens)  
sometime it had certaine outward tokens  
[of shame] together with the adulteresse was layd  
on an asse, and crowned with willow. Sometime  
there was added a chastising of the bodie. ¶ The  
lawes were beaten with cudgels, their noses  
were cut off. ¶ else the punishment was of an  
other kind: they were banished, they forfeited a  
summe of monie, they lost their doolytie, they  
were blinded, and might no more be married.

A neglect  
ring of these  
laws.

A distribution of the punishments of adulterers.

*of Adulteric.*

be deliuered, they shall take an oath that they will not hurt them; and if so be they had not sworn to their oath, they violated the same, they were excommunicated. At the length it came to that point, that the bishops, to save them from death, would have the iudgement of that crime to per- taine vnto their Court. And this they will- leue to be the cause thereof. In this examina- tion he permitted to laie men, they would be two hundred therein: as w<sup>ch</sup> would faie, that they themselves are most seuerall. And what I beleue you doe by their episcopall examinations: They set a fine vpon their heads, and separe at them from the marriage bed, whereof arise innumerable whoredomes; yea and the naughty men themselves sometimes abuse their wives and bring seuerall.

Moreover, they allow not, that the adulteress  
or the adulteresse should be blame, either by the  
husband or father. Of this mind was Augustine  
in his treatise *De adulterinis coniugijs ad Pollen-*  
*tium*, in many places of the second booke. V.

reasons for the  
adulterers committed. These reasons he brings  
forth; We be all inwardly tinctured with such  
kind of mercurie; Therefore unto sinners we must  
show mercy. And by wisely the saying of Christ  
in the sight of John I. he widdow bringing you  
free from sin, let him cast the fault from against  
the adulteresse. We that is thus blynd, let us  
thinke with humilitie, whether we be guiltie  
in this. Forgive us (faith our Saviour) and I shall  
be forgiven unto you. We pite; Forgive us our  
trespasses, even as we forgive them that trespass  
against vs. With all that face can be speake these  
things, if we be so cruel in reuenge? God will

3. *And thus*: that the cruel lutes have gaine  
no such authority to the husband and the father  
of the adulteresse; but onlie hath pardoned their  
greife conceived; and onlie hath not that this  
should be done, but they command the folowers  
and executioners [to do their duties. ¶] *Wherefore*  
fore the similitude is not alike. So also it may be  
answered of their traungling man, which is set  
down by the same; if he defend himselfe with a milt  
to kill the other, he is not abolished; but if he be  
kild by chance, as when they late by accident, then  
he is abolished, & the case is not alike: so he may  
not time to call upon the magistrate, & sue  
for him at the lawe. But the husband might  
thus use the adulteresse in his owne house, as  
to witnesses, and to make with him by the lawe.  
And so these ecclesiastical lawyers, and the Canon-  
ists do not allow, that when accusation is had,  
the adulterous husbands should be heard, and  
not the adulterous wives. Neither would they  
allow accusers of persons; to wit, that onlie  
the common persons, and not the nobler sort  
should be put to death.

28 Also they are against that rigor, that if  
the adulterer or adulteresse escape, there should  
be no reconciliation had. Augustine in his booke  
a little before alleged, will haue it to be other  
wise; If the woman, faith he, repent, there  
is a reconciliation, the allegeth reasons thereof;  
God must be followed, his church doth often  
times commit fornication, as the holier was  
done in the time of the Judges and kings; he  
saith by Ieremie; Ye will not receive your  
adulterous wives, I do otherwise. *2d* *3d* *4th*  
holie holie sentence in the name of God. *2d* *3d*  
examples that haue stroke, Dauid and Michol  
the daughter of Saule were giuen unto another;  
for that, which was committed, was adulterie; for  
in that meane while there was no offence:  
Dauid required to haue her againe. Also Iulianus  
did moderate that haereticke; for when the adul-  
teresse had bene thrust into a monastrie, the  
husband might demand his againe within the  
space of two yeeres. But thus will tell me: Au-  
gustine faith, she is not worthy to be my wife,  
she is vnpure and polluted. Why dost thou call  
him vnpure, which hath repented his fault? she  
is reposed vnto the kingdome of heauen by the  
heies, and may the not be reposed to the bed?  
I answereth thus haue the selfe to be secured?

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punishment  
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themselves

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to be slave  
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band.

why the adulteress should not be killed by her husband.  
verse 7.

Match.

Exc.

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adulterio

Crimes for  
the which  
death is  
due.

The law  
of Const  
tine miti  
gated by  
Justinia

Phil. 4, 8.

perceive to honestie: as we have in the fourth chapter to the philippians; Whatsoever things be true, whatsoever things be honest, whatsoever things be iust, thinke upon them, the faith, that it is not of necesse, because he cannot be compelled thereto by an outward lawe. It is added; But not often. That semeth (saith the Gloss) to be repugnant to the Gospel, when it saith; Seuen times I will be iustified, that he may forgive him if so often as he will; but the church will not often put it selfe to be a means for the obtaining of this reconciliation, least it should seme to open a wide doore unto wickednesse. Forsooke, the church thinketh that it should be but feigned repentance, if this should be often done. We adde; Peradventure these things are spoken for terror sake. But if so be he do not repent him, he ought not to continue in matrimony: for then the husband might seme to be the maintainer of adulterie. And in the Council of Arles, it is said; he should seme to be a partner of iniquitie.

where the husband having his wife, may accuse him of adulterie

Deut. 32.

Ierom, upon the 19. chapter of Matthew, teacheth; she that hath diuined one flesh into another, ought not to be kept; least the husband should be under the curse. For he that reteineth an adulteresse with him, wanteth wisdom. If he be iustified, which accuseth an innocent, he semeth unwise that reteineth an offender. But these things must be understood with this exception; that unless repentance be had. Forsooke, it is demanded; whether the husband shall accuse his wife of adulterie, when she is diuined? Some thinke, that of charitie she ought not to be accused; if she repent. But others saie, that the crime is not to be forgoone; and that private magistrates should put to their helping hand, to the rating out of wickednesse; and that publicke iudges cannot stand, unless that great offences be punished; also that the lawe of God would haue cull to be rid from amongst men. It is certaine in deo, that if adulterie should continue still, the adulterer ought to be accused; that at the least wife, by that means, he might be made the better, if other convenient remedies were used before: as if he had warning giuen him by his friends. But admit, that the partie which sinned do repent, ought he notwithstanding to be accused? Surely, if the crime were openlie knowne, and the partie innocent receive the adulteresse into fauour by reason of repentance, he shall seme to mainteine sinne. open knowe of the adulterie, but of the repentance they knowe not; they will thinke that he doeth withoute. If he accuse him, he shall at the least iustly purge himselfe, and auoid the blame of infamie.

Admit that the crime be not so commonlie

knowne, and that the partie in fault be repentant; but the hath conceiued, and is to be deliuered of a child: if the husband accuse him not, the sinne shall be his supposed here; it shall not be lawful for him to differ it him: there will be an iniurie done unto his lawfull begotten children. What shall be done in this case? In these two latter cases; namely, if the crime be openlie knowne, and the child conceiued; counsell is giuen of the more learned folke, that the husband shall not go vnto the magistrate, to desire the punishment to be executed on him, which is penitent; but that, for the auoiding of his owne infamie, he shall repaire to the church, and signifie the cause: whereby they may vnderstand, that the partie dooth repent. Also, if the case be theuere to certaine persons; not for punishment sake, but to the intent they may knowe that the fault is concurred by an adulterer, which afterward also he might disrepute, there is found a remedie for these euils. Ioseph, when he saue his wife Marie to great with child, not by him, was troubled, he would not be come him, and yet was he a iust man. In the one part he sawe it belonged vnto iustice to accuse him; on the other part, he was troubled in himselfe, not without the speciall prouidence of God. While he was in a perplexitie, which waie to take; God D was at hand with him. So will he likewise do vnto the goodie in these cases, he will be present with them, and will comfort them. These questions we fall into, by reason that adulterie is not punished by death.

Mat. 1, 19.

ecclesiastical law; punishments of adulterers

29 Thus haue we seene that the fathers haue disallowed in the ciuill lawes. Now, hereafter let vs see, what manner of ecclesiasticall punishments they haue bene accustomed to laie vnto adulterous persons. Cyprian, in the fourth booke, and second epistle vnto Antonianus, teacheth; that there were certaine bishops, which gaue no peace vnto adulterers; that is, they admitted them not to the communion, but they would haue them perpetuall to be excluden. Others haue them peace, but yet after a certaine time. Cyprian thinketh, that a moderation must be used; least they be utterly excluden from Christ, and cast away all lone of religion. He saith also, that there was a trial made of their repentance (on a certaine time: the space of time be appointed) not. The Synod of Ancyra, in the 19. chapter, appointed seven yeares: which space of time the Eliberine Councell abridged vnto five yeares. Whereby it may appeare, that it was in the choise of the poples of the church. The Councell of Neocaesaria decreed; concerning Clergie men; that if the wife of a Clergie man fall into adulterie, he is at his choise, whether he will straitwaie refuse him, or else depart from the ministerie. It seeme to admit no reconciliation

inconciliasion not admitted in the cleargie.

1. Tim. 3, 4.

Council of Toledos

Council of Toledos

A decree of Justinian.

tion in the cleargie. I thinke the cause seemeth to be, for that the familie of the minister ought to be of good report. Forsooke, they adde; that a late-man, whose wife was fallen into adulterie, should not be admitted into the ministerie. I thinke the cause to be this; for that he first ought to haue governed well in his owne house. But there was a suspition of negligence, being his wife did fall into adulterie. If a cleargie man had not repeated his wife, when she fell into adulterie, the Eliberine Councell gaue him no peace or fellowship with others, during his life.

The Councell of Toledo decreed otherwise (as we haue it in the Decrees, 2. can. 6. quæstio on the first, in the chapter *Placuit*); to wit, that a cleargie man, whose wife did fall into adulterie, might keepe him at home; howbeit tied for certaine yeeres, with a fasting that should seme to keepe him in health, but not that should make him to die. In the Decrees, the 8. distinction, and the chapter *Romanus*, the chapter *Presbyter*, and the chapter *Diocanus*; Adulterous ministers be utterly removed from the ministerie. And the Eliberine Councell did giue no peace vnto bishops, presbiteres, or deacons, being fallen into adulterie; no not when they should die: no more also did they to the common sort of men, which had committed adulterie more than once or twice. They found also another kind of remedie, but that was in cases of suspition. In the *Extraneagants De iudicijs*, in the chapter *Significasti*; If a minister were suspected of adulterie, and the crime could not be proued, they vied the canonical purgation; namely, that he should find out other five ministers, which would asseure by oth, that they could not beleeue this in him. But such it behoued these ministers to be, as they might be sure would not forsweare themselves. They vied also another thing; namely, that an adulterer should not contract matrimony with the adulteresse, if his first husband had bene dead. But this they vnderstood [conditionalle] if so be they had contracted while the other spouse were alio; or had conspired the death of the husband.

There resteth to declare that we are to thinke of the decree of Iustinian. As touching that, that a woman, after she were beate, should be kept vnto a monasterie; and yet not be punished with death as an adulterer; I perceive not why but what reason that might be proued. The crime belongeth vnto both, as well to the man as to the woman: why then is the punishment unlike? The sinne of the woman hath no lesse staine the familie, than the sinne of the man; and that more. Perhaps it will be said, that the is weakie: but if that reason should take place, no woman ought to be punished with death. Therefore vnder correction of so notable a man,

the inequality of the punishment can hardly be allowed: but I thinke he did this in fauour of the bishops. Forsooke, he is blamed, inasmuch as he opened; that if a husband shall not remane his wife againe within two yeeres; or else that he die, the should be continued in lawe continuall in the monasterie without marriage. Without this is against the holie scriptures. What if he be incontinent, as the gane a token thereof by reason of the crime of adulterie? If so be that the magistrate grant life vnto a malefactor, he ought also to grant those things, which pertaine to a goodlie life. Otherwaie, what profit cometh by putting him auaie; unless it be to make him worse? I haue declared what I thinke concerning the decree of Iustinian.

30 Now let vs come vnto the other questions; namely, whether a man and a woman do sinne, the one as grauouly as the other, in the case of adulterie; and whether they both are to be aduised vnto one punishment, so that in all respects they should be in all things equal. Vnto these matters it hath not so seemed good; and that verelie for diuers causes. They would haue the case to be more grauouly touching women than touching men; and the causes, which lead them thereto, are these. [First] because they perceived that the ciuill lawes do admit no accusation of the husband against his wife, or of the father against his daughter; but not so of the woman, although she take her husband with the shamefull act, and haue witness of the same: as we haue in the Code, within the title *Ad legem Iuliam de adulterijs*. In the first lawe. Therefore they in old time accounted the fault to be more grauouly in the woman. Also they weigh this, that a woman being taken, is straitwaie infamous; but a man must be first accused and condemned, before that he be stained with infamie. Therefore, it was sometime lawful, by the lawe *Iulius*, for husbands to kill their wives: as Cato testifieth in the place aboue recited; The lawe (saith he) is to slay him that is taken. But it is not lawful for him to touch the once with his finger, if he perceive that he committed adulterie. Here vnto Plautus pleasaunt alluded in the comedie *Mercator*. In these dead women are here bound to ouer-tie a laue: as Plautarch (upon the life of Ronulus) reporteth, that it was lawful for the husband to put auaie his wife for adulterie; but not so on the contrarie part. Which laue fumed also to like Constantine: as we read in the Theodosian Code, *De adulterijs*, in the chapter *Placuit*; Let the husband (saith he) put auaie his wife for adulterie, but let not him do the same vnto his husband, though he be an effeminate person, or a mullicutarian. For this terme he saith.



Also they hereby consider of an inequality; for that the woman, if she kept ill company with an other mans bond-man, the was made a bond-woman; but it is not taught that it was done unto men, if they sinned against bond-women. <sup>6</sup> *Spocouer, they saie, that lust is alwaies counted to be more shamefull in women, and that therefore the crime should be more græuous in them.* Further, they suppose that a man, although he live in matrimonie, if he keepe ill company with others, being lofe of single women as they call them, he committed not adultery: when as on the contrarie part, a woman being married, may have fellowship with no man, but the falleth into adultery. And they alledge that which Suetonius writeth upon the life of Vespasian; that he caused the Senate to decree, that a free-woman, which joined her selfe with bond-men, should be constrained to bondage: but decreed not so, touching men. <sup>8</sup> *Wholbeit, this and the fifth argument is all one. There is an other argument taken Ex Orificiano, out of the Code, in the late Illustri; that it is a farre more shamefull thing for a woman to have bastards, that is, by one which is not a lawfull husband, than it is for a man to have bastards. Ecclesiasticus is alledged, which in the 7. 24. & 26. chapters, speaketh manie things of the cattolike, which the father ought to have of his daughters, for the consecration of their chastitie; and speaketh nothing of his men children. They also consider this; that a woman, being taken in adultery, loseth her dote and donation, granted in respect of marriage, whereas the adulterer himselfe no losse. In the Extravagants De donat. onibus inter virum & uxorem, in the chapter Plurimque, in the end; Adam and Eve, being both to be in one kind of sinne, have not one punishment: Eve is punished more grievously.*

<sup>1</sup> *On the other side, the causes seeme to be verie great, which perswade otherwise. The first is, that a woman is more weak and imperfect than a man; the twentieth understanding and judgement. These things seeme to serve for persuading the fault. And manie latres perswade us, that in punishing, we should have a consideration of the sex. Some of the lawes 3 toll recite. In the Digestes Ad legem Juliam pecuniatis, it is said; that in punishment, there must be consideration of the sex: the late beginning, Sacrilegij panam. Also Ad legem Juliam de adulteris, in the late S adulterium, in the Paraph Præfates, and in the Paraph Lucilian, they would have a difference to be considered of the sex, because women are not forced to be skillfull in the latres, sometimes they be deceived: they thinke that to be lawfull, which is not lawfull. Also the Ecclesiasticall latres teach, that there ought to*

be a consideration had of the sex. In the Extravagants, De homicidis, in the chapter Si argum, in the Code, Ad legem Juliam maritatis, in the late Quique, in the Paraph Filas; There is more favour shewed to the daughters of conspirators, than unto their sones. In the Decrees, cause 2. question 6. the chapter Indignatus, there is consideration had of women, even in the selfe same case of adultery.

<sup>3</sup> *There be sayings also of most excellent men, which be agreeable to this sentence. Augulline, in his treatise De adulteris coniugis ad Pollentium, citeth the letters written by Antonius Pius which we may read in the Gregorian Code; that it is verie uniuersall, that men should require that faith of women, which themselves will not shew. In the Digestes De adulterio, in the late Si uxor, in the Paraph Si uxor; It is commanded, that if the iudge have knowledge of the adulterie, let him looke whether the husband have lived chastly. And so the fault of the woman is mitigated, because the men themselves by their ill living be causes of their vncleane life. Whereupon Seneca, in his 94. epistle vnto Lucillus, saith; that it is a most uniuersall thing for men to erare faithfulness of women, when as they themselves be the corrupters of other mens wives. Neither did Augulline put this matter in silence, who saith, that Vir, that is, Vertue; and that therefore he ought to excell the wile in all vertues and chastitie. In his little booke De decem chordis, and it is also read in the 2. cause, question 5. in the chapter Non maculaberis, saith, that The husband is the head of his wife; if the head fall into adultery, and the wile be chaste, he is a man turned upside downe, the head is under the feet.*

<sup>8</sup> *At manye oftentimes, that the adulteries of the wile, are reuengements of an adulterous husband. It is said of Clytemnestra, that she gaue the power of her bodie to Aguellus, because she heard that Agamemnon persued Chrysis before her. That such a punishment is brought by the iudgement of God, it appeareth that Ido understand. Ido say, in the 31. cha. saith; I may haue been carried adue to a strange woman, and yet I have lien in wait at my neighbors doore, then let my wife grind vnto an other man, and let hir yeeld her bodie to other men. So then shall women be made on both parties. What that hea lare saie; It credit be given to the Schole-divines, the distinction must be made, which is mentioned in the fourth booke of sentences, in the 35. distinction. If the faith of wedlocke be considered, the sinne is equal on both parties; either is bound vnto another, whether the woman giue her selfe to another; or else the man commit adultery. If the condition of the person be respected, seeing man is the more perfect, he hath the fir-*

mer judgement, and ought to excell his wife; his sinne is more græuous than hers. Wholbeit, if we note the confusion of things, the supposed detres, and the shame of the familie, the woman is more græuouslie charged.

<sup>4</sup> *But as touching the verie late it selfe of wedlocke, they saie well; that the bond is all alike, that sinne is committed as well by the one as by the other, they must be brought to an equality. Equalitie we proue out of the holie scriptures; vnto one Adam, the Lord gaue one Eve; and to one Eve, he gaue one Adam; and he said; They shall be two in one flesh. Paule, when he treateth of these things in the first to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter, saith; that The wife hath not power ouer her owne bodie, but her husband. And on the other side, he maketh this latre equal to the one and the other. Neither doth he speak vnto the one partie, of rendering due beneuolence; but vnto them both. And if they shall thinke good to seuer themselves for priuate sake, he willich that the same be done by both their consents. In case of religion, if they will not dwell together, each partie is set at libertie. The same is also spoken there concerning the vnbelauiing husband. The latre of God commandeth, that both, as well the adulterer, as the adulteresse, should be claime. Seeing therefore he maketh this equalitie, we also ought to follothe the same.*

<sup>2</sup> *Now it remaineth, that we answer to the arguments. It was said, that a woman must not be heard. This latre is ciuill, and refused of the Ecclesiasticall writers; and that Iudlie. Jerom, in his epistle to Oceanus, upon the death of Fabiola, wrote a verie excellent sentence; Those things, which in the holie scriptures are commanded vnto men, do rebound vnto women. Therefore, if it be lawfull for a man to start from his wife, for the cause of adultery; it is also lawfull vnto the wile. Among was there is the same libertie, and the same bondage vnto both parties: to correct after a sort the ciuill latres. Both parties must be heard. Touching infinite alie, it is mans ordinance. When as pnie is called the celebration of other mens vertues; so infinite may be to displease that which is in another. And it may be, they will speake more of women than of men. But with God this same is of no importance. There is more spoken of the women, by reason of the harme which they bring, and because they make a confusion in families. As concerning that it hath bene lawfull for men to kill their wives, and not for the wiles, their husbands: A answer; If it were lawfull, yet that latre was not such, as the fathers thought. A adde; It is no maruell, if it were not lawfull vnto women; for they handle not weapons, but are subiect into*

men; and in this respect there is some inequality.

*And in that there was used to be a putting to the aduise of the woman by the man; 3. laie it was fourth. a decree of men, as Ieron cited in the sentence now alledged. Admirete, Theodosius, as we find in the Code De repudiis, in the late Confessio, giueth authenticke vnto the wiles, to put away their husbands; and be declereth manie causes why. There is an excellent place of this matter in the Decrees, cause 32. question the first, in the chapter Christiana religio; where it is written, that Adulterie is condemned in both sexes alike. And because some were offended, for that they saue men oftentimes put aduise their wiles, and wiles to be more often excommunicated for adulterie than husbands; answer is made, that it is not, because sinne is lesser in man than in woman; but for that men might have more free authenticke against the women.*

*And therefore, forasmuch as the church doth not iudge, whilke it is in matters which be manifest, it cometh to passe, that women are more often taken than men, and are excommunicated, a further diuorcement. Also we knowe, that in the old latre, it was lawfull for men to giue a bill of diuorcement vnto women; but contrariwise, that the same was not lawfull for women; therefore it seemeth, that God did attribute more vnto men. I answer, that the case must be twigged, for the which God would haue this bill of diuorcement to be giuen. It had bene an easie matter for men to kill their wives, when as they might not be rio of them; but this was lesse to be feared of women, because it doth seldom happen.*

*Another argument was, that it was prouided by the latres, that if a woman coupled her selfe with another mans bondman, or kept thames full company with him, she should be brought into bondage; but it was not so ordered against men; that they should become slaves; according as Vespasian perswaded the Senate of Rome, as Suetonius reporteth. But it is answered, that men made this decree. If it had bene in woman as Vespasian proposed otherwise. Spocouer it appeareth, that Plaro, in the second booke of his latres, counted both alike; both the men, which hept vnto aliance with bond women; and the women, which did the like with bondmen. Besides, they that would make a difference are in the danger of that saying of Paule; In the same thing that thou iudgest another, thou condemnest thy selfe, for thou dost euen the same thing that thou iudgest. And it was added; That lust hath alwaies bene counted a more shamefull thing in women, than in men. Whereof hath it bene so accounted? Answer. But, will we saie, it is, if*

if we respect the will and commandment of God: Man and woman undoubtedly be all of one lumpe. farther, women be the superiour and of the lesse iudgement: it is mans part to guide them, and to haue charge of them. Now can the lute be moze filthy in woman than in man: vntles perhaps we will haue this respect, that womens shame is moze manifest, they become with child, the matter apereeth, the shew is moze euident in them: but if we consider the commandment and laboe of G D D, the case is all one with them both.

The Etymologie of adulterie.

Shoulder  
refined.

domens bulldand, And for a woman, that is set at libertie, and tiew a strange man in stead of hir owne, committed adulterie. The same Augustine, *De bono coniugal. contra Iovinianum*, the fourth chapter, teacheth; that Adulterie is a violating of the faith of Iococleus. <sup>And yet</sup> Where a man definition of adulterie, therefore hath accesse to an other mans wife, whether he be free, or hinit in marriage, adulterie is committed by him, that is the husband. And a little after he saith; 3<sup>rd</sup> is adulterie, when there is carnall fellowship with an other man, or an other woman, against the covenant of marriage. Whoso oft therefore to erret it be done against this covenant, by the testimonie of Augustine it is adulterie.

If I should define it, thus would I say; that *Adultery* is a venereous action, wherein there is carnall fellowship with that flesh, which is not bound to it selfe by the lawes of matrimoine, but vnto another. Now let vs be the parties of the definition. Action is the genus, or generally word; and because the actions of men be diuers, venereous is added for the difference. Againne, there is an other difference; in that the fellowship is with that flesh, which is bound vnto an other, by the lawes of matrimoine. *Why* is it said; *Not* bound to it selfe, but vnto an other? To the intent we may vnderstand, that in the polygamie, which was in old time, there was no plaine adultery. For; one of the toines, when the was toined with a husband, was toined with that flesh, which was alio-when to another woman. Therefore it is said; *Adultery* is a venereous action with it selfe, but vnto another, by the lawes of matrimoine. *Whether* if we will more narrowly examine that part of the sentence, *To one carnall fellowship*, may be vnderstood, to be either in act, or cogitation. For *Colt* faith; He that shall looke on an others mans wife, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery in his hart. But there we speake of adultery, that breaketh out into act; not of that, which as yet is within the hart.

34 Moreover, it was said to be more shame-  
ful for women to have bastards, than it is for  
men. This also hath proceeded of many reason:  
a shame it is, both to the one and to the other;  
but perhaps it is yet more in women than  
in men. Those places of Ecclesiasticus, which  
urge parents to keep their daughters, or the  
bodies of their daughters, have not respect unto  
this place. A rather, the wife man does con-  
sider, that if daughters be corrupted, they are  
to bring great shame & ignominy to their fathers  
house; and the father is accused of negligence.  
But men children must also be well brought up,  
howbeit, the foolishness of this fact, in this crime,  
appears else-where, not in the fathers house.  
Nevertheless, these things bring not to passe, but  
that they both commit it. An other argument;

in Adulterie:

But wives lose their dowrie, whereas adul-  
ters be not so punished. That is false: for euen  
as if matrimonic be vndone, by the fault of the  
woman, the loseth hir dowrie and donations  
giuen in respect of marriage; so, if it be done  
through the mans fault, he loseth the dowrie it  
selfe and donations also, and must restore them  
vnto hir.

11  
Again, forasmuch as Adam was Adan and Eve; that they were in the like fall, & yet Eve was more grievously punished than Adam. Here may either of both be said; either that the sinne was not of like weight, or else that the punishment of Eve was not more grievous. This is creased by five, that the mans fault was the greater. For it is said; Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it, thorne and thistle shall it bring forth vnto thee, and thou shalt eate of the herbe of the field; in the sweate of thy face shalt thou eate thy bread, &c. These cures were continuall vnto man; in great labour, he should eate in ground sweat and trauell, and the earth gaue not vnto him the fruit that he looked for. Women seemed to be lesse punished; onlie the paines of child-birth and conceiting are layd vpon them, the which be not perpetuall: but the labours of men do alwaies continue. Further, the man ought to pounce, not onlie for himselfe, but also for his wife, child, and for his whole familie. But if thou wilt faile, and the wife be subiect vnto the husband, and thus be vnder his government: this importeth not much; for by the verie constitution it selfe, she is inferiour vnto man. Wherefore it might by this meanes be denied, that woman was more grievously punished than man.

to more generous than  
 Thus if he would grant unto this, he might  
 also take to the other part, that the finne in  
 was somewhat more generous; namely,  
 because the fe was feured by the duell, and so fe-  
 dured, as the thought the should become equal  
 unto God, and this the verie much defired. *Je-*  
*remithe* also, Adam believed it not; because he  
 fate it was not possible to be; and therefore the  
 apostle faith, that he was not feured, but did  
 onelic ate; to the intent he might obete his  
 wives mind, and make more account of his  
 luste than of God; therefore he was not de-  
 luded with the faime kind of errorre. *Spou-*  
*se* also, the woman did not onelic finne, but  
 did hir husband to finne. And the other part,  
 she is somewhat lighter in; because she was the  
 inferior, and he the superior. *Hobbe* fit, as if  
 the woman were more generous than other,  
 the woman's finne was to be weighed the gra-  
 ver. This is the opinion of the *Spasifier* of the  
 sentences, in the second booke, distinction the 12:  
 and he allegeth manie places out of *Augu-*  
*stine*. But 3. for my part, would faine; that the

mans sinne was more gracious, and that his punishment was the greater, by reason of his perfection and excellencie. Therefore this argument maketh nothing to the purpose; either the punishment was of equalitie, or else the circumstances were not alike gracious to be assigned to them both. The circumstances were manifold, some were more gracious in Adam, and some in Eve.

And this was alleged on the contrary part, that the flame is left in toomer: for a confirmation should be had of the fire. And this is to be granted: yet the cause might be feared out of why those ladies be favourable unto the fire. And there is a cause brought by the ladies themselves; namely, that women are not diligent to have the knowledge of all lawes and customs, and therefore may be more careless; and the fault is more excusable in women, than in men. And yet the error; both somewhat mitigate the fault, and thus here this erring hath no place: for there is no woman so foolishly, but the knowledges, that she ought to keep her self and promise with her husband. And in itself, they rather forgive by law to women than unto men: because the law is not those degrees, wherein men are not so lawful to be married: and therefore they will not be so grievously punished. And whereas it was alleged, that the adulteries of the men are sometimes excusable, by the adulteries of the women, as hath bene said of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. The answer, that such railing should not be allowed; for that they are reputed to the wrath of God: and therefore we hold in such faults of reuening.

1. True indeed it is, that sinners are punished by  
 with finings; and he that keepeth not faith by  
 selfe, must not looke to haue another be-  
 same with him: nevertheless, this is done  
 the other and punishment of God. It is not law  
 full for any man to kill, because another  
 sinners: for by that means, euill would grow  
 till it were infinite. And yet women are  
 which is done in the great offence of forso-  
 is no sinnefull: for, the cause why that the  
 of conspirators, which haue sinners against  
 princes, are punished in such sort as they be  
 least that if they should retaine the author-  
 and riches of their parents, they might im-  
 their sinnes; or else reuenge their death  
 which in baptisme is not to be feared. And  
 it must not therefore be concluded, that there  
 a difference in punishing the crimes. Yea  
 allowe well enough that distinction of the  
 men: that if the faith of matrimoine be  
 dered; that if the equality, both  
 adulterer and adulteresse. If the State &  
 parties be considered, the man sinneth  
 greuouslie: but if we regard the harme the  
 done vnto the familie, it is to be laid to the  
 woman.

by a con-  
sideration  
must be had  
of the sex.

as whether  
of adulteries  
of men mul  
be punished  
by adulter  
ries of wo  
men

Why in case of treason children are punished for the parents.



adulterie, he himselfe without an accuser maie be condemned of adulterie. And if a man shall bring his home againe, whom he hath put away, he cannot accuse him of adulterie, which he had before committed. But of an other adulterie he may; sith in bringing of his home againe, it seemeth that he allowed of his conditions. And if any woman be condemned of adulterie, she may take him to his wife. Wherefore the civil lawes doe utterlie mislike of reconciliation after adulterie committed; so that it be committed and condemned. For if there should be but onlie a suspition thereof, it may be lawful for the husband to receive him with him, and to accuse him being suspected. And if he shall afterward perceive that he was led with vaine suspition to accuse him, he may desist from his purpose: so that he shal obtaine a discharge from the iudge.

Ierom, upon the 19. chapter of Matthew, may seeme to hold with the civil lawes: for he teacheth, that the which hath polluted one flesh to another man, or other men, must not be reconciled; least the husband become under the curse. For as it is written in the 28. chap. of the Psalteries; He that keepeth an adulteresse with him, is vngodlike and foolish. So indeed the 70. interpreters doo expound it: but the truth of the Hebrew text hath it not. The same Ierom saith: If there happen anye sinne to it, it doth not staine matrimony; but if adulterie happen, now is not the wife lawful. And in the 3. cause, question the 1. the wordes of Chrysostome are recited; If a man haue the companie of an adulterous wite let him repent. The same father, upon the 26. chapter of Matthew: Cuen as he is vnjust, which accuseth an innocent; so he is a foile, which receiveth an adulteresse. And the verie same father we haue in the Decretals *De adulterijs*, in the chapter *Si vir sciens*, and it is the Council of Arles; A man which receiveth an adulteresse, is partaker of the crime. Also; If a woman, being put awaie, should be married to an other, although hir latter husband be dead; the may not retorne to the first, for the is now become vnchaste unto him; as we haue it in the 24. chapter of Deuteronomie.

verfe.13.

verfe.4.

heretofore which make for errors cilliarig.

Ierom. 3. 1.

40 But now patte we ouer these things, and let vs see the reasons, which make for reconciliation. That most mightie and excellent God of ours would be the spouse of his church, and that not onelie in this our age, but also in the daies of the fathers. Wherby the church, speciallie in old time, did oftentimes decline vnto idolatrie, and plaie the harlot with the gods of the Gentiles, as we may read in sumbie places, in the booke of Iudges, and in the historie of the Kings, and in the Prophets. Yet neuertheless, Ieremie, in the name of God called his home, that the might retorne againe to his husband. And euen so did

the prophet Ose, and that with many speeches. Of 23. 19. And if God be reade to receive his adulterous wite, man ought also to be reconciled vnto his wife; speciallie, if he fall from his error, and repent. For how manie to euer be Christians, they professeth the following of God. There is constant an example of David, which brought home againe his wife Michol, although she had bene bestowed by the father to an other man. Iustine. Iustine. an also in his Authenticks, when he commendeth an adulteresse to be beaten, and closed vp in a monasterie; yet doth he giue leave vnto the husband to take her into him againe, if he will within the space of two yeares; and so doth most manifestly allow of reconciliation.

Augustine. Augustine. In his second booke vnto Pollentius, laboureth verie much in this, to haue them reconciled. For in his time there were manie, which would not take their adulterous wives, as they which were now spotted and polluted. Wherupon he saith; But dost thou thinke him to be polluted, whom baptism and repentance hath purged, and whom God hath made cleane? He saith ought not to seme polluted vnto this. And if that he be alreadie reconciled by the heires of the church, and admitted into the kingdome of heauen; by what right maist thou repell him from this? In the 3. cause, question 1. these wordes also are written; If he be fallen, thou maist knowe, that to fall is common among men; and merite ought to be shewed to him, if he be risen againe. For the same would we haue done vnto vs. And extreme latue is extreme iniurie. In the Decretals *De adulterijs* et *foris*, in the chapter *Si vir sciens*, we read out of the Council of Arles; An adulteresse, if she be penitent ought to be received. The Gloss in that place saith; by what lawe or right the should be received? It answereth; Not of necessitie; because the man cannot be compellid wether he will or no to take her. Wherefore he ought by the lawe of honestie to bring his home againe.

But I would aske the question; Ought he not to take his home, by the dutie of godlinesse, and precept of God, when as Paule faith vnto the Ephelians; Doe whatsoever things be honest Phil. 4. 8. & iust; And is the necessitie of the commandment taketh place therein. Wherby the Gloss in that place, of the outward lawe of pleading; there by no man may be constrained to take an adulteresse againe. But in the Canon now cited, is added; Not often; for if she fall often into adulterie, she should not be received. The Gloss there directeth Christ against himselfe, who being demanded, How oft a man should forgive his brother, when he sinneth against him, answereth; Not seven times onelie, but seuentie times seven times. Vnto this he saith, that the wordes of

Phil. 4. 8.

Matth. 23. 1.

of the canon must be understood; that when the adulteresse doth so often strae, the church shall make no intercession for reconciliation; partly, because there would be a window opened vnto wickednesse; and partly, for that it is thought to be but a feined and counterfeited kind of repentance. Also there is added another answer; namely, that it is spoken for terror sake; that the people might not faine to boldie and licentiouslie. Wherby it is gathered, that the church ought to make intercession for repentance, to the intent there might be a reconciliation. Wherefore, the adulteresse either theweth tokens of repentance, or else sheweth none: if she shew anye, the church ought to make intercession for her, that there may be a reconciliation of the church shall not be vied; otherwise it might be thought to be a supporter of sinnes.

he saith to the reason on the contrary part.

The contrary will of Arles.

Dec. 14. 4.

41 How must we make an intercession vnto the avgements, which seemed to be a let vnto reconciliation. As concerning the civil lawes, they must be amended by the word of God. Ierom and Chrysostome speake of the adulteresse, which will not repent. And this is plainlie testified by the Council of Arles. For as it is there; A man, which receiveth an adulteresse, is partaker of the crime; yet neuertheless, if he repent, let him be received. But why the lawe of Moyses would not suffer, that a wite, being once put awaie, should retorne to his first husband after the death of the seconde, the cause may easilie be shewed. For if he had permitted this, diuorments would haue bene admitted; in hope that the wite should at one time or other recover her husband againe. God would, that if she which was once put awaie, might not retorne anye more; least she should be put awaie upon small occasion. There might also haue bene leag in wait for the latter husband, that the wite, when the latter were taken awaie, might retorne againe to the first. Wherefore the lawe of God was most equal, which pertained not vnto adulteresses, whom by the commandment of God it behooved to steepe into death. By these things now it appereth, that it is lawful for the husband to retorne againe into fauour with his wite, that hath bene an adulteresse; so that she be penitent: who neuertheless ought to accuse his wite of adulterie, if the crime be openlie knowne; or if the do perpetrate in wickednesse, or else if the sinne be borne by adulterie, least the latosell betwixt them should be defiled. For vnlesse that accusation should be a remedie, a man might not differ his child beome in adulterie. Further, the church may make intercession, and deale with the husband, for to bring home his penitent wite againe. So as our Leuit must be blamde, for receiving of his adulterous

wite into fauour; if so be that she did repent her of her adulterie.

Of Wine and Dronkenesse.

42 Now, because there be verie manie intemperate men, which being blamde for their drunkennesse, are woud to excuse their sinne, otherwile most shamefull, saing; that they should not wine, forasmuch as they live it to that end, for the which it was appointed and ordeined by God; so that, that mortal men might there by make themselves merrie. For this cause I thought it good to reuocare their impudencie. Wherefore, I will first declare the true vse of a diuine wine. Afterward I will shew the abuse thereof, of the error teaching it to be against the lawe of God. Then lastly I will bring examples, manifestlie to open, both the abuse of it is as well damnable, as soile and detestable. After this I will rehearse the horrible effects of this evil. And lastlie I will answere to those ciuillians and sophistical arguments, wherby drunkennesse and abuse of wine is defended by the Epicures.

As touching the first, I denie not, but that wine hath excellent properties; for it quickeneth the thirst, which might also be done with water; but not so commodiously. It cleanseth the blood, in quickning the spirits, wherby nature is verie much refreshed. Further, it is medicinable for cold and loathesomelie, both of the stomack, and also of the potters, which sene for the life of man. Wherupon Paule teacheth vnto Timothy, that he should vse wine for the stomack, and often dilutes thereof. It is accounted sometimes also, a not vnprofitable for the women, for which cause in the tenth of Luke it is written, that the Samaritanes bound by the yowms of their, whom he found halfe dead, and pained with cold and helpeless not a little to wine them with wine and beuinitie of mind. And therefore Salomon, in his Psalteries, the 31. chapter, teacheth; Giue strong drink to them that are heauie, and wine to the sorrowfull others, let them drinke and forget their pouertie, and remember their sorrowe no more. And we read in the 104. psalme; Wine reioiceth the hart of man.

For so great hath bene the goodnesse of God towards man, that he would giue vnto them, not onlie things necessarie for their sustentance, but also bestowed large deuities vnto them. For propriety and iustitie, and beuinitie of men; but desirous to haue them line in godlie and honest meetnesse of the hart. Wherefore he hath

The marua leus goodnesse of God towards men.

and the effects of wine.

1

2

3

verfe.34.

4

verfe.6.

verfe.15.

hath granted vnto them, not dwelle the vse of wine, but also of oyle, and most fragrant fumes; fleshy liueltie, and also bliscful and manifold kinds of meats. Affordeth, the vse of wine now and then: is profitable for them, which are reuored from diseases, and must be refreshed to their former health; and (as a certaine Philosopher old men is thereby mitigated and alluaged; as popes, which otherwise are most bitter, become sweete being steeped in water. But we must take heed, that we hope a measure; & otherwise, the refreshing that is attained by wine, is some turned into verry great damage: for the temperance of wine, doth easilie lose his vttilitie; yea, and if men come to drunkenness, the vse of wine is most lamentable and hurtfull. So then it is necessarie to put a difference betwene the vse and abuse thereof.

dyononke  
dionne diffi-  
guished.

43. Wherein shall we say, that to haue to much  
drinke, is to dyonke, may two waies be re-  
uerſed; either properly, or metaphorically. This  
difference ſee Marſhus Ficinus plainlie teach  
in the argument of his ſecond dialog *De iuſto*,  
and he maketh one kind of dyonkenne about  
the mome, or a celestiall dyonkenne, stirred  
up by drinke of beaueitie drinke; whereby the  
mome, being ſet without it ſelfe, and aboute it  
ſelfe, forgetteth all mortall diſciſes, and onelie  
conſidereth things diuine: by the brightneſſe  
whereof, firſt it waſteth mome, but after that it  
tareth the ſanour of the ſame, it is by a new heat  
changed from his firſt habit or qualitie, whereby  
within a while it clearely beheldeth ſpirituall  
things, and while it fauourie taſteth them, it is  
fruitfullie nourished. Therefore it is twiſten in  
the ſalme: We ſhall be made-dronken with  
the fruitfullneſſe of thy houſe, *Psalmus* an  
ancient poet ſaith, that the reward of vertue  
is perpetuall dyonkenne. And Orpheus, be-  
fore Muſeus, ſaith, that the ſame was ſignified  
by the ceremonies and holie ſerues of Diony-  
ſius.

Phal: 69.  
Muſeus.  
Orpheus.

The other kind of *diabolisme* he saith is *triv-*  
er the *imagine*, and is *too* loose; which is *led* by  
of *brinke*, taken out of the *fountain* *Leches*,  
that is, carnall *brinke*, whereby the *mind* be-  
des without it selfe, and *under* it selfe, forget-  
eth *divine* things, and *noteth* neither is it to  
be *deturbed*, but that this kind of *diabolisme* is  
to *be* avoided. Of the first kind of *diabol-*  
*isme*, which is *metaphoricall*, there is *plaine*  
mention made in the *proverbs* of *Salomon*:  
where *wisdom* *saith* by *men* to *drinke* *tolle*,  
which the *hath* *for* *thou* *upon* *his* *table* *plentif-*  
*lic* and *abundant*. *Dea* and *Christ* our *sa-*  
*viour*, which is the true *wisdom*, *promiseth* *his* *man-*  
*ners* *to* *be* *in* the *kingdome* of *heaven*. By *transla-*  
*tion* also is *described* the *toine* of *compunction* and

furie; which God will giue vnto the wicked to  
drinke; whereby they shall become mad, and so  
their defects be turned into skarke furie. But  
setting aside these metaphors, let vs returne vnto  
the drunkennelle, properlie taken, wherof we  
now intreate.

And let us declare by testimonies of the holie scriptures, that such abuse of wine is forbidden, and the contrarie enjoined vs. To the Ephesians Paule faith; Be ye not made drunken with wine, wherein is intemperance; but be filled with the spirit, speaking to your selues by psalms hymnes, and spiritual songs. Upon which place Ierom faith; We cannot at one time be filled with wine, and with the holie Ghost. so; if we as people please these things as contraries; euen as we cannot serue two masters. He that is filled with the spirit, hath understandinge, makekeneth, shamefastnesse, and chastitie; and he which is filled with wine, hath foolishnesse, surronnesse, na iaperietie, and shameful lust. Ther which be not filled with wine, can easilie sing psalmes, hymnes, and spiritual songs: which they can not do, that have filled their gorge with wine. To be like also Paule writeth; Care ye not for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof. Thus Chrysostome saith, said vnto his disciples; Take heed that your hearts be not overcome with surfeiting and dronkennesse. And in the old testament, in the prophets, &c. chapter, it is written; Giue not wine vnto kings. And in the 23. chapter; Looke not vpon the wine, when it is reaped, and when it sheweth his colour in the cup, and goeth downe pleasant.

Ephesians  
vs. 5.  
bidder by  
the holie  
scriptures.  
Ephe. v. 18.

Rom. 13. 14

Looke 21. 34

Proou. 31. 6  
vert. 31.

And in the second chapter of Ecclesiastes, Salomon faith, that he thought to give his heart to bound this fradile and purpofe to be the métre banke; I tooke laughter (faith he) to be error, and I faw vntoe; Why doft thou in vaine deceiue? This mirth of toibe, and pleafant things, ought not to be often vsed by godlie men: for fo much as Chrift hath taught, that they are bleffed whilft moone, they (faith he in Matthew) fhall receiue confolation. But in Luke, the firft chapter it is added; that they fhall laugh. And it is beft for vs, that we doe want fome ioy in this prefent life, that we may perpetually laugh. In the fifth of Efaie, it is written; We be merry, we are glad, we will be merry as when we were yong men, and to drinke euen till night to be inflamed with wine. The violl, timbrell, pipe, and wine, are in your feasts, &c. And againe in the fame chapter; We be coyo that are mightie to drinke wine, &c. and are ftrong men to mingle dronkenneffe. Wherefore, loe in the firft chapter written; Awake ye vp that are dronken with wine.

And this we must not passe over, that in Le-  
uiticus; Aaron and his sonnes are commanded Lewis 16,  
not

Droonkennesse

not to drinke wine vntill they came to sacrifice  
1. Tim. 4. 3. before the Lord. And thus Paul commanded,  
and 1. Tim. 4. that the ministers of the church should not be gi-  
 uen to ouer-much wine. And when he counsel-  
1. Tim. 5. 13 led vs Timothee to use wine for the stomack  
 and diseases, he adueth, that it should be but a  
 little; least he should giue licence vnto vngou-  
 ernement. In the old lawe also the use of wine  
Num. 6. 3. was forbidden vnto the Nazarites. And the Re-  
 ligious in Ieremie are commended, because at  
Ierem. 35. 5. their fathers commandment, they abstained  
 from wine; at which time neuertheless they  
 knew that those things were written, which in  
 the history of Judges we haue concerning  
 wine; namely, that with it both God and men  
 are made merrie. And that also, which is written  
 in the 104. psalme; that wine maketh merrie  
 the hearts of men. And so we may gather, that  
 these are not contrarie; and that we may vse  
 wine temperate and moderately; and that  
 it is giuen to vs by God, to make vs merrie in  
 due time haue a right life therof.

[illegible]

There might be manie more examples re-  
hearsed out of the holic scriptures, manifesting  
to declare, that both drunkennesse, and also to  
much love of wine are foybiddē : but these shal  
be sufficient at this time. And this orle 3 we  
mende, that the *Chyrrils* were also of the same  
mind. Plaro, in his seventh booke *De legibus*, to  
ward the end, writeth, that Minos by his lawes  
forbad the Cretenes, that they shuld not drinke  
together into drunkennesse. And Seneca followeth  
in his 8. cōtulle, that Drunkennesse is nothing

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else but a voluntarie madnesse; and straitwaie  
after; The qualitie of diuinitie continuing  
manie daies is furiousnesse. Whereouer, they,  
which contend in drinking, although they haue  
the victorie of others in taking of mudy wine,  
yet will they, o will they, the cup euercommitt  
them. And it is shamefull for a man to take in  
more, than he is able to receiue, & not to knowe  
how to measure his stomach.

41. **Hitherto we have sufficiently declared,** that the abuse of wine is both against the word of God, and also against humane reason. Now let us prove the same by examples, that they, which will not believe the fatenings before alledged, may yet at the least-foe be taught by examples. Nosh, a mightie man, lust, and accept of the table before **Q. D.** who saith two states of the world (so he liueth both before and after the flood) is to be feared, as an example; for the very avoiding of drunkenness is, fearing that he, hauing drunken more wine than was meete, shall laie in his tabernacle most horrible and filthy, and the secret parts of his life, which were wont to be hidden, he may be a scholasticke of vertues, because he is left alone with his children. As he is muched him, his other two sonnes were. As he is better and more holie disposition, and more free and ashamed to see the frame of their father. Use this ad it is sufficientlie declared, that shame, deuotion, and offence followe drunkenness.

¶ In this fine he haue a notable example Gen. 42  
 in Lot, who vncharitably dwome not out of Gen. 42  
 measure, to the end he woulde abase his daugh- Gen. 42  
 ters, and commit incest, but to put awaie care Lot.  
 and griefes, which he had taken, for the cure, Gen. 42  
 of some of the fine cities. For the losse of his de- Gen. 42  
 titude, and also of his subliance. He woulde also Gen. 42  
 comfort his daughters, that they shoulde not Gen. 42  
 take to much thought, especially for the losse of Gen. 42  
 their mother: but he shoulde haue benefice an- Gen. 42  
 other cause of comfort. Hobab, 3. I praise Gen. 42  
 this one cause, because none shoulde thinke that he, Gen. 42  
 of a purposed will, doo drinke to much; to the Gen. 42  
 intent he might pollute himselfe with vnchaste Gen. 42  
 thankfull lust. Yet for all that, to great abound- Gen. 42  
 ance of drinke, was the cause of his most in- Gen. 42  
 crease, otherwise being a man in piers, at a be- Gen. 42  
 ere briske time; when the iudgements of GOD Gen. 42  
 were shewed against the lewd lust of the fine ci- Gen. 42  
 ties. And another is to be wondered at, that Gen. 42  
 wine is alienatede Lot from himselfe, that he Gen. 42  
 vnderstande not with that woman he had kept Gen. 42  
 his fatherly company. Wherefore rightlie Seneca in Gen. 42  
 his 84. epistle beleeue allegorie; 1. Why Seneca  
 thinke in his drinke, doo manye things, which af- Gen. 42  
 terward, when they be sober, they be ashamed of. Gen. 42  
 Lot sought to make himselfe merrie by wine, Gen. 42  
 and

and he incurred a perpetual fame.

Let them therefore which feele to be made mer-  
it by our much love, remember, that they  
put themselves into a very perill danger, and  
that by means may easilie shewe themselves  
beading into most grievous finnes. Neither is  
there any cause why any man should excuse,  
that such countes be uncertaine; so that a man  
cannot tell for a certainte, whether he, which  
drincketh to much, shall fall into these shameful  
matters; so much as the thing is to certainte  
knowledge, that even the daughters of Lot, being  
yet virgins, understood it; namely, that the old  
man by wine might be given to naughtie  
lusts, and be deceived, as he might have ill  
company even with his olde daughters. Who  
will therefore saie, that he knoweth not that  
which they understood? Lot was deceived and  
shamed by his olde daughters. But they which  
love to much wine; to wit, drunken men, do  
allure themselves, and do fight openlie against  
themselves: neither thinke they as call to re-  
membrance, that God, with most grievous pun-  
ishments, taketh vengeance of drunkenness,  
and suffereth not the abuse of his most precious  
gift, to be long unpunished.

Sub punit  
dicit  
drunken-  
ness vult  
multo  
punitur.

Why the  
holie scrip-  
tures make  
mention of  
the history  
of Lot.

Drunken-  
ness obor-  
ta against  
Cato.

These vices are most sometimes to bring  
forth Lot, as a patrone of their intemperance.  
Neither do they make, that the holie scripture  
set forth the story of him, as an horrible, and  
almost a tragical example. God did not lightlie  
punish the drunkenness of that man: for he be-  
ing coupled with his daughters, they conceived  
by him, and the thing could not be dissimuled.  
Inceutious children were borne, Amnon and  
Moab; of whom came the nations of the Ammo-  
nites and Moabites, which were both hated of God,  
and enemies to the Israelites. Lot himselfe (as  
it is to be thought) was always in grievous sor-  
row for the crime which he had committed: he  
became a by-word among men. And seeing the  
testimonie of the holie scriptures is ertant, and  
shall remaine unto the end of the world, who of-  
ten so ever they be read, so often is his infamie  
noted, & spread abroad. If so be God spared not a  
man, otherwise holie, the nephew of Abraham, &  
harbourer of angels; what will he do to those gluti-  
ons and wine, whom no vertue can persuade,  
either from sitting or lieng drunken both day  
and night: That which we read happened once to  
Lot, these men have euerie day in exercise.

And the history of Iudith (although it be not found in the Canon of the Iewes) sheweth, that  
Holofernes, otherwise a verie fierce generall  
of an armie, was so overcome with wine,  
that without much ado he was beheaded by a  
sleight woman. I might adde Iohn Sifera, being a  
drunken man, was slaine by Iabel: although his  
drinke was milke, and not wine. And if beside  
these, we will read over the stories of the Ethio-  
pians, we shall find manye and notable examples  
of them, which were most grievously hurt by  
drunkenness. Alexander of Macedonia, the con-  
queror of the world, was most shamefully over-  
come with wine, and being drunken, slue Clytus  
his most balliant and faithfull friend, whose di-  
ligence, industrie, labour, prudence, & strength,  
he had long time used in the wars, to his great  
commolation. So when he had slept his fill, till he  
was sober againe, and had remembered with  
hisselfe the ad which he had committed, he was  
so forie and ashamed, that he wished himselfe  
dead. But yet he amended not his vice of drun-  
kenness; naie rather, he dranke so much wine  
in one night, as he fell into a fever; and because  
he would not temper himselfe from wine, he  
(within a while after) died. Wherefore Seneca, in  
his 84. epistle already alledged, writeth, that  
Alexander, which had escaped so many dangers,  
and overcome the hardest enterprises, perished  
through intemperance of drincking, and by the  
fatal cup of Hercules.

Marcus Antonius, otherwise a stout and val-  
liant great captaine, and a conqueror; in many  
battles, so labored himselfe sometimes with wine,  
that even in a morning, in the tribunal seat, be-  
fore the people of Rome, whilst he sat to ge-  
tugement, he was compelled to vomit. And in  
Aegypt he was much drincking, by reason where-  
of he could do nothing honourable, but was  
most shamefully put to flight by Octavius.  
That the poets booke of the feast of the Lapidis  
and Centaurs, it is better knowne, than should  
be

Marcus  
Antonius.

be needfull for me to recite at this time. And I  
thinke I have now brought examples suffici-  
ent, which being diligently considered, serve  
much for the avoiding of drunkenness.

But they, which are not terrified from the  
falsities thereof by the words of God, which we  
have said and foremost shewed, and not ab-  
horre the same, being persuaded by those exam-  
ples now alledged, shall perhaps be wane and  
led from it, by considering those evils, which do  
spring of the abuse of wine. It is expedient, that  
the true be knowne by his fruits. And assuredlie,  
drunkenness is to be counted such a thing, as  
the fruits, which spring thereof, be knowne to be.  
Whiche if, that we may speake orderlie, we will  
divide the evils by their subiects: for it hurteth  
the body, breth also the mind, wasteth the  
goods, and is hateful to our neighbours. As tou-  
ching the body, by drunkenness come often  
times sudden deaths, the dissolution of the parts  
of mens bodies, the falling sicknesse, and sundrie  
such miserable chances. For the smooth and  
plaine ground unto drunkenness is a pit; thither  
they fall, beate their legs, their arms, and some-  
time their neckes, and are burnt when they fall  
into the fire. The liver is inflamed with too much  
drinke, the head aches, the members are made  
weake, and do tremble, the senses are corrup-  
ted, the naturall heate is overcome by over-  
much wine; the stomach is annoyed with cru-  
elty and intolerable griefs, whilst it is stuffed  
and laden above measure: the whole body is in  
a manner inflamed, and the thirst is augmented.  
Drunkenness lie groweling like blocks, and so  
are because of their strength, that neither head  
nor foot can do their office.

Wherefore it is written in the 23. chapter of  
the Proverbs; To whom is woe? To whom is  
forget? To whom is strife? To whom is sigh-  
ing? And to whom are wounds without cause? Or  
to whom is the barefacedness of the eyes? Euen  
to them that tarry long at the wine, and to them  
which go and seeke mixed wine. Look not upon  
the wine, when it is red, and when it sheweth his  
colour in the cup, and goeth downe pleasantly  
in the end it will bite like a serpent, and put out  
his sting like a cockatrice. Thine eyes shall looke  
upon strange women, & thine hart shall speake  
lewd things; and thou shalt be like one that sleepeth  
in the midst of the sea, and as he which hea-  
reth sleepeth in the top of the mast of a ship. They  
have stricken me, and I paine me not; they have  
bruised me, and I felicitate. When I awake, I  
will seeke it againe, &c. And behold how many  
punishments God bringeth upon drunkenness.  
Esai. in his 56. chapter, agreeth with Salomon,  
For he also saith; Wo unto those, which are  
mightie and strong to drinke wine. And in the  
same chapter he saith; that Drunkards regard

the effects  
of a  
drunken  
man.

the body  
and heart  
by  
drunken-  
ness.

verse. 39.

not the works of the Lord, neither consider the  
workes of his hands. Wherefore, to such men be-  
longeth woe; because (as Ieron upon that place Ieron.  
writeth) they are most unprofitable, who being over-  
laden in drunkenness, gluttonie, and sundrie  
pleasures, from morning to night, understand  
not the wordes of the Lord in themselves; nei-  
ther considering whether they themselves are  
created, do in a manner sleepe out their whole  
life. Wherefore Ieron crieth out unto them. Awake  
ye ye drunkards, weepe and howle all ye that  
drinke wine. But drunkenness are not weakened  
by these cries: for they do not onelie sleepe, but  
seeme to be in a manner buried. Wherefore Vir-  
gil, the aptle said of the cities of Troie, that it was  
buried in wine and sleepe.

But how much we see how much drunkenness  
soule it selfe out of mind is hurt with drunkenness.  
Drunkenness are oftentimes stricken with the spi-  
rit of astonishment, and after a sort are turned  
into mannele: they become like brute beas-  
ts, so that they seeme to remaine in them no un-  
derstanding. It is a grievous thing for a man  
to become himselfe, & to beguile himselfe of  
anite member: but to take away his owne  
mind from himselfe, without compulsion, it is  
an euill intolerable. In the fourth chapter of the  
prophet Ose it is thus written; that Wine and  
drunkenness take away the hart. And we read  
in the 19. chapter of Ecclesiasticus; that Wine  
and women make wile men to flie from their pro-  
fession, so that they are withdrawn from their office  
and vertue, and do also fall from the right trace  
of life. And in the same booke, in the 31. chapter,  
it is written; that Wine drunken with excessi-  
vengedeth bitterness of mind, with chidings  
and delects. Drunkenness increaseth the cou-  
rage of a soule, till he offend, but diminisheth  
his strength. In these words there is an elegant  
Antithesis, in contrarie comparison; namely,  
that wine increaseth the courage and spirits,  
and causeth greater audacity; but it diminish-  
eth and weakeneth the strength. Wherefore  
Plato, in his first dialog De iuris, at the begin-  
ning, & drunkenness (saith he) hath a tyrannical  
hart, for he would rule all men as he list, and  
not be any way bound and laden.

Drunkenness also causeth men to forget  
both lawe and right. Wherefore Salomon writeth  
in the Proverbs; that Wine must not be given  
unto kings, lest peradventure they drinke, and  
forget the lawe that is made, and alter the iudg-  
ment of all the children of the prae. Plato also Plato.  
writeth in his third booke De Republica; that  
drunkenness may be suffered in anie man,  
rather than in a magistrate. For a drunken  
man knoweth not the ground where he stand-  
eth. If the magistrate be drunken, then shall  
the

the mind  
the more  
it selfe is  
hurt by  
wine.

verse. 11.

verse. 12.

verse. 38.

Plato.

Pro. 31.

verse. 11.

verse. 12.

the



Horace.

Plato.

Plato.

Seneca.

verse.1.

the keeper need of a keeper. This moreover is to be added, that nothing is kept secret, where drunkenness reigneth; because it discouereth, not onely the secret parts of the bodie, but also of the mind. And in drincking, they are poysoned out of their wits, as if they were drunke. As Horace, describing the effects of drunkenness, saith; What is it that drunkenness committeth not? It discloseth thy secret, it stablisheth hope, it thrusteth forward the unarmed man to battell, it taketh away the burden from careful minds, it teacheth arts. Whom hane not full cups made eloquent? And whom hane they not in extreme sonnetie made careless?

And Plato, in his first booke *De legibus*, toward the end, saith thus; When a man drinketh wine, at the first it maketh him more cheerful; afterward, the more he drinketh, the greater and better hope he is in, and feeleth himselfe strong; then, as though he were wise, the man is filled with that confidence, libertie, and audacity, that without feare he both saith and doth whatsoever pleaseth him. The same Plato, in his first dialog *De legibus*, saith; He which is filled with wine, is stirred up with a madnesse, as well of the mind as of the bodie; and both vnderstandeth others, and is vnderstanded by himselfe. And a drunkard is like a man out of his wits. Seneca, in his second booke of naturall questions, the 20. chapter, saith; that Drunkenness, fill it be dried up, is madnesse; and by too much beatnesse is brought allape. And in his 60. epistle to Lucillus, toward the end; The drunkenness of one house, both recompense his dissolute madnesse with the tediousnesse of a long time after. And in the 84. epistle; Drunkenness vnderstandeth out all vice, and both himselfe it, and discouereth it; it putteth away all shamesse, whose proprietie is to reffit euill indeuours. Where to much power of wine possideth the mind, what euill so euer late hidden, bursteth out. Drunkenness maketh not vices, but bringeth them to light.

As drunkenness, to the proud man, putteth his creaturely; to the cruel man, cruelty; to the envious man, malice; and all vices are discouered and they themselves. If a man forgetteth himselfe, speaketh doubtfull, and flammeth wrongs. It causeth vnderstandings, as filling part of the head, and to faine that the boote good round about, arguments in the head when the wine is full; and it maketh the boote to swell. Cruelty, for the most part, followeth drunkenness: for Marcus Antonius vnderstandeth relieved at the heads members of the condemned men, which were brought him at a feast. Also, in the 20. chapter of the *Proverbs*, it is to be taught; Wine maketh a mocker,

and strong drinkes a troublefome fellow; who soeuer erreth therein, shall neuer be wise. But because there be some, which boast, that they can drinke a great deale of wine, and be still sober, and of a sound iudgement; I desire them to hearken vnto Seneca, in the epistle noted already, who saith; Let such men also take, that by drincking of poison they shall not die; and by taking of poyse they shall not dye, and that by drincking of heliboyus, they shall not eat such and purge out, what so euer is in the inward parts.

49. The vices of wine, when it is excessive drunkenness, which we haue hitherto declared, pertaine both vnto the bodie, and vnto the mind. But now we must adde how it bringeth hurt to our substance and goods. In the *Proverbs*, the 21. chapter it is to be taught; He which loveth wine, shall be things, woe and not. And in the same booke, the 23. chapter, it is thus written; Be not thou among the wine-bibbers, and with them shall be deuoilish flesh; for the bibber and the glutton shall be brought to poynt; and he, which giueth himselfe to much sleeping, shall weare a corne coat. And how troublefome vices are vnto their neighbours, it may easilie be perceived. They are vnderstanded, and raise upon those whom they meet; and when in their furie they fall into drunkenness, they be ready to pollute others mens houses and houses; and by hostile means they rage against the families of their neighbours. They be an euill example, yea and an offence vnto other citizens. And they lesse they consume their substance vpon wine and drunkenness, they haue no regard to poynt things necessarye for their owne house.

50. But to conclude the matter, first we grant vnto those which do exerce the vice of drunkenness, by the excellence and use of wine, that it is lawful to use wine for needfull sake, for medicine, and also for mirth, yet to neuer drinke, as it must be tempered with sobriety, and that it exerce not a meane; yea and it must agree with time, place, begre, age, and kind. After this manner

Drunkenness  
maketh  
men  
more  
gloious.  
verse.17.

Drunkenness  
maketh  
men  
more  
gloious.  
verse.17.

verse.17.

verse.30.

1. Cor. 13.

Gal. 5.11.

Rom. 13.13.

1. Thes. 5.7.

maner let holie men reioice before their God; namely, with giuing of thanks, & celebrating with diuine praises. And Salomon, in the 23. of the *Proverbs*, saith not; Wo vnto those that drinke wine, but; Wo vnto those, which consume their time therein, which giue themselves vnto nothing but to drincking, contending vnto can drinke most, poysoning one another, and compelling others to drinke. These men be reprobate, and not other, which modellise the gifts of God. Let men so make themselves merrie with wine, that afterward they may be more cheerful to obeye God; and to suffer aduersities, if need shall require; and let men beware, that they forget not themselves, that they ouerwhelme not their senses, and choke up their strength. Neither must the holie scripture be vngodly and violent diuane vnto the liuence of the flesh; yea, we ought to be to prepare, that we obeye the apostle, which saith; It is good, not to eat fleish, nor to drinke wine, if it should come to the offending of the weak brethren. Let vs also remember, that The kingdom of God is not meate and drinke. Neither are they commended of God, which can drinke more wine than the rest. The words of God defend not drunkenness, but defend the fame.

We will therefore conclude against these men, with the doctrine of Ecclesiasticus, the 31. chapter, where it is said; Shew not thy selfe a man in wine, that is; Sobriety not thy strength in drincking. For there be some, which trie themselves how strong and mightie they be in this intemperance; and also, which with neuer drincking of wine do oppresse all the powers both of the bodie and of the mind. The willie man goeth forward, and saith; For wine hath destroyed many a man. As the fornice trieth the hardnesse of the sword in tempering, so doth wine the hearts of the proud when they are drunke. Wine moderatels drunken is profitable for the life of man. What life hath he that is ouercome with wine? But it was created to make men merrie. Wine, meaturable drunkenness, bringeth gladnesse and cheerfulness of the mind, &c. These things may easilie be taught and answered vnto those men, which vnder pretence to make themselves merrie, labour to defend and maintaine drunkenness. Let them consider with themselves, that the gifts of God ought neuer to be separated from the rule of moderation and temperance. Let them not say, that the apostle, in his epistle to the Galatians, reckoned Drunkenness among the works of the flesh. He also admonished the Romans Not to be conuerfane in clamoring, in gluttonie, and drunkenness. And to the Ephesians he sheweth the thankfulness of this

vice, when he said; Let pertained vnto the night;

they which are drunke (saith he) are drunke in the night. As though he would asseme it, as a thing vnderstandable to be done by the light of the daie.

## Of Danfes.

32. Chores, which signifyeth a dance, is so called (as Plato saith) of this word χορος, which signifies a circle; for that it is a certaine circumscription of a circle. And Serenus (when he interpreteth this verse of Virgil, *Omnis quæ choris facit cantantur omnes*; that is, Whom all the danse and fellows in triumph and dancing of such as be of like age. But from thence danfes had their beginning, there be sundry opinions. Some thinke that men, when they beheld the sturdie motions of wauering and fire flares, inuention dancing, whereby the varietie of motions might be represented. Other thinke, that danfes rather came of religion; because when the old Egyptians there were in a manner no holie seruices wherein was not hupping and dancing; for they led their dances from the left part of the altar to the right, whereby they might resemble the motion of heauen from the east vnto the west. Afterward they returned from the right to the left, to expresse the course of the wauering flares. Which perhaps Virgil signified, when he said, *Nullas inquit choris, mixtaeque altariacis*; that is, And they being mixed together, renewed their dances, compassing about the altars. Yea and the dancing priests of Mars, were had in great honour among the Romans. Some there be also, which trie the beginning of dancing to Hero, a tyrant of Sicilia. For they saie, that he, to establish his tyrannie, forbad the people to speake one to another. Wherefore, the people in Sicilia began to expresse their meanings and thoughts, by becks and gestures of the bodie. And that afterward did turne to an vtile and custome.

But whatsoever this thing was, danfings in the old time were not against religion, although afterward they were applied to publick mirth. Besides, there was another kind of danfing, whereby young men were trained in warlike affaires. For they were commanded to make gestures, and to leape, hauing their arms vpon them, that afterward they might be the more mighty to fight for the publick weale, then need should require. This kind of danfing was called *Salutatio Pyrrice*, and because it was exercised in armour, it was called *bellatua*. Of this danfing is mention in the ciuill lawes; namely, in the *Leges De penis*, in the lawe *Ad ammon*. And sometime young men, when they had offered, were not fratriuac put to

Eccl. y. death;

In the book  
of Judges  
at the end,  
Leu. 24.  
1. Cor. 13.  
Serenus;

from  
whence  
danfes  
began;

The danfes  
were  
of Mars,  
the beginning  
of danfing  
was  
attributed  
to Hero the  
tyrant;





haire and stofffull men, he called *Fucus*, or such as have but the face and shew of men: who, notwithstanding that they shunne all labour themselves, yet do they care and take abundance; in so much as some thought, that the word was derived of this word *φύσις*, which is, to care and continue. For this haire make the eyes blue them from their hue. Therefore Virgil in his *Georgics* saith,

*Ignavaui fucus pennis præfepit accens, qui est, The bonnie-making bee doo drine  
It shrouns an idle bee from drine.*

Also *Fucus* is taken for the colour, whereby cloth and wooll is dyed. As we have it in the first latus of the *Code*, *Que res vendi non possunt*. In which latus, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius do decree, that upon paine of death, none should sell cloth or wooll dyed in purple; because the emperor would be clothed thereby with alone. But we here intreat of that kind of counterfeited colour, which is a medicine of death, whereby the face is painted, that it might seeme the more beautiful. Of the Hebrews it is called *ῥύμα*, of the verbe *ῥάβω*, which is, to change or turne the right forme. And certeinlie, it is a true and apt chymologie; for by such manner of paintings, countenances and faces are turned and altered; seeing they appear to be farre otherwise than nature hath appointed. By a generall tooke they are called *vanities*, because ornaments of the face; because they serve for the ornament and decking of women. They call it also *φύσις*; where of as I thinke, the Latines borrow *Fucus*; and not of *φύσις*, as I alleged before out of other mens opinion. And they call *Cersiva*, or white lead, particularly by the name of *ῥυμνίον* and *ῥυμνίον*, the which we call *Strabum*. And *Perpurgit* they name *ἀνθρακίον*, which is a red painting. These things also have an other name, whereof Plinie maketh mention in his 23. booke, the 4. chapter: and Tertullian, in his booke *De cultu feminarum*; namely, *Callibeternum*, so called, because they make the eyes black and browes more beautiful to behold. And thus much touching the names. Now let us come to the matter it selfe, which cannot be better knowne, than by the proper causes of the same.

The end of such curious trimming is, to procure beautie, or to alter the face, whereby one may appear the trimmer, and blamethes may be hiddden; or else to bring in a better favour than nature hath brought. And the shaft colours, which the fine bores of these things do procure, is either whiteresse, which is done with white lead; or rednesse, which is brought to passe by *Perpurgit*; or else blacknesse, dyed by the meanes of the stone *Sichum*. Also they colour their haire, sometime with saffron, and so they beguile the beholders of them, and with marvellous

craft deceite them. Whereof commeth that, which we have in common talke; namely, that A man caneth a colour upon any thing, when he deceiveth. And it is toment to be bittered in bargaine, in conventions, and agreements; without colour or counterfeiting; that is, *frêle*, in good faith, absolute, and plainlie. These things of the end.

The efficient and proper cause is the naughtie desire of pleasing, the which sometime is stirred up by pride, and sometime by lust. By pride, because they will not have any to surpasseth them in beautie, but will make a shew to be farre more beautiful than others. By lust, for that they would seeme to be beautiful more and more, than the measure of their owne naturall favour hath appointed, and so to allure men to followe their lust. I am not ignorant, that the most ancient fathers, especiallye Cyprian in his booke *De velandis virginitatibus* teach; that *Epibellus* was the inventor of such manner of trimming. For when (as he thinketh) the evil angels had burned in the desire of women, and had abused their bodies; they, for a reward of the licentious pleasures permitted unto them, made demonstration of their artes and shameful ornaments. Whereby Cyprian writeth, that there be not the ornaments, which *ῥύμα* make; but those which the devil bewitch. Touching the cause efficient we have spoken enough.

But the matter is nothing else in a manner, but filth; to wit, smoke, soot, soot, and spittle, and such things for the most part, as would loath a man to touch them. Yea, and sometimes poisons are mingled; so that they, with their counterfeited colours, do not onely wound the minds of the beholders, but so also hurt their bodies. Of the foune I have nothing to say; because these things be tempered an infinite number of waies. And looke howe many counterfeited waies there are, almost so many kinds of false colours there be. They are said also to dye their faces, and that is, to belye colour them, and to deceive them. It is also said, that this vice is greater charge to women, than to men: because a woman, though by herselfe and corrupt nature, is desirous of beautie; and (as the *Graeces* say) *φύσις*, that is, belious to be trimme.

Wherewith Paulus the second of that name Pope of Rome (as Platinie husband) at such time as he should come abroad, absteined not from false colouring; even to the intent he might seeme the more beautiful countenance, as he was too late tell of that. But howe shameful a thing it was for the vicar of Christ, as he challenged himselfe to be let other menudge. Certeinlie, the *Cheshire* poet pronounced; that it had become men to be careless of their beautie. And againe; farre from us may such pong men be,

the Face.

Julius Caesar.

Maximilla.

The general way.

The white-ness into their faces to become terrible.

Argumente whereby where they would prove it howe fall to the colouring.

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ver. 34.

2

ver. 9.

which are curiously trimmed like women. For Julius Caesar was desirous to cover his baldnes. Therefore, because of the honors (which were given him) that the etrie had bestowed upon him) he was willing to receive the laural crester, which for this cause he wore in a manner atomic. And Ieron writeth, that Maximilla the prophesie of Montanus upon *Sichum*, which may note unto us, by that spirit the was led.

The general way of this vice is feigning, and also lacing; for they feigne a countenance to themselves as they list, and they counterfeite beautie. Neither is wantonnesse far from it; for when by nature they have not the wantonnesse of beautie, they counterfeite the same as they can. And we will not omit, that there be devils, which have sometime painted their faces: not to the intent they might appeare the better favoured and fairer; but because they would seeme to be more cruel, or horrible to be beheld: as it is written of the Brittons, who dyed their faces with a kind of heare like unto plantaine, as Caesar reporteth in his first booke of his Commentaries. And in India, where there is no small plenty of precious stones, they are wont to make hollowe places in their chins, which they in the hollowes thereof they may close in precious stones, and thus as well in the forehead as in the cheeks. These things hath suffice for declaring the nature of false colours. Now remaineth to be said, whether it be lawfull to use the same. Some affirme that it is lawfull, of whom there be many *Sichum* men, who rather favour and make much of vices, than pursue them, and seek to weed them out. I first thinke alledge certaine testimonies of the holie scriptures, which at the first best seeme to be of their side. Secondly, they labour to prove the same by reasons.

61. What of the holie scriptures they alledge that, which is written in the first to the *Coginthians*, the seventh chapter: He that is not married, careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that hath married a wife, is careful for those things that be of the world, and how he may please his wife. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holie, both in bodie and in spirit: but the married woman careth for those things that be of the world, and how she may please her husband. It is lawfull therefore for women to use colour to please their owne husbands, where by they may receive them still to be content with their owne lust. For if they should despise them, they might easily incline to whoredome and adulterie. Therefore (saie they) there is some good life even of counterfeited colouring. And this is written in the first of Timothy, the second chapter, *ῥύμα*, that is, in trim and com-

lie apparell. And they saie that the apostle spake this, when he gave precepts touching women. 3. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

62. First they saie, that we fall into the false argument (which is called) *A secundum quid* ad id quod simpliciter; that is to saie, from that which is in some respect, unto that which is absolute. For seeing all things that fir men unto lust are sin, we thinke that all things, which promise men unto continence, are to be condemned. That the case doth not so stand, they also bring an instance of naturall beautie, the which out of doubt is kindeley naughtie conscience with the sight of the faire: yet none will saie, that the naturall appearance of beautie is to be defamed as a sin. Some grant, that sinne may happen therby; howbeit, not through the nature of the thing it selfe, but by the circumstances adjoined; that is, if they go about to paint their face, to the intent they should be withouten lousd of those, which behold them. Where, as by such images they endeavour, and are desirous to excel other women in beautie: then (saie they) that evill creepeth in by acie: the dentall meane, and not by the nature of the counterfeited colour. Therefore they affirme, that there be two sorts of provocations unto wantonnesse; namely, that either it cometh according unto the naturall condition, or else through a lechernes of the intent and lust. And in these they grant time to be, in respect of the corrupt will and withouten before; but they avow mit not that there is sinne, by the naturall condition of the counterfeited colour.

And they saie moreover, that the effect is to be considered all alike, whether it proceed from nature, or come by art. Wherby they endeavour to prove, that if the fault be not in the naturall beautie, no more is it in the artificial beautie. They bring a similitude of the health, that it is all after one nature and manner, whether it grow by temperature, and naturall equallitie of humors; or else, if the same, having been different, is restored by the art of physicians. And over, they put a difference betwene cause and occasi-

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ver. 13.

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occasion. And they saie, that coloured faces be not causes of the ruine and offense taking of the beholders, but are onelie an occasion: And that things must not be iudged by the occasion, but by their owne proper nature: otherwile we should in a manner do nothing, but we might be accused of sinne. For enen the verie best things may be occasions of falling into sinne: and that it should not be lawfull for anie man to dye either gold, or silver, or pretious stones; because there would be an occasion giuen of cocteting them. And that by this means it would followe, that a beautifull woman need not to step out of hir house, least she should be an occasion of wicked concupiscence. Wherefore let vs relect (saie they) the things that come by accidentall means, and those things which be occasions; and let vs onelie haue respect vnto them, which be causes both iust and by themselves. And let vs remoue corrupt nature, and naughtie concupiscence, as vice and sinne, which be the true causes of dishonest loves, and raging lusts; and let vs not blame either feigned colours, or else naturall beautie. As they say saie, that we cannot denie, but that God hath made the nature of colours and painting; and that we cannot but grant euerie creature of God to be good, and that therefore it followeth, that Christian women may vse them fraile. These are the things which be alledged by these men. But we, on the other part, iudge that they be not lawfull, the which we will proue, as well by the scripture, as by verie like arguments.

63. Paule, when he went about to teach, that the ceremonies of Moses were not necessarie to saluation, was ill reported of by the Iewes, and by the false apostles: the which they verie oftentimes obiected against him. But he answered; If I would please men, I should not be Christs seruant. By the which saying he giueth vs to vnderstand, and that we must not greaue strive to be well liked of men. But those women, which let a false colour vpon themselves, do labour all the waies they can, to please men. If it were not lawfull for Paule to please men in the ceremonies, which were not mens inventions; but had his beginning from the word of God; how much leste must we yeld to these men, in the thing which proceedeth from the folie of man, from naughtie lust, and (as Cyprian saith) from the diuill himselfe: Further, it is chafelic commended to the Christians, that they should imbrace sinceritie and truth: for we ought to banke in the unleavened bread of sinceritie and truth, as Paule verie well admonished vs; but in feigned colours, neither sinceritie nor truth can take place. And Chist saith in the fist of Matthew, that Men cannot make one hair of their head white or blacke. But they, which

practise feigned colours, endeavour by their art to impugne that sentence; when as they dye their face and their haire with colours, at their owne pleasure. Also Paule, in his epistle to Timothy, forbiddeth, that women should dresse themselves with curled haire, with gold, and pretious stones.

And enen thereof doth Peter, in his epistle, giue warning. Wherefore the part of Christians is to obiee to great matters of the church. And if so be thou wilt faile, that they made no mention of counterfeiting or colouring: I answer, that there is lesse nauelness in gold, silver, and pretious stones, than in false colours. Which I alone do not speake, but I haue Augustine for my warrant, in his epistle to Possidius. I haue also Chrysostome, in the 31. homilie vpon Matthew. 23. for so much as the apostles forbade that which is the lesse euill, we must confesse, that they also remoued that which is counted for the more greivous fault. Also it is read in Deuteronomie, the 22. chapter, that God commanded that men should not be clothed in womens apparell, nor women in mens: for because that it is to hide the sex giuen by nature, and to shew themselves to be of an other sort, than God did create them. Seeing therefore this dismulation on is forbidden to be done in garments, why shall it be granted, that we may feigne and alter the forme and fauour of our countenance? As these things adde, that Paule did forbid Christian women to go with their heads vncouered, least in verie deed by the comeliness of their long haire, they might be an occasion of offense vnto men. Wherefore, seeing he forbade, that they should late before mens eyes the beautie of their haire, how much rather must we vnderstand, and that he forbade them to make that ostentation of beautie, whereby they be defittive by nature?

And whereas we, by the diuine Decrees, are commanded, not onelie to prouide for our owne saluation; but for other mens also, how may there be false vice anie feigned colours, which be fumes, poisons, and fire flames vnto pong men, who are beholders thereof? Where is the offering of that commandement; Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe? Paule, when he had in manie waies preached vnto the Corinthians, touching sanctification, in the end concluded; Magnifie or glorifie ye God in your bodies. And God is magnified in our bodies, not onelie through chastitie, but euen by the verie habit or disposition of chastitie. Further then this, let vs consider the manner of our creation. At Gods beginning made men trimmed onelie in their naturall attire, so as they went altogether naked; but after sin was committed, they put on coverings of leaues, whom afterward God couered, not with purple or silke, but with a moss

Against painting  
1. Tim. 2. 9.  
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1. Pet. 3. 5  
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ver. 5.

1. Cor. 11. 6  
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1. Cor. 6. 30.  
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plaine garment of skins. Whereby may be perceived, that superfluous ornaments did not proceed from God.

11. I gaue, let vs consider, that by false colorings, the picture of God is put aside, and the picture of an harlot taken on. But Paule saith; I shall leaue the member of Christ, and make thereof the member of an harlot? And so we may inferre, shall I take the face, figure, and lineaments of God, and bring in the lineaments, colours, and shew of an harlot? So likewise Christ reuoceth the hypocrites, because they obscured their faces, and deformed their visages, to appeare that they had fasted; when neuertheless the fasting, which they did feigne, might in his kind be an honest & iust thing. How much lesse can it be allowed, that these women should alter their faces; to the intent they may allure vnto dishonestie? Also in the third chapter of Esaias, God doth earnestly reprove the daughters of Sion, for their superfluous ornaments; and threateneth them, that they should be most greivously punished, in such sort, as all those things should be turned into their great reproch. Lastly, it is not the part of Christians to glorie in the flesh. But these, what do they else feele by painting of themselves, but the pleasure and glorie of the flesh? I might alledge verie manie other testimonies out of the holie scriptures, but these I take to be sufficient vnto the minds that be goodie, and not obstinate. How will I bring in probable arguments, whereof least I should seeme altogether to be the author, I will declare what the fathers haue written touching this matter.

64. Tertullian wrote two little booke, the one touch of berking, the other of womens attire. In the first he writeth, that men, by feigned colours, are allured to lust; and that it is waile to temptations is opened, the which should rather haue bene shut. Moreover, he reproveth painted women for their folle; because the more that foultenesse is hidden, the more it is increased. And when he testifieth, that God did not at the first create men, either painted, or with feigned colour; he demaneth, whether they walk at the latter baie rise up from the dead with the counterfeited and painted colours? Which being a matter incredible, he aduertyeth them to refrain from the same; seeing such things are neither agreeable vnto the resurrection, nor yet to the first creation. Where these kind of ornaments (saith he) forgotten by God, in that he gaue them not at the time of creation? Certainlie he might haue seene these things, which he gaue in uent; but he gaue them not, because they displeased him. Doubtles Tertullian pernameth not, that a woman should go altogether vnadorned, but to be trimmed, and to be unbecomely; but he

teacheth, that the trimming up of women must consist in a plaine and simple cleanliness. And aduocable (saith he) Christians do possesse modestie and humilitie; but these kind of ornaments haue altogether respect vnto pride. Also he saith; that there cannot be thence anie goodie woman, and which hath bene commended in the holie scriptures, that hath decked her selfe on this manner; whereas it followeth, that the same is a vice, which cannot be defended by anie good example.

And as Paule saith, that there is a difference betweene a married woman, and a virgin: so we may saie, that there is a difference betwixt the handmaidens of Christ, and the handmaidens of the diuill. The handmaidens of the diuill, seeing they be vnchast, do vse their paintings. Wherefore the handmaidens of Christ ought to eschew these things; that they may shew themselves the more vnitie vnto the other. Withoutdoubte, if Christian women would be colour and counterfeited themselves; wherein (I beseech you) should matrones differ from harlots? For euen they do chafic like foeth their owne beautie with their feignings and lies. The teacheth moreover, that it doeth not suffice to be colour and counterfeited themselves, but that it is also required, that it may appeare and beake forth in their attire and countenance: and that the power of faith ought to be so great, as the same may beake out from the hart vnto the habit or countenance of the bodie. And he saith, that Christian women are therefore fallen into colours, and counterfeited themselves; because faith is become weak and feeble in them. Origin, in his second Tome, and fourth homilie of sundrie places of the scriptures, among other things reproveth women, which haue dyed colours let vpon them; especially alledging against them, that they paint their linelie faces with dead colours; and he affirmeth, that they do these things in reproch of the Creation.

65. Cyprian also writeth of this matter in his first sermon De habitu, and in the booke De habitu virginitatis. He imitated Tertullian, from whence also he takes manie things word for word: although it should appeare, that he wrote vpon another purpose; for he speaketh onelie of the holie virgins, but Tertullian speaketh generally; to all, of womens attire, and of the habit of all women. This father, in reposing of this vice, brought a verie elegant similitude deduced from a painter. A painter, if he shall earnestlie desire anie figure, and another man come after him, and adde other colours and lines thereto, he perceiving this, will take it to be done in great dishaue: euen so saith he, seeing God hath fashioned our bodies after his owne mind, he

1. Cor. 7. 34

the speech  
out of Olypian.

the stile  
out of Cyprian.

2. Thim.  
1. 10.

28 Omile  
1001.The fourth  
out of Am-  
brose.The first  
out of Chrys-  
ostome.

delecteth and cannot abide counterfet : strange colours, which are brought in by men, once and besides that which he hath done: with these things may seeme to have a respect of mending his beauty: or rather an impugning of the same. With blacke powder (saith he) doe we then paint out the lineaments of thine eyes, whereas God made thee otherwise. And that which is more be-  
hement, he addeth: Which women, if they on this waste paint themselves, cannot put on Christ: for he maketh them to be alienated from salvation, when he separateth them from the holie vnion of Christ. And against those, which make a shew of themselves, to haue a continent and chaste mind, he teacheth: And if thou knowest a drinke or meate to be poisoned, and shouldest see anie man endeavour to eate or drinke of the same; couldest thou hold the peace, and sinne not? Aie verelie, thou not onlie holdest the peace; but thou bindest vnto them the poison and liques of death, and laiest it before menies to be drinke. Further, there be other such like fal-  
senges in Cyprian, which for heynitie lake I min-  
to passe ouer.

Ambrose, in his booke *De virginibus*, when he reproveth this vice, saith, That through counter-  
feiting of the countenance, they beseech hoto to corrupt their chastite. Also he reproveth their ma-  
nacles, when he addeth: While they stand in  
fear, how their husbands will iudge of them, they be-  
tray their owne iudgement of them selves: and they which in-  
deuour to please others, first displease themselves. For velle they had  
displeased themselves, and had bene desirous of  
some thing in themselves, they had not desired  
to better their faces with feigned colours. After-  
ward he addeth (me thinketh) a certaine hyperbo-  
licall speech; sith as the words sound, it is not  
true. For he saith, that outward auerities, to wit,  
of the bodie, are more tollerable than auer-  
ities of the countenance: because chastite is  
corrupted in this, but nature in the other. And in  
the first booke he teacheth: It is a painting of vice,  
not of comelineffe; of fraude, not of simplicitie;  
of beguileth and deceiveth. And that the garni-  
sheth his selfe on this sort, contenteth not his hus-  
band, who knoweth that the same is counterfet,  
and not his owne owne.

66 And Chrysostome, in his 3. homilie bp-  
on Matthew, exhorteth the husbands to scerifie  
his wife from this vice; by shewing vnto her,  
after a courteous manner, that coloured faces  
please not him, but that he is an vltier enemy to  
them: because the proprietie of such kind of paint-  
ings, is rather to deface the well-fauourednesse  
of women, than to beautifie them. And more-  
ouer he saith; that It is a great delight, to see the  
face to be such a one, as God hath created it;  
when as on the contrarie part, a visage disfigured

red from his owne nature, with red chalie and  
white lead, is mistaken. And he sheweth, that that  
deformitie cometh by this means; namely,  
when the lips be dyed with purple, they resemble  
the cruel grining of a beare; if the overbushes  
the cruel grining of a beare; if the overbushes  
be made blacke, they will seeme as if they had  
bene rubbed against a pot in the kitchen; the  
cheekes beinge, will then like the wall of a whi-  
te leprous. But if to be a man will faile, that  
some women be so foule, as without counterfet  
colours, they have no aduantage to come abroade;  
be auerities, that in vaine they do vse those  
things; because nature heareth rule our art.  
And if they be foule of fauour, they cannot bring  
to passe by painting, but that they will be  
knowne at length what they be. Furthermore,  
deformitie it selfe is vnder rebuke: but coun-  
terfeticall countenance, beinge perceiued, is conti-  
nuelicall noted with infamie.

It is written in the eleventh chapter of Ec-  
clesiastes: Despiseth thou not a man in his out-  
ward appearance, neither commend thou a man  
in his beauty. Therefore a blemish or foulness of  
the face, is not to be greatlie to be abhorred. For  
(as he saith); If that a faire and a foule woman  
were both weighed in a balance, and the vici-  
ousnesse weighed, as well of the one as of the  
other; we should not easilie perceive, that the  
foule woman hath more difformities than the  
faire woman. Moreover, if they can teach  
husbands to loue women, which be in such wise  
counterfeted, they shall not allure them to  
themselves, but rather set them forward vnto  
barlots, who are cunninglie instructed in such  
arts. He teacheth, that women, which paint their  
faces, are enuies of they should spinkie a gold  
vnto the eyes of men, and thus they should  
be made to see, that the face, which is like vnto  
God, cannot be exprest  
in counterfet paintings, and outward col-  
ours; which colours auerities are to be taken  
of no other thing, but of the stone called *Sibium*,  
or white lead. For of the red painting called  
*Purpurissa*, he saith: It is not lawfull to counter-  
fet the colours, which men buy and sell: how much  
lesse to counterfet the visage [which God hath  
framed]? And if so be, that when fault is found  
[with those] after it is bought; the bargaine is  
broken, and the seller compelled by action at  
lawe to take his money againe: no doubt, but if  
anie man buy a virgine, meaning, if he had  
bene no virgine, he would not haue bought her;  
if afterward he perceiue the same is defiled,  
the bargaine is void; and an action is granted a-  
gainst the seller, for the taking of his againe. But  
do these women thinke to scape unpunished, for  
deceiuing of men, who beinge beguiled through  
counterfet colours, thinke they marrie beau-  
tiful women; when they take defiled women?

67 Ierom against Heluid; teacheth; This  
woman

Ver. 4.

The fourth  
out of Am-  
brose.Ver. 30.  
Ver. 40.

of Faces.

woman is painted out by a glasse, and to the re-  
proch of the Creator, the indeuour to be fair-  
er than the was by birth. And in his epistle to  
Leta, touching the bringing up of his daughter,  
wherein he, reciting the discourse of a certaine wo-  
man, that was sore stricken for annoying his  
daughter with painting colours, calleth them  
which vse such things, Violators of the temple of  
Christ. And in his epistle to Furia, of the keeping  
of Iudolochad, he teacheth; that Counterfeting  
of the face with colours, is an enemie vnto  
repentance, whereunto christians ought to ap-  
pliche themselves all their life long. And he bring-  
eth an example of the woman being a sinner,  
who with hir teares flowing abundantly, wa-  
shed the feet of the Lord, and wiped them with  
the haire of hir head. She had them not (saith he)  
burnished with the stone called *Sibium*. More-  
ouer, he calleth white lead, and the red painting  
called *Purpurissa*; The fires of pong men, the  
nourishments of luste, and the tokens of an vn-  
chaste mind.

The fourth  
out of Am-  
brose.Ver. 30.  
Ver. 40.

But to Augustine I come, who purpasse  
treateth of this matter in his epistle to Polichius.  
He hath propounded a question vnto him; Whe-  
ther all kind of ornaments should be forbidden  
vnto women? He answereth, that he would not  
that he should haue to forward a iudgement,  
touching the ornaments of gold and of precious  
apparel; to wit, that he should forbid them vnto  
all women. But he saith; To be coloured  
with paintings, whereby a woman may appare  
either whiter or redder, is an adulterous and  
craftie deceit, whereby I doubt not, but that the  
husbands themselves will not be deceived. Her-  
by he easilie gathereth, that it is not lawfull for  
to vse such paintings, seeing they be counterfeted  
deceits; and not onlie counterfeted, but also per-  
nicious: because they be set forth to deceiue the  
beholders. Moreover, it must needs be a vicious  
thing in a woman, that she would beguile a  
man. Thus much Augustine. Whereunto I  
adde, by the iudgement of Paule; that We must  
not onliee elsewhere euill, but also the verie thew  
of euill. But in false colouring, there is to man-  
ifest a shew of euill, as it cannot be denied. In-  
doubtles, in the holie scriptures, the colouring  
with *Sibium* is neuer taken in good part. In the  
fourth chapter of Ieremie, and in the 23. of Eze-  
chiel, when God biddeth the idolatrie of the  
Jewes into hatred, he vseth the metaphor of  
whoredome, and saith; that he will bring the  
enemies against that people, who for their falshe  
had before painted their faces with *Sibium*; to  
the intent they might commit shameful whor-  
dome with them.

Seeing therefore the scriptures beare record,  
that these colours are procured for whoredome  
sake, we must not giue care vnto fond painted

women, which protest that they haue a chaste heart  
and mind. Now that we haue brought testimony  
enough out of the word of God, and pleni-  
tude and sufficient reasons out of the fathers, which  
must we then conclude? That that euerie con-  
sent should be vnto the takinge of such ornaments  
men. Let them (in Gods name) indure to  
please their owne husbands; beuillie; let them  
not be altogether vnbanished, and foule ad-  
red; let them wash away vncleanlinesse; let  
them cleanse their face fill; but let them not be  
painted with white lead, with *Purpurissa*, with  
*Sibium*, and finally with anie counterfet col-  
ours. For that is to put on vnyars, and to please  
the mallice, to beguile, to deceiue, and also to  
sit up lusts. But what my iudgement is con-  
cerning gold, ierels, & sumptuous garments,  
I do not purpose at this time to haue discus-  
sed; because they are things more agreeing  
together. I will briefly intouch somewhat of  
them. The saying of Augustine cannot now al-  
luded, it appereth, that these ornaments are  
not lawfull to be continued, and vnto the be-  
taken state. For there be vniuers degrees, and  
sinful states of men. There be in the world not  
onlie common people, and such as are not in  
honour, but there be also Emperours, Caesars,  
Kings, Dukes, Princes, Lords, and Ladies;  
vnto whom after a sort those ornaments be ne-  
cessarie.

68 Polichius, then writt faile, that Peter and  
also Paule bee come to haue forbidden these  
things; but what their meaning was, that we  
doe to consider of. Their mind was to with-  
drawe christian women from vaine pride, im-  
peritic, and to much sumptuousnesse; and to  
lead them away from that opinion, wherein  
they iudged these things to be the proper, true,  
and principall ornaments of women. So that  
they beinge aduised on this wise, thought that no  
other thing should be sought for; as though in  
these ornaments consisted the whole summe  
and effect of all. Therefore they forbid these  
things, not absolutely; but by waye of compari-  
son. In like manner, as when the same Paule  
saith; That Our thing is not against flesh and  
blood; he teacheth not, but that we must also  
strive against these things; but he teacheth that  
against these things are vniuall, in comparison of the  
powers of our auerities, which continually  
assault vs. And euen as when Christ, in talking  
of Iudas, saith; that They which are clothed in filth  
garments, be in kings houses, take not fast and  
pious garments out of the world, but theues  
for they were met. Moreover, we must  
consider vnto whom the apostles wrote; name-  
lie, vnto them of small estimation, to the com-  
mon sort, to those which were obscure and  
obscure; seeing the church for the most part at that  
time

What is to  
be iudged  
concerning  
gold, ierels,  
sumptuous  
garments,  
I do not  
purpose  
at this  
time to  
discuss.The scope  
of the apo-  
stles in re-  
specting the  
pious of  
women.

1 Tim. 2.9.

1 Pet. 3.3.

Ephes. 6.2.

1 Math. 23.5.



1. Cor. 12. 6.

1. ver. 34. 2. a confusion of their arguments which all men should be able to paint their faces.

2

3. 1. Tim. 2. 9.

4. 1. Cor. 12. 5.

time consisted of such. Wherefore Paule saith in the first epistle to the Corinthians; Brethren, have an eye unto your calling, not manie noble men, &c. To the intent therefore that Christian women should avoid superfluitie, and to much sumptuousnesse, and not be such ornaments for things indifferent, and thinke that they might be them as they list; they call them backe from those things, that leaving their affection towards them, they should seeke for better: the which would be overlong now to recite. For they are easie to be found in the writings of the apostles, and almost in the whole scripture besides. These things being on this wise ordered, we will answer the arguments brought out of the scriptures by our aduerlaries.

69. First, out of the first epistle to the Corinthians, the first chapter, it was alleged; that married women doe care for those things that be of the world, to the intent they may please their husbands. But this we denie not: let them haue a care to please their husbands, so they do it without dissimulation and liew. And let them thinke of themselves, whether they would be so deceived and beguiled, as in stead of a comely and well favoured man, they should marrie him that were foule and deformed. They saie also, that if men should be alienated from their wives, for deformitie sake, they might easilie fall into adulteries. Whereunto I answer, that honest husbands, by false paintings, are rather alienated than worne unto their wives. Forsooke, if they abstaine not from adulteries, for the feare that they haue of God, and are byged by the authoritie of his word; neither yet be moued by the lawes of men, and terrified with greivous perils: much lesse will they feare for such counterfet painting. And whereas it was alleged out of the epistle unto Timothie, that it is lawfull for women to go in comelie apparell, it is not rightlie expounded by our aduerlaries: because *deceit* in that place is modest and honest: to which the word following doth declare, for it is afterwarde added; In shamelesnesse. But in feigned colours there is no shamelesnesse, naie rather, there is intolerable impudencie.

Furthermoze, there was a place brought out of the first to the Corinthians; that Vpon those partes, which be most vnhonell, put we more honestie on: whereupon it was concluded, that if a man be clothed in the bodie, or in the countenance, it is lawfull to adorne and to colour the same. First let vs consider what mind the apostle had, when he wrote these things. In vnto deb he meant nothing else, but that the weaker sort in the church, which seemed to be the vniuersal and obscure members of Christ, should not be rejected and troden vnder feet; but rather cher-

ished and adorne: the similitude being vtomene from hence, to wit, that it hath bene loosed in the outward bodie. And whereas the apostle speaketh of honour to be put vpon those partes which are lesse honell; it cannot appertene vnto counterfet colours; for they are not ornaments, but rather feignes and deceipts. I prae you moreover, that honour is there giuen vnto the partes that be lesse honell: Euen to court them: for we prouide that they should not be seene or open vnto others. So then let them reuer their face, if they thinke it to be foule or lesse decent. But they will saie, that it is not the custome in all countries, that women should go with their faces couered. If this male not be let them abide the foulenesse and indecencie lawe vpon them by God. What if it be they had bene borne lame, or with a crooked backe? Certainly they might not haue amended these things, but should haue suffered them. Let them therefore, which be deformed by nature, endeavour to make themselves commendable and approved for their vertue and honest conditions. Thus much for answer vnto the places of the scripture alleged by them. Now must we confute their subtilties.

70. First they saie, that we offend by a false argument, *A seculum quid ad simpliciter*, from that which is after a for, to that which is absolute. For seeing there be manie things found, which prouoke lusts, which cannot be denied to be sinne; therefore that we iudge all things to be vicious, which moue or stirre our cruel concupiscence. But this they asseme to be false, and bring an instance of naturall beautie, which inasmuch they that looke thereupon, and yet will none saie that there is fault therein. So this false simile we answer, that one and the like consideration is not to be had of beautie naturall, and of that which is counterfet. Because naturall beautie cannot be accused of sinne, seeing it is the worke of God. Again, the that is beautifull by nature, indureth not to obtaine this gift: but they which paint their faces, seke it as much as they can; that being not beautifull, yet at the least they may seeme to be such, and therewithal discover their conuiceypt mind, and the signes of a naughty conscience. Furthermoze, they saie, that we vse a false syllogisme of the accident, in that we iudge of the action, not according to the nature thereof, but according to the accident which followeth the same; that is, by the circumstances which are about the matter, and happen thereto. Whereunto it is said, that whereas of accidentis or circumstances there be two kinds; one common, which is proper for the most part, or now and then it is separated from the thing; and others so fixed and constant, as they be not without:

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nered: by these of this second kind, mens actions are iustitie and vniu god cause allowed or disallowed. Curren as; for that it is a thing necessarilie incident vnto suffering, to outcharge the face; therefore it is condemned as sinne. Whereof we are also, because it taketh away the heart of man, prouoketh him to lust; and other, while it doth stirre vnto furie: therefore it is accounted sinne.

This in like manner they haue alleged, that sinne is in things, either by a naturall condition, or else by an affection of those persons, which use them: but that in counterfet colour, there is no cause by a naturall condition; but that sinne doth easilie happen, through the corrupt will of them that practise these things. Whobest, if we should followe this as a continuall and certaine rule, we should defend manie such vnhonell vices, to be things indifferent: which neuertheless, by the scriptures, and by the iudgement of sound men, are condemned. For in adulterie, if there had respect vnto the condition of nature; what else (I prae you) is there but a continuation of man and woman? Shall we therefore saie, that such a continuation is not sinne? Aie verelie, it is a most greivous wickednesse: because men are not there coupled with their owne, but with other mens. The which condition is so auerred vnto adulterie, as without the same, it cannot be committed. What also, if they looke vpon the naturall action, it is to carrie away a thing from place to place, and to translate it from some one person vnto another. But in these actions, theft is not committed; unless the goods belong to another man, and be taken away against the will of the owner. Wherefore the circumstances, or fixed accidents are of so great importance, as in them that which is bonis, is iudged to be sinne: yea and in them it refect oftentimes, that the forme of sinne is changed. For if that, which belongeth to another man, be taken away from the owner, against his will, theft is committed; but if thou take away a horse, or remove it from a holie place; now it is not theft, but sacrilege.

71. Forsooke, they take it as granted, that a thing, whether it proceed of nature, or of art, is all of one sort: and therefore, when there is both a naturall beautie giuen, and an artificiall, seeing the one cannot be reprobated as a sinne, neither ought the other to be disallowed. And that the things naturall and artificiall haue one and the selfe-same respect: hereby they proue, because the health, which is naturall, and that which physicians restore by their art, be both of one condition and properitie. But in arguing in that things are deuiated: for it is not true, that things naturall and artificiall are both of one condition. And the similitude brought doth proue no

thing: for the health, which is restored by physicians, is not artificiall, but naturall. It is nature it selfe that bringeth forth the same, being aided by medicines and physike. Wherefore the physician is called the minister of nature. And if it be that nature do be faint, and be vnterly destitute of strength, the physician can bring nothing to passe. But because I will not seeme to censure, admit me to be of one condition, then will I asse. Because naturall beautie both prouoke vnto lust, therefore must we studie to do it more vehemently by painting and colouring: further, if it is not true, that semblable effects are brought forth in them both: for naturall temperature maketh true beautie; but counterfet colours and painting do make it false, feigned, and counterfet.

They contended, that the true cause ought to be distinguished and separated from the occasion. This will we easilie grant, seeing neuertheless, that which they asseme, to wit, that we should not iudge of the actions, according to the occasions. For although it so happen sometime, yet is it not alwayes true; forasmuch as occasions haue a great force, and according to their difference, manie things are allowed, and also disallowed. So great respect had God vnto occasions, as for them he made manie lawes. Wherefore would he haue his people of Israel to meet together all in one place, to sacrifice and to worship? A sacrifice, euen because there should be no occasion giuen of schisme in religion, if men had assembled together in diuers places at their owne pleasure. For in sumble places, euerie man would haue serued God after his owne mind, and not by the prescript lawe of God. Neither did he for any other cause, permit a disuolvement, but to take away the occasion from such husbands of murdering their wives. He also forbade matrimonie with isolaters & strangers, for feare of corrupting good religion.

72. Whereby we may easilie see, what account God made of occasions. And it appereth not to be true, which these men suppose, that we must not iudge of mens actions according to the occasions. Alas, how we are to reforme of occasions, the Romane lawes do teach. For in the bookes of the Decretes, in the title *Si quadam pauperum scilicet decano*, it is decreed; that the owner of the foure-footed beaust shall either deliuer the same beaust that hath bene hurt, or else paie the value of the harme. And in the title *Ad legem Aquilam*, manie punishments are prouided against occasions, and against those things, which are done by chance. If a maister shall be ouer-cruell to his scholar, so as afterwarde he put him in perill of his life, he is in the banger of that lawe; although his intent was to teach, and not to hurt or wound. Alas the physician standeth in

3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

ff. ff. g. danger.

danger, if the cut not a servant as he ought to do; when as there is no doubt made touching his will in the doing of it. Likewise, that man, which shall take mules to be handled and governed, and afterward, either for his unskillfulness, or for his weakness is not able to restrain their violence, whereby there is harme done, he is punished; when as yet his weakness is and want of skill both after a fortnight his offence. But the lawes have a consideration, that he, knowing his owne infirmities and want of skill, should not have taken that charge upon him. And they that in throwing darts, or shooting of arrows in game, happen to kill a servant passing by the high waie, they be in danger of the lawe Aquila. Also they, which make pitfalls for to take wild harts or beares; if men or cattell fall therein by chance, those men be punished. In like manner, if he that is appointed to be the keeper of a burning furnace, fall alinde, and the fire breaching out fetter all on fire, he is punished; though he were the officer, not the cause of the burning, whereby it appeareth, that even the occasions of harmes are indged to be offences. Wherefore it is a common saying, that he that is guilty the cause, seemeth to have done the harme.

But our adversaries will saie; We reason not of the cause, but of the occasion. But (I beseech you) let these men tell me, what is occasion. The same undoubtedly is a cause also, although not so full and perfect: For, even as an offence is of two sorts; given & meane and taken; men so we take, that occasion is of two sorts; namely, taken and given. It shall be called an occasion taken, in respect that when a man indevoutly doo well, and according to the precept of the lawe; others take occasion of defaming and slandering his god purposes: in this case he that doo well, is not to be accused of sinne; neither must he leave off from his god enterprise, because of them which speak evil. But he is said to give an occasion, which by doing of evil, or by not absteining from such things as he might; either by his example, or by some other meane, doth stirre up some man to sinne. Whose, in this degree are women that paint themselves to be reckoned; because they offend, and give offence by their dishonest doing; and by not desisting from that, from which they might easilie temper themselves. For whereas it is not unknowne unto them, that manie of the holders be inflamed and perily, through their counterfet colours, yet will they not refrain from them; speciallie, seeing that in those things a small fault, yea sometimes no fault almost at all is condemned. When as there is no doubt, but that a maiister, which teach his servant strike or kill an other, is in danger of the lawe Aquila:

as faith Vlpian in *Leg. Aquila*, in the Digests, in the same title. For that the knowledge a light is taken for the suffering, since he did not forbid it, when he might; as Paule the lawyer himself, in the table following, in the Digests, in the same title. Whereof it is not true, that they men affirme, that we should never indge by occasions, seeing they ought to avoid all things, which may give occasion and offence: as I have declared.

They say moreover, that in following of our opinion, it might not be lawfull to make shew either of gold or of jewels; least the beholders thereof should fall into naughtie desires, and shew with them to be theirs; although it were by twong meane. Wherunto we answer, that there is great difference betwene counterfet colours, & natural beautie; such as is in gold, silver, and precious stones, which sometimes are necessarie to be shewed forth to the eye: as in the crowne of a king, in principall bankets, and upon certaine other causes. Further, it was objected, that if the matter should be thus, it might never be lawfull for a woman, indwed with naturall beautie, to step out of her house; least she should give an occasion of naughtie desires. Wherunto we answer, that it should be verie well borne of faire maidens, and comely matrons, to keepe at home, so much as is possible. Whereupon the snail, among the Chyniks, was an honest matrons cognizance; because that creature doth continually hide it selfe in his shell. And Paule reprooveth the widowes, which wander from house to house. Let them remember the ill hap of Dinah, which gaddad away to be acquainted with the manners and qualities of strange women. Salomon also saith; that The vndul woman is a wanderer vp and downe, but the honest woman feedeth her selfe at home.

But thou wilt saie, that the most comelines go abroad unto goodlie sermons, to comfort the afflicted, and them that be sicke; speciallie if they be of thy kindred. I grant that there be necessarie duties; in the doing whereof, let women be wise becaue themselves, as they brag not of their beautie, but let them rather moderate it; sensible it; that if they happen ante evil afterward, they may be excused, because they gave not their inbenvour to ante lewd or forbidden thing. Likewise, it was objected, that these things be the creatures of Gods; therefore indifferet: whereupon it was concluded, that we may be them. But we replye, that we may be them rightlie; but not abuse them. For this were a strong argument, that such things should be excused. For they would saie, that bread, & other viaticals, is also borne to the works of Gods; & therefore we take our pleasure of them. Also the workers of idols would pretend, that the marble stone, wood, rie, gold, silver, and wood, are the creatures of

God; and hereby would saie, that it should be lawfull for them to use them at their owne pleasure. Paule saith; All things are lawfull unto me, but all things are not expedient. For whatsoever we doe, it ought to be a furtherance unto the glory of Gods name, and to the edifying of our neighbours. Let these things suffice for answer, unto the arguments and sophistical reasons of our adversaries.

## The twelfth Chapter.

The eight commandment; Thou shalt not steale. And first of theft, sacrilege, and the stealing awaye of mens servants and children.

As touching theft; it is theft, when we withhold that, which is an other mans, against the will of the owner; or else, when we by iniurie snave unto us other mens goods; or when we distribute that which is our owne, when need requirith. And there be manie other kinds of thefts. But in the table of the ten commandments, the chief purpose is onlie to set forth a briefe summe; and that after the plainer and homelier sort, in the which we may understand all the parts thereof. The head and summe of all theft, is covetousnes. Even as in the dishonester sort of pleasures, onlie adulterie is expressed; under which are comprehended all kinds of vnicelances: so under the name of idolatry, all kind of false worshiping is forbidden; whereas that onlie is expressed, which is most greuous. For a strange god is forbidden vs; so likewise are graven images, and similitude figures. Wherefore, then arie of the ten commandments of Gods is set downe unto vs, it is our part to consider well, what things be comprehended under that sinne. Further, the not must be fought out, and these against we must strive with all the might we have. Consider; of theft herof speaking, that we distrust God, and are alwaies afraid, lest we should want ante thing. But adulterie, and all vnicelances of the flesh, springeth from the desire of voluptuous pleasures: as Christ expresseth, when he saith; if a man looke vpon a woman, to lust after her, he hath already committed adulterie in his heart. And against this concupiscence we ought to wrestle.

As touching murder, Christ hath likewise admonished vs, that we should take cleane abate anger, as the root thereof. Sacrilege also is to catch, and raplie vnto a mans selfe, holie

things, which be dedicated unto God, or: but unto him, either in respect of a vow, or a separation. The Jewes were commanded in the lawe, not to spare idols: for they ought to have overbrought and destroyed them all. But they being drawn by countenance, referred them unto themselves, and turned them to their owne commodities. So finished Achan, and also Saul, when he had overcome Amalek. Contrarie to this, Moses gave an excellent example of courage, when he not onlie bade the golden calfe; but also he bade it into powder, and shew it into the river. But if the reliques of the idoll had remained still, peradventure the Israelites, as they were mad upon them, would have worshipped them. Contrarie to the Common-lawe, and our magistrates, may take abate those things, which are superfluous, and convert the prices of them to the good and goodlie uses: yet private men may not do so. But the Hebrewes were generally forbidden, that they should not buye such things; especially if it had beene cursed.

This was not a crime of death; but if there were found ante stolen thing in the hand of the robber, the thing shold was restored. Whosoever if he had either laine it, or sold it; he received foure open for; and fine shold paye. But David made it death; He delineth death (saith he), and wilfully, that there should be restored eight fold; if we follow the rules of grammar. For *Abraham* is the usual number: albeit the Chaldean interprets, and some of the Hebrews take it for foure fold. What shall we answer herunto? We answer two manner of waies. The first is; that the lawe ought to be kept after the ordinary and equall manner; but it laie in the Judges hands to increase or diminish the punishments, according to the nature of the circumstances. What were the circumstances, for the which David augmented the punishment? He that stole, was a rich man; Further, he stole from that that was pore; which also doth aggravate the cause. To take somewhat, where great harme is, is not to great a matter. Besides, he took from him that one, which of all other he should most beare unto him. Wherefore did he so? To give god intertainment to his ghell, who yet was an ill man; and to make god purchase with him. Therefore it must not seeme ante marvell, if David augmented the punishment. But he thou saiest, that this is to alter the lawe of Gods, whereof Gods laith; Neither add thou vnto it, neither take thou from it. They laith: there be no words added, the lawe remaineth perfect; but so much as the law-matter cannot expresse all cases, it cometh to passe, that it is put to the discretion of iudges, either to aggravate, or to diminish the sentence. For this thing, that is a great matter, when the sentence







not refused to indanger my life. Wherefore the Ephraimites were most vngthankfull for great a benefite.

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gratfull  
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That the  
benefits,  
which we  
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men, do  
come from  
God.

Whether  
benefits  
are to be  
withstand  
from the  
vngthankfull.

How we  
may with-  
stand our  
benefits.

Of c. 5.

March, 45

Two kind  
of benefits  
of God.

be certine other temporal and common gifts, which yet are speciallie giuen for the clea sake. Wholue it; for that it is impossible, that without a miracle they should come into the good, but the which be also made partakers of them; therefore be giuen them as well to the one as to the other. How might a flower be so that it should not water the fields of the which? In ded God might do it, but yet not without a miracle. And forasmuch as he will not alwayes shewe miracles, he will rather that the vngthankfull should be partakers of these benefites; than that the good should be destitute of commodities necessarie for life.

Allo kings do not make euerie citizen a ruler, a president, or other officer belonging to a magnificat; but them onely that are full and whole: which if they do not, they execute not their office. But when they giue into their people li-berall gifts, or a banquet, or distribute care; because without great labour and paine they cannot separate the good citizens from the bad; therefore they bestowe such things, as are of this kind, upon all men one with another, and chuse rather to deferre well of euill citizens, than to defraud the good of their liberalltie, for whose sake they are chafte moued to be bountifull towards the people. It is vs also imitate this, that when we bestowe priuate things, although we light vpon one that is vngthankfull, let vs not therefore be vngthankfull from him our liberalltie. But let vs be vngthankfull in such manner, as we haue before declared; that if he subboghlye p-posed to be vngthankfull, let vs at the length, for his correction sake, cease to bestowe any benefite vpon him. But such benefites, as are common and publicke, let vs continually bestowe them, yea euen vpon the vngthankfull, as we are of God commanded. And let vs rather chuse, to haue our good things distributed to goodlie and holie men, than to cease off from being good; because the which should not be partakers of them.

### Of Plaies or Pafimes.

1. Some of the Fathers seme to mislike in Ioh. 4. all kind of plaies. Ambrose, in his first booke of Offices, the 22. chapter, Plaies and pafimes (which he) seme to be froward and pleisant, yet are they contrarie to the rule of a christian, with it is not found in the holie scriptures how they ought to be vsed. Chrylosome in his first homilie vpon Mathew, faith; that God vs invented not games, but the diuall. For the people fat downe to care and drinke, and relee vs to plaie, in the honing of a most filthy bodie. For when they had worshipped the calfe, and incurred idolatrie, they seemed to haue obtained this reward of the di-  
well; namely, to plaie.

well; namely, to plaie. Perhaps Chrylosome alludeth to that, which Plato wrote in Phaedro; that Theut the titell of the Egyptians found out dice, numbers, Geometrie, Astrologie, letters, and such. But Augustine in his second booke of musicke, faith; that It is the part of a wise man, sometime to reuolue the mind from earnest mat- ters; and that is speciallie done by pafime: whereto it seemeth lawfull. But wherof so great a delight in plaie cometh, it is not good to be- verstand. Aristotle, in his second booke of the to-likes, putteth viciose, or the hope of viciose among the causes of delight. But when we plaie, either we obtaine the viciose, or else we be in some hope thereof. So as they, which defend plaie, determine with themselves, that the mind ought sometimes to be no less refreshed, than the bodie: and as the bodie is reuiled by rest, so the mind is reuiled by plaie. But which means they thinke to p- pose, that some plaie must be left for plaie; some cautions neuertheless being preferred.

First, that there be vile and vnhon- est plaies vsed in plaie: for it is commonlie seene, that in gaming, both shamefull & blasphemous talke is vsed. We must also take heed, that co- munitie be not intermingled with plaie: for oftentimes it cometh to passe, that men do so wholue giue themselves to plaie, that afterward they are able to thinke vpon no weightie mat- ter. Forcener, the circumstances are diligentlie to be marked: (I meane) of the person, the place, and the time. It is certine in ded, that in the holie scriptures, there is no rule of some plaies prescribed, as touching plaies; although there be read in them manie kinds of plaie. In Gene- sis the angel wrestled the whole night with Ia- cob. Sara saue Isaac plaie with Imael, which the tobe in euill part: not because he played, but for that he played with the soune of a bad wo- man. Also David danced and played before the ark of the Lord. And the maidens sang in their dances; Saule hath overcome his thousands, and David his ten thousands. And Christ complain- ed, that the Jewes were like unto children play- ing in the streets, and satering: We haue piped vnto you, and ye haue not danced: we haue sor- rowed, and ye haue not mourned. And although of these things there be no certine rules man- scribed, yet in the holie scriptures; yet they be left forth in the ciuill lawes.

2. But before I speake of them, it shall be conuenient to distribute plaies of games into their formes and kinds. There be some, which be vicerally referred vnto chance: as be, which cald most points, or tholouth this chance of that, winneth the game. There be other, wher- by the powers either of the bodie or mind are ex-  
erced. Such plaies as depend vpon chance, are vnderstand by the name of dice-plaie, and are condemned both by the ciuill lawes, and by the fathers. In the Digests De aleatoribus, the Dic- tor faith; If a dice-plaie be intreated by his fel- lowes, I will not giue him iudgement; but if one feale, or do violence to another, I will surelie do right, although they be vnhon- est. And afterwards: If a man compell another to plaie, let him be punished; either let him be cast into the quaires to big stones, or else into the common prisons. These things it appereth, that to plaie at dice was iudged, by the ciuill lawe, to be a verie odious thing. Cicero, in his second vithique against Antonius, his house (faith he) full of dice-placers and vionkards. Further, the lawes adde; If dice-placers late nie wagers among themselves, let them be of no force. Wholue it, it is permitted to them that be of one household, to plaie among themselves, for a repast of banquet.

But in the Code De religiosis sum ptibus func- rum, it is more particularie ordered concern- ing the plaie at dice, and dice-placers. In the old time, soldiers were permitted to plaie at dice, when their businesse was done. In these- lles, the emperors found fault, that in those daies all men played, and in trieng of games losed all their patrimonie, and lastlie vied blas- phemy against God. Wherefore he decreed, that it should not be lawfull for any man to plaie, nor to looke vpon him that played; and he learned the bishops to take diligentlie, that these things be obserued. The same Iustinian the emperor, in his Authentiques, in the title De sacrosanctis epis- copis, in the Paraph Interdum, prohibeth by name, that no bishop, priest, or deacon, should either plaie themselves, or looke vpon them that plaie. But if they should be otherwile, he commandeth that they should be put into a monastrie for these years. And in the 38. ca- non, and late, that it is lawfull for emperors to decree touching ecclesiasticall things. De- cessu prelatum, in the chapter Inter Alia; be- cause a certine Canon was found to be a dice- plaie, and in plaie had giuen his monie, vpon viciose, to receiue for 10. pieces of monie, 12 he was deposed.

Also De vita & honestate clericali in the chap- ter Clerici; Let them not plaie at dice nor at games, neither let them be present at such games. The same is to be read in the 35. distillation, chapter the first; Either let them cease to plaie, or else be condemned. But they that mainteine this kind of plaie, were wont to say; What if we list to bestowe our monie in that sort? Are not the maidens of this which is our oune? We do no toying to our neighbour, we take not auaie other mens goods. These things they haue con- sidered.

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Auguine.

Aristotle.

The cause  
of play-  
ing in plaie.

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3

Some in  
the holie  
scripture  
concerning  
plaies.

Gen. 32, 24.  
Gen. 32, 25.

1 Sam. 6, 14.  
1 Sam. 8, 6.

Mat. 23, 16.

1

A distinc-  
tion of  
of plaies.

1 Cor. 10, 3.

Diceplate  
condemned  
by the ciuill  
lawe.

Auguine.

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Some in  
the holie  
scripture  
concerning  
plaies.

Gen. 32, 24.  
Gen. 32, 25.

1 Sam. 6, 14.  
1 Sam. 8, 6.

Mat. 23, 16.

1

A distinc-  
tion of  
of plaies.

1 Cor. 10, 3.



trivialis in their mouth. But they ought to understand, that it is the magnificat office, to see, that curie man die his owne well. Further, we must consider moze depite, that God gave these men monie, to nourish their familie with all, and to helpe the poore; and not to late it upon a chance, and hazard it upon the uncertainty of fortune. Spozrouer, it becometh, and especially christians, to represent the image of God, who governeth and ruleth all things by reason. Not to consume monie on that sort, is not to be a lord, but a tyant over his owne. Those hereto, that if they be anie thing gotten by this means, the same is filthie lurre; and so is it called.

where things lost by dice play should be recovered.

17 Now, so far as it is counted filthie game, it maie suffice be demanded, whether these things that be lost by dice-play, maie be recouered? I answer, that if ye, which loose, be not in his owne gouernement, but vnder the tuition of another (as are children and seruants of an household) the latesse do appoint a recouerer, and that vnto the age of filthie yeres. Now be it, if they be vnder their owne tuition, there is no recouerer granted; and the cause is alleaged, because it is a shame for them both. In which case the possessor hath the better cause. In the 146. gress, in the little De conditione dei sapientia casum, in the late *Phisitem*; When the shame is in either partie, there is no condition giuen. What then shall be done with the monie? They saie it must be bestowed vpon the poore, and he, which hath lost, may receive harme; and he likewise, which hath gained, maie not wote that he hath been naughty gotten. This must be done, when the proprietie is reuoluted. Of the same Augustine, in his 54. epistle to Maccedonius; Where the possession hath he is translated, let the monie be giuen to the poore; but where it is not translated, (as if a man take away anie thing by theft, a losse it is dice) let it be refused.

Augustine.

At be then conclude, that such plaies, as are directed by chance and monie are indangered, ought not to be albiden. For it belongeth to the yoke like weale, to see that mens gods be rightlie ordered. And God giueth substance, to bestowe vpon good vses: so far as they do of tentimes spring horrible blasphemies, and rubbing of hoies, and couetous & fire of other mens goods is stirred by, besides the great losse of time. These things do both the ciuill and ecclesiasticall lawes fe. Not at this time they are not regarded: sith the canonick lawes be condemned by the Clergie, and the ciuill lawes despised by Princes. For there is no place more thannefull and continuall plaie, then, among princes and ecclesiasticall persons: who in times past, when they topt those lawes, were

of a sound iudgement; but [in our daies] they both haue liued, and do liue dissuadible.

18 But the other kind of plaie, wherein is exercise of the powers, either of the bodie or of the mind, is not utterly to be albiden. In such, in the late before alleaged, when he had forbidden plaies, which depend of chance, excluded this other kind of plaies in the fiend of them: as the schooling of a comen ball in the aire, handling of the speere, running, and such like. *Pha* and Aristotle, in his *Rhetorike*, commendeth those exercises of the bodie. And certeinly, so far as a man hath need of some refreshment and pleasure, to recreate himselfe withall, it is meet that he should haue leaue to vse such things as he loveth. So at this daie, the pullike leaue both sometime promise rewards vnto such, as can best handle their weapons; to the intent their citizens maie be the better exercised. Now be it, there must be had taken that the kinds of plaies be not hurtfull and pernicious; and that therein be no danger of killing, maiming, or miserable tearing them, which either exercise themselves, or be present, or be assembled to behold. And this kind of games is forbidden *Ad legem Aquilam*, in the late *Nam ludus*, and in the heeres *De tormentis*. In those things, which of their owne nature be not enill, but be enill oftentimes through that which inueth, ought to be forbidden.

In the old time, rebars were appointed for singers, quato, poets and readers: which are not altogether to be disallowed, if they be done well, and with moderation. Afterwards were added fage plaies, whereof I will laie nothing in this place. There were also dances, whereof we haue spoken in their place. But men could not content themselves with these plaies; because the mind of them also, which for diuertisement could exercise the powers of the bodie, must be refreshed with some pleasure. Wherefore, they invented another kind of plaie; namely, the plaie of wittesmen, which we commonlie call chesse, and is not thought fit to be condemned. Again, there is a certein other kind of gaming, which is nameth partie vpon chance, and partie vpon industrie; as is plaing at tables, & such like, where in serie they call by chance, but the calls are governed by indet. *Chrysostom* in his *Plato* affirmed the liue of man to be like vnto the plaing at tables. For even as in table plaie, so also in the liue of man, if anie thing chance amisse, the same by art must be corrected. Vnto which sentence Terence in his *Comedie* *Terent*. *Adelphorum* alueth. And in deed these kind of plaies seeme to be such, that sometime they maie be permitted, so that they hurt not, so they create the spirits, and be ioined with honestie; and that the time, which should be spent vpon better things, be not consumed in these.

19 But

19 But what shall we answer vnto Ambrose? This certeinly maie be said, that that plaie *De officio*, pertaineth not vnto plaies; for: so much as be there treated of pleasant talke, taluents, & frokes, & speciallie such, as are ioined with ciuillitie, & cheerfulness, in the 118. place, vpon these words; Turne away mine eyes, that they behold not vanitie, he calleth fage plaies, vanitie: as doth Augustine, Lactantius, Ieron, and other fathers; for they had in them more filthinesse. And in the beginning they were instituted vnto the honour of gods; and for that cause were odious vnto the fathers and christians. But the reason, which Ambrose first alleaged, was; because there was nothing found in the holie scriptures, how these things ought to be viced. Therefore we answer, that they are found in the holie scriptures generally: Whether ye eat, or whether ye drinke, or whether ye do anie thing else, doo all things to the glorie of God. Therefore the bodie and the mind must otherthings be so refreshed with plaies, as afterwards we maie be cheerful and prompt to weightie matters. Furthermore, there is nothing found particularie in the scriptures touching balles, cakes, or of wittesmen; and yet nevertheless, their exercises must not be altogether excluded.

1. Cor. 10. 31.

Chrysostom saith, that the diuill found out plaie, alleaging this; That the people shold come to eate and to drinke, and rose vp to plaie. If a man loke thoughtlie vnto the place of this father, he shall perceiue that be spake of those men, which would not repent: but were want to saie; I would to God I might neuer wepe, but might alwaies laugh and plaie! To whom, he saith; Christ preached; Blessed are they that mourne. And so far as we vsine so often, & do so greenfullie offend God; how should we haue leaue to plaie? He also condemneth these plaies, whereby we are made sluggish and vniapt to god worke. He do not (saith he) in plaie or laughing, imitate Christ or the apostles; for we neuer read, that they either played; or laughed. Now be it, he addeth a moderation, saying he saith; I do not generale take vnto all laughter, but excessive and immoderate laughter. And sith, he converteth his speech vnto fage plaies, and saith; that they were instituted by the diuill; for they containe the wicked acts and the diuill: for they containe the wicked acts and the wickedness of the gods, whereby the consciences of good men are greivoully wounded; and wicked lulls are made vnto sinners stirred up.

Chrysost.

1. Cor. 10. 31.

Nich. 4.

And whereas he saith, that those things were instituted by the diuill, he speaketh nothing contrary vnto the truth: sith, as I haue declared) they were instituted vnto the honour of the gods. And he addeth moreover, that the diuill builded stages in cities. But now to con-

What must be made

clude, we thinke that those kind of plaies, which serue for refreshing of mens strength, are not utterly to be forbidden. Neither can it be lightlie to be offered, if we see men plaie at chesse; with which plaie the powers of the mind are nothing holpen, but onlie the indolence of the mind exercised. For it strenghteneth through age, so that they cannot overcome themselves by anie other means, or that their bodies be not weakie; why should they not be permitted to delight themselves moderately with this kind of plaie? Neither also he that is vnto be condemned, which being sicke or weakie, recreateth himselfe with that kind of plaie, which dependeth vpon chance or fortune; so that therein be no harbouring of iniquie. For we must chaele consider, to what intent the lawes forbade it: vnto those it was, because a man should not profit gallic waite his gods. And therefore it was provided by the lawe, that a man should not hazard about a shilling: as we haue in the Code in the place before alleaged. The meaning of the lawe was this, that monie should not be ill spent.

so that the lawe should be games.

20 But some saie, that they take no pleasure in plaie, vntill they plaie for monie. But I make asse of them, to what vs they meane to imploye that monie? Perhaps they will saie vpon a feast. And why not rather vpon the poore? But I saie, it is much faster and better not to plaie for anie monie at all. For although it may be, that thou thy selfe art not toucht by countenies; yet perhaps the other, with whom thou plaicest, is toucht. Let the occasions be taken away, which otherwise be made enioy that monie vnto enill. And if there were nothing else to feare vs from plaies, let vs for Gods sake leaue the searitie that we haue of time. The lawe of God requireth to maine buter, that all our whole life is not able to performe them; yet shall we belesse time in plaies? We are sufficientie infected otherwise with our countenies of monie, and with ambition to excell and overcome others: why do we then by these infinitesimall things with plaies? Albeit thou wilt saie; These things are neuer stirred by in m. But now, thou must remember, that they make easily be stirred up. And we must not enioy for to our selves, but also have a regard, that we bring not other likewise vnto this point. And thus much of the honest kind of plaies and games.

If there be anie, which do plaie, being infected with countenies; let them knowe, that they, like enill merchants, rather shoy and change, than plaie; for they seeke no other thing but filthie gain. Neither seeke they pleasure, which in honest plaies is the chiefest: but they seeke their owne commoditie, and that by vile means. And whereas they, which delight in immoderate plaies, do saie; There must be some pleasure in

Gggij.

the

verse 9.

verse 16.

Tertullian.

Other do not treat of this because plants are games.

the life, whereby we male be recreated. Let vs grant that it be so: but in the meane time they must be admonished, that there be other pleasures more honest. Paule to the Ephesians, the first chapter, faith; Speake vnto your selues in psalms, hymnes, and spirituall songs, singing and making melody in your hearts. The verse same writeth he vnto the Colossians, the third chap. Tertullian in Apologetico, faith; that Christians bled to assemble together, to their moderat sport suppers, when they were refreshed with meate, they sang diuine praises vnto God, and recited some thing out of the holie scriptures, exhorting one another thereby. And by this means they returned sober home.

There be also problemes, wherewith the toits male be exercised and refreshed: whic if they seme to be to hard, there are foyces, which map with lesse labour be learned. While haue they not comen to haue to read them vnto them: There is no historie so tender, which is not verie profitable for some part of mans life. There be histories also of plants, of herbes, and of fowles. There are likewise communications of godlie men one with another, where with minds are refreshed, and there withall edified. I do not (as I haue said) debate plates vterile; but I preferre these things, as much more honest and profitable. Although the plaie of Samson was honest and semelie, yet had it a deadle end. And if this plaie had such ill successe; what is to be hoped of those, which are forbidden by the lawes? They that made those lawes, were wise men in gouerning of the common-weale: to whom, seeing credit is giuen in other things, why is it not al so giuen in this one?

### Of Gentlenesse and affabilitie.

21 The vertue which followeth things delightfull in sports, is *gentlenesse*, to wit, Gentlenesse and Affabilitie in speech. It is otherwise a necessarie thing: for as the bodie hath need of rest, so the mind to be refreshed with some pleasure. Yet must we beware, that we be not forward in those things, least we hurt, and least that we speake anie vncleane thing. Wherefore, we must observe the circumstances; to wit, When, With whom, and How; and that it be done with such wordes and actions as be comenient. The excellie is *symplocia*, to wit; when men vse a certaine reprochfull kind of speaking, when they speake those things that be filthie and hurt others, and haue no consideration of time, manner, or persons. *Beuolus*, signifieth an altar, and in old time about altars there was meate: and then there sat iudges about the altars, that

they by their much babbling (which offence was *uerbe vniuili*) might make men merrie: these are said to be rude and rusticall persons. As else, as they which be pleasant, male be called *euuili*; so these other male be called *inuili*.

### The 13. Chapter.

The ninth Precept: Thou shalt not beare false witness. And first of Contumelie.



As touching this place, I indige that there be foure things to be considered of; first, what is Contumelie; secondly, from whence it springeth; thirdly, whether it be sinne; lastlie, whether it be tolerable. The first principall points being examined, we will asple the matter vnto Dauid; to consider, whether he did rightlie, in bearing thereof in some. What it is, we shall by this meanes knowe. First, we will note the etymologie of the word; after that, we will let forth the definition. Contumelie (if we giue credit vnto Vlpianus the lawiour, in the *digests*, in the title *De iniurijs*, laue the first) is so called, of *Contemendo*, Contemning: and in *uerbe* deed it hath his beginning of contempt. Those, whom we reproch, we despise. Touching the definition, we gather out of the second booke of Aristotles *Ethicorum*, that this kind hath, for his generall word, *ἀνιδουσία*, that is, Contempt. It is defined what it is; to wit, A certaine action about the opinion; and concerneth that thing, which appeareth vnto be of no value. We in our mind and conceit contemne those things, which seeme to be of no value. And this contempt he maketh those kinds. The first is, *καταφρόνισις*; that is, Despising. The second is, *ἀνιδουσία*, that is, A certaine kind of dispossitting; as if we be affected against others, that we take pleasure in the hindring of their commodities. There be some foolish minds, which in comparison of themselves, thinke men vnderstande of anie god thing. The third is, *ἕβρις*, that is, Contumelie, whereof we now treat.

The same consisteth in sayings and doings, when we vse the bitterest sort of wordes & deeds, to the defacing of anie mans honour, and to take pleasure therein. Wherefore Cicero, in his Oration for Marcus Caelius, said; that Subotus speakes tend to no other end, but to contumelie; which if it be bold of, after anie insolent manner,

the contumelie wordes contumelie.

manner, is named a reproch; but being done meane, it is called *uoluntatis*. To peruerse it the better, than must vnderstand, that betwixne reproching and honoring there is a contrarie. They are vnder one hand, and yet, as contraries, are furthest off one from another. They asperuene to the signification of honour. If we honour anie man, we declare that we thinke well of him; if we reproch him, we shew by some signe, wordes, or deeds, that we thinke euill of him. And therefore it belongeth, that if a man either vse contumelie, or haue it vnto him, this manner of signification is alwayes therein. For if we should do anie thing against the estimation of anie man, and yet not fighte the ill opinion we haue of him, it would not be properlie called contumelie.

I will shew it by examples. A man bechaling open another mans doye, to steale, to commit auerterie, or to kill some man, that breaking in of the gate is heinous; but being not purposefull done, to dishonour him, it is inuoluntarie: he that to reproch him, he bechally contumelious against him. Absalom abused the wordes of his father. If he had done it of lust, it had bene inuoluntarie, and not contumelious; but seeing he did these things without hauing delight in their loue and beaute, ouer though he hated he bare to his father, meaning to dishonour him, it is now called contumelie. When in these contumelies, faultes are used against anie man; those sometimes are sins, and some times no finnes. As finnes, as if one upbraid another, that he hath the por, that he is laue or blind; sinne as when Semei callet Dauid, A man of blood.

2 There is vnder another distinction. These misdeeds are sometimes true, and sometimes false. In Dauid they were false; he did not couet the kingdome ambitiouslie, he did not commit twise murders. Those finnes are sometimes manfull, and sometimes hidden. Heretofore contumelie the grounduolence of contumelies. Sometimes they be weighed according to the state of the person: as if he, to whom the contumelie is done, be no priuate, but a publick person; as a magistrate, or a preacher. And there is alwayes required therein an intent and purpose of dishonouring the same and estimation of another man. Which I speake, because, if faultes be not used to this end, but to the intent men may be amended, they be not properlie contumelies. Wherefore, if anie gentlemen of a whole, or ministers of the church, vse sharp wordes to reuoke men from their finnes; they cannot be called contumelious. Sometimes it is lawfull to handle men so for discipline sake. This is gathered by an argument from the greater; If it be lawfull to vse stripes, it is also lawfull to vse sharp speeches, so

Paule called the Galatians heales, And Christ; O ye folkes, and follow to Iherusalem. There was a respect vnto amendment, and it was no contumelie.

Also the prophets do so often, sometimes they speake more bittere against Iherusalem, calling her harlot and Sodom; not to the intent they would defame the people of God, but to reuoke them from idolatrie and wickednesse. Paule also, in the first chapter vnto Titus, earnestly to inuagh a sharpe against the Cretians, when he bringeth a verse of Epimenides; The Cretians are alwayes liars, euill bests, and slowe bellies. It might seme to be hardie done, to note the whole nation of the Cretians with so great an infamie. Whereof, the apostles speach was not to this end; but he gave admonition vnto Titus, where by he might vnderstand, how carnellie he ought to vage that people. Ascertheles, pastos & scholasticall must take heed, that they vse not contumelies without indgement: for they often vse the sharper speeches, which if be reprobated, begin to hate them, whom they ought to loue; and by this means, admonitions do but make them worse. As else another thing foloweth; to wit, that they are not moued therewith; but are hardened if they often hear bitter wordes. Wherefore Augustine, vpon the sermon of the Lord in the mount, faith; that This must be done boldme, and with ingement. The bus to this is that, which is want to be done with bitting speeches, wherein is more bitterness than favour. They, which vse them, be of the number of those, which had rather forgo their friend, than a fine facing. There must be had taken, that men be not hurt rashlie. Thus much of the nature, definition, propriete, & vse of contumelie.

3 Now in the second place we speake a few wordes of the causes: they proceed from the most part of anger, and are a certaine kind of reuenge, which is euer at hand. For men callie reuenge themselves; especiallye they of the common sort, and also women; and generallie those, which are not able to make their part good with strength and weapons, but vse contumelies. In a certaine anger, Semei curd Dauid; he would reuenge the iniuries, which he supposed that he had brought vpon the familie of Saule. They also proceed of a certaine anger. Some there be, which in comparison of themselves, make no reckoning of other men, and therefore they be ready bent to contumelies; therefore rightlie said Salomon; Where pride is, there is reproch. The blasphemous speeches, which Rablades cast out against God, shewing from no other fontaine. Also they be ground of a certaine faultinesse. So Nabal the Carmelite cursed Dauid. Salomon faith; It is a manshew, nout to keepe himselfe from strife, but a fole

CG g.ij. mcdlii





what is  
lafulfull in  
guiltion.

proude in time, if he suspect anie euill to be at  
hand: He ought no doubt: but yet without ha-  
red: or harme of another man. So indges must  
be ware, that vpon light suspicion they discerne  
no man: for poyse twofoldes, being oftentimes  
ouercome with griefe in punishments, do con-  
fesse those things, which they neuer thought. The  
suspicious of the Philistines arose out of iughe-  
rie, but euen of probable causes: therefore they  
commanded not Dauid either to be troubled: or  
put to death, but onely to be sent away. And  
this Dauid gained by fleeing into Achis, that al-  
though he were had in honour, yet he came into  
suspicion of treason. Therefore he must neuer  
depart to the enemies of the faith: for that had  
neuer good successe. For admit thou canst per-  
suade the prince, that thou art a god man: yet  
thalt thou neuer persuade the multitude. And  
thus much by the way.

Of mocking and tawnting.

In 1 kin. 8  
verf. 17.

12. By the mocking, wherewith Elias mock-  
ed the worshippers of Baal, it appeared, that  
goodlie and sincere men maie be pleasant dis-  
simulation, witlike conceits, proper nips, and iu-  
re speaches: so they vie them not to satirise re-  
uerge and hatred against their enemies, but for  
the condemning and disallowing of wicked re-  
ligion. The sense of these signes is perceived ra-  
ther by pronunciation, than by words. The  
imitation of this kind did Paule vie, when in  
the epistle to the Colossians, he saith vnder the  
person of the false prophets, Touch not, taste not,  
handle not. Vpon pleasantlie doth Elsie, in the  
44. chapter, deride the idoll-maker, because of  
the one halfe of a traie he maketh a fire to warme  
himselfe, and to feele his meate; and with the  
rest of the blocke he frameth an image, before  
which he afterward falleth to prone, giueth honour  
vnto it, twofoldly it, called by one, and ser-  
ueth it. The same vnto Baruch the scribe of Ieremie,  
in the first chapter: he pleasantlie mocked the  
idols. Elias, by that iuittie mirth of his, taught  
that Baal was no god, that he heard not, felt not,  
nor regarded anie manner of thing. So then, for  
such mockings may sometimes serue, be-  
cause little, for the prophets and ministers of the word  
of God. For how could men be more plainlie  
taught, that they lost their labo in twofolding  
of Baal? He writeth, Paule, in his writing to the E-  
phesians, sermeth to forbid this kind of talke in Chri-  
stians: Let there not be in you (saith he) *λογος  
κακός*; that is, filthie and fowle communication;  
*μωρολογία*, fond & foolish words; and *στροφερνάς*,  
that is, Vrbane and pleasant telling, which  
city: which is counted a vertue, whereby they do  
be, for, it is kinde, are some times shewed by:

Eph. 5. 4.

because it must not be taken for sin, when it per-  
tains to charitie. But it must be vnderstood, that  
Paule, in that place, by the word *στροφερνάς*,  
doth note *σπουδαίως*; that is, scrupulously, where-  
by coyses and railing speaches be rather cast  
out against others, rather with offence vnto  
the goodlie hearers, than with anie consoling.  
It is not lafulfull for Christians to trifle brash  
vnicale.

Of Deceit or Guile.

14. To speake first of the word. That which  
among the Latins is *Dolus*; that is Deceit,  
the Grecians call *δολος*: so that their word  
ours is almost all one: but the Hebrewes call it  
*מִרְמָה*, or *רִמְיָה*. Further, let vs vnderstand  
that guile is threefolden, where one thing  
hath secret, which is hidden, least the fraud ap-  
peare, or be easilie sene. Therefore Plaurus saith: Plaurus.  
Guiles, vntill they be conueryd by craft, they be  
no guiles. Thus much as touching the name.  
Now let vs come to the definition. In the De-  
ciles, *De malo*, in the first labe, Seruius the  
latter thus defined ill guile, or collusion; namely,  
to be a subtil inuention, or deuise to become  
another, when as one thing is done, and another  
feigned. Wherefore therefore there is guile,  
there is deceit by some dissimulation. It is true  
in dolo, that Labeo, an interpretor of the lawe,  
reproued the definition brought by Seruius, and  
that by two reasons. Whereof one is, that some-  
time it may happen, that a man shall be beguiled  
without dissimulation or collusion. Therefore the  
definition should be more strict, than that which  
is defined. But this all men account as a fault.  
The other is; because otherwhyles some by dis-  
simulation do laxe and defend their blame, or  
other mens, and yet thereby do beguile no man;  
neither do they hurt anie man. So then, the de-  
finition must be applied vnto other things, be-  
sides that which is defined; which also is con-  
futable. For which cause he thus defined it; Ill  
guile, or collusion, is all manner of craft, deceit, or  
subtiltie done to beguile, delude, and decieve  
others.

Vipian, in the same place, alloweth the opinion  
of Labeo. But hauing the authoritie of so great  
a Clarke, I would saie that Labeo did not well,  
in removing dissimulation from the nature of  
fraud. And as touching the first argument,  
which he hath, I denie that which he affirmeth;  
namely, that men can be circumvented without  
dissimulation. For vntill they were whole  
without fault, they would not easilie be led to  
take and receive that, which they manifestlie be-  
lieue to be hurtfull vnto them. Therefore it is ne-  
cessarie, that there be some vaine and colour ad-  
ded; which can by no means be done without  
dissimulation.

In Job. 31

Cicero.

or Guile.

dissimulation. Then, whereas he saith that there  
be manie, which defend either their owne, or  
else other mens, by dissimulation: I grant that,  
but yet I affirme, that the same is guile, al-  
though it be honest dealing: as afterword I  
will shew more plainlie. As touching the nature  
thereof of guile, it is twofold, that fasting or  
dissimulation is alwaies joined with it: and for  
that cause, the definition of Seruius pleases me  
better. Which definition, I may saie, neuerthe-  
lesse would rather apply vnto guile in general,  
e not to ill guile or collusion, as he bid, perhaps  
being led by that reason; because he understood  
that deceit, which should be hurtfull.

Cicero.

Augustine.

In Job. 31.

15. Cicero, in his first booke of Offices, affirm-  
meth; that dissimulation of fasting perteineth  
chefe to the nature of guile. For he writeth  
that Aquilius, his familiar friend, being deman-  
ded what was guile, answered: Where one  
thing is done, and another thing feigned. Of  
this mind is Augustine, who in his tenth tra-  
ctate vpon Iohn, expounding these words which  
Christ pronounced of Nathaniel, (Behold a true  
Israelite, in whom there is no guile) saith: It is  
then guile, when one thing is done, and another  
feigned, &c. And to speake this by the way, it is  
easilie gathered by this place, that Augustine  
preached his sermon to the people in Latine;  
because the Africans used the Romane tongue, al-  
though it were not pure, but in some words  
corrupt. For these Augustine admonished the  
people, that *Dolus*, which is guile, signified not  
people, that *Dolus*, as manie do corruptlie  
speake, signifying: *Dolus* *illam* *torquet*, that is (as  
they meant) Griefe both toer him: when as they  
should haue said *Dolus*. To saie auaie therefore  
the ambiguitie of the word, he saith, that *Dolus*,  
which is guile, significth fasting, and dissimu-  
lation.

And in the same place, to expresse that guilefull  
fasting significth; he addeth, that it cometh of  
a double fault of the heart. He allegeth the 12.  
psalme, in the which place, when mention is  
made of guilefull men, Dauid saith, that they  
speake dissemblingly in their double heart: that  
is (as he interpreteth it;) In one part of their  
heart they do fe the truth, and percuete the thing  
hath it is; & in the other they twofold dissimu-  
lation, and deceit. But in those (which) he is no guile,  
who percuete themselves to be sinners, do fo  
repente themselves; as do the Pharisee, when he  
prayed nere vnto the Publicane; and as other  
hypocrites also do. Nathaniel had no guile in  
him: but not generallie. For euery man is a  
liar, and as Paule writeth: There dwelleth no  
good thing in our flesh: saing it is altogether  
full of fraud and guile. It might onely be said  
of Christ absolute, that He alone was without

guile comes  
of a double  
fault of the  
heart.  
verf. 3.

Rom. 3. 4.

Rom. 7. 5.

1. Pet. 2. 22.

guile. But (as Dauid saith); They are blessed, of  
whom the Lord hath not imputed sinne, and in  
whose spirit there is no guile. For in as much  
as they be regenerate, (speciall concerning  
the spirit) that which they do, they do it bright-  
lie and simple; and such a one Christ affirmeth  
that Nathaniel was.

The same Augustine, in the tenth tome, in his  
booke of city homilies, the first homilie, ex-  
poundeth that which is written by Dauid, in the  
34. psalme; What man is he that lieth to lue, Psal. 34. 13.  
and louch to see good daies? Keepe thy tongue  
from euill, and thy lips that they speake no guile:  
Then saith he; it is guile, when one thing is close  
that is by the best, and another is expresse, ei-  
ther by word or by deed. As flatterers do so,  
which commend some, contrarie to that they  
thinke; thereby either to eate their meate, and  
drinke their drinke; or else, to get some other be-  
nefit at their hands. And that, which he speaketh  
of flatterers, may also be vnderstood of enemies &  
backbiters. But that it cometh from men to deale  
plainlie and brightlie, the verie Cythias saith.  
Wherefore Achilles, in Homer, saith, that he ha-  
teth those men, as in his hatred, which speake  
one thing and thinke another. So then, we  
thinke, that for the general definition of guile,  
there ought to be put, and that not amisse, a de-  
uise to decieve a man (when one thing is done,  
and another dissimuled.)

16. Now, after this definition, we must adde a good guile  
distinction. For some guile is god, and some is  
euill. That we call god, which is not harmfull; & guile  
when as it hurteth none, but sometime profiteth  
but euill guile is harmfull, and alwaies hurteth  
one or other. These parts maie easilie be made  
plaine by examples. Iuristes do continuallie  
vie god guile towards their little ones, thereby  
to please and fill them: for by that they both  
saue and dissimule manie things. Physicians  
also do after the same sort decieve them that be  
sicke, because they would recouer them. And  
Chrylostome, in his first booke *De sacerdotio*,  
writeth, that a certeine Iudysitan was beguiled  
one that was sicke of an ague, as in drinking  
water, he thought he dronke wine. And the same  
Chrylostome, in the same place affirmeth, that  
he himselfe vied a good guile, to decieve Basilus,  
for the taking of a bishopricke vpon him; when  
in case he was minded that waie. Dauid by this  
kind of guile escaped the hands of the king of the  
Philistines: for he feigned himselfe to be a foile,  
whereby the king indged him vntowarlike to be  
punished.

But of ill guile there be verie manie examples  
in the holie scriptures: among which is the an  
Ehud, which in the booke of Judges we haue in-  
terpreted. And that is another also, which the  
Ishites did, when at their going forth; of Egypt, de-  
Exo. 12. 35.

Augustine.

Psal. 34. 13.

flatterers.

Homer.

Chryfolt.

1. Sam. 12.

13.

Judg. 3. 19.

Exo. 12. 35.

sired to borrowe, both of their neighbours, and also of their friends, pretious garments, golden and silver vessels: and yet they minded altogether to rob them of the same. And this kind also belonged that, which Chusie the Arabian did, in deceiting of Abblom. And among these may be reckoned that, which Simeon and Levi committed against Hemor, and against the Schemites. I might bring a great manie of examples more, if I would use needlesse labour in a manifest matter.

17 Touching the first kind of guile, which is called god and harmeslesse, no man may contend, but that it is lawfull to use the same. But of the other kind there is a doubt, whereof if my iudgement should be asked, I would thinke it best to make this answer; that we may not use euill guile with our frenes. For without standing, against our enemies it is not forbidden; because it may be in the stead of armour. Therefore, if it be lawfull to take armes against them in this, it is lawfull also to use guile, according to the saying of the poet; What matter is it against anemie, whether a man use fraud or force? Wherein, this must be considered, that we speake onlie of those enemies, which either God himselfe, or the publike weale, or a iust magistrate declareth to be enemies; and not of those, which enerie private man hateth. For example, I doubt not, but seeing it is lawfull to repel violence with violence, when there is no other waie to escape; it is also lawfull to set guile against guile. For if the which repelleth violence with violence, as the lawes do permit, the same man is not to be counted a private person: for so much as he is armed by the magistrate. So as it is manifest, that he doth not offend the lawes; but with the lawe. Euen so, he that is withouten offence, may lawfullie escape by euill guile, if he can.

For example, the scriptures teach, that this kind of guile is iust. For Ierom saith; and it is written in the Psalms, the 22. cause, the second question, the chapter Psalm, that Iehu did dissemble himselfe with the priests of Baal; because he had not bene able to have killed them all, if he had begun to put some of them to death. Wherefore, to the end that he might gather them all together, he feined himselfe to be much more deuout to worship Baal, than Ahab was; and by that means he slue them all. But this we ought to regard, that they, which are so destroyed by guile, be worthy of punishment; and as they be commonlie called) are notorious offenders, and such as cannot be punished by ordinate means. For which cause the king of Denmarke is by some commended, who through guile destroyed most pernicious theues, which he could not take. For he feined a warre, and made a procla-

mation, that as many as would come, should receive wages of him; and promised pardon unto the theues, for the wicked acts which they had before committed. But 3 (for my part) as I shall afterward declare, would not so absolutely allow these kind of examples. Augustine in his may be read in the 14. cause, question the first, in the chapter Diabol, and it is a place in his questions vpon (Socrus) whereof, that the theues deceiue the Egyptians, when they borrowed of them gold and silver vessels. And yet the same was not to be counted a fault in them, when as yet no man doubted, but that they did it by euill guile.

The same father, in the 23. Cause, question second, in the chapter Dominus, which is taken out of his questions vpon the booke of Iosua, Iohes. 8. 4. heareth the place, wherein it is said, that GOD commanded the Hebrews to fight against the cite of Haic, by lying in wait: which without doubt was by guile. Ierom, vpon the 17. chapter of Ezechiel, allegeth this sentence, as a tobole in the place, namely, What matter is it against anemie, whether a man use fraud or force? Wherein, he agreeth thereto, although he doubteth, that it can take anie place where an oth is made before GOD. But this I will anon discuss. Ambrose, in the 14. Cause, question the fourth, permitteyth guile; or gainfull fraud against enemies. And after this manner he interpreteth the place of Deuteronomie, where God gaue the Hebrews libertie, to put their monie in vsurie to strangers; namely, that where the warre is iust, there also vsurie may take place. For the gods of the enemies are ours, and they may be lawfullie taken from them: and together it may be by fraud, or by violence, it forceth not. There be some, which alledge that which is written in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, the 12. chapter; When I was crasie, I tooke you with guile. But that mayeth nothing to the purpose, seeing the apostle in that place doth beare manifestlie the figure *of Ierom*. For he was accused, as though he had received monie of the Corinthians, by the hands of other, which by himselfe he refused to receive. Which he straitwaie disprooueth.

But those examples, which we brought first, do manifestlie proue, that it is lawfull to use guile, yea & euill guile against enemies; namely, keeping close our counelles and actions, and lying, telling false words and words. Neither do the ciuill lawes tread otherwise. In the Code *De mercatoribus*, in the lawe *Non salum*. The emperor decreed, not onelie that no gold should be transported into the barbarous nations, which were enemies vnto the state; but also, that such gold, as they had, should be taken from them by subtil guile or policie. And in the Digest *De captiuis* *possumus* *reuerse*, in the lawe

Nihil

Nihil interest; It is decreed, that captiues, how soeuer they returned into their countrie againe, should recover their eluie goods and old estate, whether they were sent home againe; or whether they escaped by violence; or by guile. At thether afterward, in the lawe *Postulimus*, in the Paraph *Capitulus*, it is reuerence vpon constitutions; that if they returned with a mind to tarie at home: For if they should either promise, or sweare vnto their enemies to returne, they should not enioie the right of returning. Wherefore

Antius Regulis. Aulus Regulis enioied not the benefit, but because he was sent to Rome, to persuade the Senate about the exchange of prisoners. When, forasmuch as he had promised, & was minded to returne, he by the lawes might not use euill guile.

18 Whereby also that appeareth to be true, which a little before was said; that we may not use euill guile against our enemie, if there be an oth made betwene vs. And that this may be the more plainlie understood, we must distinguishly an oth, as the lawes do; one auouching, and other promising; or (as they terme it) the one assertiue, and the other promissorie. For when we sweare, either we do affirme, or else bene sworn thing to be, or to haue bene; (which we neuer ought to do with euill guile, by adding an oth); or else we promise to performe some thing. And forasmuch as faith is to be kept, euen with our enemies, the same faith also is not to be broken by euill guile. So as, if those things, which we haue sworn vnto our enemie to haue and observe, be temporal goods (such as are monie, honour, or life of the bodie) the name of God for these things ought not to be prophaned. Wherefore,

David, in his 5. psalme, saith; He that sweareth to do euill, and changeth not. In the Hebrew it is thus written, *Nisfabb leharab velo amir*. Which place I knowe that D. Kimhi expoundeth of those, which do vnto God certaine sharpe and hard things, which serue to the subuincing of the flesh, & changeth not that which they haue promised. But the sentence (me thinke) seemeth more plaine, if it be largely taken; namely, of an oth that is buttall vnto vs, which a god and goodie man will not breake or change.

Ierom alio vpon Ezechiel, the 17. chapter, is of this opinion. For there the Lord saith, that he was verie angrie with Zedechias; because he brake the oth which he had made with Nabuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. For though the Iewes counted him as an enemie; yet (as Ierom declareth) he was now a friend, when he had by oth promised his faith vnto Zedechias. Seeing it belonged vnto friends, one to be faithfull vnto another: so as euill guile ought not there to haue bene used. And Augustine, in the 2. cause, question the first, the chapter *Noli exsultare*, writing vnto Bonifacius, admonished him to

haue faith euen with his enemie. Ambrose also, in the 22. cause, question the fourth, the chapter *Simacius*, doth so aduise. And the same sentence he hath in his booke *De officiis*, where he bringeth the example of Iosua, towards the Gabonites; who, notwithstanding that he ought to haue made the oth void, and of no force; yet, by the consent of God, he caused it to be kept and ratified: neither suffered he the Gabonites to be slaine, whom neuerthelesse he punished, because of the guile which they did.

But if an oth be giuen for fulfilling of an trust; or vngodlike thing, it must be void: because it is made frustrate; because an oth ought not to be a bond of iniquitie. Neither is it necessarie thereto, that anie man should come before a iudge, to be absolved of this kind of oth. Which I therefore speake, because the Pope claimeth this right to himselfe; namely, to release such kind of oths, and (as they commonlie say) to dispense with them. As it appeareth in the 15. cause, question the first, where Nicholas abouth the bishop of Tiers, and his pride and arrogancie hath now at length brought his lawe and power to that passe, that he not onelie breaketh lawfull oths, but also abrogateth iust and lawfull oths, when it seemeth good to himselfe. So Pope Zacharie learned the French men from their oth, wherein they were bound vnto their king; and he depoyed the king from his kingdome, and placed Pipin in his stead. But this is not to be marvelled at, seeing it is commonlie said at this daie in the Court of Rome, that it is not meet for kings and great personages, but for merchants, to keep their oths.

19 So then, if there be an oth made, guile must not be used; unless perhaps the one partie, to whom the oth is made, shall first depart from covenants and conditions: for then the common saying must take place; he that breaketh faith, let faith also be broken with him. Wherefore Ierom to Nepotianus, commendeth the saying of Domitius the Martyr, vnto Philip; Seeing thou accountest not me for a Senator, I also do not take thee for a Consul. But where we haue testimonies alio in holie scriptures, For Paule, in the first to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter (as touching faith giuen inuicem) writeth; that if an infidell depart, let him depart, a brother or a sister is not in subiection vnto such: but God hath called us in peace. And those things, which are alleged of an oth, I understand them to be of like force. In promises and covenants. In which promises and covenants I affirme, that iust and goodie men ought both to live simple and plaine words, and also to live with a good conscience. The Thracians therefore are iustlie and lawfullie condemned, who (after truce had bene made to continue for the space

311 guile is not forbidden against enemies.

320 he be-ric enemies.

Ierom.

1. Kin. 19. 1.

311 guile is not forbidden against enemies.

Exo. 12. 35.

Iohes. 8. 4.

Ierom.

Deut. 23. 30.

1. Cor. 12. 14.

What is manifest.

311 guile is not forbidden against enemies.

Augustine.

320 he be-ric enemies.

320 he be-ric enemies.

320 he be-ric enemies.

Ierom.

verse. 15.

320 he be-ric enemies.

320 he be-ric enemies.



As guilt of the Mo-  
maine legat  
against An-  
tiocbus.

Ieron

An oth dif-  
solueth not  
former  
bonds.

1. Cor. 7. 9.

whether  
faith must  
be kept  
whereas.

space of thirtie daies) robbed & spoiled by night, excusing their act, in that, that they were lawfully made for the date, and not for the night. Neither did the legat of the Romans plainly, but subtilly with Antiochus, who having desired, that the one halfe of the ships should be given unto the Romans, and the other halfe unto the king, commanded them all in verbe to be divided and cut in funder. But he wold it, to the end the king might be utterly destitute of a name for the treasure. Therefore, whatsoever a godlie man with promise, he ought despite to weigh with him selfe before hand, whether he be able to stand to his word and promises. Wherefore Ieron hath written unto Celantia; Wherefore thou speakest, thinke that thou hast sworne it.

As touching the end of the question, there remaine certayne doubts to be examined, that the thing may be the more manifest. First, if a man promise armes and succour to any man, for the space of thye or foure yeeres, and in the meane time he become a traitour to his country, and maketh waie against it; whether in this case he ought to performe his faith, or else by euill guile to lyse it. I answer, that neither in this case, nor in the like, is faith to be kept; for as it is euident) a malicious act hapneth in the meane time, which with a safe conscience we may not aid. And in verbe deen, whether euill guile or peritrie is here committed. For he which thus sworne, is not changed; but he is changed, to whom the oth was made. For he can plucke away of himselfe nothing of those bonds, which went before. Seeing then euery man is bound to the word of God, and to the preservation of his country, he ought he take any oth; which afterward is waie, must be understood conditionally: that if the first bonds be kept vniuolate. The same also must take place in vniuers, that be bound. For although a man boin sole life; yet, so far as he was before bound to the word of God, therein it is laid, that

Another doubt cometh to my remembrance, touching those princes, which haue giuen their publike faith and safe conduct vnder heretikes for their conuincing vnto Concelles, or to conferences, whether they ought to stand to their promise; or else violating their oth, to keepe still the heretikes, and to punish them. I answer, that they ought to keepe entier and perfect the

promise made vnto them. But they say: We will easilie grant it to be true, when we giue our faith for an euill thing; but if, after we haue giuen it, we keepe it, and stand to our promise, we fall into another greuous sinne; seeing we do not the dutie committed vnto vs, neither do we obeye God. For it is our part (as God hath commanded) to punish and to correct heretikes, least they should pollute the church, and proceed in maintaining of their pestiferous doctrine among the goodlie. Neither doth any man doubt, that magistrates ought to defend the church. So then it seemeth, that heretikes should not be let go, when we once haue them in our power.

I answer, that this in deed is the office of kings; to repress and keepe vnder heretikes; but that is, when they haue them in their power. But if they giue them a safe conduct to come to them, then can they not faile, that they haue them in their power: for they came vpon trust of the promise; and an oth, otherwise they would not haue come. Wherefore, if there be a promise made, it is not lawfull to breake it. And this is the cause why I said before, that I cannot easilie allowe the act of the king of Denmarke. Neither also would I adue Iehu to be without fine, when he promised that he would waite vpon Baal, thereby to get all the Baalites together; unless peraduenture he heth manifestlie, that he was stirred up by God to do it. But hereof we will intreate a little after. Let them therefore, which defend the council of Constance, cease to laie for their peritrie, that Iohn Huss, with a safe conscience might not be let go; because it is heretikes in all places, if they suffer heretikes to go free. For this, which they laie, is so long true, as the time lasteth that they shall be in their power; but when they are come by a safe conduct, then are they at libertie: neither are they laid to be in the power of those princes, which did call them.

Others doubt, whether it be lawfull to lye euill guile against theues; so that, if a man happen vnto their hands, and by an oth made vnto them, is suffered to go home, vpon condition to gather monie to redeeme himselfe: whether I saie he ought, to retorne vnto him with the monie, or (if he cannot get it as he hoped to haue done) to retorne without it; especially, in case he were almost assured, either to lye in perpetuall seruitude, or else to be put to a most cruell death. I answer, that in my iudgement he ought to retorne vnto them; especially, seeing in this case there is no danger, as by touching goods of this world; namely, of monie, of libertie, and of bodily life, which are not so greaue to be esteemed, as for their lokes, an oth, or the name of God should be violated. And the verbe

They which  
come vnto  
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conduct, be  
not in the  
power.

of the

whether  
promise gi-  
uen to  
thems is  
to be kept.

Anilius  
Regulul.

of David, before brought, serueth well for this purpose. And this sentence is so true and true, that euen an Ethiope (M. Attilius Regulus, I meane) do acknowledge it. For he returned to Carthage, when he knewe certeinly, that either he should be in continuall bondage, or else lose his life; and that most cruell.

Tell me not, that he did folloble herein. For the Romans latos (as we haue before said) De captiuis & postlimio reuerit, in the late Postliminium, in the Paraphr. capitulo, do vbiq; and religiously decree, that he should not be counted as returned by the late Postliminium, which had so returned to retorne againe. Besides, the nature of our seruitude the selfe same thing: for it is euill, and belighted in societie. Wherefore, next vnto God, and goodlines to him-ward, there is nothing, which men ought more to esteeme than their faithfulnes, which vniuolentlie heretich the society of men. For without it, it is impossible for men to lye together. Moreover, who will not faile, that the monie, libertie, and life of one man, is less to be regarded than it is of manie; for if covenants and promises be not kept with those thences, hence forth they will giue credit to no man, whom they apprehend. They would send home none to their owne hands, to fetch their ranfome; but either they will kill as manie as they take, or else retaine them with them in miserable and perpetuall bondage. Lastly, I thinke it good to giue this aduertisement; that in taking of oth, no signes that be added of vniuolentie ought to trouble any man.

As if a man promise and sweare to his friend, that he will be an helper to him in all things; or if a man promise and sweare vnto a scholer of church, that he will do and observe all things, that they shall decree. For all such kind of speeches (as it appereth by that, which we haue said) are to be understood with condition, that if the obedience vnto the word of God be kept. And vniuolentlie, although that claue, through the nature of an oth, be ment alwaies to be added; yet neuertheless it is the dutie of godlie men to expelle it, when they be received into any vniuolentie, college, office, coposition, or fellowship; and (according to the custome) are compelled to sweare to the obseruation of statutes, lawes, and decrees. It is the sure waie (I saie) by expresse words to testifie, that they will observe all those things; whereto they shall find, that any of the same be against the word of God. And of this matter (I thinke) I haue now spoken sufficientlie. I haue panted euill guile; I grant, but yet against his crime. Neither doth the scripture make mention of any oth that was made betwene him and Eglon the king. And though there had bene an oth; yet had he bene quit of it, seeing the motion of God, where

by God opened his will vnto him, had abrogated the same.

Whether Guile be lawfull for the rooting out of idolatrie and heresie; In 2. King. 10. verse 17.

Iehu by fraud minded to allure the two chieftes of Baal, that he might bring them into the danger of death. He proclaimed among the people, that he would be a notable worshipper of Baal; and that he would, with all speed possible, offer a notable sacrifice thereto. Wherefore he commanded all the Baalites to come together to the holie assemble, to the end they might be ready with their seruice, about that sumptuous sacrifice. Some are in doubt, whether Iehu sinned in lyeing after that sort. They that defend his cause saie, that this kind of lye was an officious lye; and therefore not to be condemned. And an able lye, officious lye they define to be that, wherewith men are hurt, and some are helped. But among other things, we must note, that this lye of Iehu, did not traffike escape from him; seeing in that countie, it was conceived in his mind, and fixed in his heart. And in my opinion, it cannot be called an officious lye, because it did hurt manie, by giuing an offence. For on the one part, the people thought that they had gotten a godlie and holie king; but on the other side, beholding his proclamation, they suspected that he had destroyed Adab and his familie; not for religious sake, but for the desire of the kingdom. Wherefore they ascribed, condemned him of hypocritie. Others defend the lye, which he uttered (in lyeing) that it was amended through the good intent of the speaker. But good intent doth not make a good action, when the nature thereof is euill; and that euill things, (according to the doctrine of the apostle) ought not to be committed, that good things may come thereof. They proceed further, and saie, that it is enough, that God knoweth the heart of him that speaketh. And, neither is that sufficient; because it is not onelie needfull that we appaue our lyes vnto God; but we must do it euen to men also, so much as is possible. To the intent that they see our good works, may praise and glorifie the father.

Neither is that of anegreat twight, when they saie, that this lye was to indure but a short time; seeing it should come to passe within a few daies; that the mind of him that spake it, should be manifest: inasmuch as Iehu was about to slay the Baalites, wherby the people should knowe how great an enemie he was to that kind of idolatrie. For these men be verie much deceived, which imagine, that times must be by h. y. be

the fact  
of Iehu.

A terrible  
lie.

Rom. 8.

Math. 5. 16

be measured by a space of time; lying in a verie moment, a horrible crime maie be committed. Neither is it to be doubted, but that the Baalites did for the time being, confirme themselves in their perverse idolatrie, though that fact of Iehu. Further, they committed great stime, in preparing of themselves to sacrifice; & they were constrained thereunto by the authority of the king, who had called them together by setting forth his edict, who also had commanded the keeper of the vestrie, to give unto them the accustomed garments: which they having received, did violate the latue of God. By which place it evidently appeareth, that they, in their sacrifices, had garments, which were peculiar and differing from others that were usual and prophane. For the duell in duellueth in all the things he can, to imitate God. And so ordained, that Aaron, in ministering before him, should have garments gloriously wrought. The commanded also, that his children; to wit, the meane priests, should wear certain apparell, which he had appointed for them. So likewise did the Baalites proude to be done in their idolatrie.

Exod. 28.

1. Kin. 10. 22

The guile of Iehu was used in the persecution of the Priscilianists.

1. Kin. 18. 23

24. Such kind of lying and fraud was used in times past, when Augustine lived, to discover the error of the Priscilianists. These wicked heretikes did practise corrupt manie, and in the meane time could fearlesly be called to place of judgement, as there be condemned; because they dissembled their heresie, and being accused, they bitterlie detested and denied it by oth; notwithstanding that in their mind they retained still a pestiferous meaning: nor yet did they cease to seduce & beguile. Whereupon, manie of the faithful took taking it grieuouly, that they should heape themselves close; they, to the intent they might draw them out into the sight of the world, and discover them, would otherwhile have accesse to some of them, and feigne, that they also were followers of the Priscilianists. So then, they hearing this, shewed unto them their secrets. Augustine reproveth the Catholikes, and persuaded them to abstaine from this kind of lying; and for the same cause wrote an excellent booke intitled *De mendacio* to Contentius. Againe, that defend Iehu, obiect Elias unto us, who seemeth to have prouoked the Baalites upon mount Carmel, to do sacrifice unto the idoll. But betwixt these things there is no small difference: for Elias did not of himselfe, and abhorreth Iehu, but Iehu was forced by the king, to put in prafe, whether part should cause fire to come from heauen. Further, the Baalites at that time were prepared by their banlie sacrifices; yea, and they made oblations unto their god euerie daie, after a sort called upon him continually. But this happened not now a

mong the Baalites, seeing they durst not, for feare of the new king Iehu, do sacrifice to their idoll.

Wherefore, they which professe the Gospel, must not confirme themselves by these arguments; and in the meane time pollute themselves in poperie, by abominations and wicked masses. It sufficeth not to haue a sincere heart onlie, but God doth also require our outward actions: for he, being the creator of the whole man, doth also challenge the whole unto himselfe. Wherefore (me thinketh) we should confesse it to be verie good indeed, that the Adabites and Baalites should be destroyed; but not that all the circumstances thereof therein should whole be allowed. Neither should we be verie carefull to discharge Iehu of sinne; for he was otherwise a worshipper of golden calves: neither did he as the holie scriptures declare) walke perfecte in the latue of the Lord. Iudas he was appointed to subvert the seruice of Baal, but not to promote and disseminate the same. Wherefore, I cannot see, how this kind of lying may be excused; unless perhaps it be said, that he did not in respect of his owne mind and iudgement, but by the motion of God, which directed him by unto such a lie; even as in like manner he willed the people to bozole costly garments, and gold and silver vessels of the Egyptians: when as yet the Hebrews knew not verie well, that these things should not be lent, but quite taken away from the owners: but yet God commanded, that so it should be; as we read in Exodus. And so Iehu this cannot be as

1. Kin. 10. 23

Exod. 13.

Deut. 17. 5.

and 6.

Why Iehu persecuted an honest and sincere man Baal.

for verie manie of the Baalites, having intelligence of the slaughter of Adab and Ochozias, and also the children of Adab, and kindred of Ochozias, fled away for feare, and hid themselves in secret places. Wherefore, Iehu feigned these things, and made proclamation that he did marvellous fauour the Baalites. Whereupon, he perhaps feared, least if he should doe violence and openlie, a sedition might be raised among the people, to take in hand new matters. But the Baalites, being invited by such fine and courteous inducements, they were both subtil and craftie. But after this manner God doth infatuate such men, and taketh them taro in their owne wilfulness. Even as we also perceive, that it came to passe in Pharaos; who wilfully, and of his owne accord entring into the red sea, was drowned, and all his whole host with him.

Exod. 14. 29

The first of Constantine as Celsar.

This kind of guile and lying, in times past Constantine, the father of Constantine the great viceroy; who, having embraced Christ, yet for a while, which was but contrarie unto his will, as though he would not suffer any Christian to live in his Court. So as he commanded by his edict, that they, which would professe Christian religion, should surrender the offices, which they had received, and should be discharged from the toars. They, which sincerelie embraced Christ, despised courtlie dignities, and departed from the Emperours traine: on the other side, they, which onlie bare the name of Christians, because they would keepe their former place and degree, departed from Christ. But the matter fell out otherwise: for the Emperour called to him some that went their waie, and offices and commodities; and he put away those from him, which had forsaken Christ. And he used this reason: If they were not faithfull to that power, that is Christ, whom they worshipped; neither will they be faithfull to me: nor yet faithfull labour and industrie for the benefit of me and mine empire. But Iulian, whom they call the Apostata, who revolted from Christ, made an other manner of lie. For (as Ammianus Marcellinus reporteth) when he led his armie against Constantine his brother by the fathers side, fearing least he should offend his soldiers of whom the most part were Christians, feigned of himselfe to worship Christ also; when as he was already revolted from him. Wherefore, upon a solemn feast daie of Cyphane, he entered into the temple, together with the Christians. And there he verie manie diffimulationes, as touching religion, to be found out in the hypotheses.

A list of Julian the Apostata.

Why Iehu persecuted an honest and sincere man Baal.

## Of Diffimulation.

26. But what that we see done as touching diffimulation of 3 faie, that the same is of two sorts. One which hath respect onlie to deceite; the which, seeing it differeth not much from a lie, undoubtedly it is sinne. Yf one, being troubled, do faise himselfe to be honest and goodlie, the same man is an hypocrite; & in that he dissembleth, he sinneth grievously. Wherefore also, having a malicious and enuious heart against anie man, flattereth him, and feigneth to be his friend, is not without sinne; yea, he is infected with a detestable diffimulation. But there is an other kind of diffimulation, which tendeth not to the deceiving of anie man; but seruieth onlie to keepe counsel secret, least they should be hindered; & this diffimulation is not to be refused; or condemned as sinne, seeing (as we have already declared) it is not alwaies required, that the should open whatsoever in the truth we do knowe. Socrates was praised, because he wene a verie great diffimulatio. Yf howbeit he said he knew nothing, [meaning] in comparison of the knowledge of God. So doth Plato excuse him in his Apologie. Also he compares those things, which he knoweth, with those things which he knoweth not; and being so compared, they might be accounted no sinne. Besides this, his mind was not to deceive; but rather to shew unto others, which boasted that they knew manie things, how verie little or nothing they knew.

So Christ, being most innocent, took upon him the flesh of sinne, and bid his innocencie and diuine nature; the which he did not to deceiue mortall men, but that he might suffer for the saluation of men. For if he had bene intolute to be the Lord of glorie, they would neuer (as faith the Apostle) have crucified him. Whereupon, Christ feigned also before two of his disciples, that he would have gone further: this he did not, because he would deceiue them; but he therefore opened not himselfe unto them for a time, because he would reprove them of their incredulitie. And sheweth them by testimonies of the scriptures. Wherein shall also be signified, how far he was from their hearts: as (as Augustine interpreteth) he sheweth unto them his departure into heauen. Wherefore it is altogether appereth, that in those diffimulations, there was no lie; seeing his words well agreed with the thing signified.

27. And Dauid; when he fell into a most perilous danger, being with the king of the Philistines Geth, changed his countenance, and feigned himselfe a foole: and by means that he seemed to be such a one, he escaped. Where some saie, that he diffimuled not; but that God, to deliuer him,

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In Job. 41. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

In the Comment. upon 1. Cor. 13. 8.

after what Christ saie of himselfe.

1. Cor. 13. 8.

Luce 24. 38.

of Iudas the traitor.

strake such a feare into him: and that his senses being taken from him, he might do those things which he spoken of in the first booke of Samuel. Therefore, in his psalme, which begynneth; I will alwaies give thanks vnto the Lord, he gaue God thanks for so great a benefit. *Agosthus* al- so thus his act, by the inspiration of God, shewed what Christ should suffer for our sakes; namely, to be counted as a foile and a mad man. My selfe it may be answered, that David is not vholie to be crucified of time; for, as being a man, more afraid than was mat, sought for this kind of helpe. But if he, by the motion of God, did it wittingly and with knowledge, we will not accuse him of kinne, though we may not imitate his example.

Neither is it lawfull, that anie man should feigne himselfe to haue committed anie crime, which he hath not done: though *Gregorie* saith, that it is the paine of good minds, there to acknowledge a fault, where none is. *Agosthus* also, Augustine, in his 29. sermon *De verbi ap- plicat*, hath taught more soundly and true. For he witteth; By feigning on this wise, if thou wast not a sinner before, thou shalt become a sin- ner; namely, in saying that thou hast committed that, which thou hast not committed. And this is lawfull for euery man to confesse himselfe veruallie to be a sinner, but this of that crime spe- ciallie (having not committed the same) no man ought to take vpon him. *Agosthus* also, we must note this to be true; to wit, that it is not requi- red of vs to open the truth at all times, and in all places to speake all that we knowe. Howbe- it, in iudgement, the case is otherwise: for there, while we be examined as witnesses, we are bound to testify that, which we knowe to serue vnto the thing, whereof we be at that time de- manded.

Of Truth, of a Lie: which place is treated of In Iudges 3. and also In 1. Sam. 2.1. verse 12.

*Agosthus*. 18. Now let vs treat of another question; namely, whether it be lawfull for a good and godlie man to lie. But before I speake of a lie, I thinke best to speake somewhat of truth; which doubtlesse is an excellent vertue. Truth, as *Tullie* in his booke *De moribus* is that, where- by things which are, haue bene, and shall be, are spoken without alteration. Wherein we will first note, that it consisteth in words: for he saith, that they are spoken. Not that I am ignorant, but that dumbe men, and others, do sometimes speake by signes. But because (as saith *Augu- stine* in his first booke *De doctrina christiana*) as among other signes, words are the principall

and most plaie. Further, we be taught hereby, that truth is not onlie to be considered as touch- ing one difference of time; but as touching these differences. For he saith, that both those things be ayes, which haue bene, and which shall be. These things be then spoken true, when they be set forth without alteration; that is, as when they are, and by speaking made neither more ample, nor lesse than they be. The vertie selfe same thing in a manner hath *Augustine* said, in his booke *De vera religione*, the 36. chap- ter, where he saith; that Truth is, whereby that which is, is signified. And it is a vertue; be- cause by it men are made prone and readie to speake that, which is true.

If thou demand what is the general word of truth; it is equalitie: whereunto is ioined, for difference sake; namely, of words, about the things which are signified. And as it is well knowne to all men, all vertues do aime at the meane, and echeth extremities. Wherefore, in the kind of speaking, thou shalt perceive two faults; namely, if thou speake more than the truth will permit, or lesse than the thing is. Nei- ther is vertue content onlie with the meane; for we must adde circumstances, which we com- monlie to folowe it. So as the truth must not alwaies be spoken to euery man, neither at all times, nor yet of euery thing: and yet we must not lie. But it is wisdom some time to keepe secret those things, which for loue cause we will not haue known. The which should haue auerted euery where, and to all men, the gifts of God giuen vnto him; should be counted foolish and fond. As contrariwise, he which should boast of a crime, whereinto by means infirmitie he hath fallen, ought iustlie and worthilie to be re- proved. Wherefore, truth requireth, that what we haue within vs, as touching our sense and will, that should prouident be signified by vs as it is. Further, the vertue, thereof we speake, hath simplicitie most of all ioined with it: and it is vertie contrarie vnto doublelesse.

Before this, it is a part of iustice: for both vnto things it giveth the proper words; and vnto a neighbour the truth which is due vnto him: without the which, mans fellowship cannot stand. For, if a man should contriuallie feigne himselfe to be deceived by anie man, he would neuer giue anie credit vnto him: by means whereof, all trades and societies among men would decay. Aristotle, in his *Ethicks*, affir- meth; that Truth declineth somewhat toward the defect: especially when anie man speaketh of himselfe. For, this we come requireth, that a man boast not of himselfe. Whereupon *Paul* in his second epistle to the *Corinthians* and *Titus* chapter, wrote; If I will boast of my selfe, I shall not be vnwise, but I will forbear, lest anie man should

should thinke of me more than hee seeth in me, or that he heard of me. By these words he re- porteth them as faith and veritie, which do both and glorie, even of those good things, which they haue; and he saith, that he will ascribe from it. Neither saith he so, I require, that anie man should thinke more of me, than either he seeth in me, or heareth of me. And he which speaketh lesse of himselfe, than he is, is not, I trust, to be accused as a flie. For that, which is the most, comprehenseth and containeth in it the lesse. For whosoever hath faith, he may true- ly saie that he hath twentie; although he speake not of all that he hath. Howbeit, if the same man should asserue, that he hath but twentie onlie; or else should denie that he hath anie at all, out of doubt he should lie: the which must not be committed, either for modestie sake, or (as they say) for humilitie.

Concerning testimonies out of the holie scriptures, which do the vs vs to speake the truth; doubtlesse verie manie might be alled- ged: but a few shall suffice. In the ten com- mandments, it is written; Thou shalt not beare false witness. Which commandment must be observed, not onlie in iudgement, but in all things, which in our talke we tellisse, to be true of false. *Agosthus* also, God is set before our eyes to be followed; whom the scriptures in euery place pronounce to be true. Wherefore we also ought to be most feruent louers of the truth, and for that cause leaue, in the 18. chap- ter of *Exodus*, counselled Moses to set such men to be rulers ouer the people, as did feare God, men of courage, louers of the truth, and those, which hated couetousnesse. Also David saith; Be- hold, thou hast loued truth, and therefore thou hast made me to vnderstand wisdom in the in- ward and secret parts of my mind. These things sufficientlie declare, that we are taught of God both by inuward inspiration, and also by out- ward doctrine, because he is a lover of the truth: neither doth he suffer, that his children should either erre, or be deceived by lies. In *Zacharie*, the right chapter, it is written; Speake ye the truth euery man to his neighbour. Which deli- uereth sentence *Paul* vnto the *Ephestians* and he commandeth the same to the *Colossians*. But in the latter epistle to the *Corinthians*, he saith of himselfe, and of the other apostles, that they can haue nothing against the truth. *Pea- ter* and the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, being ioined with the *Herodians*, on this wise dattereth Christ (when they went about to intrap in his speech):

Master, we knowe that thou acceptest no per- sons, yet thou teachest the waie of God in truth. Whereby they declare, that it is a singular ver- tue for a noble and notable man, to prefer the truth before all things. But let these testimo-

nies of the holie scriptures be sufficient at this time.

It remaineth, that I now come to treat of a lie. *Augustine*, who wrote thereof to *Con- stentius*, affirmeth; that A lie is the false signifi- cation of the speech. And vndoubtedly, of this vice may all those things be spoken by a contra- rie position, which are before declared of truth. And first, contrarie to that, which *Tullie* affir- med of truth; that that is true, whereby things which are, which haue bene, and which shall be, are said to be vntwisted. And a lie is that, where- by is signified that, which is not; for *Augustine* defined truth by the contrarie. This vice is so hurtfull, that it maketh a man, which is infected therewith, to be false, and be glad in falsehood. The general word of truth, is equalitie; and the general of this vice, inequality. And as truth is verie noble ioined with simplicitie, so a lie belongeth to doublelesse. Truth is a part of iustice, but a lie is a part of iniustice. By truth, the societie of man is preferred; but by lying, it is hurt and overthrowne. But returne we to *Augustine*, who witteth; that he is said to lie, which with a will to deceiue speaketh that, which is false: that is, he is, nothing else, but to go against the mind; for liers speake another thing than they haue in their mind. But the desire to deceiue is better against iustice, lawe, and anti- tie; which innumerable one one taboos ano- ther. So then there be three things in a lie; first, things which are false; secondly, his will to speake that, which is false, or to lie to deceiue. In speaking; and thirdly, a desire to be true. The first part belongeth to the matter of a lie; the other two parts pertaine vnto the forme.

A lie is distinguished into an officious lie, a sporting lie, and a pernicious lie. And this tri- um of a diuision cometh of no other thing, but of the effects, of the ends. For this is euerywhere true, that the ends themselves may be fauouring lies both of the cause, and of the effect. The end of an offi- cious lie, is to hurt; the end of a sporting lie, is to delight; and the end of an officious lie, is to profit. But, inasmuch as in vertue, Aristotle hath respect thereof vnto the meane; if then it speaketh than exceed that meane, he callith it boasting; if that be more than that, he nameth it, dissimulation or mocking. And in this end, it consisteth of all parts; because as well as false opi- nion is ingemined in the mind of our neighbor, for which cause it themselfe that the same Aris- totle said well; that a long is a wicked thing, it must be auoided. Which we may proue by the similitudes of the holie scriptures. For hereto must be belong all those things, which we speak the truth. And for, prouoking of vs to speake the truth. And there be manie other places dispersed here and there, which befitting. David saith; Thou shalt de- stroye

1. Sa. 21. 13.

Psal. 4.

Gregoric.

Agustine.

Augustine.

Truth is.

The gene- rall word of truth.

Two faults.

Exo. 20. 16.

Rom. 3. 4.

ver. 31.

Psal. 51. 8.

ver. 36.

Ephes. 4. 25.

Col. 3. 9.

1. Cor. 13. 2.

Mat. 23. 16.

2. Cor. 12. 6.

of a lie.

Augustine.

Inequality.

the general word of a lie.

Things things incident to a lie.

the diffin-

Aristotle.

Looke 7a

2. Sam. 15.

ver. 33.

as he is

ver. 16 and

Psal. 51. 6.

delecto all those which speak lies. Where be reasons also, which persuade the same: whereof one is, that in a lie there is an abuse of signs. And for so much as it is not lawful to abuse the gifts of God: a lie also is understood to be forbidden.

Moreover, as it is before said; a lie is entinct unto the society of man. For in lying, the understanding of the mind is not communicated unto our brethren; but lies. Therefore, seeing by nature man is made unto society and communication, when he speaketh that which is false, he turneth against his own nature. And

Augustine, (as Augustine saith;) Faith herein is harmed, because he which heareth, beleeveth those things which are spoken. Wherefore, that faith, which he giveth unto others words, is made void: and is not a thing cannot be hurt without blame.

And to conclude, euerie man by lying loseth his own credit; for being taken in a lie, he shall be euer after suspected of it. Wherefore, though he would, he shall not be able, by admonition or correction, to helpe his neighbour. So the fault that is in a lie, not onely respecteth the losse of hurt of our neighbour, but it is in it of his own kind: as manifestly appeareth by that, which we have already said. But among lies, that seemeth to be most heinous, which is in matter of religion, doctrine, and godliness: for in no other thing can guile be more hurtfull and pernicious.

For if we shall erre therein, we be cast from everlasting felicity. Wherefore Augustine, in his Enchiridion, the 18. chapter, hath verie well written; that they indeed sinne greuously, which be come trauelling men, in shewing them a contrary waie. But they be much more detestable, which in lying about matters of religion, do bring men into error.

32 If the three kinds of lies should be compared together, 3. means the pernicious lie, the sporting lie, and the officious lie; the pernicious lie should indubitably be counted the most detestable. Because in it are two evils: one is, the abuse of signs; another is, the hurt of our neighbour; and that both of the mind that is deceived (which is common to all lies), and also of the thing which is lost. But as for other lies, although they be not without fault; yet is the same fault much diminished by the benefit either of delight, or of assistance of the helpe. And indeed, a sporting lie hath in it but a small and slender nature of a lie: for so much as the falsehood is straitwaie found out, neither can it be long hidden from the hearers. For Augustine writeth, that such lies are not to be counted for lies. But as touching an officious lie, the judgement thereof is more hard and obscure; seeing some denie it to be sinne: for they saie it hath a respect vnto helping of our neighbour, whom we ought in words and deeds

to relieve as much as we can. So as they thinke that therein is no abuse of the figures; forasmuch as all our doings ought to haue respect to the commoditie of our brethren. Neither do they thinke, that therein is offence committed against humane societie: because through this kind of lies, men are made faine, and kept harmonie.

Further, they saie, that whereas it is written in the holie scriptures; that God will delecto all those that speak lies: the same is not to be understood of euery kind of lie; but of a pernicious one. Which Augustine also, in his Enchiridion, the 18. chapter, seemeth to grant. They alledge also the opinion of Plato, in his booke *De Plato*, *Repab.* who, as he bidde faine the common people from lies; yet he gaue magistrates libertie to lie; especially in making of lawes. But in my judgement, the thing is farre otherwile. Neither can I callie grant, that an officious lie is without abuse of the figures. For Aristotle, in his booke *de significatione*, in defining of words, saith; that they are notes of those affections, which we haue in our minds. Whereby it followeth, that all they abuse words, which signifie things to be otherwile, than they thinke in their mind. Further, that reason, which they bring of our verie waies. For we ought to helpe our neighbours; but that must be by truth and honest meanes: as therwile we will suffer our felices to fraine, to the intent to bestowe it in giuing of almes. But the sentence of the apostle must stand fast, which is; that Euill must not be done, to the intent that good may come thereof. Neither do I thinke it to be true, that by those kind of lies, the societie of man is not hurt: seeing that, if fidelitie be taken awaie, there remaineth no dealing of one man with another.

33 But as touching that sentence of the holie scriptures, wherein it is said; Thou shalt delecto all them that speak lies: we grant with Augustine, that that sentence is not vniuersallie spoken. For, so long as the strength of our faith, and ioining together with Christ indureth; so long those finnes are not imputed; which otherwile of their own nature would be our destruction. And this also I may callie grant touching officious and sporting lies: because they are not so much against charitie, as pernicious lies be. But of the no man can denie, but that in making of a lie, we deale against faith. And we must wothly grant, that they which, both lose his own credit thereby; so that afterward he cannot profitably admonish, reprove, or fruitefully giue counsel, as he ought to do. For they, which heare him, will some thinke that he lieth officiously; to call them againe into the waie; and not that the thing is so in verie deed.

Certainlie, this was the cause that Augustine was against Ieron, who in a manner fathered an officious

officions lie vpon the holie scriptures: 34 If this (saith he) should be so, the authoritie of the holie scriptures would some be impaired; for the readers thereof would some saie, that the thing is not so, but that it is so written for the keeping of men in their dutie. Neither ought the authoritie of Plato to moue so much; seeing in that place he erreth greatly, granting, that in things pertaining to God, they might feine fables, which should serue to bring forth and keepe a good opinion of them. Doubtles we must not leaue in diuine matters. Further, the lawe of God is equall, and euermore one: and as it will not haue the common people to lie; so woth it also forbid the same to magistrates. Whobett, they cannot iustlie be accused of a lie, which in their talke be farre from double meaning. For otherwile it cometh to passe, that some speake that which is false; and yet they thought the same to be true. Among which men they also are to be excluded, who haue giuen a promise to do a thing; which afterward they be not able to performe; because at the beginning, when they promised it, they were fullie minded to do that, which they had promised: and therefore they haue not lied. If they afterward do not accomplish those things, which they speake, the same happeneth by some other occasion.

And otherwile it cometh to passe, that they which deliuereth his sword to a man to keepe, falsely afterward maie: wherefore he that hath the custodie of the sword, ought not to rebeliue it vnto him; because (as the lawiers saie) a neto case requireth a neto helpe. After the verie same sort is Paule excused, who said, that he would go into Spaine; when as neuertheles he went not thither. Paule also promised to the Corinthians, that he would come vnto them; which he performed not, but yet he lied not; because, when he spake those words, he was minded to do so; but God had otherwile appointed it as Gelasus hath well written, as we find in the 22. cause, question the second, in the chapter *Beatus*. And doubtles, the disposition of God breaketh and diuerseth all bonds: as it is written in the 19. cause, question the second, chapter *Dne* *sent.*

34 But what shall we saie touching the hypocritical speeches, which are in the holie scriptures, which at the first sight seeme to be lies? I answer, that although there in signification the sentence heape not a meane in respect of quantitie; yet, as touching the manner, it doth. For those excellent speeches amplify a matter, because their nature is not onely to set forth a thing, but also to lead men into an admiration, which by that manner of speech they most commodiously attaine vnto. Neither haue lies any place there, forasmuch as they haue not in the

the minds of the readers and hearers any false or corrupt sense. I meane therewith most there be kept; without double, not of the thing, but of the manner. The euangelists also are not to be holden as liars, when as they, setting forth the deed of Christ, do not at all life the selfe same words. For it is sufficient to say the truth, that a thing be set forth as it was: but it is not required to be effected by the selfe same words. For, it is oftentimes done through the goodwille of the holie Ghost, that the manner of the narration should differ. For by such meanes, those things, which are not sufficientie expessed by one, are more plainlie shewed by another.

35 But they wile to obide the midwives of Exod. 19. the Iehubims, which although they lied, yet God rewarded them. The same also happeneth to Rahab the harlot, or better. Augustine answereth, that it was not the lie which the midwives made, but the faith and feare that they had towards God, and the merie shew vnto the 36 raelites, that pleased the Lord: which the holie by those by expresse words doth testifie. And otherwise must we thinke of Rahab. But I neuer use like of the opinion of Gregorie, who saith, that for the lie which they made, their earthly rewards haue turned to a temporal reward: because it is said, that God, for their euerswearing likenesse, buildeth their houses. But I iudge, that by reason of the true faith, which was effectual in them, in such sort, as it brought forth in them both love and the feare of God, (which be laudfull and full fruits of that faith) the lie, which they made through infirmities, became vnto them not of eternal felicity.

36 Abraham also is objected, who said, that Isaac was his sister. Whobett, therein (as Augustine testifieth) he lied not: he told that which was true, but yet he spake not all the truth. And it is of no man required, to viter all that he knoweth to be true. He did not say that the was his wife; yet, because the was his kindwoman, he might (according to the manner of the Hebrews) saie that the was his sister. For, notwithstanding he seemeth not to be holden altogether excused: for although he lied not in calling of his sister; yet it appeareth that therein he fell, because, by not revealing that the was his wife, he put her in danger of losing her chastities, which he lost by the woth of that, whereby onely the might haue bene defended from falling into the mouth of strangers. Neither is it needfull, that I should inuener to excuse Abraham altogether: for he was a man, and by to much feare might easily do amisse. Whobett, Augustine mentioneth, that Abraham was then in danger two manner of waies: the one, least he should be killed him selfe; the other, the adulterie of his wife. The first he might shun, in calling

Pal. 56. In a lie is an abuse of signs.

Augustine.

in that kind of lies most heinous.

In a pernicious lie are two evils.

In sporting lie.

Augustine. whether a veritable lie be sinne.

Plato in an error.

Aristotle.

who are to be excused of a lie.

Rom. 15. 26. 1 Cor. 15. 31.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Augustine.

ling his sister: the other; namely, least the should be polluted, he was not able to repel. For although he had said that he was his husband, that would not have served, to deliver him from the shameful lusts of the Egyptians. Wherefore, that which he himself was not able to thin, he committed unto God: and in that, which was in his own power, he would not tempt him. This seemeth to be the iudgement of Augustine. But what I iudge, I have before declared.

37 But did not the same Abraham lie, when he said unto his servants; Tarry here, and we will returne vnto you: when neuertheless he was minded to sacrifice his sonne? Which if he had done, he might not haue returned, hauing his sonne with him; but should haue returned alone without him. Iacob also by perforce words lied, when he said vnto his father; I am Esau thy sonne. Paule also as it is written in the Acts saith, that he knew him not to be the cheate priest, which commanded him to be stricken; when for all that (as Augustine testifieth in his sermon of the Centurions sonne, and as it is written in the 22. cause, question the first, chapter Parat) he knew him well enough. Paule (saith he) was brought up among the Iewes, he had learned the lawe at the feet of Gamaliel: wherefore he verie well knewe the cheate priest from other men. Iehu also lieth manifestlie, when he said, that he would tooch Baal. Augustine witteth, that there be two kinds of men mentioned in the holie scriptures. For that there were some so perfect, as although they were not without sinne, yet we may not easily imagine euill of them; but rather seeke how we may be freed those things, which in their woordes haue a shew of sinne. They oftentimes were so moued by the holie Ghost, that God by their woordes and aas might make certaine secrets knowne. And so we must beleeue, that oftentimes they both spake and did certaine things by prophesie. So Abraham, when he said; We will returne vnto you, prophesied vnto us, that which should come to passe: for he safely returned from the mountaine with Isaac.

Gen. 22. f. Look 3n Gen. 27. 19. Gen. 27. 19.

And Iacob, in lying; I am Esau, ment to be declare nothing else, but that he was the man, to whom the degre, blessing, and dignitie was due: which seemed to pertaine vnto Esau, who was the first borne. Paule also prophesied, what should at the length become of the high priest; namely, that as a painted wall, and a thing altogether feigned and hypocriticall, he should be taken away. Further (saith Augustine) there were other men, not so perfect, but were euill; which are spoken of in the old testament, either to haue lied; or else to haue done some thing, that might seme to be sinne. But he thinketh,

that we should not so greaue inteno; to defend the good name and opinion of those men. At this sort of men was Iehu: for although that murderer, which he executed vpon Achab, and his familie, and also his wooing out of Baal, and the toochpers thereof, pleased God: yet neuertheless he was a wicked king; neither forsooke he the wooing of golden calves. Wherefore it shall be lawfull to confesse, that in lying he committed sinne. But in my iudgement (and as I noted before) by this onelie distinction we may easilie discerne this doubt; namely, that those men were stirred by lie, either by the spirit of man, or by the motion of God. When they did it as men, we will not denie, but that they sinned; but when they spake so by the inspiration of God, we marvel at their sayings and doings. But we will not take it as an example and prescript to followe.

Quot. a. 46. Quot. a. 46.

### Whether it be lawfull to lie, for preserving the life of our neighbour.

38 But there ariseth a harder doubt; namely, whether it be lawfull to make a lie, for the preservation of our neighbours life: Augustine, De mendaciis ad Constantinum, saith; If a man should be in great perill at death, and the same man should also knowe, that his sonne was in extreme danger; who hegering to his, communicating knowledge thereof, if the father aske that; Would my sonne live? And then art aske that he also would lie, if thou knowest that his sonne is departed, what wouldst thou doe in this case? Whether thou saiest, he lieth; or whether thou saiest, I cannot tell: thou liest. But if so be thou answer that he is dead, all men will erie out vpon thee, as though thou haddest committed man slaughter; and as though thou, by thy beaue words, haddest bene the occasion of the death of thy father, being sicke and lying at the point of death. Augustine granteth that the case is hard; neither denieth he, but that (as a man) he should be moued; and perhaps it might be chance, that affections would not suffer him to speake that, which is iust and right. But at the length he concludeth, that he ought not to lie.

And he addeth moreover, that if thou knowest, that anie wicked woman loueth thy inopriate, namely, which also threatneth to kill his life; yea and will doe it indeed, except thou consent to his wicked lues, whether therein thou oughtest to commit anie shameful thing against chastitie: I think not. So likewise (saith he) thou oughtest not to offend against the truth, for saving of thy neighbours life. And moreover, what a windowe should be opened vnto lying, if we should

Look 1st. Sam. 17. 33. Sam. 17. 33.

Look 1st. King 17. 18. Mar. 10. 11.

should determine to do otherwise: for that, which one should thinke to be lawfull in respect of life, another would iudge that he may do the same for monie; another for estimation, or for defending of lands and possessions. And so it would come to passe, that there would be no measure nor end of lying. We may not suffer (saith Augustine) that anie man should kill his onelie soule for the bodilie life of another man. So, now that it is lawfull to lie for the saluation of anie mans soule. Euerie lie (saith Iohn) is not of G O D. But we ought not to speake those things, which are not of God.

39 What if a man were sought out of murderers to be killed, and that thou knewest that the man lieth there hidden, where thou prescent art; and they demand of thee if thou knowest whether he be there; or no: the answereth, that if thou be of a valiant courage, and as becometh a christian, thou must saie; Where he is a knoue, but I will not teler it. Do you what ye will. notwithstanding, when the matter cometh to this point, that for the defense of anie mans life thou must make a lie: knowe thou, that thou oughtest to commit the matter vnto God, and that thou hast no more there to do. Either thou must answer, that thou wilt not betray him, or else thou must bold thy peace. But by thy silence the murderer will suspect that he is in thy house, and then thou shalt seme to haue giuen an occasion of his apprehension. But in verie dea, thou hast not giuen it; for thou canst not lett him to thinke what he will. Wherefore, the matter must rather be committed vnto God, than to make a lie. Whobest, thou must temper thy woordes with singular consideration; namely, that thou speake in such sort, as thou utter not all, and yet speake not falselie. For in these cases, I thinke it is not forbidden; nate. I rather thinke it most lawfull to speake doubtfullie. And, as touching this question, this is sufficient.

### Whether for modestie sake it be lawfull to lie; vpon the second of Samuel, chapter the 9. verse the 8.

40 There be some so importunate men, as although God haue heaped his benefites vpon them, yet are they alwaies complaining; and haue borne the burthen and heate of the daie, and yet doe not make vs equal vnto them? Some also to be modest, as euen in prosperitie they humble themselves. Others be broken with miserie, and are become more humble. But they, which in their losses and afflictions retein till the fearfulness of nature, be to insolent

and obstinate. Humilitie is like a hyble, where with the insolence of our nature must be held in his dorie. And men be most of all restrained vnto modestie, when they begin to consider how verie little they haue of themselves. Whobest, the same humbling of our felices ought to be ioined with the acknowledging of Gods benefites. For manie, while they be either ignorant thereof, or else otherwise it, become like vnto beasts; as they, which cannot one whit vnderstand, with what benefites they be inuoyed by God. But there must be a speciall regard had, that we do not counterfeit that modestie; and that the same consist not onelie in woordes, but in the miad also.

Yet to retein that vertue, it is not lawfull for thee to make a lie vpon the selfe for modestie sake. For Aristotle himselfe, in his Ethics, teacheth a lie among vnbonnet things. And (as Paule saith); We must not do euill, that good may come of it. Augustine, in his 8. epistle to leon, touching this matter, citeth the woordes of Paule to the Corinthians; If Christ be trodden, in vaine is our preaching, and your faith also is in vaine. For we be found false witness of God, when we saie, that God raised vp Christ from the dead; when he raised not vp, if the dead doo not rise againe. But here (saith Augustine) a man might saie vnto Paule; Why dost thou so much detest lying, since the same seemeth to be the setting forth of the glorie of God? And he answereth Paule to answer, that he doth detest such lies, and that it is no lesse euill, to commend things that be not true concerning God, than not to beleeue things that be true of him. Therefore we gather this argument; If it be not lawfull to lie for the honour of God, it is much lesse lawfull to lie for the retein of anie vertue. Yea, and it is no lesse euill to ascribe to thy selfe euill, which thou hast not committed, than to arrogate vnto the selfe anie good, which thou hast not done.

41 Contrariwise neuertheless, Paule vnto Timodius seemeth forsaith to make a lie of him selfe; Christ (saith he) came to saue sinners, of whom I am the cheefe. For Paule was not the cheefe, or the greatest sinner. And in the 30. chapter of the Iohnes, he prayeth Agur, whether he were Salomon himselfe, or some other man; I verifie a, an (if he) more faithful than all men, and the widows of men is not in me; I haue learned no knowledge, neither haue I the vnderstanding of holie things. Yet was he both a prophet, and a wise man, and answered pueniently vnto questions. And Christ himselfe, of himselfe I am (saith he) a worme and the offscour of the people. Some denie these speeches on this wise, saying; that they, which haue thus amplified their finnes, they

A man may not for modestie sake lie of himselfe. Rom. 8. 1 Cor. 13. 4.

An obiection.

1 Tim. 1. 15.

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they onelic repeated their otome strength, which they themselves had by themselves, and a certaine naturall inclination of their otome unto it will. For they themselves sawe, that they were greivouslie have fallen, unless God had raised them. These in verie deed be no small piousations, to make vs iudge humble and lotolie of our otome felues. But it is one thing for a man to saie that he is pious and ready bent unto it will; and another thing to confesse that he hath done some euill, which he hath not done. For there is as much difference betwene these, as there is betwene act and potuer. Certainlie, we may euerie one of vs slip, yet no man ought to saie that he hath slipped, when he hath not. Wee ought all to confesse our felues to be sinners, but none ought to ascribe vnto himselfe anie sinne by name, which he hath not committed.

I saie therefore, that those speeches, which I haue made mention of, if they be thoughtlie weighed, they be true; for some be uttered after that sort, because absolutelie they be so; some, for that they be extolled by an excessive speech; some, because they be compared with an other thing by contention. Paule calleth himselfe the principall sinner, either because he was the first that came vnto Christ, among those that persecuted the church of God; or because he iudged himselfe in verie deed to be cheefe, and greatest of the sinners. But as if there had bene no man that had sinned moze heinouslie (for there were such as had sinned against the holie Ghost, there were those which had sinned without anie repentance): but because that among all men, which were redeemed by Christ, and had obtained the merite of God, he thought himselfe to haue sinned most greivouslie. For some had sinned in infirmitie, some of plaine error; and incredulitie; some had proceeded so farre, as they crucified Christ, who neuertheless were afterward, by the preaching of the word of God, called home vnto repentance. Therefore saith Peter in the Acts: I knowe brethren that ye did it by ignorance, euen as did your fathers. But Paule had no recourse vnto the sermons of the apostles: there was need to greater bonds; for the dialing of him vnto Christ. Whereupon Christ spake thus vnto him from heauen: Saule, Saule, why persecuest thou me? Whither thou mennerest, he compared himselfe: and of these he saith he is the principall.

And so Chrysostome, vpon this place, saith; that these words be against other words of his in the epistle to the Philippians. For there he saith, that he was conueriant in the Iewels religion, without crime, and without complaint. But these things (saith he) are nothing repugnant. For euen they themselves, which had performed the rightness of the lawe, yet were

they sinners neuertheless. And although Paule spake those things modeitie of himselfe, yet did he not ascribe an vnto himselfe. For, notwithstanding he granted himselfe to haue bene a persecuter, and a blasphemer; yet he saith not, that he was an adulterer, or a fornicator, or a thief; seeing those things should not haue bene true. The things objected out of the Protestants, touching Agur the prophet, were true by toale of composing them vnto those things, whereat a demand was made. The saith that he had no twosome in respect that the twosome which he had, was no twosome; but because the same, being compared vnto so great matters, might seme to be none. So Socrates went to saie; this onlie I knowe, that I knowe nothing; which he had, would be nothing, in comparison of the multitude of those things that he knewe not. So Chrysostome calleth himselfe a twosome, and a reproch of the people, because men haue accounted of him, by reason of his afflictions and crose. Also in speaking, these haughty sinners an excessive or hyperbolicall speech, such indeed as is not joined with a lie, but which may serue for the better setting forth of the matter.

*Whether faith must be kept toward him that breaketh his promise.*

42 In the beginning of the ninth chapter of the second booke of Samuel, Dauid bemaneth; Is there anie man left aliue of the familie of Saule, to whom I may do good for Ionathans sake? When he speaketh of Ionathan, he excludeth not God; naie rather, that which he did for Ionathans sake, he did cheefelie for God and godlines sake. So God saith, that he would do well to the people of the Iezus, for the covenant which he had made with Abraham; yet both he not exclude his otome goodnesse. Naie rather, he cheefelie includeth the same therein; seeing that covenants proceeded of the miere goodnesse and mercie of God. But thou wilt demand, what Dauid saith that he will do good vnto anie of the house of Saule, for Ionathans sake; and not for Saules otome sake. For in the 24. chapter of the first booke of Samuel, that time as he had cut off the skirt of Saules clothe, he being inforced by Saule to sweare, promised, that he would not rot out his seed. Whereby he was bound, not onelie vnto Ionathan, but also vnto Saule. Some answer, that Dauid was now discharged of his oth; because Saule kept not promise with him, but had done him exceeding great wrong. For he that breaketh his faith (saie they) let faith be broken with him. And Cicero, in his third booke of De

aces, citeth a verse out of Accius an old Poet; that those broken faith; Accius, whom he bringeth in to speake answere, saith; neither haue I given neither do I give my faith to anie faithlesse person.

But this is no sure rule at all times. For if one be touched, and cause of promise; yet ought not thou for that, to saie to thinke from thy promise; seeing God doth oftentimes keepe promise euen with vs that do euill. The promise, that he would continue the familie of Dauid, euen some great honour in the kingdome, or else some great honour in the familie of Dauid, euen some which should reueue mankind. When doubtleslie were euill, faithfull, and vnto the to haue the promise kept with them, yet did he performe these things to them, according to his excellent faithfulness. Some anwer to this wise, that faith is dead must be kept with an euill and faithfull man, if he be faithfull towards others; so he be no such towards vs; or else, if he do hurt vs, so he be not in the selfe same thing, wherein it was agreed vpon betwene vs. Naie rather, if he saie euen in the verie same thing which to agreed vpon, yet must we keepe promise: for by that meane, neither his faithfulness be increased; nor a greater potuer to do hurt be given vnto him. We be therefore loosed of our promise, if the thing cannot be, which we haue promised; or else, if it should fall out ill vnto himselfe, to whom the promise is made: as if thou deliuer a sword vnto a furious man, which thou dost promise vnto a man of sobrietie; or if he be true towards and tame, as though, through the patience, he meane to reape a benefit of his faithfulness; or else, if thou shalt promise him a thing, as is against the word of God; or the profit of the Church, or Common-lawe. Therefore it is written in the 2. cause, question second; In euill promises breake the faith.

But most of all, we be at libertie of our promise, if we being circumvented by anie fraud, haue promised anie thing that we ought not to haue done; or else, if the things themselves be now changed. Some haue added; If thou being compelled either by force or feare, dost promise anie thing that thou wouldst not. But it can scarcely be perceiued, how so great a feare and compulsion can haue vnto a courageous and good man, that he should promise that, which might be against either his dutie, or the word of God. Whereby if a man be fallen in such wise, he is at libertie. But adone all, we must take heed, that we do not craftilie couer our promises, and keepe by fraud and counterfeit meane to bring out felices out: seeing fraud, as Cicero verie rightlie saith) both not vnder peritue, but it teth it fast. Dauid, when as perhaps he might haue intended manie things to breake his pro-

mises; yet would he do no such thing. For being a godlie prince, he was rather minded to followe truth and faithfulness.

43 Certainlie, the nature and consideration of these two vertues; (namelie, truth and faith) is both alike, yet is it not altogether the selfe same: wherein they do agree, and bow they differ. I will in few words declare. Truth is a vertue, whereby we are ready to speake those things, which the meanings and cogitations of our mind do cryelie; for hereby, because we speake those things which we thinke, are we called faithfull and true of our word. And faith is a vertue, whereby is brought to passe, that our words be answereable to our promises. There is some consequencie on both parts. In truth there is a consequencie of words with the meaning of the mind, and in faith a consequencie of deeds with promises. So as lying is contrarie vnto truth, and faithfull vnto faith. For Cicero thinketh; that truth is so called, because that is done which is spoken. And he defined the same after a sort on this manner; Faith is a continuance of words and of countants. In another place he saith, that Faith is the truth of a mans word.

But thus the definition will be moze full, Faith is a good habit, according to right reason, whereby we are ready to do those things that we haue promised. This definition (as I haue said) is moze perfect, and it consisteth of a general word, and of a difference. For faith agreteith vnto iustice, and it causeth vs to goe vnto euerie man, that which perteineth to him; seeing that thou shalt promise to anie man, that is now become his, to whom thou shalt promise. And the same vnto those who performe in time, though without that, which is another mane. Also to regard is the force of faith, as it comprehendeth in one all the parts of mans life: be cause neither matrimoine, neither the bargains which citizens haue among themselves, neither anie part of the Common-weale can consist without faith. It differeth (as I said) from truth, although both the same it hath manie things that be like. The matter of truth is infinite: All things that we speake, are either true or false; whether they be past, whether they be present, or whether they be to come. But faith hath to do onelie in promises: neuertheless, those promises must be of the thing that is good; and not of that, which is euill, or a hindrance to good: otherwise they ought not to be firme.

Wherefore, faith should haue the verie same companions joined therewith, that an oth hath; namelie, truth, righteousness, and iudgement. So as he, that breaketh his promise, hath not done onelie in so doing; but he must also make amende for the hindrance, which through his amende for the hindrance, which through his

In what respect Paule calleth himselfe the principall sinner.

Acts. 3. 17.

Acts. 9. 4.

Phil. 3. 6.

Phil. 4.

wherein I have failed to be good for Ionathans sake.

verse. 23. and 24.

A definition on oaths.







those which be against the latter table. But this I would not have to be understood, as though all that is committed against the first table, should be accounted more wicked than that which is repugnant to the latter. For it may be, that a man will violate some ceremony of no great importance, which appertaineth to the first table; who for all that shall not commit more grievous than he, which doth commit either murder or adultery. Wherby, the comparison must be made between these finnes, which be of equal degree and greatness. For let volume on the one side the chiefest sinne against the first table, and on the other side the greatest against the latter table; then shall that be judged more grievous, whereby the first table is broken, than that which is done against the latter. And even the same case must be in the means fast of finnes, and also in the latter; so that ever ye compare like with like.

By what means groweth the greatness of sinne.

Mat. 23. 2.

It happeneth also sometimes, that one man is more vehemently moved to sinne than another. And certeinly, his sin shall be judged more grievous, that offendeth, having small affluents or provocations; than he by greater boldness is driven to transgresse the lawe of God. The greatness also of the sinne is sometimes weighed, according to the easiness or difficulty of forgiving. For Christ saith, that they shall be forgiven, which speake against the sonne of man; but that the fault of them, which had blasphemed the holie Ghost, should not be forgiven. Further, they transgresse more grievously, which are most furnished with excellent knowledge. For the servant, which knoweth the will of his Lord, and fulfilled it not, is much more beaten, than he that doth offend upon ignorance. Also, the heape of benefits bestowed, doth adde a more weight unto finnes; seeing they, which transgresse, being adorned with many gifts, their sinne is the more grievous, when they do transgresse: for the vice of ingratitude increaseth their sinne.

For since sinne more grievous than the publike.

2 Sam. 11.

Over this, the dignity of the person is weighed: in so much as princes, and also bishops, and ministers of the word of God, do sinne much more grievously, than the common persons. For they sit at the sterne, and have in their hand the helme of the church or common-wealth: by reason whereof all men take example by them. Some sinne also are counted the more grievous, because they be not alone, but they drawe many other mischeifes with them. By reason whereof the sinne of David is verie much repugned; because his adulterie was joined with the murder of a god and faithful man; namely, of Urias: before that there happened the slaying of manie valiant soldiers, and the victorie betrayed and translated unto the enemies of

Gods name. Wherefore, more grievous is that sinne judged to be, than if the fault had bene single and alone. Also, that crime is most condemned, that bringeth most harme. For undoubtedly, he that taketh away a mans life, doth more harme, than if he do but wound or else maim one part of the bodie. And further, the vehement and ardent desire of the will is considered, whereby men runne headlong into sinne. For they that with all libertie runne into mischiefe, are more to be repugned, than they that unwillingly and striding there against, with great fight of conscience, transgresse the lawe of God.

Also the offense of them is lesse, which after a sort be constrained to fall into sinne, though great feare and want of strength to endure affliction; than if they should willingly and of their owne accord fall thereinto. And wonderfull grievous both the contempt of the word of God make sinne to be. Furthermore, those things that be openlie committed, because they give an offense, and stumbling blocke unto others; therefore are more condemned, than such as are done privately and in secret. And the finnes, which be committed against holie men, such as are the prophets, and ministers of the church, be horrible, because that inuie and covetouslie doth more evidently rebound unto God. Wherefore it is written; He that burreth Zach. 18. you, dooth as if hee should touch the apple of mine owne eye. Hee that despiseth you (saith Luk. 14. 16. Christ) despiseth me also. And God warned the princes of this world, that they should do no violence against his Christs; that is, his annointed.

Also, even in civill matters, the dignity of the person that is hurt is weighed. For be both wofull, that burreth his owne father; and the daughter, that riseth against his owne mother, than if they should rage against an other persons; as the prophet Michas in the seventh chapter ver. 6. ter doth testifie. Again, he is more sharplie rebuked, that burreth the magistrate and publicke power; than he, which toucheth private man. Wherefore, by expresse wordes it is commanded of God; Thou shalt not speake euill of the prince of the people. And the sinne is become much more detestable through continuance. And certeinly, God doth more grievously punish them, which do as it were not in their finnes; than others, which once or twice do amisse. Wherefore Amos the prophet, in the name of God, repeated these often that sentence; Upon three or foure wickednes I will not convert him. And God testified in the late, that he would take vengeance upon sinne, unto the third and fourth generation: when as they should be continued through to many generations.

Exo. 10. 4.

grues. Hereunto the place, time, and age doth adde a great weight with it. And there might be gathered well-nere innumerable other things, which either aggravate or lighten finnes: the which both willingly and unwillingly I over-passe.

Christ. In 1 Cor. 9. ver. 9. All finnes be not of the equalitie.

Chrysostome noted, that we must not conclude that all finnes be of equalitie. Although it be reckoned, that even the least finnes be of so great a moment, as they exceepe vs from the kingdom of God. This is common with them all, that they becaue men of the most happy inheritance: yet shall they not be punished with the like paines. Augustine, in his fourth booke of baptisme, against the Donatists, saith; that The wordes of Paule are not so to be understood, as though none should be excluded from the kingdom of God, unless they be guiltie in all sins joined together; but we must understand, that whosoever shall be defiled, but even with one of them; he is to be banished out of the kingdom of Christ. Indeed he granteth, that it is impossible anie one sinne should be committed, but the same is accompanied with some other. Albeit, it is not of necessitie, that where one vice is, all the rest should followe: for finnes are not linked together as vertues be. Which is declared by two reasons. The first is, that unto one vertue are repugnant two vices, which are of the greatest diversitye one from an other: whereupon he, which is infected with one of them, cannot alwaies be defiled with the other; so as one man should all at once be both fearefull and bold. Further, it happeneth oftentimes, that one sinne expelleth an other: as ambition putteth awaye civetousnes; covetousnes, dishonestie and furelletting. So then we cannot see, that vices are alwaies joined one with an other.

Augustine.

Ar. Boet.

But that vertues be joined one with an other, the Philosophers make no doubt: as Augustine writeth in an epistle unto Ierom, for he causeth there is no wisdom found, that is brutish and intemperate: and againe, no temperance, without or without. But Aristotle, in his first booke of Ethics, declareth this more plainelie; to wit, that we cannot appoint wisdom to be, where other morall vertues be wanting: because reason should then be troubled by naughtie desires, neither could it heape still the right course thereof. And againe, the rest of the vertues without wisdom can take no place, seeing everye one of them is an habit according to right reason. And the goodnesse and right course of reason hath no other being, but in wisdom one selfe. These things doe the Philosophers asseme. But a Christian man must not verie easilie be lead to consent unto them; seeing he cannot deny, but that godlie men are indued with manie most excellent vertues: and yet he ought to confesse, that

they do sinne verie often. For James saith; In many things we sinne all. And Iohn saith; If Iohn. 1. 2. we faie that we have no sinne, we decieve our selves, and there is no truth in vs. But he that bath finnes, how can he be adorned with all vertues; seeing sinne is contrarie and likewise repugnant to vertues? Wherefore the Christian knoweth in this matter to dissent or disagree from the Philosophers.

Augustine.

Augustine, in the same epistle, goeth about to know this knot on this wise; to wit, that the onelie vertue in Christian religion is charitie, which containeth in it selfe all other vertues; and the same, if it could be most perfect, had would utterlie suffer no sinne to be with it: for charitie is the fulfilling of the lawe. Where the lawe is fulfilled, and performed, there is no place left for sinne. But seeing, while we abide here in this life, our charitie is feeble and imperfect; therefore it is easie to be moved, that the same suffereth many defecats and finnes therein. The vertue which thing we percieve to happen in heate, and three qualities of that kind; which being in their perfection, admit not by anie means anie contraries; but if they be remiss, and of lesse force, they recieve perpetuall something that is contrarie unto them. Wherby, in my judgement we may easilier resolve the matter; to saie, that those things, which are taught by the Philosophers, are true, concerning the morall vertues, and finnes onelie, which they in their booke increase of: but that the Christian faith doth more narrowly lake into the nature of sinne, than they were able to discern. And those things, which we admit to be sinne, they would judge not to be repugnant to their vertues; and consequently, would repute them not in the place of finnes.

But to returne to our purpose. There seemeth doubt to remaine, against that which we have assested touching finnes; namely, then as we saie, that they of necessitie be not joined one with an other. For James 1. 2. He that is fencible in one, is become guiltie of all. So as if it seemed, that one sinne being committed, the same wadeth all other finnes with it. Wherby, it should appeare, that the sentence of the apostle must be understood of charitie, which is violated by everye kind of sinne: the same being taken abate, all vices do breake forth. So cleave will take this meaning thus; when as a man transgresseth one commandment, he should be stirred by the same force of temptation against the rest of the commandments, he should in like manner transgresse them. Whereby, the former exposition seemeth to approach more nigh the truth; seeing, whatsaever James saith; he manifesteth referring it unto charitie. For he that falleth into anie sinne against his neighbour,

A place of James 2. 2. powder.

bour, he is straitwaie committed, to be guiltie of the violating of love. Wherefore, seeing it is not necessarie, that he, which is burthensd with one sinne, should be iudged to be guiltie of all, the wordes of Paule (in the first to the Corinthians, the first chapter, verse the ninth) must not as we said be understood, as though the sinnes, which he reckoned, did not exclude us from the kingdome of heauen, butt that all the sinnes be ioined together in one man at once. One onlie sinne is sufficient vnto destruction. And those things, which are spoken by the apostle, do repecte them which flatter themselves in the possession of their faith, and make no reckoning to liue iustlie and godlie.

Augustine.  
That inuolunt and all christian are thereby in one state of perdition.

Cleric well did Augustine, in his fourth booke of baptisme against the Donatists, write, that An inuolunt disputed against the faith, but an ill christian liueth against the faith. Seeing therefore either of them is against faith, neither of them can be saved by faith. Against the inuolunt, Christ said; Vnlesse a man be borne anew of water and the holie Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. And on the other part, against the godlesse christiane this is to be allowed; that Vnlesse your righteousnesse exceede the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the kingdome of heauen. Wherefore, euen as the inuolunt haue not wherewith to delite themselves in moiall vertues: no more can those, that be baptisid (if they liue ill) promise vnto themselves euerslaking felicitie; especially if they be infected with those heinous crimes, which the apostle reckoned; y<sup>e</sup> seeing howe can they with these crimes be in the kingdome of God? For God gouerneth his kingdome by the word and the spirit: but these men do these things, neither by the word nor yet by the spirit; but rather by the flesh and suggestions of the diuill.

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doh, ye as  
prouideth.

What the  
heart is.

8 Our Saviour, in the 22. of Matthew, Marke the thyself, and Luke the tenth chapters, recharcter the sum of the commandments with this word; Loue the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soule, with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. And therefore be named the third among the rest (which word is not in the Hebrew) that he did in his onlie right. For seeing he was the lateste member, it was lawfull for him to expound the same. Augustine in his fourth booke, and first chapter. *De origine animæ*, he saith; that [here] the hart ought not to be taken for; that little member of the bodie, which lieth hidden vnder the ribs: but he will haue it vnderstood to be that power of the mind, out of which the cogitations do arise. And in verie deed, euen as the hart is neuer at rest: so the mind with neuer cease from cogitations. Whereouer, there be others, that expound the hart to be

the desiring power of the soule; and therefore they saie, that Christ addeed The mind. It lietheth to us to saie, that the hart containeth the whole desire; the soule, the angrie part; the mind, the knowing part; and finally, that vnder the name of powers; or strenghts, it comprehendeth all the other faculties of the mind. Whereto it is added for the more beement expectell of all those things, which were mentioned before; namely, that God must not be loved for an outward fashion sake, but with the whole inward. *Barnard.* Wherefore, Barnard saith; that The manner how to loue God, is to loue him without measure. And Augustine in his first booke, chapter 22. *De doctrina christiana*, sayeth: When it is said; With all the hart, there is now no part left vnto vs, which may attende to give place to other desires. And those things, which we haue a mind vnto, must otherwhile haue relation to that, wherein the force of our loue consisteth: that is, vnto God. If the wordes of the latow, and of David were examined with a right iudgement, the bookes of supererogation would quite be ouerthrowne; and the reason, alledged for our merits, conuincid: seeing, that is there remaining vnto vs, that is not bound vnto God: For we do loue him too but that which we ought to do.

9 Paule disputing of brotherlie charitie. Be in him, you (saith he) affectioned to loue one another. *1 Pet. 1.* you with brotherlie loue. An Orake it is *τὴν φιλανθρωπικὴν ἀγάπην*, *philosôphian*: in which word is declared, which manner of affect loue is; namely, a brotherlie affect. And it is called *ἀγάπη*, which word is properly an affect not coming of election: as: such as are friendships, which men enter into to one with another, but gratified in by nature; and therefore so ioined to our minds, that in a manner it can neuer vtterlie be shaken off. And so, forasmuch as of these natural affections, there are sundrie sorts of kinds (for either they are betwixen the parents and the children, or betwixen the husband and wife, or else betwixen brethren) the apostle expretheth that kind, which most agreeeth with his exhortation, which he had begun; namely, to give vs to vnderstand, that our loue towards others ought to be a brotherlie loue. Which therefore is more beement than common friendships; in that these friendships are percolate, each betwixen honest men; when they perceive that their friends are fallen abaske from iustice, and are become wicked and corrupt. But as touching our parents, brethren, and children, it is vnbondulike a graue vnto vs, to fe them becaue themselves otherwise than we would they should: yet is not therefore the affection of our mind towards them extirp guided. Besides, in the former friendships, we expect not, that in louing, one should recompence another with mutual benefites. For we loue our children

children and brethren, of our owne accord; although they haue not bound vs vnto them by any benefite of theirs towards vs. And forasmuch as these things ought to be observed in christian loue, therefore Paule calleth it *ἀγάπη*; although it come not of nature, but of the spirit of God, and of grace.

And how much the consideration of brotherhood is of force to stir by loue betwixen christian men, we are taught by the example of Moses. For the next daie after he had slaine the Aegyptian, when he went to visit the Hebrewes, I saue a certaine Hebrew doing iniurie to another Hebrew: as if saint Steeuen reciteth the historie (said vnto them; Ye are brethren, why do ye on this sort iniurie one to another? The strength also of this affect, Ioseph declared. For he, when he went vpon the duclact to reconcile himselfe vnto his brethren, of whom he had bene sold to be a bond-man, said vnto them; I am your brother Joseph. And so faine as he had spoken that, he could not reframe himselfe from teares. So great is the force of this friendship with the godlie. Further is the mutual loue betwixen christians without iust cause called a brotherlie love; seeing Christ called his disciples, Brethren: and that at that time christie, when after his resurrection, he was now known vnto his disciples, when he treateth of friendship, I among brethren (saith he) one and the selfe-same thing is distributed vnto diuers. And therefore, forasmuch as they communicate among themselves, in one and the selfe-same thing; in god right, they are one loue the other. As that one and the selfe-same thing, wherein brethren do communicate, be the meane the substance of the father and of the mother; whereof each haue their part. The like consideration also is there betwixen the father and full: for (as Peter saith) they be made partakers of the nature of God. So as they ought to loue one another as brethren, which if they do not, they are withoutly called *ἀδελφοί*, as a faine most precious, Paule in the first chapter of the epistle to the Romans, attributed vnto those, which fell abaske from the true worshiping of God; and were therefore deliuered by him into a rebellious mind.

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received of God by Christ. He gaue his onlie begotten sonne for vs, he deliuered vs from sinne, from death, from hell, and from the diuill. He adopted vs for his children, and appointed vs heires of euerslaking life: and he not feareth vs, nourisheth vs, and (as a most mercifull father) becometh all care and good will vpon vs. These things if we oftentimes repeat in our memoies, they may effectually kinde our mind to loue Christ, and God our creator. Also let vs regard the dignitie of our neighbour, who, howe lowe soeuer he be, and subiect to vs, yet is he borne withall, and susteyned by God, and inuolunt withall manie benefites. He denieth him not the benefite of the sunne, he仁eth his gratiuous raine vpon him, he giueth him health and the riches of this world: neither taketh he his image from him, as be delecteth. What cause therefore may there be, why thou canst not aboue him? Wherevnture thou wilt saie, that he is a wicked man.

I will aske of thee, whether thou do more detest and abhorre sinne, than God both? Wherevnto thou canst not answer otherwise than it is; to wit, that God doth farre goe beyond thee, in detesting of sinne and wickednesse. And yet neuertheless, seeing thou fast that he doth not immediate reuerge, but doth vpon long the time of repentance, and defer the punishment; thou dost not thou imitate him, and amend thy neighbour with patience, as much as in the lieth? But if peradventure he shall seeme to be incurable, thou must take heed (as much as in the lieth) that by the often refusal of his naughtinesse, there come not much to harme. What is that the most viltious liars, being otherwise fierce and cruel beastes, are kept in iron chains, and close places, least they should do hurt; and that at the pleasure of their masters, who desire to deloite in them both the workmanship of nature, and the strength of this kind of beasts. What wilt thou alse (to do God seruice) haue thy neighbour in gard and out of doors, though he be euill, least he should hurt others; that the patience of God towards them maie be seene and perceived?

But if thou wilt saie, that he is become loathed, as he cannot be staid from doing much harme; and that he must in aile tolls be cut off; then let publicke authoritie (I meane the magistrats) execute their office. For if we be ing stirred by of our owne lust, desire to reuerge; we of our god cause shall make it euill. But if thou take in euill part the iniuries and wrongs done vnto thee, and therefore thinke that thou art moved vpon lust cause: put the person of another man vpon thy selfe, and imagine, that those things, which be committed against thee, be done against other men; then thou

The change  
of person  
is  
much.

thou shalt see, that the disquietnes of thy mind will be the lesse, & by this alteration of persons, thou shalt perceive how greatly thou art infected with the loue of thy selfe. Also, for the retaining of charitie, it furthereth, to call vertue often to mind, that the whole loue is fulfilled thereby. It beareth forward also to repaite in our me- moire, how manie and how great debts we to our felues are bound to performe. And hercof let vs not be foggall, that in departing from chari- tie, we shall be nothing.

1. Cor. 13, 13.

Wher differ-  
ence is be-  
tweene Car-  
mour, loue,  
and chari-  
tie.  
The abid-  
ing place  
of charitie.

Aristotle.

Wherrein  
loue consti-  
steth.

The defini-  
tion of chari-  
tie.

Augustine.

13. I say these, and such other like means, there is a great helpe for the keeping and pre- serving of charitie towards our neighbours; al- though the same proceed from the mere libera- lity of God. Of this charitie spake Paule in the twelfth chapter of the first to the Corinthians; And I will yet shew you a more excellent waie. It is all one, as if he had said: I for you are pos- sessed with a certaine desire to excell other, now will I shew you the waie: the same is charitie, which (as concerning the woord) hath infinite will fauour and will loue. From the which ne- uertheless it do differeth, as fauour is the me- mor and lesse affect, and loue is the more be- neuent affect. But charitie is appointed to be, where a certaine knitting together, and nere frendship bayoneth betwene the parties. So as we call that charitie, which is towards pa- rents, towards the countrie, and towards kin- dred; which selfe thing is there correspondant to christian loue. For all we, which are beleue- rs, haue one father, which is God; and one brother, the first begotten, which is Christ; therefore we be knit together with a most nere frendship. Now that we knowe what the woord meaneth, there resteth, that we declare somewhat, al- though riddle, of the nature thereof. Aristotle, in his Ethics, taught manie things concerning frendship; and in his Ethicopolis he intreated at large concerning the same. And in effect his iudgement is, that to loue a man, consisteth in this, namely, that when we wish well vnto him, then we do well vnto him; and that for himselfe, not for our owne sake. Here both humane wis- dome saie, but christian goodlikenesse is lifted higher. For such a one both willeth well, & doth well vnto his neighbour; and not for his owne proper commoditie, but for God and Christ his sake; because he knoweth that his neighbour is created by God the father, and is redeemed by the blood of Christ. Let charitie then be thus de- fined; that it is a power inspired into our minds by the heauenlie spirit, whereby we wish well vnto our neighbours, and do good vnto them, according to our power; and that for God and Christ his sake.

tue, that it is charitie, to loue those things that ought to be beloved. And the same be saith is greater in some, but lesse in other some, and in some none at all. But the most perfect charitie, whereunto nothing can be added, must not be a- scribted vnto anie, while we live in this world. And he addeth, that there may be somewhat ad- ded thereto while we live here, because somewhat is wanting thereto, which both testifie both the fault and imperfection thereof; and thereby it cometh to passe (as he saith) that There is not Phil. 14, 1, a man that dooth good, and sinneeth not. And if 1. Joh. 1, 10, we shall saie that we haue no sinne, we deceiue our felues, and the truth is not in vs. And it is written of David; Enter not into iudgement Phil. 14, 3, with thy seruant. And we saie all in the Lords praier; Forgiue vs our trespasses. It appertheth therefore, that this man of God ascribeth per- fect charitie to no man in this life; nay rather, there is somewhat cure to be added thereto, so long as we live, which declareth both the corruption and imperfection thereof. The verie same we may assure our felues to be in all the good woorkes that we do. But it must be con- sidered, that those things, which he spoken of Paule concerning charitie, and the definition which we haue brought, do pertaine vnto that charitie, which we haue towards our neighbour. And when he commendeth that loue, be by an Antithesis condemneth hatred, factions, dis- agreements, and finally all finnes, which are contrarie vnto the same. Upon good considera- tion he callith the waie thereof excellent; he callith addeth thereto we ought to do well vnto the ac- tualized, though they be vngatefull and unwill- ing: in the amending of whom, goodlie men, for reward and good will, do suffer hatred and per- secutions.

In Rom. 10, 1.

In Phil. 1, 10.

In Mat. 23, 1.

In 1. Joh. 1, 10.

In 1. Joh. 1, 10.

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extend our good will and charitie vpon all men, whatsoever they be: but now we onelie speake of the degrees, and shew of the ordinarie and vniuersall charitie, where we ought to beginne; be- lesse some other occasion diuide vs to that, which is more needfull. 14. I haue writ, saying Paule seemeth to be ma- ued with a desire and god will towards the Zelous, for the zeale that they had without knowledge; there ariseth a question, whether a- nie time may so please vs, as of them we should take a delight; or that therefore should be in- generated anie god will: We must put a diffe- rence betwene finnes. For there are certaine grosse and vnumerable finnes, which all men vnderstand to be finnes. And there be other finnes, which although they be condemned before God, and are finnes in verie deed, for that they be committed by men not rege- nerate, who be as peruelv trees, neither direct they their woorkes vnto God, as they ought to do; yet are they mortallie good. Wherefore, if we meane of grosse finnes, and speake of finnes propriete and true, as they are of their owne nature; then none that is goodlie will delight in this kind of sinne. For if a man loue God with all his heart, it is necessarie that he reframe and detest all finnes, which are manifestlie re- pugnant vnto the will of God, and vnto his late. But accidentally, or indirectly, it is possible that some pleasure may be taken in them.

We take pleasure in finnes by charitie.

Speciall good woorkes do delight vs though they be finnes.

In Ambr. 1, 10.

In Ambr. 1, 10.

In Ambr. 1, 10.

In Ambr. 1, 10.

In Ambr. 1, 10.

Who taketh not pleasure, when he readeth the honest life and vertuous acts of Socrates? Or when he weigheth with himselfe the notable acts done by Scipio Africanus? And altho when he seeth the things that be done in our time of nota- ble men, that are euen bold of Christian religi- on? Yea, for as much as they haue a certaine shew and countenance of sound vertues, the goodlie are so much delighted with them, as they are often times thrust by to praise earnestlie for the saluation of those men: thus thinking with themselves; If God would haue to change these men, and to draw them into Christ, they would be a great ornament and helpe vnto the church: neither do they easilie despaire of their saluation. Euen as a fullill bulbanonim, if perhaps he see a ground vnder rather than bushes and weeds, desirith to buy the same; thinking with himselfe, that if the mangrove heards were re- duced, and the bushes with a plough rater by, fruits would plentifully growe thereon. And so alio will he do, if he see wilde vine trees, or wilde olive trees (say in any place of the olme de- cord): for he will thereby iudge the ground to be meet both for vine trees, or for fat olive trees; if it might be well husbanded.

In Ambr. 1, 10.

In Mat. 23, 1.

In Mark. 12, 34.

Altho Christ our saviour, when a young man had asked him, what he should do to attaine to eter- nall life: and he had answered him; Keepe the commandments: and then the young man had replied, that he indouored himselfe there- vnto euen from his youth, (which neuertheless was not true) yet for all that delighted in that induer of his, whatsoever it was, touch- ing the inquirie of saluation, and of obiecting the commandments of God, as much as in him late. For this is the meaning of that, which Mark writeth in the tenth chapter, that Christ loued him; to wit, that considering his present calamitie, he was moued with mercie: for that he laboured and going about to attaine vnto the righteousness of woorkes, fell awaie from it. The same 1. Joh. also (when he had made answer that the greatest commandment is to loue God with all our heart, with all our loue, and with all our strength; and that the next com- mandment is, to loue our neighbours as our felues: to wit, that a certaine scribe had com- mended the answer of the 1. Joh.) the 1. Joh. said; Thou art not far from the kingdom of heauen, although he yet belieued not, neither was he iudified by Christ. But the 1. Joh. would declare, that this hitherto the truth, resembled some shew of heauens goodlikenesse.

Wherefore, in such woorkes, as mortallie are cal- led good, the mind of the goodlie first is belited; although he is also grieved, that those woorkes be not done as they ought to be. And as touching the saying of the apostle, we must not gather, that

In Rom. 10, 2.

that he of time, that is, of zeale, without true knowledge conceived a love and good will towards the Jewes. For he reasoneth not from the cause; naie rather, by the effect he declarth his love towards them; namelic, in that he not onlie praith for the saluation of them, but also for; that he aggravateth not the crime, which they were guilty of, but rather excuse it, so far as the matter will permit. It should be a false argument *A non causa ut causa*, that is, taking that for the cause, which is not the cause; if a man would hereby proue, that Paul was delited in the sinnes of the Jewes. But if a man will needs contend, that this argument is taken from the cause; we will saie, that *diabolus*, which in English is Devils desire, is in this place an affect, which pertaineth unto mercie. And so Paul had compassion of the Jewes, because he sawe them so miserable decedue.

Of Salutations.

In a. luing. 15. That, which in the scriptures is commanded of obsequing salutations one to another, seeme to be a verie hard & unwillful thing; forsomuch as a salutation is nothing else, but a luckie and happy praising, and it is not the least booke of charitie towards our neighbours. Among the Hebrews it is expresse in the word *Berach*, which is, as they commonlie call it, a benediction, or a god and glabfome praising; and of the Greeces it is called *doxologia*. Further, to salute againe, cometh of a gratefull mind, and belongeth unto craying, or recompensing iustice. For; it is meet and good right, that we should in like manner wish good things to them, which have first wished well to vs. And there is no doubt, but that mutual salutations do verie much further vnto the joining together of minds. Which consultations, how necessarie and profitable they be in a christian Common-wealth, and in the church of Christ, all men do knowe.

Augustine. Augustine, in his 4. sermon De sanctis; I kende not of salute a man, whom he mereth, or vice not salutations againe vnto him that hath saluted him, he shall not be taken of the transler; for a man, but for a flocke, a fone, or for Mercurie, who standing by the waie, directeth the tournee, and speaketh not a word.

Further, can mutual salutation be iustlie forbidden; seeing we are bound thereto by commandement. For; it is commanded, that we should praie, not onlie for our friends, but also for those, which be adversaries vnto vs: so as we must wish god and prosperous things vnto them also. Whereupon Christ, in the fifth of Matthew, saith; If you will onlie salute those, which salute you, what reward shall ye have? Not the Publicans and sinners the same? For

there are these kinds of salutations: profitable; but if they be done by faith, they be acceptable vnto God, and by him gratioulie and gentle heard. And the fathers, when they were departing out of this life, spake salutations of comfortable words vnto their friends, to the great benefit of them: as Moses did vnto the Israelites, Jacob vnto his children, and Isaac Gen. 48. Gen. 49. Gen. 27. vnto him. And in that kind of salutations, many mysteries are opene by the holie Ghost. Christ also commanded his apostles, that they should salute the household, whereunto they did come: as it is written in the tenth of Matthew. The manner of the salutation is set forth; namelic, that they should saie; Peace be vnto this house. And that, which Christ gaue in commandment, he expresse by example: for he saluted the apostles, saith; Peace be with you. And when he was risen from the dead, he said vnto the women, which returned from the sepulchre; All haile.

It seemeth also, that among the apostles there was a custome, that at their meeting and departing they saluted one another, and their master also. Wherefore, Iudas that betrayed Christ, when he came vnto him, he said; Haile master, and gaue him a kisse, which was a figure of a luckie praier. Then moreover, Paul, in the twelfth of his epistles, did put salutations, as well vnto the beginning as ending of them: and he commanded the Corinthians, that they should salute one another with an holie kisse. And in the Church the manner was, that when the holie supper was ministered, the brethren should one kisse another. The which custome is deformed in Poperie; and in the stead of that kisse, they carrie about signes and little images to be kised.

The angels likewise have sometimes saluted godlie men: as Gabriel did Marie, saying; Ave in excelsis. And the angel wished health vnto George, saying; The Lord be with thee. And the mother of Samson heard a salutation that came from the angel. Wherunto, we read not, that God did salute any man; seeing it is the propriety of him to salute heily, and not to praie for the same: because, in that he is the highest nature, to make praies do not belong vnto him.

And salutations were common, and estimation not onlie among the Hebrews, but also among the Ethnikes. For the Romans counted it a great honour to be saluted; and salutations were numbered among the principall virtues. Wherefore, so much as to salute, there was a certaine banlie allie distributed, either of money, or else of meat. And the noble personages of that Common-wealth, banished porches before their gates, where the saluters should remaine, and after a set be harbored; in the

the morning, before they were licensed to come vnto them. The formes of saluting were of diverse sorts. [Among the Grecians] *doxologia*, or *doxologia*. Among the Hebrews, *Schalom*, or *schalom*, and such like. And the men in old time, did saie likewise that their gods ought to be saluted. Therefore one saith in a Contreite of Terence; From hence I will depart home to salute the gods. And there be some, which thinke, that in the same, and such like formes of speech, to salute, is to worship. Which me thinketh is not rightlie said, seeing the verie proper significati- on therin may be retreined; for so much as it is laudfull to wish well vnto God; not as though he hath need of any thing, but we may praie that his glorie, maiestie, name, and dominion, may alwaies be famous and spred abroad: as Christ taught in the former petitions of his praier.

Emperours also, and kings, are said to be saluted; so some as these honours and dignities be giuen vnto them. For armies were wont to salute their captiue by the name of Empe- rour, when he had well performed his affairs. And even in this point they depart not from the proper significati- on of the word; because, in the praing of men vnto high dignities, they praied that God would prosper them well. Besides this, there be salutations of reioicing; either for the victorie gotten, or at the returne of a man home into his countrie; or else for the attainment of goods or riches: wherein also no thing else is done, but a praing vnto God, that these gods may haue god successe with them, thome we favour. So as the salutations, that be of those kinds, may not be condemnid, but ought to be verie well allowed; were it not, that superstition, which corrupteth all things, had not manie times bene mingled therewith. For the old Ethniks in their funerals, did salute the soules of them that were dead, speaking vnto them their last farewell. And they wished the ashes of dead men, their sepulchres, relikes, and spoiles, praing for the happinesse of them that were dead. Whereupon Aeneas in Virgil saith; All haile! blessed father mine, yet once againe all haile. And from the Ethnikes, those cus- tomes descended vnto the christians: for in the Popes church, they salute the soules of them that be departed, while they praie for their rest, and for deliuering them from the paines of purga- tory. They make viages also to salute saints; namelic, Antonie, Iames, Peter, Paul, and Marie.

Wherefore, let these superstitious be re- viced; but in the mean time, let profitable and honest salutations continue, the which Eliza- us by his commandment did not take away. For that, which he commanded vnto his servant

Geheri, must not be understood, as the words signifye at the first vnto; seeing it is a figurative speech: euen as all other speeches be, that seme to be against faith, as Augustine hath decla- red vnto vs. Surely, the mind of the prophet is more to be weighed than his words: for his meaning was nothing else (as D. Kimhi hath verie well expresse) but that he should make haile, and find no delatice by the waie; and that he should bend his mind and cogitation onlie to that thing, whereunto he was sent, setting his hart vpon nothing else, whether he were speak- ing. In the selfe same sense Christ, (as we haue in the tenth of Luke) commanded his apostles, when he sent them about to praie, that they should salute none by the waie; for he would not, that by their finding of talke and communication with other, their minds should haue bene drawn aside from praeding of the Gospell. Assuredlie, the diuill is not more busie occupied about any thing, than in bingling in fletels and delicias, when we are in hand with our vocation.

But we, on the contrarie part, must let all things alone, to performe the vocation that is laid vpon vs. Which was not binholme vnto the old Ethniks, who used to laie vnto the priest, while he was occupied about his service; Asple this thing. And Augustine, in the place aboue al- leged, do declare the force of this speech, saying; that in these words was ment a strait charge to make haile. For aduersi meroreuere bene ferre expostion, but facti, as doth not much better vnto the hufians; Alle (saith he vnto the people) speake salutations vnto you, when we are pra- ding of the Gospell; because you can be saved by nothing else, but by the Gospell of the sonne of God. So that ye must be saluted with this kind of salutation, but not in the waie, that is to laie, incertidly or indistinctly. Which thing they do, that praie not the truth from their heart; but for laice sake, for honour, or else to bring some man into awe and hatred, not to loin the hearers vnto the Lord: as they did, of whom Paul admonished the Philippians. For they, that salute a transler by the waie, go not purposefull to him; they go not home to his house to wish him well, but they do it indistidly and in the waie. Anded these words be true that Augustine declarith, but they be long not to the meaning, either of the prophet, or of Christ. Soth the one and the other of them would haue our mind to be whole imployed vpon our vocation, not to be carried here and there with fumble cares; not to make anye delicias, and that the function committed vnto us, should be perfo- med with most feruent desire.

But if anie be not satisfied with the figure, I will re- straine speech, there will be no discommoditie, as he h. i. if he





which they are not plucked a waie.

3 But it seemeth to be a let unto the expeditious, which we haue brought, when he saith; that He is carnall. Vnto this we answer, that although we be borne anew, yet is there verie much of the flesh remaining in vs. Wherefore the same apostle saith vnto the Corinthians; I could not speake vnto you, as vnto spiritual, but as vnto carnall. And he sometimes calleth them in a manner beastlie, when neuertheless they were now regenerate. And there were some, which iudged, that the apostle spake there by a philosophical reason, wherein our mind is limbered into the power reasonable, and into the greater powers; namely, into the power of concupiscence, and the power of anger; so as the apostle would place some brightnesse, even in men not yet regenerate, as touching their mind, vnto which the bodily desires be aduerarie and repugnant. And they endeavour to bathe this opinion out of those words, wherein he saith, I enue the lawe in my mind: and he bitteth gently the law of the members, from the lawe of the mind. But certeintie, Paule in that place dealeth not in philosophical reasons, neither doth he understand the mind absolutelie; but he foineeth regeneration vnto the same. For the regeneration of the beleauing man hath his sick originall from the mind, from thence it is vertued vnto all the parts of man. So as, if the greater powers of the mind be not altogether regenerate, and be somewhat less renewed than the mind; yet are they somewhat mastered, and tamed by the spirit of Christ.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

regeneration in this life is imperfect.

28 Similitudo.

29 place in Aristotell the mind alighting vnto better things.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
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Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
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Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

And there be others, which indeed fall miserablie into sins; but yet, after a sort, they differ against them, although they yeeld to temptations. For the apostles were regenerate, and yet nevertheless ambitiousli iacted among themselves, who should be the greatest in the kingdom of Christ: inasmuch as two of them for hislike contended to sit in the kinglyome of the Lord the one at the right hand and the other at the left. And it was well knowen, that Peter denied Christ; and David became an adulterer. These men were regenerate, when they committed these greivous finnes; but seeing they pertained to the elect, they were rescued by repentance.

Furthermore, whereas Paule saith, that he to the elect, they were rescued by repentance. Furthermore, whereas Paule saith, that he to the elect, they were rescued by repentance.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
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Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
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Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

Idem, 14  
1 Cor. 3, 1  
Rom. 7, 15  
and 23.

Rom.7,18.

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Phil.2,13.

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Gal.3,19.

Rom.5,20.

Gal.3,24.

6 That followeth; To will is readye with me, but I and no meanes to performe: that is; By regeneration I have a good will now unto me, the which of my selfe I had not. Where the Pelagians did exceddingly erre, who taught, that we our felices ought to beginne, yet that it is Gods part to prosper our determinations. But Paule, on the other fide, sheweth, that we of our felices are not apt once to thinke anye good thing. And while he sayth thus; I find no meanes to performe, he agreeth verie well to himselfe, who teacheth in his epistle unto the Philippians; that it is God which worketh in vs, as well to will as to performe. Neither are the things, which he now teacheth, against those wordes. For, to performe perfectly that, which the laine commandeth, we find not in vs; but after a sort we may performe it, and that not of our felices, but we have it of God. And whereas to vs that he regenerate, to will things that be right is present, that cometh likewise of God. Also, both good and evill are readye with vs; and in that good faileth place, we lyfelle against him; and in that evil is also therein, we be hindered from our right purpose. Such is our condition, while we are in this life. Wherefore Augustine, *De propriis, & concupiscentia*, the first booke, and 9. chapter, sayth; that as one is then performed, when the impediments be absent. For, when we are left, it can be no perfect thing, but a certeine mixture contrived of contraries.

Wherefore, he noted the apostles wordes, who sayth (I find no meanes to performe) and not simple to do it. For, it is granted (as we have said) that we may do well in some respect. Augustine further addeth, that the commandment; Thou shalt not lust, cannot be fulfilled in this life. But herof I have noted else where. Whereby some men will demaund; If the laine cannot absolutely be performed, wherefore is it set forth unto us? Hereunto I answer, that we must not gather by the laine, how much we be able to do, but how much we ought to do. Besides, there is no doubt, but that the laine hath moe ends. First, it sheweth usme: that it is written; By the laine cometh the knowledge of sinne. And unto the Galatians it is written; The laine entered in, because of transgressions, namely, to make them manifest. And to the Romans; It entered in, that sinne might be more abound. Over this; It is our schoolmaster unto Christ. And it is a peacher that sheweth right conscience unto vs, and reprovet vs thereunto; and also it sheweth vs most evidently, unto what meane we must leavell. So that it is not unpowable, although it cannot be performed to the full.

Also there be some, which aske; Whether God haue commanded things unpowable to be done?

Unto whom we must answer, that as touching them, which be not borne aneto, the commandments are unpowable. But if the question be of persons regenerate, then, either we must understand a full oblation of the laine, the which as we have said) none can performe; or as else we must understand an obedience only; in respect whereof we affirme, that the precepts of the laine are powable to be kept. But I will returne to Paule, who further wrote, in the place now alreadye; I seele another law in my members. Whereby it is gathered, that if the laine of the members strive against the law of the mind. Paule Rom.7,23. loved not God with all his hart, with all his soule, and with all his strength. Whereupon he crieth out; O vnhappie man that I am, &c. As though through strange motions he was not onelie shaken, but in a manner overwhelmed by the laine. And he concludeth; I seele the lawe, according to the inward man. And he sheweth himselfe to be after a sort blinded, as he that partlie hath the spirit of God, and serveth him; and partlie is carnall, and obiecteth the flesh. For these things that I have alreadye spoken, I thinke it not assevereth, that they, which be borne aneto, do not fulfill that great commandment. Besides this, there is none of vs, but els he will to much flatter himselfe, which faileth not some defect in his actions, though they do seeme good. Which might not be, if we loved God with all our hart. When we shall come to the celestiall habitation, then shall our works be actually perfect; because we shall love God with all our hart. Doubtlesse, not so much as he is to be beloved (for, seeing he is incomprehensible, our loves, which be within limit, are not capable of an infinite love;) but it shall be sufficient, if we will love him with all our hart, with all our soule, and with all our strength.

While we are in this life, we cannot go beyond the condition of the apostle, who in the third chapter to the Philippians, sayth; Not as though I had alreadye attained unto it, or were alreadye perfect. Neither is there anye doubt, but the spake of himselfe being alreadye regenerate. And seeing he verily himselfe to be perfect, and faith, that he doth perpetuallie be himselfe towards the meane; which of us can attribute unto himselfe a perfect observation of the commandments of God? But I will followe (saith the apostle) if I may comprehend that, for whose sake I am comprehended of Christ Iesus. And to this hath Christ comprehended me, that I should run in his waie, and euermore be going forward. And there is no cause for anye man to canill, that he talketh here of the reformation. For, that must be considered, which is added; to wit, that I might knowe Christ, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his afflictions,

Idem. Idem.

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Phil.14,13.

Phil.14,13.

Phil.14,13.

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siftions, while I am made conformable unto his death. Neither did anye man doubt, that he was not yet risen, seeing he was not dead: so as he spakeeth there of the spiritual resurrection, which accompanieth the mortification of naughty thoughts and motions.

This if the godlie had alreadye attained unto upon the earth, surely they would not saie; Enter into now judgement with thy servant: And; Who knoweth how often he sinneth? Clemence from my secret faults. If thou wilt marke what is done amonge who shall abide in him? No flesh shall be justified in his sight. Appearer, it is verie agreeable unto godliness, that both in all our actions and motions, we have need of the mediators, by whom all our defects, whereunto we be defiled, shall be forgotten. I do not allow of this interpretation, which saie; that as I love God with all the hart, with all the soule, &c. Is nothing else, but to love him above all things, in such sort as we preferre neither our felices, nor anye thing elsse above him. For I wight the wordes of God with due consideration, wherein it is not said; Above all things: but, With all the hart, with all the soule, and with all the strength. For it may be, that some man loveth God above all things, and yet loveth him not altogether: but that in loving him he is hindered as by manye impediments, and is compelled to lyfelle with his owne flesh.

But wherein the love of God doth consist, we may by this meane knowe; because as (men commonlie saie) he is said to be beloved, insofar as whome we both will, love, and trust; and that verelie, not for our owne sake, but for his sake. Whereby, we cannot do good to God; seeing he is most perfect, and hath no need of other meane goodnesse. But then we love him, when we both desire & endeavour that his glorie may be totallie advanced. And this is it, that by his precept we ought to do, with all our hart, with all our soule, & with all our strength. Wherein we never profit so much, but it becometh us still to profit much more. Wherefore Paul wrote, that Our inward man is renewed daile. Where he plainlie teacheth, that the cellins of old Adams remaine actualies in vs, the which ought to be cleared, that we may shallice at the length be renewed. I might also adde that saying of Peter; Why do ye tempt God, by laying a yoke upon the neckes of the disciples, which neither wee, nor our forefathers were able to beare? Moreover, he taught vs by those wordes, that the laine cannot be borne, without transgressions. Neither must we allow of that, which some affirme, namely, that he meant this touching ceremonies. For, although this be true, yet there followeth thereof a firme conclusion; that no meane can the table of the tenne commande-

ments be abidden, and fulfilled without transgressions; this it is much easier to performe outward rites and ceremonies, than to fulfill the precepts of the tenne commandments. But besides the reasons now alreadye, there resteth yet vs to consider, after what sort Paule to the Corinthians desireth charitie. Where he teacheth on this wise; Charitie is not puffed up, it is not provoked to anger, it seeketh not his owne, it suffereth all things, it beleeueth all things, it endureth all things, &c. And so it that perfecteth all things; Charitie is man. But sofolom as I perceive, that these things, which I have spoken, are sufficient enough, to prove that which I purposed at the beginning; I now there remaineth, that we answer those things which are objected by our adversaries.

8 They saie, that Paule, in the latter epistle 1.Tim.1 to Timothie, giueth thanks unto God; for because he had freed him from his forefathers, and that with a pure conscience. Whereby, those wordes trouble vs not; seeing they were spoken by the apostle, to the end he might purge and defend himselfe. For the other adversaries saie to his charge, that he had departed from the laine, and had alienated himselfe from the God of Israel; and that therefore men should beware of the Jewes, as of deceivers. But he made answer, that he worshipped the living God, and that even him, whom his forefathers had worshipped; and that in praising of the forme of God, as he did; he did not faile, or by fraud; but with a pure and faithful confidence. Neither can it be gathered hereby, that he boasted of a full and perfect observation of the commandments of the laine. Furthermore, it was objected; that David (as himselfe testifieth) confessed God with all his heart, and that he reached out the commandments of God, with his whole heart. If this perfection also there be, as a testimonie given to some things in the holie scripture; namely, that they taught God with their whole heart, as they ought. Our works, if they be regarded as they be in their owne nature, as they are themselves, are of no full vertue, as they appear unto the laie of God in all points. But if they be considered, as they be accepted of the heavenlie father through his infinite merrie, and by the meane of Christ, it may be said that they be done with all the heart, with all the soule, and with all the strength. But then will saie; Doth God vnder a peruerse judgement, so as he accepteth things otherwise, than they be indeed? I affirme that iniquitie is altogether remoued from God; for doo those, which he vnder a peruerse judgement, are not offered to God barelie, as they be in their owne nature, but (to witte, together with Christ). Therefore, with them is ioined the love and obedience of Christ, which was some

1 Cor.13,4. A descrip-  
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Phil.9.

1.Kin.15,1.  
2.Kin.8,2.  
King.23,3.

with

with all the heart, with all the soule, and with all the strength. **Q**UOD estemeth not things that be offered, better than they be intended; and therefore, by the mediator our cognation and amende is whatsoever hath wanted in our actions. Neither is that feined, which is alleged by me, saying the scripture testifieth the same. **F**or in the first epistle to the Corinthians, it is written of Christ, that He became our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and redemption.

Wherefore this, we are said to love God with all our heart, with all our soule, and with all our strength; because we bend our selves thereto, and stand in hope that once it shall so be. And it cometh not wisdom to passe, that a motion taketh name of that terme, whereunto it tendeth. Neither doth the scripture disagree with this manner of speaking. **F**or it is said unto the Romans, that We are saved by hope; when nevertheless, we be as yet conversant in miseries and finnes; and do hold salvation it selfe, not in deed, but in hope. **I**t is written also unto the Ephesians, that God hath already quickened vs together with Christ, and hath made vs fit together with him on the right hand, in the celestiall places: when as notwithstanding, we be here upon the earth. Yet we are declared to have this already, because by faith and hope we imiole the same, as if we presentlie had it. **A**llo Christ said; He that beleuech in me, hath everlasting life: whereas yet his faithful people are both troubled with diseases, and they also be, as concerning their boies. What they are truly said to have obtained everlasting life; because the same is already begunne in them.

In like manner, the sonne of God said; Blessed are they that suffer persecution: and what blessedness is this? Certainlie none other, but a beginning of the chiefe felicitie. **E**o the Romans also it is written; that We are buried together with Christ in baptism: albeit, that our corrupt affections, and old man, be not removed from vs as yet, much lesse buried or dead.

Unto the Galatians the apostle saith; They that be of Christ, have crucified their flesh, with the desires of the same. And unto the Romans; Our old man is crucified, that the bodie of sinne might be abolished. All these things verelie are said, although that the remanents of sinne, naughty lusts, and sinne it selfe are not as yet detested or extinguished; because we possesse these things as begonne, though not brought to perfection. And things, which have their beginning, are described, as though they were already finished. **A**lthough Augustine also himselfe perceiveth, who in his second booke *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*, the 15. chapter, saith; that Some man is at some time thought to be per-

fect, because he hath profited in a great part.

**F**urther, it is argued, that God testifieth by the prophesie of Ezechiel, that he would give vs a part of flesh, and a spirit, in such sort as he would imiole his lawe in our parts, whereby we might walke in his commandements. **A**llo in the 30. chapter of Deuteronomie, I will circumcise (saith he) the fore-skin of thy hart, that thou maist love me, with all thy hart, with all thy soule, &c. **I** grant that these promises of God are extant, but those must be understood after such a manner, as I have before declared; namely, that our love is accepted by God, through Christ; that it is repaired and fulfilled by the perfection and obedience of Christ himselfe. **A**pprover, that when the Lord promised unto his, that hath he given them, partle in this life, and partle he will fulfill and performe the same in the life to come. Which is confirmed by another saying of Christ; I sae pronounced them blessed, which be cleane of hart; for they shall see God. **D**oth he wholly performe this promise in this life? **N**o verelie. **F**or now we onely knowe in part, by a glasse, and in a darke lathell; but in the everlasting habitation we shall see him at the full, and as he is. **W**hile we be in this life, we hunger and thirst after righteousness; seeing we cannot as yet have the same perfect and absolute.

**A**llo they say, that it maketh against vs, which is written by Paule, that Loue is the fulfilling of the lawe: And againe; He that loveth his neighbour, hath fulfilled the lawe. Certainlie these things be true; and there is no doubt, but that exerie faithful person fulfilleth the lawe, according to the measure of charitie, which he hath. **B**ut yet we must remember in the meane time, that there is none in this life, that hath perfect and absolute charitie. **F**or if aple man could attaine therunto, he could not possesse anye further. **H**owbeit that this matter maye the more evidently appeare, let vs consider the words of John; Herein (saith he) we knowe his love, for that he gaue his life for vs, and we ought to give our life for our brethren, even as he gaue his. These words sufficientlie declare, that no exultant kind of love is required of vs; but euen the same, which belongeth the life for our men; and the same not after anye sort, but in such sort as Christ himselfe gaue it. **B**ut there be none, which attaine unto the charitie of Christ; though the same (as the apostle saith) be required, and that by vertue of the lawe. **F**or the bond both arie through no other meanes, but by the lawe.

Neither is that place to the Galatians anye other waie to be expounded; namely, Bearer you one an others burden, and so ye shall fulfill the lawe of Christ. **F**or it is necessarie to beare

those things, even as we would our to be borne, and that as Christ hath thoughtlie borne them; but that none do performe. **H**erunto also might be that saie, which is brought before, saying Christe love; the which may be loined to our love, and accepted by God, as the same John fulfilled. **I**t is also obedience, God keepeth his lawe; that He which loveth God, keepeth his commandments. **B**ut we must adde, that so much shall the keeping of Gods commandments be, as the love of God hath bene; but seeing we have not that love perfect; therefore we keepe not the commandments fullie and perfectly. **H**owbeit, after these things they adde, that the same apostle affirmeth The commandments of God to be easie. **B**ut to this I answer;

**I**f they be set forth unto them, which be not yet borne away, they be impossible to be kept; much lesse easie. **A**gain, if they be offered unto persons regenerate, they be not easie kept, according as they be set forth in the lawe: but they may be called easie, seeing the spirit of Christ is present with such, and with communicate his righteousness with them. **F**or by the same, the wants of our works are supplied; and while we be indwelt with the spirit, we obvie twofold, and with a good conscience. **A**nd by this meanes, the commandments of God be made both delectable, and easie to be kept: **I** meane, according to the position of grace, which is not doth become. **I**n the selfe-lame sense must the words of Christ be understood, which he saith; My yoke is pleasant, and my burden is light. **B**ut the commandments (as they be expected in the lawe) do, through our weakness, rather bring imobedience than pleasantlie; while they be performed of vs, in such sort as they be desired.

**F**urthermore, that is brought against vs, which Christ saith unto his apostles; When ye leave that ye alle these things, I sae with you, ye shall doe ye be vnprofitable servants. **B**ut that may be understood of obedience begonne; as I have said before. **A**lthough Augustine, in his third booke against the two epistles of the Pelagians, the eighth chapter wrote; that the perfection of saints must alwayes be understood, according to the measure and capacite that they have in this life. **A**nd moreover they say, that the scriptures divers times do call some men perfect. **F**or Paule said; We speake wisdomes among them that be perfect. **A**nd to the Ephesians we read; So manie of you as be perfect, iudge alle one thing. **A**dherunto I write, that there is a certaine measure of perfection, which the goodlie men do acknowledge their imperfectness, or be not beleeved therein. **W**hich no lesse righte than pubentlie Augustine taught in his third booke against the two epistles of Pelagius; and in his first booke, 7. chap. *De peccatorum meritis &*

*remissione*. **A**llo they after a sort be called perfect, which do imitate the perfection of the Heauenlie father, who sendeth raie vpon the iust and vnioist, and maketh his sunne to shine as well vpon the good as the bad.

**O**thers vnbelievable be called iust, which apostle giue arie vnto spiritual things; of which sort the Corinthians may be yet better not. **T**he by which words were said, as it is written in the first chapter. **A**nd this kind of imperfection it becometh the saints, not onelie to acknowledge and este, but also to confesse the same. **B**ut Ieron, in his first dialog against the Pelagians, saith; that **W**hile be then full, when the conscience our felicitie to be sinners. **A**nd vnto Ctesiphon he also wrote; **T**his onelie is a perfection in men, if they acknowledge themselves to be imperfect. **B**arnard, in his 50. and 51. sermons vpon the Canticles, wrote verie elegantly of this matter; and so in Augustine, in his epistle vnto Iulius, and in many other places. **B**ut the Pelagians, when they with Augustine (as we read in his booke against their epistle the first chapter) said, that he did not put any difference betweene most wicked men and saints, but by comparison; because he affirmed, that iust men be therefore saints because they sinne lesse than euill men. **H**erewith that goodlie man answered, that **W**hich men and saints do differ one from another by faith, and not by works. **F**or so much as the goodie do beleue in Christ, by whom, if they fall, they receive forgiveness of their finnes, and are alightened by his spirit and grace. **B**ut the wicked, beloning not in Christ, do altogether lie in their finnes; whereof they neither repent, nor yet receive forgiveness of the same.

The same father also, in his second booke *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*, the seventh chapter, obiecteth against himselfe, that which is written in the 4. chapter of the Apocalypse; namely, that The 144000. saints, which followe the lambe, were virgines, and defiled not themselves with women, and that in their mouths there was found no guile. **W**e answereth to himselfe, that such were therefore blamelesse, because they iustly reposed themselves; and in their mouth there was no guile, because they did not possesse themselves to be without sin. **F**or they had said that they had bene without sinne, they had bene found in a lie. **T**he same father goeth further; in the 12. chapter of the same booke, obiecteth against himselfe a place out of Luke, where it is written, that Zacharie and Elizabeth were iust before God. **W**alking without repaie before him, in all the precepts and indicacions of the Lawe. **B**y which words (he saith) there might appere to be a full observation of the lawe. **B**ut he answereth, that they had no more in them, than Paule had, who denieth himselfe to be perfect. **B**ut

ded they were first before God, even as he said that he had served God by his fosterfathers, with a pure conscience; that is, with an unfeigned and unblemished heart.

But it is one thing, to do from the heart; and another thing, to do with all the heart. And they were said to walke in all the precepts of God, because they, being justified by faith, showed the fruit of faith, by living according to the law: which fruit nevertheless, while they lived in the flesh, they bittered not perfect and absolute. And whereas it is added, that they were without repaie, the same father (in his first booke, and 48. chapter *De gratia Christi*, against Pelagius and Caelestinus) expoundeth the same to be meant, as touching their honest and laudable conversation among men; the which no man could insinuate quarell at as a crime, for there be some verie gréuous crimes, whereof the apostle

1 Cor. 6.10 says that They which commit such things, shall not possesse the kingdom of heaven. And admissible, the persons regenerate may beware of their finnes. And it is said, that they were without repaie before God; because God allowed them to be such, as be before men they were accounted. Undoubtedly the praise of this couple (man and wife) was verie great; because they did not create the traditions of men, but the lawes which were prescribed in the lawe. They being first therfore justified by faith, did then abide honest and goodly life, to be joined with the righteousness of Christ. Wherefore God boughtsaie to extoll their lawes with these praises and commendations. And yet for all that, it cannot be proved, that they perfectlie fulfilled the lawe of God.

Augustine also expounded that saying, which Paul speakech of himselfe; namely, I have fought a good fight, I have run my course, I have kept chaste, &c. The last fight/fault he remained for, when he said these words, he was not yet dead; but because he remained in hope of himselfe living in the faith, therfore he wrote so boldly. He finished his course, but he was not fullie; perfectlie, but in an obedience that was more than begone. Neither had he writte, that he sinned not; but if he had so written, yet would he have said, that the same had bene done in respect of his hope. For that, which is certeinlie loved for, is reckoned as if it were done. And it is no doubt, but at that time he had died, as well as the rest of the apostles, to paie; ac- copying to the commandement of Christ; Forgive vs our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against vs.

11 One auerfaries also teach, that those im-  
perfects, which we have reherced; namely,  
corrupt affections, and naughtie motions unto  
cruill, are no finnes; unless there be added a con-

sent thereto: which opinion of theirs must be  
bitterlie repelled. True indeed it is, that Augu-  
stine, in defining of finne, declared the same to  
be a thing spoken, done, or lusted against the  
lawe of God; albeit, that is a doubtful defini-  
tion. For if lusting be meant according to the con-  
sent of the will, either actual finnes (as they  
terme them) are comprehended therein; but ac-  
tual corruption, and naughtie motions of the  
minde, are excluded from thence. Wherefore Pe-  
ter Lombard, in his second booke, distinction  
2.3. bingeth in this definition, what time as he  
steppeth from the treating of original sin, to  
treat of actual finnes. He reuereth, if by the  
loosly lusting, he comprehend both original sin,  
and also naughtie motions; the definition will  
be generall. But Ambrose saith; that Sinne is  
a transgressing of the lawe, or a disobedience of  
the heauenlie commandements. Wherby let-  
ting these things go, we must give care unto the  
holie scriptures. It is written in the first epistle  
of Iohn, the third chapter; *Si quisque transgre-*  
ditur, *Si quis* is the translation of the lawe, that  
is, Sinne is the transgression of the lawe.

The word *transgre* (as all men knowe) is com-  
pounded of the preterite particel *trans*, that hath a  
strength of departing; and of *gre*, that signify-  
eth a lawe; wherbyent it folloiweth, that to be  
deprived of that righteousness, which the lawe  
both require, is Sinne. But shall we stand in  
contention, whether our corrupt motions, and  
naughtie passions do impugn the lawe of  
God? Certeinlie, Paul affirmeth, that they do  
sinne against it, when he writteth, that He feedeth  
another lawe in the members, striving against  
the lawe of the mind: wherunto if it be repug-  
nant, it is *contra*, that is, transgression of the  
lawe. Neither had he other wise said, when he  
saith; It is not I that worke that, but it is mine,  
which dwelleth in me. And we do not onlie  
deale now, as concerning these first motions of  
the lawe, and lawfull facultie; but also of  
those motions of reason, which pishone unto  
sinne. For it is said, that *concupiscentia*, that is,  
The wisdom of the flesh is enemie against God.  
Undoubtedly all these things be sin, and deface  
the image of God. span is not made, to the in-  
tent he should be against the lawe of God; but  
that all the motions of his mind should be a pure  
to piousness him to godlines. Terullian saith, that  
Hercin consisteth Gods image, euen to haue  
the motions of our minds and our wills all one  
with God. Peter and Paul himselfe taught this,  
in his epistle to the Philippians; Let the same  
mind be euen in you, that was in Christ Iesus, and  
therefore, seeing these evils deface and corrupt  
this state and condition of our finnes, they can-  
not be other wise called than finnes.

12 But perhaps some will aske, that seeing  
Adam, at his creation, had no corrupt motions  
and

in this life.

knowing not  
the corrupt  
motions  
might mind.

and affections: how it came to passe, that he so  
graciously fell. This is demanded, as though  
innocence might not be committed by his own will.  
Wherefore, the angels did fall, who were without  
any one such perturbations. Truly it is, that  
we are compelled more often and more hea-  
uierly unto sinne, than Adam was: we ha-  
ving manie naughtie persuasions and pasho-  
nations unto sinne, the which he had not, till such  
time as he transgressed. But if it be so, that  
some of the fathers note and then do denie, that  
these motions (whereof we intreat) be finnes,  
because they have no bond joined with them un-  
to everlasting punishment, seeing Christ hath  
cancelled the same: yet can it not be denied by  
any man, but that the desoymentie, which was  
bought by them, remaineth in the mind. For-  
ther it is so written of them by Iane of com-  
pensation. For so be that these evils be compared  
with actual finnes, they do not so vehementlie  
and so manifestlie content against the lawe of  
God. All those fathers teach us, that these be  
not called finnes; saying for that they be the  
causes and effects of finnes: as when a man  
fall of his owne toying; This is my hand;  
meaning that it was written with his owne  
hand. And men call the cold sweeter blood; be-  
cause it maketh by dull. Such similitudes as  
these, Augustine was wont to use: but then he  
compared this kind of sinne with actual finnes.

Wherby it is better to heare the same father,  
when he examineth these finnes by themselves.  
In the first booke against Iulian, the 8. chapter:  
It is not (saith he) no iniquitie, when the supe-  
rior parts do shamefullie give place unto the  
inferiour; and the inferiour do shamefullie  
wrestle against the superior, although they be  
not permitted to overcome. And in the fifth booke,  
and third chapter, he saith; The consequence  
of the flesh, against which the good spirit doth  
strive, is Sinne; because therein is a disobe-  
dience against the dominion of reason. And it is  
the punishment of Sinne, because it is given as  
a reward to the defects of our disobedience. Al-  
so it is the cause of Sinne, by reason of the fall of  
that which contenteth thereto. Wherefore his  
confideth of this consequence, according to  
these degrees. First, by the nature thereof, and  
then afterwards to be Sinne, because it intay-  
neth the soveraigntie of the will. Secondly, as  
an effect and punishment laid upon Sinne. And  
lastlie, as being the cause of Sinne. Besides, in  
his third booke *De libero arbitrio*, the 18. chapter  
he writteth on this wise; These things be three  
fore reckoned among finnes, because through  
them we depart from the sojme, wherein man  
was made at the beginning.

13 And to declare further, that those desoy-  
menties appertene not unto sinne, they alludge

for themselves the instance of our saintes; Christ,  
whereof Iake witte in the 2. chapter of his  
Gospell; And Iesus increased & grew in yeeres,  
in wisdom, and in favour with God and men.  
And a little before; And the child grew & wax-  
ed strong in spirit, and was filled with wisdom,  
and the grace of God was in him. If he pos-  
sessed bulle (saith he) followeth that first three  
words loante in him; and that he was not so  
wise at the first, as he proved afterwards. Some  
have expounded these things to be meant as  
concerning the spirit, which appeared bulle more  
and more, whome they thinke to be most perfect  
at the first: yet that the scripture hath bene ac-  
cused to the fact, that anye thing is then borne,  
when it first appeareth. Doubtlesse, I can rea-  
sonie confound, and I see, that I ought to do  
so; namely, that Christ took upon him mans  
nature for our sakes. Rather do I doubt,  
but that his mind had accesse of infirmities, ac-  
cording to the proportion of age. But the de-  
fects in his infancie were not like unto our de-  
fects. For, as touching ignorance, we must not  
affirme euenie ignorance to be Sinne; for when  
the angels are ignorant of verie manie things;  
speciallie of the time when the latter day shall  
be. Further, shall we thinke, that Adam  
did transgreffe know all things? So certeinlie.

Wherefore he call blinnesse of the mind, the  
ignorance that belongeth unto sinne; through  
the which blinnesse, those things be unknowne  
which ought to be knowne; and wherby things  
contrarie unto the truth are perceived. Aristo-  
tle in *Politico* *an* *analytica*, distinguishing ig-  
norance, calling one an ignorance of deating, of two  
kinds. The first is a rusticall and husbandman, who  
is utterly ignorant of the mathematicall sciences;  
because he neuer learned them. The other  
ignorance is ascribed unto him, which sometime  
applies his intencue to the mathematicals, but  
perceiveth all those things that were taught  
him: so as those things, which be true in them,  
he intudgeth to be put contrarie; and thinke the  
line to be crooked, which is straight. Wherefore he  
might be lawfull to saie, that ignorance of be-  
lieving is no sinne, unless it be as touching men  
of ripe yeeres, seeing they be ignorant of things  
which be necessarie for obtaining of salvation.  
Wherefore Christ, in taking of our infirmities,  
did not receive sinne into himselfe. By reason  
whereof, at his death, he felt naturall motions,  
through which he trembled at death; yet those  
perturbations proceeded of sound and perfect  
nature, not of cruill and corrupt relics of na-  
ture. So when the infirmities of Christ were  
farre differing from our infirmities. And there-  
fore it is written in the fourth chapter of  
Hebrews,

verse 15.

Hebrews,





18 And this, being thus finished and concluded, we must diligentlie take heed, that when manie ends are set before vs, we may prefer that before the rest, which by god right excelleth the rest. For, if it should be otherwise, and that those things, which be hindermost, as of smaller importance, should be preferred before the better; we might iustlie be condemned for perverting the order of things. So as we must take heed, that we direct not God himselfe, as the twinkling of him, according unto our owne commoditie, or else unto anie other ends. For then should that surelie happen unto vs, which Augustine doth so fore detect; to wit, that we should enioie those things, which we ought to be, and on the other side, we should be those things, which we ought to enioie: than which peruerfenes, in humane actions, no worse thing can be thought. And when it is demanded, whether it be lawfull, in well doing to haue respect unto the gaine or reward; we cannot well denie, but that it is lawfull: inasmuch as God himselfe hath promised a reward to them, which loue him. Neither doth God for anie other cause, than by his gifts and allurementes to stir vp men to iust, good, and holie works.

But although we do not vniuoluntie, in hauing a regard to the reward offered vs by God, when we are occupied in good works; yet this is vili- gentlie to be taken heed of, that we be not moued onlie because of the reward which is offered vs. For this is this sufficient: for if a man would say, that he would in doing good, both obtaine the reward set forth, and by the same worke obiect God; he must take heed, that he attribute not the chiefe part to the gift or reward; but enioie alwaies among the ends (as 3 haue already said) as euerie one of them is more excellent by nature, if it ought to be preferred in the first place. And in this there needeth an excellent diligence, since it oftentimes happeneth, that we become our selues; iustlie supposing, that no thing is more excellent or dearer unto our minds than God: from whom neither the least we are by little and little to be disuine and plucked backe, by reason of too much desire and desire of reward or gift. Therefore, it afterward happeneth, that we come to great miseries thereby. For when God perceiue, that we most vili- fume those things, which ought to be of less estimation with vs; he witholdeth them alwaie, least they should move, and more plucke vs from him. And thus happen many times to the Israelites, from whom God sometimes toke alwaie riches, libertie, and the promised land; to call them againe to himselfe, whom they least esteemed, than their riches, possessions, yea than their idole. Wherefore, those things being marked and obserued, which 3 haue reherced; 3 doubt not, but that it

is lawfull for goodie men, after a sincere and earnest inuention towards God, to do god for reward and gift.

19 Neither am I ignorant, that Barnard iustly in his little booke of louing God, that charitie by it selfe cannot be empty, although it behold no reward, &c. By which words he putteth vs in mind of two things; both, that the works of charitie, in themselves, haue so much delectation, pleasure, and commoditie, as may be sufficient for them which lue well; although, for that their well doing, they should haue no other reward given them of God. And that we, in louing of God, should looke for no other reward but this; that he, according to his goodnesse, will vniuoluntie giue those things, which are to be given. And therefore, no man ought to be moued, chiefe ly by a desire of the reward. And be aduert, that he both far prefer the loue of the wife, towards his husband, before the loue and obedience, therewith the children loue the father. Forasmuch as the former do vs loue the father, because they hope they shall be inheri- tors of him by his inheritance. Therefore, their loue (as he thinketh) is not so pure. But the wife, if he be such a one, as the ought to be, witheth god to his husband for his owne sake, and for his owne sake, although the hope of inheri- tance no god at his hands.

Since haue thought, that the opinion of this father ought to be allowed, and haue gone about to make the same plaine by a certaine distinction, not so circumspetie inuented by them, in my opinion. For they affirme, that we may measure God, or his nature, according to his wisdom; and that we may behold him, as cording to our owne perfection and brightnesse. Wherefore, they saie, that whatsoeuer we do, we must do it for his sake, in the first con- sideration. And in respect that he is our chiefe goodnesse and felicitie. And this they thinke that Barnard meant, by the words now recited. For they alledge him, who after this manner writeth in another place; namely, that he suspected all that loue, therewith we loue anie thing besides God. For which, these men do not marke, that by this distinction, which is found out, rather by the iudgement of men, than by the veritie of the scriptures, they are against the meaning of God. With he said vnto Abraham, as it is writ- ten in Genesis; I am thine exceeding great re- ward, walke therefore before me, and be per- fect. Vniuoluntie, by these words God offereth himselfe vnto vs, not imagined by himselfe, or plucked away from our commodities; but in respect that he is our reward.

Wherefore, as 3 already said at the first, God would not adioine promises, gifts, & rewards to his commandments in baine, or without effect; but

Barnard.

we must witheth god in that he is felicitie and blis- sinfull.

Gen. 21.

for reward.

but most prudentlie and with consideration; did he thus 3 prae that our eyes bring forth, we should ourship them? 3 thinke not. Neither canst thou saie, that they serue for the ruler fast, and such as be not yet singular and perfect. For 3 will demand straitly of thee, whether Abra- ham, Moses, David, the prophets, and apostles, were not so perfect, as either the nature of men in this life can be; or is required of vs: 3f thou wilt saie, they were imperfect; then canst 3 not tell what excellencie or perfection of men thou faintest for the selfe. Vniuoluntie, Paul teacheth himselfe vnto others, as a perfect man, in such sort as a man in this life may be perfect, when he dwale; Be ye perfect, as I am perfect. 3 heate not hold the scripture, yea God him- selfe pronounceth Moles to be most iust. 3 he commendeth David also, that he was made ac- cording to his will and heart. Therefore, if thou wilt grant, that these men were notable, excellent, and perfect men (as men may be in this world) 3 neither canst thou denie the prom- ises and rewards offered to them of God. This without doubt followeth, that men of the more excellent sort, may in well living and doing iust by their eyes to the reward.

Augustine.

Mat. 33.

1 Cor. 10.

What is the foundation of carthly promises.

gustlie hath counsell'd; we shall loue nothing besides God, but that we loue it for his sake. And thus much of this question.

Of the vse and abrogating of the lawe.

21 The mind of God must be reckoned the beginning of all lawes: for whatsoever is ac- counted iust and honest in anie lawes, that hath generallie flowed from thence. So as we may saie, that all lawes are interpretations of the mind of God; whereby it cometh to passe, that the lawes, which be not iust, ought not to be ac- counted lawes. The knowledge, which we haue by the lawe, as touching sinne, is of two sorts. One is altogether true, and without effect: whereby our minds be not terrified, nor yet our consciences detacted. As when we see diabolicals otherwise, which in the midst of their curs con- demne the vice of diabolismelike. Also the po- etes, in their verses and meters, cunningly de- scribe vices; but yet they themselves did not re- fraine from them anie more than others. And certeinly, that knowledge of sinne, which terrified, doth not alwaies bring saluation. 3f it be without hope of remedie, it is pernicious. As it came to passe in Judas, Esau, and Cain; who hauing knowledge of their wickednesse, fell into despair. But as touching the elect, there is a hope of obtaining saluation by Christ; the which hope, like a perpetual companion, is ioined with the knowledge of sinnes.

If we shall by particulars recten by the sinnes, which are knowne by the lawe; the first we account to be that, which is ingendered in vs by nature, which is called originall sinne; and it is the filth 3 corruption of all our whole nature. Of the which we be taught in the psalm; I was shapen in wickednesse, and in sinnes my mother hath conceived me. Secondly, from the same do perpetuallie flow the motions and assaults, which the Grecians call *deuils*, and they resist the lawe of God. Concerning the which, Paul saith; that he felt another lawe in his members, which resisted the lawe of the mind, and leading him awaie captiue vnto the lawe of sin. Then third- lie, cometh the content of the will. And this sinne is made more greuous. And as touching this, we do read; Let not sinne reigne in your mortall bodie. Wherefore, there also followeth a custome, and by the bondes thereof we are more stricte held vnder the power of sinne: so as it is in a manner impossible to put away the life, which hath hold bene brought in, seeing Terencie saith; An Aethiopian cannot lere 11. 32, change his skine. Lastly, the which are sometimes thus borne to force, as they sinne against

3 Rom. 3.  
The mind of god is the originall cause of all lawes.

Rom 6. 15.

1ere 11. 32.

11. 32, against



bience begun, may be accomplished. Which also may by reasons be confirmed.

Deut. 6. 5.

The laue commandeth, that We should love God, and that with all our hart, with all our soule, and with all our strength. But this is able to performe this, vnles he knowe God thoroughly, the which cannot be done without faith. And if anie man should let *G D* before him, as a laue-giner, as a most severe iudge, and as a reuenger; he will rather abhor him, and bile from him of hatred, as a most cruel maniauer, than that his mind can thereby be labored to love him. But who can without faith in Christ persuade himselfe, that God is vnto him as a father, either mercifull, or louing? Further, the laue commandeth, that we should call vpon him. Which without faith we can neuer pet.

Rom. 10. 14

forme: for it is said; How shall they call vpon him, in whom they haue not beleued? *apocryph.*

Leuit. 19. 18

uer, we are commanded To loue our neighbors as our selues. Which, so far as it is most difficult to be done, we neuer accomplish the same: nap rather, we faile oftentimes therein. Where by then shall we haue forgiveness of finnes, that of Christs righteousness there may be imputed vnto vs, to supplie the want of our righteousness, vnlesse we vse the benefit of faith?

Augustine iudgeth, that the laue is too manner of waies confirmed by faith. First, because we thereby obtaine the holie Ghost, by means whereof is ministered vnto vs strength to obete the laue. Whobett, perhaps a man may doubt how this can be, that by faith we haue the holie Ghost: when as of necessitie, he alwaies goeth before faith. For faith both is his gift, and also cometh from him vnto vs. But we answer, that betwene the causes and the effects, there is to be certeine circuits; as it is manifested by clouds and thunders. From clouds descend raines; and out of waters, which are in the inferior places, are taken by vapours by the heate of the heauens, which are thickened into clouds; out of which againe descend thunders vpon the earth. But in this circuit we most alwaies haue a recourse to the first, according to the order of nature; which is, when we affirme, that there is an humo, whereof clouds may increase: so likewise must we do here. We will grant, that faith by the benefit of the holie Ghost, springeth in vs: by which faith is increased the abundance of the selfe-same spirit, whose increase the former faith hath presented: and of a greater faith is still made a greater increase of the spirit. And pet neuertheless, we constanthe affirme, that there is but one thing chiefe, from whence all these good things flowe; to wit, the holie Ghost.

the holie  
ghost is in  
vs by faith  
faith.

As simil:  
tude.

the holie  
ghost as  
well grow  
before as  
after faith.

Secondlie (saith Augustine) the laue by the helpe of faith is otherwise confirmed: because by faith we praie; and calling vpon God with

prayers, we do not onely obtaine remission of finnes, but also a great portion of the spirit and of grace, so that we haue strength to obete the laue. Doubtles, the laue, if it be taken by the selfe, maketh vs both increase of the good will of God, and after a sort bringeth desperation: vnles faith come and helpe: which both maketh vs aware, that God is iust and mercifull towards vs, and also by grace obtaineth the receiving of strength. And the apostles phrase, whereby he saith, that by faith he established the laue, is to be noted. For thereby he signifieth, that the laue, if it be left vnto it selfe, and with out faith, is weak: so that it cannot firmele stand. And therefore, vnlesse it be helped up by faith, it will easilie fall. And this is the point of a singular artifice, not onely to repell from him that the selfe-lame maketh most of all for his purpose. It be laue and faith helpe one another, and (as the common saying is) give helpe each to other. For the laue both (as a wholemaister) bringeth men vnto the faith of Christ. And on the other side, the faith bringeth this to passe, that it may both them, after a sort, able to accomplish the laue. For, grauitie, so come as a man beleueth in Christ, he obtineth iustification, and is liberally endued both abundance of the spirit, & with grace. It be intent and purpose of the laue thus, that man should both be made god, and also laue. But this, it was not able to performe. Then succeeded faith, and it helpe it: for though it is a man is reiecte; so that he is able to obete God and his commandments. Chrysostome saith, that Paul preueth here these things; first, that a man may be iustified with out the laue, secondlie, that the laue cannot iustifie, thirdlie, that faith and the laue are not repugnant one to the other.

the laue  
and faith  
helpe one  
another.

3. Ambrose teacheth, that therefore by faith is the laue established, because that those things, which by the laue are commanded to be done, are by faith declared to be done. And we knowe that this righteousness, which Paul here commendeth, hath testimonies both of the laue and of the prophets. And if anie man object, that therefore the laue is made both by faith; because though if ceremonies are abolished: he must need, that this therefore so happeneth, because the laue it selfe would haue it so; and forsooth, that it would be come to passe. In Daniel too, that after the coming of Christ, and after the slaing of him, the wellie faith should be taken away, and so also should be the holie anointing, a such like kind of ceremonies. Wherefore Christ did not without cause faile. The laue & the prophes endured vnto the time of John Baptist. Ieremie also manifestlie saith, that after

Dani. 9. 17.

Mat. 11. 13

Ier. 33. 33.

that

of the laue.

Heb. 10. 16.

Zach. 1. 4.

Esaie. 54. 1.

Malac. 1. 13.

that which was made in old time. The epistle to the Hebrews thereby concludeth, that that which was the old covenant, and so was called, should one daie be abolished. Zacharie the prophet, in his second chapter, saith; that The cite of Ierusalem should be inhabited without waies. Which signifieth, that the church of the beleuers should be so ioyed abroad, and dispersed through the whole world, that it should not be closed in by any bounds and limits.

Which selfe-same thing Esaie seemeth to testify, when he saith; that Mount Sion, and the house of the Lord, should be on the top of the hills, so that the Gentils should come vnto it from all places. And Malachie the prophet pronounceth, that The name of God should be called vpon from the rising of the Sunne, to the going downe of the same; so that to God euerie where should be offered Minchas, which manie haue transferred vnto the Eucharist; as though it were a sacrifice: when as yet the prophet there by understandeth prayers, and the offering up euen of our selues, as Tertullian testifieth in his booke against the Iewes; and also Ierom, when he interpreteth that place. Wherefore, when the prophets seeme to affirme, that ceremonies should be transferred vnto the Chmikes; they are to be understood, as though by the signes, they ment the things themselves. The Chmikes, being conuered vnto Christ, receiued that which was represented by the ceremonies of the Hebrews. But they reiecte the outward signes, and this was by faith to confirme the laue. And so far as the prophets foretold, that ceremonies should be abolished; the same is to be taken, as if it had bene spoken of the laue: fith that the prophets were interpreters of the laue.

And that Christ, when he should come, should change the ceremonies, the Iewes themselves doubted not. Which is manifest, by the historie of John Baptist, which we read in the Gospell. For when he would purge men, being conuered vnto God, he sent them not vnto sacrifices, but vnto the ceremonies of Moles, whereby finnes were said to be purged; but baptised them into repentance, to the forgiveness of finnes, adioining doctrine thereto, wherein he made mention of the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost. Which doctrine doubtleslie the high Priestes, Scribes, & Pharisees could in no case abide, that he reiecting the ceremonies, which were receiued, should put in their stead another kind of waie. Wherefore, they sent a messenger to him, to aske him, whether he were the Messiah, or Elias, or the prophet: as it were confessing, that vnder Messiah, it would come to passe, that the ceremonies of the laue should be altered, which should be lawful for others to do.

Mat. 3. 1.  
& 4.  
John Baptist  
saith he sent  
the ceremonies  
which he  
baptized.

monies, which should be afterwaies abolished: Chrysostome hath thereof a proper similitude. If a man haue a wife put to lasciuiousness, & she be chastised by him in certaine places, 3 meane it in chambers, or parlours: so that he may not be soe often abroad at his pleasure. He maconet appointeth for her, Chambers, waiting maids, and handmaides, to haue a most diligent eye to him. So bet God with the Iewes, he took them to him at the beginning as a spouse: as it is said by the prophet; I haue wedded thee vnto me with mercie and with loue. And by this nation, his will was to instruct the whole world, at the time appointed. Which was done by the apostles, when Christ was ascended from the earth.

Osc. 1. 19.

But that people was weak and feeble, and a bove measure: prone to absterie and idolatrie. Wherefore God separated them from other nations, and would haue them to dwell in the land of Chanaan, kept by themselves; and to be kept in on euerie side with ceremonies & rites, as it were by scale-maisters, untill this spouse was so strengthened and confirmed, that his faith was no more had in suspicion. Which when husbands perceiue to be in their wiues, they suf fer them to go at their pleasure: whether they will, and to be conuersant with men; neither do they anie longer let keepers to watch them: so God, when he had vnto by Christ giuen the holie Ghost vnto the church, he removed from it the custodie of ceremonies, and sent forth his faith full to preach ouer all the world. The selfe-same father prometh in another place, that the ceremonies or rites of the Iewes were not instituted by God of set purpose and counsel. For God of his kinde haue people, that should worship him in spirit, and in truth. But the Israelites, which had bene conuered in Aegypt, and had despoiled themselves with idolatrie, would needs in anie waie haue sacrifices and ceremonies: so as if these things had not bene permitted them, they were ready to turne to idolatrie.

Wherefore God so dealt with them, that the manner is of a wife & physician to be: who happeneth to come downe one feate of a burning fever, which the extreme heate requieth in his waies to haue some cold waier giuen him; and except it be giuen him, he is ready to rine and hang himselfe, or by some other means to destroy himselfe. In this ill case, the physician compelled by necessity, commandeth a viall of waier to be brought, which he himselfe hath prepared, and giueth the fecke man to drinke: but yet, with such a charge, that he drinke no drinke else, but out of that viall. So God granted vnto the Iewes, sacrifices and ceremonies: but yet so, as they should not exercise them other wise than he himselfe had commanded them. And that this is true, he proueth; inasmuch as God

A simili:  
tude.



Gen. 1, 17.

God in Genesis warned Adam, saying, In what daie thoueuer ye shall eat of that tree, ye shall die the death. And they that offered sacrifices would not be themselves, wherefore, in stead of themselves, they put to be slain a bullocke, or a goat, laying their hand upon the heads of those beasts; as if they had declared, that they themselves indeed were sinners, but that they would laie their finnes upon the sacrifice: so that it should be punished for them. But this was no such mends making, because the life of man is of much greater value, than is the life of a beast.

Wherefore, for this ceremonie the people Ions taught, that they should wait for that sacrifice, which of all other was most perfect; namely,

John. 1, 29.

IESVS CHRIST our saviour, of whom Iohn in plaine words testified; Behold the lambe of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.

Els. 47, 3.

And Elsie prophesied of him, that he should be led as a sheepe to the slaughter. After this may therefore Ions Christ figured in the old sacrifices. But thou wilt demand moreover, whether the old church understood this? To which I doubt not, but that the same was knowne in those daies; I meane of godlie men, and such as were studious in the lawe of God, but not of idle persons and contemners. For they might consider, that God first said that he would be pleased with the blood of sacrificed beasts: and yet, that he afterward in the Psalmes, and in the Prophets testified, that he is not satisfied with those sacrifices. These two places, seeming in outward they to be repugnant, must to be reconciled, as the people, by means of the latter sentence should be taught, that those sacrifices, of their owne strength and nature were not sufficient to please God, who on gracious (by Christ his sake) thrust himself to be crucified and meritorious: and in those sacrifices set forth the persons to be holocaust, who was looked for.

But thou wilt haue, that all did not behold him. Concerning those, which were idle and negligent, I grant ye little; when as notwithstanding, this was beaten euen into their memorie by the prophete, saying by them was often repeated the promise made before time unto Abraham, touching spissas. As manie therefore of them, as did carefullie applye their minds vnto that doctrine, might easilie behold Christ in those sacrifices. And it is not to be objected, Why did they neuer expresse call upon Christ? Why did they not praise for forgiveness of finnes for spissas sake? I answer, that they performed these things abundantly, euen as they said;

Song of the three children, 35. Psal. 133, 2.

Remember Lord the covenant that thou hast made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and also with Dauid. For euen to those fathers was promised meane of the law, wherein all nations should be blessed; that is to saie, of Christ; as Paul to

the Galathians both expresse. Therefore, notwithstanding as the old fathers called these things to remembrance, they no lesse included Christ in their prayers, than we at this daie do; when we praye for any thing to be granted vnto vs, in the name of Iesus Christ.

Gal. 3, 6.

## The xvj. Chapter.

Of the likenesse and vnlikenesse of the Old and New League or covenant.



he new league in the time of Jesus Christ, is derived of the verbe Ferre, to make.

A Hebrew word *Kerit* signifies not much. By which outward signe also, they taught by paine the destruction of that part, which should violate the covenant: as we may gather out of Luic, in his first booke after the building of the cite: and as the same author testifieth in his fourth booke *De bello Maccedonico*. There be three kinds of leagues. The first kind is, where the conquerours make lawes vnto them, whom they have conquered, in punishing and commanding them in such things, as they will afterward haue them to do. The second kind is, when things being yet in their owne state, and neither partie overcome, they agree together, that such things, as are taken from one partie, may be restored, and that covenants of peace may be established. The third kind is, when there hath bene no war betweene the parties; and when certaine cities or princes are joined together by some covenants, either to line the more peaceablie, or else to take some publicke affairs in hand. These things being on the first declared, let vs see what a league is. A league is that bond betwixt men, whereby they testifie, both by words and signes one to another, that they are bound to performe certaine things, so long as they deale faithfully the one toward the other.

And if it be a bond, and pertaine to relation, it is grounded vpon humane actions; and is referred to those things, which the parties consent rate ought to performe one toward another. It is expressed by words, and for the most part, signes are added. When God made a covenant with mankinde, after the flood, he not onelie testifieth the forme of the bond by words; but he also put the raineboeue in the clouds as a visible

Gen. 9, 12.

newe. And in the covenant, which he made with Abram, he put the signe of circumcision. Furthermore, in the same, which was made by Moise at the mount Sina, there were twelue pillars erected, and the people was sprinkled with blood. Iudas also, when he should dye, erected by a vertie great stone; thereby as it were to figure the league renewed betwixt God and the people. And what the promises were, which should be kept of each partie, the Christiane oftentimes teacheth. For God promised, that he would be the God of his people; namely, that he would be with them, to helpe them, to deliuer them, and by all meanes (as touching all kind of good things) to blesse them. The people againe promised, that they would count the Lord and Iehouah as their God, in believing, in worshiping, and obeying him. And Christ was in the league, as the mediator betwixt each partie. This is the exposition and nature of the covenant betwixt God and man.

A league is diuided into the newe, and into the old; which distinction is not of a general thing, into speciall things; but of the subiect into accidents. As formerly was in either league, the thing it selfe, and the substance, is vnder one and the selfe same: onelie certaine qualities doe varie. For the old league was made with one onelie nation of the Hebrews, and had certaine things annexed; I meane the possession of the land of Chanaan, the kingsome of the Hebrews, and the priesthood of Aaron, and also the promise of spissas, according to the birth of the flesh, and the ministerie of his owne person. Spissages, it had certeine signes of ceremonies, and sacrifices thereto annexed for that age. But it also were misteries of saluation, and promises of eternall life, although farre more obscure than they were afterward taught vnto vs. And on the other side, in the new league there be properties, in a manner contrarie. For it pertaineth not to any one certaine nation, but to all nations, howe farre so euer they be extended: neither is there any peculiar ciuill administration ioined thereto.

Furthermore, there are but a vertie few ceremonies & outward signes, and they vertie plaine and simple, annexed vnto it. And to conclude all things are contained more openlie, plainly, and manifestlie in the new testament, than they are in the old. By these qualities both the new league and the old differ one from another: howbeit, the thing it selfe, and the substance abideth one and the same. For as Iehouah was before he was the God of the Hebrews; so hath he now decreed to be the God of the Christians. And that also, which they in those daies promised; namely, that they would beleue in the true God and obey, and worship him as he hath prescribed;

we also ought to performe. Christ commeth betwixt both parties, as a mediator; and for goodness of his nature; yea and eternall life also is promised by him. Also the moxall labours remaine the same like now, which they were then.

Paul, in the eleuenty chapter to the Romans, hath very well declared, that the league of the fathers in old time, and ours, is all one; when he compareth the church with the tree, which hath Christ as it were the root. Then he addeth, that from such a true certaine branches cutt off; namely, the Hebrews, which beleued not; & we, which are Gentiles, were planted in their place; that is to saie, we were grafted into the same league, wherein they were comprehended. The same tree be assiduously to remaine, into which some are grafted by faith; and from the which other growe, because of their incredulitie, be cutt off. Therefore, our league containeth both the latine and the Gospell. And there be in either of the testaments, the selfe same sacraments: as it is declared in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the tenth chapter: for, The fathers were all vnder the cloud, and were baptised in the sea, and did eate the same spirituall meate, and dranke of the spirituall rocke following them, and the rocke was Christ. Furthermore, we grant, that as touching outward signes, there is some difference betwixt their sacraments and ours: which neuertheless, as concerning the things signified by the sacraments, is found to be nothing at all.

Otherwise, the argument of Paul might not haue perswaded the Corinthians, to be subiect vnto the same punishments that the Hebrews were. For they might haue said, that they had farre better sacraments than had the Hebrews; & that therefore they should not so much need to feare, lest they should suffer the like: foolishly as the excellencie of the sacraments might put off those misdoings, from which the Hebrews could not be deliuered by the sacraments of the lawe. So as the apostle telleth vnto this shift from them, and maketh our sacraments and theirs equal and alike, as touching the things themselves. He writeth also to the Romans, the first chapter, concerning the Gospell; that it was in the old time promised by the prophets in the holie scriptures. And in the third chapter he speaketh on this wise; But now is the righteousness of God made manifest, being testified by the lawe and the prophets.

Furthermost thou laie vnto me, that these things were abundantly promised in the holie scriptures of the old testament; but not that they should be performed vnto the men that liued in those daies. For the apostle doth verily well shew the meaning of this place, when he saith;

verse. 16.

The offer-  
inge sacra-  
mentis in  
the old tes-  
tament.  
1. Cor. 10, 11.

verse. 5.

verse. 12.

verse. 19.

Gen. 15, 6.

John. 8, 26.  
ver. 8.

ver. 31.  
ver. 8.

faith; that Euerie lawe dooth speake to those men, which liue vnder it. And it is to be doubt- ed, but that the fathers were iustified after the same sort that we are iustified by faith onlie. For euery thing were no lesse iustified by faith onlie in Christ, than we be. Wherefore it is written in the booke of Genesis, of Abraham, that he belee- ued, and the same was counted vnto him for righteousnesse. Iohn also testifieth, that Christ said of Abraham; that He had done his daie, and reioiced. The epistle written to the Hebrewes, 13. chapter, affirmeth; that Christ was yester- daie, and to daie, and remained for euer. Where- fore, euen as we are said now to be saved, not by works, but by the mere mercie of God, though faith in Christ; so was it with the fa- thers at that time; for they were iustified by no merits, but onlie by faith in Christ. Further- more, what obedience to euer the fathers had to- ward the commandements of God, and also faith in the promises: those things were not de- riued from their owne strength and power; but (euen as it also happeneth vnto vs) they came vnto them by the grace of God and Christ.

5 It is true indeed, that Ieremie, in the 31. chapter, writeth (as it is also alleaged in the eighth chapter to the Hebrewes; that There must be an other league made in the name of God, not as it was made in the old time with the fa- thers). And among other things he saith, that God would giue his lawes in the hearts and in- ward parts of men; so that none should need any more to teach his neighbour; because all men from the least to the greatest, should haue the knowledge of God. And further it is said, in the person of God; I will be mercifull vnto their ini- finities, and will no more remember their ini- quities, &c. As touching those things, both of Ie- remie, and also of the epistle to the Hebrewes, we must vnderstand, that they proue not, that there is anie difference betwene the testaments, as touching the substance and the thing it selfe; but touching the properties and qualities: as we haue before said. Neither must we thinke, that the old fathers (who in obeying the commande- ments of God, had performed those things of their owne strength, or naturall power. For, unless they had had the lawes & promises of God writ- ten in their hearts & minds, by the holie Ghost; and also a will, by the grace of God, ready to obeye his commandments; they had neuer bin able to performe such things.

They wanted not therefore the light of God, which shines before their eyes, to make them be- lieue: yea and their finnes were forgiven them through Christ. So then they had also the fruiti- on of those things, which God promised to giue in the new covenant. The onlie difference be-

in was touching the largenesse, and perpetuitie. For at that time, those gifts were kept within the compass of a few; but now they be euerie where communicated to the Gentils. In that age, they were somewhat obscure; but to be they are made euident and clere. So that we haue no more need of the old discipline. Whereby it mani- fests appereth, how they erre from the truth, which affirme, that the old league had promised onlie for possiding the land of Chanaan, and for iudicall felicitie; and that the people of the Hebrewes were bound onlie to an outward ob- servation of certaine rites and works, and not to their soules good and perfect motions of the mind towards God. The prophets do not inter- plet the matter to be in such wise; naie rather, they denie, that God arie thing either vnto outward works, without inward godlinesse; and they pronounce in euerie place, that the cere- monies, which be void of faith, and of the feare of God, are a most greivous burden; and so trou- blesome, as he cannot abide them.

Yea, and the lawe it selfe maketh expresse mention of the circumcission of the heart; and God euerie where requirith, that we shoulde heare his voice: which is nothing else, but to deale with him by faith. Wherefore, the faith of the promises and commandements of God, ought to be counted as the rote and foundation, which al- waies abideth: when as outward sacraments, and visible rites, shoulde at the length be changed. So that it is verie manifest, that God would not haue them for their owne sake. Howbeit, they endured so long, as men were indued with a chylidish spirit; as Paule speeth to the Galati- ans, whiles they liued as yet vnder tutors, and as yet differed little from seruants. But when they receiued a more full spirit, then were the sacraments and chylidish rites (as Augustine saith) taken away. It is manifest therefore, that the difference betwene the two covenants must not be taken of the thing of substance; but of the qualities and properties.

¶ Let them therefore forsake their foule er- ror, which thinke, that God in the old lawe onlie promised earthly things, as though at that time he should haue promised for the bodies, and not for the soules: as do the shepheards, ploughmen, and hog- herders; which onlie haue a care of the bodies and carcases of their sheepe, swine, and oxen; neither indoune they arie thing else, but to make those beasts strong and fat. We must not so imagine of God, who in such sort made a league with the fathers, as he promised them the shepe felicitie, which specialle appertineth vnto the soule. Also it is written in the 144. psalme; Blessed are the people, which haue the Lord for their God. In Deuter. also, God saith vnto him to bring to passe, that they should walke in

Exic. 11.  
Amos, 13.

Deut. 10, 16

1. Sa. 15, 22.

Gal. 3.

Plaus.

Plaus.

The fathers entered into covenant with God by this promise also.

ver. 15.

Deut. 3, 4.

this commandement. But what more? Our Sauour, out of the woops of the old league, hath most aptly taught the reformation of the dead. Mat. 23, 1. For when the R. I. said, that he was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (and they were men dead); Christ answered, that they shoulde not thinke, that they shoulde thus say, and that their bodies shoulde be receiued; namely, in the life of refection. Ver. vnto peremeth that, which God assured to Abraham; to wit, that he him- selfe would be his reherd. Wholly woops plain- lie teach vs, that in that covenant were not iudic- miss carnall and carnall good things alone.

¶ Timotheus, it were a great shame, euen for kings and princes, which (being compared vnto God) are but flesh and bloud; if they shoulde be counted to gouerne the publike locales, in re- spect onlie of the bodies of subiects; seeing they possesse, that they prouide for the outward con- ditiones, quietnes, and peace of their ciuities; because they may liue happily, and according to vertue. So then, if earthly princes prouide goods of the mind for their subiects; is it not fit, that God himselfe shoulde prouide far more exte- rial things for the publike locale of the Israe- lites, vnto be faithfullie gouerned? Further- more, 3. I haue not found faith; it is to be doubted, that the fathers, by the league, bound themselves as well to outward rites, and visible ceremo- nies, whereby they should worship God; seeing the verie Christ was not ignorant; but ra- ther, they haue most plainlie testified, that the worshiping of God consisteth not in those things. For Plautus in *Rudenti* writeth thus; They thinke, that they please God with gifts and sacrifices, but they lose both their labour and cost. 3. I will not declare those things, which Plato in his *Alcibiades* writeth, concerning this matter. Yea, and (as I haue before taught) the lawe it selfe and the prophets declare, that the thing was far otherwise.

¶ We will note also, that the fathers made a league with God; not onlie for themselves, but also for their posteritie: as God againe, for his part, promised them, that he would be the God, not onlie of them, but also of their seed and posteritie. Wherefore, it was lawfull for them to circumcise their children being yet in- fants. And in the like maner it is lawfull for vs also to baptise our little children, when they are yet infants; inasmuch as they also are compre- hended in the league. For they, which already haue the thing it selfe, there is nothing that may lett, but that they shoulde receive the signe. It is plainlie written in the 29. chapter of Deu- teronomie; that The league was made, not onlie with them, which were present, but also with them, which were absent, and not yet borne. But some doubt, whether the posteritie

may be bound by their forefathers. We do an- swer: he must take whether the things, which were promised to our forefathers, were ind and honest; then must we consider, whether these promises pertained vnto ciuill things, or vnto godlines. When they are made for ciuill things, the bond is firme; because it is not lawfull for the posteritie, to withstanding the contracts of their forefathers; such as are buyings, sellings, bar- gaines; and such like. Doubted, that they con- ferre nothing that is shameful, dishonest, and blinde. But if the bonds and covenants belong to godlinesse, as to a right faith; then the obliga- tion is of full strength; because we are all bound to true godlines, and to a sound faith; although there were no covenant to bind vs. But if the forefathers haue bound themselves, and their posteritie, vnto dishonest and wicked things, it is no bond at all. But whereas God so humbled himselfe, as to enter in league with men; that cometh of his owne mere mercie and god will; to sit vs up thereby more and more; to do those things, which otherwise is our dutie to do.

¶ But some affirme, that Paule taken from the thing from the old testament; when in the con- sideration to the Corinthians, he calleth the same The ministrie of death. And vnto the Ga- lathians he writeth; Ye haue begun in the spirit, Gal. 3, 3. take ye heed charye do not end in the flesh. In which place he calleth the old lawe, flesh. And in the same epistle he becometh, that those, which be vnder the lawe, do persecute them which belong to the Gospel. But in such places as these be, Paule speaketh of the old testament, according as it was thrust vpon them by false apostles, without Christ, and without faith. Then is it euen as if they shoulde take away the life from it, and leave nothing remaining but death and offence of the flesh. But when the ap- ple speaketh of the lawe by it selfe, he writeth far otherwise. Vnto the Romans it is written; The lawe indeed is spirituall, a holie commande- ment, iudged and good; but I am carnall, &c. And vnto Timothee; For we knowe, that the lawe is good, if a man vie the same lawfully. Wherefore, when as it seemeth that the lawe is by Paule; re- ther diminished, or repressed; that is not in re- spect of it selfe, but for our fault sake. For it maye truly say, as be desired, and indoune them- selves to resist it; and therefore it breedeth those difformities. Where (as I haue said) he shalpe thereof, so far forth as the false apostles severed Christ from the same. Whereas thus the true apostles did not so, but rather preached the lawe to- gether with him. But yet neuertheless, seeing they taught, that he was not sufficient vnto sal- uation; no doubt but they took him away. For be that hath need of the lawe, to lawe men, is to

whether the posteritie may be bound by their forefathers.

1. Cor. 10, 13.

Gal. 4, 3.

Rom. 7, 12.

1. Tim. 3, 8.

Paul the apostle wrote thus: take Christ from the lawe.



In mat. 11.  
23. 17.  
28. 17.  
28. 17.  
28. 17.

whether  
the new  
testament  
and  
the old be  
diverse.

Hebr. 8. 13.

vers. 4.

One manner  
of justification  
and one, and  
one mediator  
both in  
the one, and  
the other.

the true Christ that was promised.

9 But because Paul saith, out of the testimony of Esai. that This is a testament; and that we read the same in the 31. chapter of Ieremie; that The new covenant herein consisteth, that the deliuerer should come, and be merciful vnto iniquities: there ariseth a doubt, whether the new testament and the old be diuers or no. **22** The which matter I haue somewhat spoken before, but now I intend more at large to intreat thereof. At the first sight they seeme altogether diuers: so that the one is altogether distinguisheth from the other. For in Ieremie it is said; that There should be a new covenant, and not according to that which hee made with the fathers. And the epistle to the Hebrews addeth; When it is said, A new; then is that abolished, which was old. But who seeth not, that one thing, if it be abolished and make void another thing, differeth altogether from the same: There is also another argument, for that (as they saie) in the old testament, was no forgiveness of finnes, for the epistle to the Hebrews, in the tenth chapter saith; That the blood of goates, and of oxen, and of calves, could not take away finnes. But in the new testament, no man doubteth, but that there is remission of finnes: so as no man will saie, but that the things, which in so great a matter differ, are diuerse.

Yet this on the other side is to be considered; that that faith, whereof iustification consisteth, is in either testament all one. **23** Forasmuch, that the mediator is one, and the same; namely, Christ Iesus; and the promise of remission of finnes, and of eternall life through him, all one. The commandments (those at least) which be morall) all one, the signification of sacraments all one; the rote and plant, out of which some of the Jewes were cut off, and we in their place grafted in, is all one. All which things plainly declare, that either testament, as touching the substance of essence (if I may so call it) is all one thing. Although there must be granted some differences, by reason of the accidents, which are, that; Iesus Christ was there hitherto, as he that was to come; but both he is his alone, as he which is alreadie come. Also, their signes were diuerse from be in forme, but of like strength in signification: as Augustine saith. **24** Forasmuch they had a certaine and assured publicke testimony, for the perfection thereof, they had ciuill precepts deuised vnto them, which we haue not. And finally, vnto the promise of the remission of finnes, by the spiritus, were in the old time added a great many other promises: as of the increase and preferuation of their posteritie, and of the possession of the land of Chanaan; which promises we haue not. And besides all this, our sacraments are

more easie, and fewer in number, and also more manifest, and extend much further, seeing they are not that by in a cogit, as theirs were in leuitic: but are spread abroad throughout the whole world. **25** Therefore we may asseme, that the new testament and the old are in verie deed all one, as touching the substance; and differ onely in certaine accidental things, which we haue now mentioned.

10 But now reſtly to anſwer, vnto the three arguments, which those heresie brought touching remission of finnes. **26** The first is, that the same lawe is in the old testament; for if we consider the promise, which there also lawe of force, the old fathers were indified by the same. For it was said to Abraham; **Gen. 15. 6.** Belieued God, and it was imputed vnto him to righteousness: as the apostle hath declared. And David faith; Blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose finnes are covered. **27** Yet if we looke vpon the sacraments of ceremonies, they did not pardon finnes, as touching the worke; neither yet haue we sacraments strength to do. But whereas Paul saith vnto the Hebrews; That the blood of goates, oxen, and calves, could not take away finnes: we denie not this to be true; but yet in the meane time, neither doth Paul denie, but that the faith of the old fathers (whereby they had a respect vnto Christ, and embraced him in the signification of those sacrifices) did iustifie and obtine remission of finnes. **28** Doubtlesse the blood of those sacrifices was then not away the finnes of the soules, but onely the blood of Christ, as he himselfe saith; This cup is the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you, and for many for the remission of finnes.

But whereas we are said to be baptised into the remission of finnes: the meaning thereof is, that by that sacrament is sealed and signified vnto be the remission of finnes, which by the blood of Christ we haue alreadie obtained. **29** Which saie thing is also borne in the Eucharist. And saith ought alluſions to go before the receiving of the sacraments, if we receive them rightly, and the other be not amended. For as without faith men eat and drinke leuiticallie, so without faith baptisme is leuiticallie received: which yet must be understood as touching them, that are of full age. For touching infants, how is it said; they, we will selfe there declare. Then, if faith be before, it is manifest, that finnes be forgiven; because the sacraments that followe, we saie, and also confirme vs, as concerning the will of God: and then they be set forth vnto vs, they oftentimes sit by faith; no otherwise than both the word of God, when it is heard.

So that it is not possible, but that faith, being

looke for  
the place in  
Ephes. 1.

Hebr. 8. 13.

Epistle of  
James to  
the Hebrews,  
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ing rebelle stirred by; insinuation is appeareth more and more, and new strength of reſolution is laid both vpon. And therefore whereas Chrylosome (interpreting these words; When I shall take away their finnes) faith vpon the same; When they were yet vncircumcised, when they did not yet offer, and when they did not yet other things pertaining to the lawe, their finnes were taken away. Certainly he must not be understood, as though the fathers, in the old time, when they did these things, and by them exercised their faith (because they saue Christ to be signified in them) had not thereby fruit as we haue: but he ment, that these things now after Christ hath suffered, are vnpoffible; and that in the old time they did not by the worke it selfe, give grace as the Jewes dreamed. Wherein also in our daies the popishall diuines are deceived, as touching our sacraments.

11 But as touching the other argument, that in the epistle to the Hebrews it is said, that The old testament is abolished, and made void, the new taking place: And whereas Ieremie saith; that God would make a new league, not according to the league, which he made with the fathers, when he brought them out of the land of Egypt: **30** The answer, that there the league is taken for the lawe, and is distinguished from the Gospel. Which is manifest, in that he saith he will write his lawes in their hearts, and graue them in their inward parts. But that thing is not agreeable with the lawe, which onely beeth finnes, conserneth and accuseth: neither doth it give strength; yea rather, it after a sort commandeth infinite finnes, and laich such a burthen vpon vs, as we are not able to beare. And therefore the prophet there saith, that They did not abide in his covenant. **31** So as this new league, or testament, is not there so taken, as we here note it: for (as we here intreat of it) it comprehendeth both the lawe and the Gospel. And in this respect there is no difference betwene the old testament and the new; but onely as we haue declared.

And if thou wilt saie, that the prophet there also intendeth this new testament, in such sort as we now speake of it: we may then grant, that by the coming of Christ, is made some abrogation; seeing those accidents, conuictions, & qualities, which we haue shewed in the old testament, are now abrogated. Wherefore therein is used the figure Synecdoche; whereby a thing is perforce of absolute saie to be abolished, or made void, when it is onely taken away as touching some part thereof. The Jewes are wonderfullie troubled with this sentence of the prophet, and can scarce tell what to saie. For while they seek to defend the old lawe, & so defend it, as they saie nothing thereof to be chan

ged; and yet saie, because we haue changed circumcision into baptisme, and the date of the sabbath, into the lords day; and haue created manye other things; how can they asseme, that a new league shall be made, and not according to that which was made, when they were brought out of Egypt?

Where they can scarce tell which way to turne themselves. Doubt it, least they should leane to give place, they saie, that onely the manner shall be diuers; and thinke, that the league, as touching the thing, shall be all one: but that vnder differentia, it shall more kinne and more surely be established. But we may more truly saie, that this was done at the beginning of the church, when to great abundance of the holie Ghost was poured into the belauers; that not onely they typed abroad the Gospel, through out the whole world; but also no temptations, no persecutions, were they neuer so horrible, no death, though it were most sharpe, could cause them to depart from the league, which they haue now through Christ made with God. And as manie as are faithfull indeed, do willingly and of their owne accord cleane vnto the truth, and vnto holincie. And forasmuch as here is mention of the league, let this be remembered, that it is for the most part of the Latines called the Testament; of the Grecians, *Diathesis*; of the Hebrewes, *Berith*, all which words do little or nothing.

12 But here againe riseth a doubt, because if the thing be all one as well on the one part, as the other, in the sacraments of both testaments, how may ours be for a greater in power and vertue? Further, how could it be, that they did not cate the flesh of the Lord, seeing the forme of God had not yet taken the forme vpon him? **32** The latter question I saie; in the Apocalypse is written, that the lawe was claime from the beginning of the world. For to the forerunner of leges of God all things are present, though they be neuer so farre off. Wherefore Christ, seeing he was to come, and was to be offered for vs vpon the crosse; in this respect was comprehended of the fathers by faith, and was food for their soules vnto eternall life. For those things, which be shewed off from vs, the same both faith make present; so that they take hold of the same Christ which we at this time do intiale. But the difference standeth in the time: for they belaued, that he should be borne; and we that he is alreadie borne: they asseme that he should be, and we asseme that he hath been.

Wherefore Augustine, in his 16. booke against *Fauius*, saith; that he vehementer erreth, that doth thinke the sacraments of the Jewes ought to be retained in Christian religion: seeing God hath now finished that he would haue

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to be done. And it was necessarie, that other signes should be ocred. Neither ought this to seeme absurd. For when the signification of things is done, that is to be done; we see divers and sundrie manner of speech. The verbe same he wryteth unto Iohannes, to Petrus, and else where. Neither is that anie leet, which the same father, upon the 73. psalme, speaketh on this wise; Their sacraments promised saluation, ours declare a Saviour. If these words the Papists do wonderfullie boast, and crye out; that our sacraments do give grace, which the sacraments of the Hebrewes could not give. Whereto, what Augustine's mind was in that place, they cannot tell. He ment nothing else, but that, which he taught against Faustus, namely, that our sacraments do give and exhibite Christ: that is, they testify and beare record, that he is given and exhibited. For he addeth; I saie not, that it hath no saluation, but because Christ is now come. And if Augustine at this time saie, that the thing, which is now unto vs, and that was in times past promised unto the Hebrewes, is not all one; undoubtedly he dealeth concerning other things, and not touching that, which was principall in the promises of God. For in this time, before Christ, there was promised an earthly kingdome. Also the countrie of Chanaan, being a land flowing with milke and honie; and such other like things were promised: which be strange and differing from the promises of the Gospell. But Christ is common, both to vs, and to them; and is to vs no other thing than he was unto them.

13. Now come I unto the former demand, wherein was asked; What our sacraments can be of more vertue, if the thing be on both parties. Herunto I answer: When the selfe same thing is set before vs, of the which one man thinketh more than another, there is no difference in the thing it selfe, but in the instrument, wherewith it is taken. As if so be that a heape of monie be set before anie man, from whence it may be lawfull for euery one to take so much, as he is able to hold in his hand; the larger and more strong hand carrie one hath, so much the more may he take of the monie set before him: euen so, seeing our faith, wherewith we comprehend Christ, is greater, and more strong than was that of the Hebrewes; we take more of Christ than they in the old time did. But thou wilt say; What can our faith be greater than was the faith of the Hebrewes? Here it behooved to answer by this rule. For there were some among the Hebrewes, indued with excellent faith; namely, the prophets and patriarchs, of the which diuers spent euen their life for religion sake. Neither is there anie more blessed of vs, than was of them; seeing their Church and ours is all one, & Christ

is ours alike: but the difference is in the perspicuity of the things believed. For to be in these daies, all things are more clear and manifest, than they were to them. Unto vs Christ is borne, is dead, is risen out of the graue, and is taken up into heauen: all which things they also had, but more obscurely, and as it were in a shadowe.

Seeing therefore these things are more bright and manifest vnto vs, our faith also may be called greater, and more pure; because it is more stirred by things that be manifest, than it is by obscure things. For which cause in times past, the faith in Christ was verie smallie advanced beyond the borders of Iewrie; whereas at this daie it is spread ouer all the world. And when I saie, that our faith is greater than the faith of the Hebrewes; I meane of the vniuersall state of them, and as it happened for the most part, and in most places generallie; and not of particular persons. For I were not asseuer, that the faith of anie man was more steadfast than the faith of Abraham, of Dauid, of Elsie, and such like. For Christ testified of Abraham, that He saue his daie, and was glad. Elsie also, in the 5. chapter, to expresse the whole thing; All the borne of Christ, and his death, as Ierom purp. nounceth him rather to be an Evangelist than a prophet. And Dauid, in his psalmes most plainly prophesied many things of Christ.

14. But there ferneth to be no small contention, betwene those whoos in the fourth chapter of the first to the Corinthians, and that which Christ taught in the first of Iohn: where he saith, that the meate which he ocred, was a great deale better than that, which the fathers had by Moles in the wilderness. Who he saith were dead, although they vied that meate. And he be deare, that they, which did eate him, bring the true bread, should not die. Speeche, he addeth, that Moles did not give them bread from heauen; and that he is the bread, the which God the father sent from heauen. These things do he say, that Christ put no small difference betwene our sacraments, and the sacraments of the old fathers; whereas Paule endeavoureth to make them all one. Whereto, in the holie scriptures, there is sometimes intreated of according to their owne nature; but otherwise, according to that that men (with whom they came to be) esteemed of them. Paule lo wryteth of the sacrament of the old fathers, as the nature thereof was; and it was granted by God.

But Christ hath a respect vnto the ingement and disposition of those men, which came vnto him; who repaired to him for no other cause, but to be satisfied with the bread. For they saue, that a few daies before he had satisfied a verie great number with a few loaves: for which cause they saie

saie vnto him; What signe dost thou, that we may beleeue thee? For Moles gaue Manna vnto the fathers in the wilderness. As if they had saie; It behooueth thee also (if thou wilt haue the multitude to obeye thee) to susteine them no lesse than Moles did. Seeing therefore Christ perceiued before hand, that these men esteemed of him but as nothing in this meate (which the fathers received in the wilderness) (saie onelic the outward substance, which filled the bellie; he tempeied his doctrine to repossesse this base and vilo vnderstanding of theirs, and speakech of the outward substance of that meate, and not of the spiritual thing, which was reposed there; and (as he might) called their minds from that earthly meate, vnto the spiritual fode; and benedicted, that Spauia, as concerning corporall substance, was from heauen. For (as it was brodered by them) the diuine and beauenly nature of Christ was secluded therefrom. And so he concluded, that they which were like vnto these, might not be quickened with that meate; they be dead (saith he) which should not haue happened; if they had together with the signe vnto men by faith, which am the true bread sent downe from heauen.

In what respect Christ benedict that Spauia came from heauen.

Roma. 11. 15. Paule, after the same manner, when he hath occasion to intreat of circumcission, speaketh honourable thereof, according to the nature of it. Unto the Romans, he calleth it The seale of the righteounesse of faith. And we ourselues that be the faithfull of Christ (saith he) are circumcised in baptism, with a circumcison not made with hands. And on the other side, when he wryteth thereof, as it was obscured by the false apostles (saith he) to the Galathians; I ye be circumcised, Christ profreth you nothing. Ye are fallen awaie from grace, and ye are become debtors of keeping the whole lawe. And vnto the Iuliphanians he speaketh so contemptuousely thereof, as he calleth it Conscion. The same doth he, when he wryteth of the old testament: of the which he speaketh bluerlic according to the estimation that is brought. So otherwise saie Christ vnto the Hebrewes; Yee onelic haue respect vnto carnall meate; ye haue onelic a care for the bellie; ye speciallie followe idleness; and therefore abomine me ye prefer Moles, of whom the fathers, like vnto your selues, had no other but earthly fode; but I am to give you heauenlie fode, if so be ye applye your faith thereto.

Auguine.

16. And that the thing may the more appeare, we learne of Augustine, in the 26. treatise vpon Iohn; that the sacraments of the old fathers, as touching the signes, were differing from ours; but as concerning the things signified; they were all one. By these things it is perccived; that as manie of the fathers as were goodlie, notwithstanding that they receiued other signes than

we do; yet they had all one thing with vs, and were partakers of Christ, in like manner as we be; but they were holier, and destitute of faith, indeed lost the outward thing; but were utterly destitute of the spiritual gift and grace; At them Christ speaketh, because they might be compared to the beleehing multitude, vnto whom he had then speaking. When wilt saie, that the verie same happeneth in the Church. First, of the bigodlike, continuing therunto, do indeed receiue the bread and wine; howbeit, they haue no frutt thereof, but do eate and drinke vnto their damnation: whereas the goodlie and faithful; perccians be not the simple and bare signes; vnto through beleefe are theretoall partakers of the booke and blessing of Christ. Wherefore, that vnto he saith, that Christ vnto with these men; the same also cometh to passe with vs, and our sacrament. For which cause there ought no such difference to be put by him, seeing the selfe same thing cometh to passe, as well in the one, as in the other. But this is intet to be considered; that Christ, when he spake these things in the first of Iohn, ment onelic of spiritual eating, which is performed by faith. For thereof Augustine saith; Wherewith thou prepare thy faith and better beleue and thou hast eaten.

The institution of the signes was long time afterwards of Iewes in the last supper, which he had with his apostles; where he added no new thing vnto those things which were spoken in the first of Iohn; except it were the outward signes of bread and wine. And euen as Christ spake onelic of the spiritual eating, which was done at that time; so the Hebrewes, against whom he disputed, had onelic an vnderstanding of the outward eating. Wherefore Christ called them out from that grosse and earthly feeding, vnto that which is more spiritual, of the which he then framed his talke, and saith; that the fathers, which were like vnto them, were in the desert, and were not holpen by the meate offered vnto them by Moles; & that they should not be, which receiued that spiritual feeding, which he then mentioned, in not this temporall death, but enstendeth death. Whereto, our death of bodie (so we be faithful) cannot trulle be called death; seeing thereby the waie is open to life; yea as that to the blessed life, so then, Spauia in the old testament, as touching the institution thereof, was beauenlie & spiritual meate; but all that did eate receiued not the same spiritualitie, onelic those that received it so, which did eate it by faith. Neither doth Christ in the mean time anie, but that there were manie of the fathers (as Moles, Aaron, Iofia, Caleb, and others) who faithful & to life receiued that meate. But this is conseru; namely, that the outward meate of signes, being taken alone and

Ioh. 6.49.

our death faithful cannot be

by it selfe (as they wish) whom he spake regarding the same) had anie vertue of utilitie, as concerning the spirit. And so we must take heed, that we attribute not fawallie into the figure, that which belongeth unto the thing.

Phil. 78, 24, and 25.

Spanna from bread, and is thus called to be referred.

Matth. 4, 36.

1. Cor. 15, 47.

17 David, in the 78 psalme, made evident mention of the two given to the fathers in the wilderness, saying: And God commanded the clouds, and opened the stores of heauen, &c. where then heauen the proper place, which bread was then given from heauen. Wherby saying thou must as well refer vnto the outward figure, as vnto the spirittuall thing, into Christ (I meane) who is thereby represented, for the substance is selfe being Spanna, was given out of the store of clouds, and that region is verie oftentimes in the scripture called heauen. In the Gospel likewise: Behold the birds of heauen: and it oftentimes speaketh of raining from heauen, and such other like speeches. Doubtlesse, it is truely said of Christ, that he came downe; seeing he had his diuine nature out of the heauen, whose bodie also is by Paule called heauenlie. Furthermore, David in the same place adde, that Man did eate the bread of Gibeon: which word may be interpreted, Of princes, or noble personages. The 70. interpreters have translated it, Of angels: which thing the Chaldean interpreter seemeth to expound, as though Spanna were sent downe from the place of angels habitation. Others thinke it was therefore called angels food, in respect of being brought forth in the clouds by their ministrarie. And here I might easily aske acquaintance a figure to be: as if it should be said: The Hebrews did eate a most noble bread, which the angels might haue used, if they did eate bread. As we commonlie speake of excellent face; this is the meate of lords and princes.

And whereas by Paule, this meate is called spirittuall, it is signified, that sacraments are no common signes, as though none of those things, which is signified, were there received: for else they should onlie be exterie & carnall meates, and not spirittuall. Furthermore, God mocketh not, neither doth he deceiue, that he would promise anie thing in the sacraments, which he will not performe by anie meanes. Neither for all this is there anie need, why there should be a metamorphosis (which they call transubstantiation) to the intent that the sacrament should become spirittuall food. We ought not to confound the nature of the figures together with the things signified. Let vs followe the meane and founde waie; and let vs iudge honourably of the sacraments: not thinking them to be things altogether void of spirittuall goodnesse. Either let vs so ioinie the figures with the things, as they do altogether passe into them. It sufficiently there

to appoint a probable and most excellent signification, whereby the faithfull mind, through blessing, may be made partaker of the things signified.

18 This word Spanna is an Hebrew word, and it may signifie a gift, or else a portion, and as a signifying, for (sounding as that thing was all whole given by God vnto the Israelites). And else it signifieth some thing prepared, not at need but by labour; but such a thing as we may be without anie enuieous of our owne. But (letting the word passe) we say that as touching the nature, it was not the same, which of Galen and Dioscorides is called Spanna; because they so call certaine small peeces and fragments of frenchmeats. Of the Arabian philosophers, bonie of the aire is called by this name, the which the Grecians call *aporos*. And I doubt not, but that the Arabians used the word Man, by imitating of the holie scriptures. For their language is somewhat next vnto the Hebrew. Aben-cera, upon the 16 chapter of Exodus, repeareth manie miracles of properties of this holie food. Man of Spanna, far differing from the nature of Spanna among the Arabian philosophers. For natural Spanna is not to be found upon mount Sinai, and about the wilderness. Further, it raineth not alwaies, but in the spring & autumn onlie. But that, which was holie, was rather some peeces continuall. The waie before the sabbath, it fell more plentifully; to the intent a double quantitie might be gathered for that daie, and for the sabbath: for vpon the sabbath daie it was not to be found.

The same meates with the same in the aftername time: the which happened not in our natural Spanna. That was ground with a mill, so as it might be baked in the forme of cakes; whereas ours is soft enough. That was a nourishing food, but this of ours is taken for a medicine, and purgeth away choler and fleame. That, being referred vntill the morrowe, bred worms; whereas ours is kept, and that about a yeere. All this of ours hath certaine places, in the which it falleth; but that of the Hebrews followed the Hebrews where euer they went. But hath one certaine taste therewith, which is not declared to be in the other, but rather (as it is told) ten in the booke of Wisdom. It had in it selfe all manner of delight. These things haue I, for this cause, recited; to the end it may be understood, that this signe had manie properties, whereby it might most aptly expresse that which it signified.

For as those words, which be made, to shew the signification of things, partie are natural, and partie are given after the mind of them which first named them: for they pould, that when as they might not expresse the whole nature

nature of the thing, and all the properties thereof, yet that they should be able at the least to shew some one property more notable and knowne: whereupon they did not much varie from naming of things after their owne nature. Because also it was free for them, among manie properties, to chuse that which they were most desirous to signifie: therefore names are said to proceed, according to the will and pleasure of them. Hereunto adde that which Plato in Cratylus doth testifie (to wit) that the first inuentors of names were so prudent, as they chose the qualities of syllables and letters to be agreeable to the qualities of things, which they would name: as vnto mild things, they made apt those that were mild; and to unpleasant things, they applied harsh and unpleasant syllables: and such like.

Plato in Cratylus.

of salm and his disciples.

Aben-cera.

the difference between Spanna called to bonie of the aire from Spanna in the scriptures.

An analogie between Spanna and Christ.

19 On this waie God hath done in the sacraments, the which be names and visible waies whereby he effectually expresse his promises. For he pould, that the properties of the signs might excellentlie well agree with the things, which were to be assigned: which we perceiue now did happen in Spanna. Then, in so much as the same was given without anie tranell of the Israelites; it signified, that Christ was to be given vnto men; not through their owne works or merita, but freely, and of the mere goodnesse of God. Spanna rained downe from heauen, which was not without miracle: in like manner Christ had the diuine nature; and the bodie, which he applies to himselfe, he took of the virgine his mother, without the helpe of mans seed. Spanna, was equallie distributed to all; neither had one anie more of the same than another: so Christ imparteth himselfe to the faithfull, he is common to all, without acceptance of persons; in him is neither man nor woman, neither bond nor free. Spanna at the beginning was vntakened, for when the Hebrews saue it, they said one to another, *Man, which signifieth, What is this?* For to some do interpret it, as if it had bene said *Man, and the letter Nun is set betwixt, to giue the ill pronunciation of the word*, if two signifiers should meet together. Christ likewise was vntakened in the earth; for if they had knowne him, they would neuer (as Paule saith) haue crucified the Lord of glorie.

1. Cor. 1, 8.

John. 6, 5.

Matth. 23, 9.

Phil. 2, 6.

1. Pet. 2, 11.

Spanna did nourish, and it was given abundantly; Christ also is our meate, and is sufficient to nourish manie, yea euen all. Spanna had a pleasant, yea a marvellous taste; Christ also had that His yoke is pleasant, and his burden easie. And of him it is aptly written: Tact and fee, for the Lord is sweet. Spanna was pure and white; Christ neither committed filth, neither yet was there anie guile found in his mouth. Spanna was beaten in a mill and a moyle; Christ, to become our

meat, was knocked vpon the crosse & died. Spanna was given by the waie in the wilderness; and to be the meat of Christ is given in the Church, while we passe our peregrination in this world: which agreeth with the example of the desert. Spanna created, when they came to the land of promise; and he in heauen shall haue no need of sacraments. For Christ shall be before vs, and he shall behold God in such sort, as he is. All these things declare vnto vs, how aptly this signe is applied vnto the thing signified. In the desert, God would haue this meat to be given vnto the Hebrews; first, to declare his power; to wit, that Man liueth not by bread onlie, but is nourished by euery thing which God hath commanded man to eat. Moreover, his mind was to submit vnto the Moyses & Aaron, least that people should thinke themselves to be deceived by them: for they began alwaies to suspect the same.

But met being given in such sort, it caused the promise and truth of God to be believed. Wherefore Moyses and Aaron were no more suspected of falsehood. Spanna, God himselfe most ready of performing his covenant, wherein he promised to be their God; that is, to begeth them to others as they should haue need. As a father, he would teach all vs, that believe in him, that we shall not be forsaken of him, when we followe our vocation. By this meane the promise of Christ is performed; First keepe ye the kingdom of God, and these things shall be given vnto you. They followed God, when he called; and also followed him not. And he will be in like manner not forsaken of vs. Thus we will be out of the saying of Paule, that God promised not onlie that they should haue meat, but also a sacrament. Ambrose, writing vpon this place, saith, that Spanna had a figure by this mystic, that they receive in remembrance of the Lord. Where he writeth vnder admonition, that as we use now in the Church bread in remembrance of the Lords death that is past; so in Spanna, and in other sacrifices of the old fathers, the same death was shadowed to come. Moreover he testifieth, that this Spanna was given in the 3. of daies. Which I knowe not how he can proue.

20 But when as Paule saith; These things were our figures or examples: manie do inferre therby waies, that the sacraments of the old fathers were shadowes of our sacraments, yet not all one with them. Although forsooth it might not be, that they were both figures of our sacraments, and had also all one thing with them. Admirable both the one and the other may be: for there can be no other matter of the sacraments appointed then Christ himselfe, whom Paule in expresse waies affirmeth, that the forefathers had. But he might be called shadowes of our sacraments; because they did not so manifestly

so need of transubstantiation in the sacra ment.

1. Cor. 10, 2. and 11.

Col.1,17.

infectie and cherelle expresse the mysteries of man's saluation as our do. Againe, there is obiected against vs a place out of the epistle to the Colossians, where after Paule had reckoned by those things, which pertained unto the old testament, he addeth; Which are shadowes of things to come, but the bodie is of Christ. **H**ereunto I answer, that the sacraments of the forefathers of right may be called shadowes and figures, if thou respect those things, which were performed at their time appointed; I meane the death & passion of Christ: all which things were there represented to be exhibited. Yet nevertheless, they offered in the meane time unto the fathers those things to be received by faith, so far forth as was sufficient for their saluation.

Thou maist adde moreover, that those sacraments were sometime to be abrogated; altho that ours shall not give place unto latter sacraments. Further, that the same, which is abrogated and made void, may have the effect of a shadow which is past; but those things that be firme and durable, seeing they be found, are compared to the bodie. **H**owbeit, thou oughtest to understand, that the abrogating of the sacraments of the forefathers, is onely touching the signes. I will, when thou shalt read among the fathers, that the sacraments of the forefathers are so compared with ours, that they are said to be deliueued out of Aegypt, and to be from our sinne; that they obtained the land of Chanaan, and to be the kingdom of heauen & they ten prepozall kingdomes, and to be grace and the holie spirit; and such like things: thou maist understand, that these men of God ment the things, which the old Jewes had outward and visible; and that our men do compare them to spirital and heavenly gifts. For as though these things were not among the Jewes, in times past; but because in the old testament, those spirital gifts were solden by in these externe and temporall things. Neither yet do they speake on this wise, as though no temporall and visible things were extant among vs; but because we have those spirital things more expresse, and larger intreated of in the new testament: the outward things withoute, as concerning the signes, far fewer; and as touching the promises, here much streipter.

Chrysofome.

A similitude of a saluter.

Chrysofome, in an homilie, which he wrote particularlie of these wordes of Paule, which we have now in hand, compareth the old sacraments with the new, by a certeine similitude after this manner. A painter that is to expresse a thing, with his boresome, and yet rude overcome in triumph, while the work is yet rude & unpolished, he washeth his lines by sight and obscure. The which neuertheless do continue the figure that was devised to be done, and

yet the same things to be painted, are not different but of them that be better skillfull. But after those, when he hath laid it out with flourishing and goodlie colours, all things are manifest, and are made evident and kinde to be knowne, of all them, that have access thereto. Therefore he compareth the sacraments of the old fathers unto the first picture, and our sacraments unto the latter: so that, as in each similitude one thing is continued, although there happen some difference as touching the apparant shew & obscure; even so in each kind of sacraments there is an equallitie with some difference.

21. But againe, because here seemeth to be signified a difference of the old and new testament, in these things; For we have not received the spirit of bondage to feare, but yet have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father: it shall not be amiss to say, with what spirit we are now led in the Gospell. **C**ontrarie, Chrysofome upon this place typeth, diverse things as touching that matter, whereunto I cannot assent. For: first he doth affirme, that the Jewish people in olde time had not the holie Ghost. But seeing he saith, that the apostle in this place maketh expresse mention of the spirit: he saith, that he doth this, because the latine of the forefathers being given by the spirit of God, was therefore called spiritual: and forasmuch as those men were instructed by that latine, therefore mention is here made of the spirit. And although in the tenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, those fathers are said to have eaten one and the selfe same spiritual meat; and to have dronke one and the selfe same drinke of the spiritual rocke: yet will not Chrysofome grant, that they were partakers of the spirit: but he saith, that those things were called spiritual; because they were given neither by the strength of man, nor of nature, but by the power of God. And it is to be understood, that this father Quib deeme, that the people of the old time were instructed from the spirit of God, seeing we read in the 21. verſe;

verſe.

chapter of Exodus, that Bezeele and Aholiab were replenished with the holie Ghost, and also with wisdom and understanding, to make all such things, as God had commanded to be made, in the worke of the tabernacle.

And we read, that the Gentile doctors, where given to be helpers unto Moyses, were in such sort made partakers of his spirit, that they also prophesied; and that Iosua was imbued with the holie Ghost; and that Gedeon had given unto him the same spirit; and that the same hodie spirit departed from Sule: which might not be false, unless he had had the same before. And what meaneth this, that David saith in the psalme; Take not away thy spirit from mee? Againe;

Nun.11, 17. & 24.

Iosua. 14.8. Iud. 6.26. 1 Sam. 14. 14.

Psal. 141. 19.

22. Againe, Thy spirit shall lead me. Againe, Conuince me with a principall spirit. Neither can we denie, but that Elias and Elizeus had the spirit of God, when the one desired to haue the spirit of the other giuen double unto him. I read also, that Daniel had the spirit of the saints. But unto these so manie oacles, we will adde a firme reason. That the fathers were iustified, we haue no doubt; and they could not be iustified without faith in Christ; but faith can neither be had, nor retained without the holie Ghost. And whereas Chrysofome saith, that the apostle maketh mention of the faith, because those men were gouerned by the latine, which was giuen by the spirit; that is frivolous; seeing the latine cannot do the office pertaining thereto, to bring men unto Christ, which be now made afraid by the same; unless the power thereof be holpen by the spirit. For: how manie Epicurians and godlesse men be there, who hearing the latine, are neither brought unto Christ, nor yet appalled at the horribleities of their sinnes committed?

23. And that place, in the tenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, must not be understood as he thinketh: seeing Paule saith, that the sacraments of the old fathers were the selfe same with ours. For: unless it were so, the reason of Paule (as if hath bene said) might easilie haue bene made feeble. For the Corinthians might haue thought, that the Jewes had bene afflicted with so manie punishments; because they had no sacraments like unto ours; and contrarie, that they themselves, although they sinned, should not be chastised; for that their sacraments were more perfect: the which might be able to pacifie God, although he were nigric, and diue awaie all aduersities which hang ouer their heads. But seeing Paule saith; that their sacraments were all one with ours; this place of reſting is vterlie taken from them. And that Paule had respect vnto this, we may therefore beleeue it undoubtedly; because he maketh mention onely of those sacraments of the old testament, which answer vnto our two sacraments, omitting all the rest, which were innumerable. For he affirmeth, that they were baptised as we are baptised; and saith moreover, that they received one and the selfe same spiritual meate and drinke, which we at this daie receive: to signify thereby our Eucharist; or supper of the Lord. If thou take awaie this cause, thou shalt find no other cause, why he made onely mention of these two sacraments. Further, what haue we in our sacraments, which be receiue as the chiefe and principall thing? Is it not Christ? But the apostle testifieth, that the old fathers received him in their sacraments. For he saith, that They dranke of the

spiritual rock which followed them, and that rocke was Christ. But we can in no wise drinke Christ, unless therewith we be partakers of his spirit also. Therefore we ought not to thinke, that the old fathers had it, not the spirit of God.

But thou wilt faie peraduenture; They had rewards and punishments. As though he haue not so likewise. For: what? Doth not Paule graueadly threaten the Corinthians, if they followe the sinnes, which their forefathers committed in the wilderness? Doth not he saie, that Manie are awake, and manie fallen asleepe; so; that they had after a shamefull manner abused the Eucharist? And doth not he saie; When we are iudged, we are corrected of the Lord, least we should be condemned with this world? And what? Will you faie that in the new testament also there wanteth rewards promised vnto the godlie? For we giue a thing to a prophet, in the name of a prophet, we do receiue a prophes reward. And; he that forsaketh his owne, for Christ his sake, shall receive an hundred fold, even in this world also. But Chrysofome saith, that vnto them was promised a land flowing with milke and honte; but vnto vs is promised the kingdom of heauen. I grant indeed, that the old fathers had manie temporall promises; but yet not in such sort, as vnto them was made no promise of eternall life. For Christ bringeth a testimonie of the resurrection out of the laue; I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Iacob. And God saith vnto Abraham; I am thy protector and thy exceeding great reward. Daniel saith; that They shall escape, which haue slept in the dust of the earth, some to eternall life, and some to everlasting damnation. And Elias saith of the damned; that they shall not be quenched, and their worme shall not die. And to omit all other testimonies, which are infinite; Christ himselfe is promised in the laue. For he himselfe saith; that Moyses wrote of him. And Paule saith; that he was the end of the law. Besides, there be manie such other testimonies, both in the Gospels, and in the epistles of Paule, which are all taken out of the old testament.

24. Chrysofome addeth moreover, that the forefathers used outward purifiers. Neither do we denie, but that they were bound to a great manie more and more grievous ceremonies than we are; and yet are not so altogether without outward figures. For we also haue bread, wine, and water, as elements of our sacraments; but one and the selfe same Christ was common, both vnto our sacraments and vnto theirs. With no man can denie, but that circumcision was the sacrament of regeneration,

Col.1,13,9.

Ibidem. 21.

Matt. 10, 41.

Matt. 19, 29.

Mar. 22, 31.

Exod. 3, 6.

Gen. 15, 1.

Dani. 12, 2.

Esa. 66, 24.

Iohn. 5, 46.

Rom. 10, 4.

the fathers

there were

bound to

more ceremonies

than we be,

Circum-  
cision was  
the sacra-  
ment of cir-  
cumcision  
as baptism  
is.

tion; even as our baptism is also. And as the  
Schoolmen themselves confesse, that original  
sinne was forgiven vnto the foresayers in cir-  
cumcision. Wherefore iudgement ought not to  
be lightie to haue bene giuen, that they had one  
like outward purgation. But this is a great  
deale surer, when he addeth; that they restrain-  
ed their hands from euill works, but we re-  
strain both the mind and conscience. Chry-  
some seemeth alwaies to be of this mind, that  
the lawe forbiddeth onelie the outward works;  
and that the Gospell afterward forbiddeth an-  
ger, hatred, and lust of the mind; and considereth  
not that the old fathers had also this comman-  
dement; Thou shalt not kill; and that the pro-  
phets curie: where require circumcission of the  
hart, and that in the first commandement is  
comprehended faith, hope, charitie, and whatso-  
uer pertaineth to the spiritual motions of the  
mind. But whereas he saith, that they were de-  
uied by fear, and we by love, as they were bet-  
ter lie without lawe, and we altogether without  
fear. And that is most untrue of all, the we far  
passe those things, which are commanded in the  
lawe. For as we haue life-eternall promised, they  
themselves that be regenerate, cannot so frame  
their lawes, that they can in all points satisfie  
the lawe of God.

He addeth moreover, that they could not be  
corrected and amended, otherwise than by flo-  
ring, maiming, burning, and other such like  
kind of punishments: but we are onlie excom-  
municated, when we deserve to suffer the eter-  
nell punishment that the church can laie vpon  
vs. Wholbeit, he should haue remembered, that  
those punishments, which be maketh mention  
of, were ciuill punishments; which our churche  
magistrates also vsa laie vpon such as be male-  
factors. But they (saith he) had onelie in name  
the honour of aduocation, and of children; but we  
haue it in verie deed. Certainlie, it cannot be de-  
nied, but that God was in the old testament  
called the father of his people. For of him he  
saith; that He had called his first begotten sonne  
out of Egypt. And Moses saith in Deuterono-  
mie; Thou hast forsaken God, which begat thee.  
Deut. 32. 18. And in his second chapter; There is  
one God, and father of vs all. And Elsie; I haue  
nourished and brought vp children, and they  
haue despised me. And both not Paule saith; Vn-  
to whom appertene the couenant and adopi-  
on: speaking then of the fathers of the Israe-  
lites, of whom was Christ according to the  
flesh. I said ye are gods, and children of the most  
high. They also called God their father, when  
they said in Elsie; Thou art our father, for Abra-  
ham knew vs not, and Israel had no knowledge

of vs. And to great an affection did God the fa-  
ther beare towards them, as he saith, Can a mo-  
ther forget hir child, but although the can, yet  
will not I forget thee. And as Chrysostome  
hath thus written in this place; so hath he in  
other places also manie things like vnto the  
same, which (as I haue said) must be read warie-  
lie, and with iudgement.

2. Augustine, in the handling of that place,  
saith; that there is put a difference betwene the  
old and new testament: of which the one con-  
sisteth in feare, and the other in loue. He addeth  
moreouer, that it is without controuersie, that  
the spirit of adoption is the holie Ghost: but the  
spirit of bondage, he thinketh to be that, which  
hath the power of death; that is, satan: seeing  
he manie are held vnder the euill spirit, as are de-  
stitute of grace; and being not regenerate, liue  
vnder the lawe. For they are addicted vnto tem-  
poral punishments, and obiect their oume lusts: not  
indued through default of the lawe, but because  
they themselves are strangers from Christ, and  
from God: for they cannot obserue the lawe of  
God, and therefore they are both wrapped in  
sinnes, and also disquieted with continual tri-  
bunes. He also signifieth, that of this place, there  
is another interpretation; as though the spirit  
should here signifie our mind, which is sometime  
the servant of lusts, and sometime liueth vnder  
the libertie of the sonnes of God.

But this opinion (saith he) cannot stand; be-  
cause the spirit of adoption is a little afterword  
saith to be eternal, and received from without;  
namelie, being inspired from aboue. For so  
Paul teacheth; It is the spirit that beareth wit-  
nesse with our spirit, that we are the sonnes of  
God. Which words plainlie declare, that there  
is a difference put betwene the spirit that per-  
suadeth, and that spirit, which is perswaded. And  
if this (saith he) be true, concerning the spirit of  
adoption; the same opinion also must we haue  
of the spirit of bondage. So that Augustine here  
in agereth with Chrysostome; that they, whom  
he thinketh to be vnder the spirit of bondage,  
are quite void of the spirit of God. For those  
kind of men he affirmeth not to be regenerate,  
and that they be also strangers from God: yea  
rather addicted vnto the spirit of satan, of whom  
we cannot vnderstand Chrysostome to speake.  
For out of the lawe and the sacraments he  
bringeth a reason, why the forefathers wanted  
the spirit. But Augustine denieth, that this came  
to passe through the default of the lawe: where-  
fore his saying is more probable than Chryso-  
stomes. Wholbeit, herein I agree not with Augu-  
stine; to thinke, that by the spirit of bondage is  
to be vnderstood, satan: for he (as I said) are  
to be vnderstood two effects of the holie Ghost.

The first is, when we are touched with the  
know-

knowledge of the lawe, and remembrance of our sin-  
nes; we stand vnder perswading of saluation, perceiving  
that we be vterlic vnder, vntill we receive  
vnto Christ. So that the felix same spirit be-  
ing our guide, we come vnto Christ, and by  
faith laie hold vpon him, and the promise of  
the mercie of God: by which means our  
sinnes be forgiven vs, and we are received into  
the adoption of the sonnes of God. Wherefore  
Pauls meaning was, to declare vnto the  
Iudaes; that they being now past that first step,  
and being regenerate in Christ, haue obtained  
adoption: and therefore it behooueth them, not  
onelie to lue goodlie; but also to bailingtie and  
of their oume accord to loue the vngodlie. Vnto  
this interpretation of ours, Ambrose subseri-  
beth; for he saith; that the apostle here teacheth  
the Iudaean; that they be no longer vnder the  
lawe; but do now liue vnder the grace. I argue  
therefore with him, that in these words is set  
forth two degrees of conuersion.

25 And if a man do demand as touching the  
people in the old lawe, in what case they stood,  
concerning the spirit of Christ: that I thinke  
may be thus answered; to wit, if we diuide the  
scries into three summe parts. For some of  
them were vterlic wicked, and vngodlie; which  
besides name, habitation, and outward circum-  
cision, had nothing common with the people of  
God. These men I grant be vterlic void of  
the spirit of Christ; yea rather they liued vnder  
the spirit of satan. And the other sice, there  
were some excellent and holie men; as David,  
Ezechias, Iosias, Elias, Daniel, and manie such  
other like; whom we can by no means denie,  
but that they had the spirit of the Gospell; al-  
though (as the time required) they were com-  
pelled to obserue manie ceremonies, and rites  
pertaining vnto the lawe. Again, there be  
some others, which were weakie, tho, although  
they cannot be compared with those, whom we  
haue mentioned; yet, so far as they, being  
godlie, believed in the promises to come, & were  
by that faith iustified; we ought not to thinke,  
that they were strangers fro the spirit of Christ;  
although, by reason of their imperfection, the  
lawe challenged great power ouer them. And  
they were with others, as those times required,  
compelled to be subiect vnto infinite cere-  
monies. And this is the reason, why the old fathers  
are said to haue liued vnder the lawe, and vnder  
the spirit of bondage.

They had not the sacraments of their sal-  
uation so manifest and clere, as ours now are;  
neither had they the mysteries of Christ so com-  
monlie reuealed, as we now haue in the Gos-  
pell. Wherefore, although amongst vs are ma-  
nie wicked men, and a great number of weakie  
ones; yet are we said to be deliuered from the

lawe; both because we be deliuered from cere-  
monies, and also; that we haue the sacraments  
and mysteries of saluation obtained through  
Christ, & manie more clere and more manifest  
than theirs commonlie were. Paul also callith  
the old fathers, liue ones; for that they liued v-  
nder fithes and gouernours, and were iustice-  
top of the lawe, as of a thekepleinist. And when  
they are called seruants, we ought to vnder-  
stand, that they were possible seruants. For  
seruants beare great goodwill and loue to  
their masters; and are perswaded, that that  
which is to the honoure of their master, shall also  
turne to their oume honour. But lewd seruants  
 neuer relesse from vice, neither do they anio  
thing well; vntill they be by stripes compelled.  
These their two things, which I haue mentioned  
Paul ioint together in the epistle to the Gala-  
thians. For thus he saith; The heire, so long  
as he is a little one, liueth vnder tutors and go-  
uernours, and differeth nothing from a seruant,  
when as yet he is lord of all. By which words  
he declarith; that the elect of God, amongst the  
old fathers, were in verie deed here; although,  
considering the time, they were as little ones,  
vnder the forme of seruants, kept vnder the  
schooling of the lawe and elements of this world.  
Thus I thinke is to be thought of the old fa-  
thers.

26 But now let vs diligentlie examine  
those things, which we touched a little before;  
namelie, that our sinnes must be lifted by from  
temporal things, vnto eternal and heauenlie  
things; sit in this mortal life we be sometimes  
deliuered from afflictions, yet vnperfectlie. For  
by Christ we be allotted vnto righteousness, and  
vnto manie excellent gifts of God: but yet, we  
possesse all those gifts of God, vnperfectlie. I say  
when the honore of Christ shall be imputed (as  
Paul teacheth) then shall all these things at length  
be fullie perfect in vs; and that shall then be,  
when the Lord shall iudge all the ends of the  
earth; and then as Paule saith, he shall deliuer  
the kingdome vnto God and the father. But this  
kind of expositiō (will some saie) is not proper;  
seeing it fauoureth of an allegorie, and that it  
ought not to be the verie due meaning of the  
scriptures. But we must assure our clauis, that  
those things, that were written in the old tes-  
tament, concerning temporal things, be no  
long vnto eternal things. In the old time God  
promised vnto the patriarchs, that he would  
giue the kingdome vnto David and his posteri-  
ty. And this is to be vnderstood, not onlie of  
Salomon; but also of Christ.

Wherefore the angel speaking of him saith;  
God will giue vnto him the kingdome of the house  
of ther David, and shall reigne in the house of  
Jacob for euer. Also in Deuteronomie, God  
command

Gals. 3. 24.  
and 4. 1.

1m. 5. 5m.  
4. v. 16. 10.

Luke. 1. 69.

1 Cor. 15. 24.

1 Cor. 15. 24.

Psalm. 139. 30.

Luke. 1. 33.





howbeit, as unto a marriage feast. Therefore, we now wait for him; untill his second coming. And the felicitie, which he now enjoyeth, is called by him a feast and marriage. Howbeit, this felicitie, which now Christ hath, and we hereafter shall have; we, by a certaine participation, have in the meane time while we live here: for Paule saith, that We by hope are saved. So that now we inioine and have the tranquillitie of conscience; For we knowe that there is no damnation to them that be in Christ Iesus. We have moreover peace towards God, unto whom, before we were most hatefull; whereof Paule warneth vs into the Romans; We being iustified free, are at peace with God. Also, we by the holie Ghost, have received the gift of grace, and notable vertues, also brotherlie charitie, than which nothing is more excellent in the world, the riches of the word of God, and of the holie sacraments, and the generall publishing of the Gospel; whereby we be declared to be reconciled unto God, and absolved from sinnes.

30 And through this description, which the holie scripture useth, by these temporall god things; to shew us heauenlie things, which we looke for; we not onelie inioine this communitie; that we are led by the hand unto the knowledge of them: but we also, in the meane time, acknowledge almightie God to be the distributor, as well of that felicitie, as also of these temporall god things. Unto which doctrine if thou adioine that notable title of God; namely, that he is the helper in necessities; thou maist most effectually conclude, that we also maist hope, that he shall not be less desirous, even of these temporall god things, when they shall be met for vs. Therefore, by the admonition of Peter and David, we will call all our care and care upon God: which benefit we, we shall not be far from the detestable crime of sacrilege. For otherwise, we should challenge vnto vs those things, which God would have to rest and be intire vnto himselfe. If it be the office of God, to take the care of us; he that taketh away the same from him, may be accused of the robbery of holie things. Wherefore, we must not through this argument, forcelie leave off from praying most fervently, for the obtaining of these things at Gods hands. For he that hath promised the same, hath commanded, that we should desire our desire bread of the father.

Mat. 6. 11.

Idem. 33.

Therefore, this we will labour, neither will we leave off the words that we be inioined to do: in doing whereof, we shall be assured, by the promise of Christ, that these things also shall be cast upon vs. For he saith; First seeke the kingdom of God, and all things shall be given vnto you. They all seeke the kingdom of God, which walke in their vocation. For; all the vocations of Chris-

tians do hold it their dutie, to spread far abroad and establishing the dominion of Christ. Unto all such, as thus apply themselves, Christ testifieth; that all their other things, which serve for livelihood, shall be added. And this is not to be understood onelie of them, which labour in preaching of the Gospel (which is the principall dutie of apostles and ministers of the church;) but also as touching all them, which serve Christ in their vocation. Thou seest therefore, how profitable be the everlasting god things are, described by temporall things; which in like manner thou maist understand to be done, concerning punishments. At the 19. chapter of Luke, there is a saying touching those wicked men, which would not have Christ to reigne as king over them; Bring them, and laide them before me.

But it is certaine, that at the daie of iudgement, neither the foules shall be converted into nothing; neither that men, being raised againe, shall be deprived of their corporall life: but, under that description is exprest vnto vs, the last sentence of those that shall be condemned. And even so thou maist understand that, which is spoken of the fate of hell fire; There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth: when as now, the spirits, which be tormented in hell, have neither teares nor eyes, in the which gnashing and teares may have place. Neither are we aerie otherwise to understand that, which is written of that rich glutton, which was tormented in the flame with extreme paine. All these things we doubt not may be understood metaphorically. But the goodness of God had this blessing to give, as well spiritual felicitie, and heauenlie happiness, as also the necessarie use of things temporall, which we use for the merits and goodnesse of Christ do receive; we are not laid up in his secret treasure, before all things, and bestoweth the same upon vs in time convenient; but also he promitteth that by his promises and holie scriptures, it should be believed vnto vs by apt words, and by figures most effectual, and most profitable to himselfe.

31 But yet it seemeth to be doubted, whether the Jewes of our time, which give no credit vnto Christ, have any right in this league, which is made with Abraham and his posteritie, to wit, whether they be contained therein; or else whether they be understood to be utterly excluded from the same. This (in my iudgement) ought thus to be expounded; if the league have Christ for the foundation and substance thereof, none are they by supposition strangers from the same. Further, in this league are considered the ceremonies and the holie rites: the which being now, since the coming of Christ, abolished; although they be at this daie retained by the Jewes, do nothing at all make vnto this covenant.

Th temporall rite punishments are defended by the external.

Mat. 23. 33.

Luke 16. 24.

In Rom. 15. towards the end.

nant. Gaie rather, if they be kept, they are a gainst it; because they gaie saie Christ, which is the principall substance of the covenant. Therefore in ad, and in berie deo, we denie that they at this daie be contained in this covenant. Unto whom neuerthelesse we denie not, that which Paule doth grant vnto them; namely, that the word of God is committed vnto them; for we see, that by a certaine wonderfull providence of God, the holie bible is kept among them. And if so be they beleue not, that disanulie not, but that they are to be received, being as yet adjoined by so excellent a benefit of God.

Furthermore, whereas Paule, in the eleventh chapter to the Romans, prophesieth of them, that they shall be converted, when the fullnesse of the Gentiles is come in; and calleth them enemies for our sakes; and beloued, because of the fathers; and speaketh of them, when as they were now departed from Christ: this also (me thinketh) is to be attributed vnto them; namely, that the promise of God, as concerning that generation, is not yet clerlie taken away. For by the power of the promise, God continually calleth some of them; and it is thought, that heretofore he will more fullie call them. Again, we acknowledge with Paule, that the same god alme trā, from whence they being cut, and grafed againe, is more proper vnto them, than vnto vs: for they are not onelie graffed in by the predestination of God, as we be; but they are more nēre to Christ, in respect of the flesh; and their stocke is more nēre knit vnto him, than ours is. Therefore Paule saith; To the Jew first, and to the Greeke. For the which causes the apostle speaking of them, yea even when they were forsaken from the truth, said, that he was exceeding sorrowfull for their destruction; forasmuch as to them belonged the fathers, the adoption, the glorie, the testament, and the promise. All which things are not so to be interpreted, as though the Jewes do now in ad pertaine to the league; but are meant as touching them, which of their stocke are to be adopted vnto that league. These things be thus spoken of their kindred, that is, of their nation, as it had the old fathers, apostles, and those that were afterward to be leaguers; and not particularlie for euery Jew, as who would saie, that they should be verified of the true believers and obdurate.

In Rom. 11. berf. 30.

The word of god doth help one another.

shall procure them to enue. And in the meane time, untill this case to passe, let vs comfort our selves the wonderfull looke of God: which as yet continue, and are kept in so great aduersities, and in so diuers and grievous circumstances, which hold still their religion, as much as they may; they exercise themselves in the holie scriptures, although they be vnderstand all things corruptible. Doubtes, no ancient Troians, Lombards, Hunnes, or Vandals, haue so help still their owne, as they could be disaffected from all other nations, in euill life and religion; and could then their original historie be taught in this waye; and being euery-where dispersed (as they were) could neuertheless keep their owne opinions. Which, forasmuch as it is continued among the Jewes, it is indubitable a singular towke of God, and brought vnto vs no small committie; since they are witnesses of our bones, which they carrie about with them as their owne, and attribute. And that both Augustine also testifieth; For, wisest that people were yet still remaining, the Christian philosophy might suspect; that these things are of our owne inuention, which we beleue and ad, of Adam, of Abraham, of the patriarchs, kings, and prophets. So as they are doubtles all this while perpetually preferred of God, for some saluation to come.

It is a wonder: that towke of god, that the Jewes are witnesses of our bones, which they carrie about with them as their owne, and attribute.

The Jewes are witnesses of our bones, which they carrie about with them as their owne, and attribute.

### The xvij. Chapter.

Of Christ, and his manifestation in the flesh; and by what meanes he performed all the parts of our saluation.

**V**ndoubtedly, God is true and came to vs in manie manes; but yet properlie and speciallie, the sonne of God, which is the true God, came in the nature of man to save mankind. For although God be in euery place; yet we faie, that he came; because he put vpon him the nature of man; and thus he saie he came vnto vs, and presented himselfe vnto vs; both the Father, the Sonne and the holie Ghost. Because, as touching inward mannes be particular: as to beget, to inspire, to proceed; (for these things are done by the diuine power, which is common vnto the three persons; yet the same as concerning outward things, are incommunicable. When wilt thou faie; Therefore is the sonne onlie said to be incarnate: Where two things are to be considered

of

of us; namely, the action and the woyle: As touching the woyle it selfe, Christ alone toke vpon him the nature of man; first that nature is ioined with the onelic substance of the sonne. But with the action both the father and the holie Ghost had to doe: for the efficient cause, and the action pertained vnto the three persons. And that may be proued by the scriptures, inasmuch as Eliaie saith: The Lord and his spirit had lent me. And Paule to the Galatians; When the fullnesse of time was come, God sent his owne sonne. And in Luke the angel saith; The holie Ghost shall come vpon thee, & the power of the highest shall ouershadow thee. And afterward, as it is in Matthew; She was found great with child by the holie Ghost. By these testimonies it appeareth, that Christ was lent, both by the father, and by the holie Ghost.

Whereas this, the sonne himselfe was the cause of his owne coming. And that might haue been to be a bare matter, that one and the same thing should both be the efficient cause, and the effect: yet may it be proued manie waies. For first, as touching sanctification, in the tenth chapter of Iohn it is thus read; Whom the fathers lent and sanctified, doe ye saie that he blasphemeth, because he saith; I am the sonne of GOD? Afterward, in the 17. chapter, Christ againe saith; For their sakes sanctifie I my selfe. The verte same may be said as touching the death of Christ: for Paule vnto the Romans, writeth; Who spared not his owne sonne, but gaue him for all our sakes. And to the Galatians he saith; Who loued me, and gaue himselfe for me. The same also is said touching the resurrection, seeing Paule vnto the Romans saith; He that hath raised vp Iesus Christ from the dead, shall also raise vp your mortall bodies. But Christ himselfe in Iohn saith; Destroye this temple, and I will in three daies reedifie the same. Again, I haue power to laie downe my life, and to take it againe. And 3. By him all things were made. The same also we may saie of the incarnation of Christ: for Paule vnto the Galatians, saith; When the fullnesse of time was come, God sent his owne sonne. The same apostle to the Philippians saith; He made himselfe of no reputation, taking vpon him the forme of a seruant. These therefore, that it appeareth insufficiently by the holie scriptures, that Christ was both the efficient cause, and the effect. Wherefore, there were these that came, as touching the efficient cause; although the woyle it selfe did pertaine onlie to the sonne. Of this matter writeth Augustine at large, in his second booke De trinitate, the fourth chapter, and againe Felix the Arrian, chapter 24. to proue, that Christ is both the efficient cause, and the woyle. And as concerning that, which Christ speaketh of himselfe in Iohn; namely, I came

not of my selfe, must either be filled by, with ad ding this one word, Onlie: as if he had said, I came not onlie of my selfe: or else it is to be understood touching his humane nature.

2 Paule, in the 9. to the Romans hath an excellent commendation of Christ, wherein hee proueth consisteth the two natures in person, ioined together in one & the selfe-same person: that of both natures is made Christ; Of the which (saith he) is Christ, according to the flesh, who is God ouer all things blessed for euer. This humane nature is declared in these woyles; Of the Iewes, as touching the flesh: for by the flesh, in the Hebrew tongue, is understood the whole man. This diuine nature is most manifestly described in these woyles; Who is God ouer all, blessed for euer. The same also is not obscurely signified in that, which is added; As touching the flesh: for that particle should not haue bene put, unless he had had some thing more than the flesh. This doctrine the Arrians, Mahometites, and others, who they be that hold, that Christ is a mere man, doo impugn, among the which also are the Rabbinos of the Hebrews. For euery al so by a corrupt interpretation they had corrupted the latine, as touching manners and life (which is manifested by the interpretation, that Christ made of the lawe, and in that he reposed their vaine deuities:) so had they also depaured the sincere faith of the apostles to come, so that they thought he should be a mere and simple man. For when Christ beramend of them, what they thought of the apostles; they made answer, that he should be the sonne of David: neither had they anye deeper or higher consideration of him.

Wherefore Christ obiected vnto them the 110. psalme, where David called the apostles his Lord: which could not agree to a mere and simple man, borne of his stocke, as they fondly imagined. Ambrose, expounding this place, affirmeth; that These woyles must needs be applied vnto Christ, for there is here no mention made of anye other person, vnto whom they may aptly be applied. If they will not (saith he) haue these things to be understood concerning Christ, let them shewe some other person, mentioned by Paule, vnto whom they may be referred: and if, besides Christ, they can find none other; then let them leane vnto Christ, the glorie which is attributed vnto him by Paule. Ambrose indeed confesseth, that when the father and the sonne are ioined together in the holie scriptures, the father is called GOD, and the sonne Lord. And this he saith is borne, for this consideration; because we pray, that we worship one God onlie. And if we should repeat the name of God, we might peradventure seme to depart somewhat from that vnitie: and therefore are those names to bearded. But 3. I see that

A consultation of the Abbins, of Epaphro, and of the Arrians.

Mar. 24.

ver. 11.

Ambrose.

that rule is not in the holie scriptures perpetually obserued: for we read in the psalme (as it is cited in the Hebrews); Therefore God, euen thy God, hath anointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse. Here for that he intreateth of the father and the sonne, he repeateth the name of God himselfe. He saith moreover, that Christ is above all, is read also in the epistle to the Philippians; for there it is written, that In the name of Iesus euerie knee should bow, both of things celestiall, terrestriall, and infernall.

Out of which place, no lesse than out of this, which we haue here in hand, he gathereth the diuine nature in Christ; saying if he were not God, he should not be worshipped. For in the Apocalypse, Iohn was forbidden of the angell to worship him; I am thy fellowe seruant (saith he) take heed thou doo it not. But Christ, when he often times permitted himselfe to be worshipped, did plainelie testifie that he was verie God. For seeing he was a most sharpe defender of the diuine, sincere, and true worshipping of God; he would neuer haue suffered himselfe to be worshipped in stead of God, unless he had bene God in verie deed. Itea (saith he) Paule doth so vehemently affirme Christ to be God, that vnto his woyles he addeth; Amen: which particle, without all controversie, maketh a great affirmation. Chrysostome also seemeth to ascribe these things vnto the sonne: for he saith, that when Paule had reckoned by the wonderful great benefits, which God had bestowed vpon the Hebrews (which were so great, that our shoulours toke flesh of that people) be for this reclamation, both gaue thanks, and also ascribed the praise vnto the sonne of God, and that vpon good consideration; especially, when as he knew, that Christ was euery where blasphemed and reproched by the Iewes; and that most of all, when they reicard and cast from them his Gospel and preaching.

The word Diuinitie maketh a great affirmation

ver. 11.

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from heauen, and toke it out of the virgine Marie. For they tride to say, to late, that Christ contained his bodie through him, no other wise than water is deuour through a conduit of pipe. But Paule manifestly faith; that the flesh of Christ was made, not by the Hebrews, but by the Hebrews.

Arrius also is by these woyles confuted; who impudently durst affirme, that Christ was onlie a creature; and with blasphemous speech durst denie the sonne of God to be God. Among these also is Nestorius, who confesseth both the natures of Christ, but he seuereth the one from the other, as he held, that that continuation betweene them is onelie by grace; and that of these two natures is not made one person. Whereas these he denies, that the blessed virgine could be called Mother of God, that is, the mother of God; but that the ought to be called the mother of man: for it cannot agree with the diuine nature, to be borne againe. But he confidereth not, that Paule here saith, that Christ is of the Iewes, as touching the flesh. We doo grant indeed, that the things, which were vniuerially spoken of Christ, are sometimes to be understood of the one nature, and sometimes of the other: when yet notwithstanding, Christ himselfe is onelie one person and substance. So we saie, that the immortall God was borne, crucified, and died; for there is a certene communicating of the properties, by the wonderfull conuention of the two natures, which Nestorius went about to separate and pull in sunder.

Wholier 3 am not ignorant, that Erasmus, in this place, maketh mention of two other heresies, besides this, which we followe. One of Erasmus is this, that we should thus read, Of whom is Christ as touching the flesh: for there should be put a stop; & then follooth that, which remaineth, as an exclamation separated, vnto Paul saith; that God, which is ouer all, is to be praised for euer. So that, God significantly either the father, or else the whole trinitie. The other is to be read after this manner; Of whom is Christ as touching the flesh, which is ouer all: and there make a point, and then adde this as a member by it selfe; God blessed for euer. These readings 3 I doo not cause why they should admit; for, seeing the common received reading is plain and manifest, 3 I thinke it rather most meet to followe the same. For these readings put a new apostrophe or turning of speech, either to God the father, or to the holie trinitie; when to followe the same manner, that is oftentimes told by the Hebrew prophets, and also in the psalms, that the latter part of the period should repeat that, which is contained in the former: which be both here most plainelie, and with much acie

Arrius.

Erasmus.

The manner of the prophets and psalmes.

3 I thinke

scacie. Whereas first he teacheth the diuinitie of Christ, when he saide: As touching the flesh. For that particle should not haue bene necessarie, if there had bene in Christ nothing else. For his humane nature. And he adueth; Who is ouer all: which belongeth vnto God onelie. Wherefore that which was in those clauses before some what obscure, in the other part of the perior he speaketh more expressely: say his faith; Who is ouer all, God blessed for euer, Amen.

Rom.9.5.

Erasmus.

4. Neither is the reason of Ambrose light to be weighed, that there is no other thing or person in this place to be sought; seeing here the speech was purpose of the same onelie. Erasmus exactly this his doctrine, that it nothing but directly the diuine nature, which we ascribe to be in Christ; especially, seeing the same may be abundantly proved by other places of the scripture. Wee answer, that we also know right well, that the diuine nature in Christ is by many other places of the scriptures insufficient testified, but yet (we thinke) that is also, together with the rest, to be retained: for so we see all the fathers haue done. Neither is it meet, that we should without cause becaze the armie of the church, which we ought rather to fill and replenish. But perueniuntur be will take; they trust but a little to other places, which so carefully contend for this one. Careles we do not a little put confidence in other places: but still the place is here firme and cleare, we will not lose it. The Commentaries of Origin testify, that these things are spoken of Christ; as though Paule in these two booke referre those, which at that time durst not openlie call Christ, God, which is manuell to these Origin affirm: when as he other wise did not thinke right of the name of God. But Erasmus thinke, that that part, in those Commentaries to the Romans, is none of his. For he saith, that Rufinus, or him whoeuer he were, that translated Origin, amended certaine things of set purpose; leake the readers should be too much offended.

The Commentaries of Origin.

And Ierom against Rufinus testifieth; that Origin in his other booke, neuer thought well of these things, touching which he had erred in his booke *ad Gal. 2.20*. Which if it be true, then, say somewhat as in these booke he had a most iust and iudgement of the forme of God, it may easily be proved, that these things could not be written by him in his Commentaries to the Romans. But whoeuer he is touching Origin, (for his Commentaries to the Romans are not extant in the Greke, thereby we should iudge anie thing of them) this is certaine, that Cyprian, a most ancient writer, in his second booke against the Iulian, the fifth chapter, which this testimony to proue the diuinitie of Christ: albeit that, when he citeth the words of Paule, he leaue out

Origines Commentaries upon the Romans. Cyprian.

this word, God. And so we proceed to be done by Hilarie, upon the 122. psalme. But that may seeme to haue come through the negligence of the scribes, as Erasmus himselfe confesseth. Neither must we omit, that that particle, Ouer all, may be attributed to that particle, Blessed, which followeth: so that the sense is; God that is to be praised aboue all. ¶ Touching the uniting of substance of the two natures into one person of Christ, look the dialog of Peter Martyr himselfe; fourth particulaire concerning that matter.

201. Co. 15. 47.

5. But in that sentence of Paule, which is written in the first to the Corinthians, the 13. chapter; The first man is of the earth earthen, the second man is the Lord himselfe from heauen. That to this purpose the Antithesis might be perfect, manie haue thought, it should be understood; that euen as the first man had his body fashioned out of the earth, so the second man, namely Christ, brought his body out of heauen. Whereof it cometh, that Valentinus, Marcion, and among the latter heretikes Swenckfeldius and his followers agree not, that Christ took flesh of the virgine; but thought, that he brought his body with him out of heauen. But it is not necessarie, that the comparison should be answerable in euery point. This rather is a certaine allusion of the apostle, wherein is not intended the substance of things comparably, but the qualities, conditions, and gifts of nature are compared together. Neither meaneth the apostle anie other thing, but that Adam was the figure of this our life; and that the latter Adam (I meane Christ) is the forme of the life to come, which we expect. The former hath here made mention of a body, naked rather, when he had said; The first man of the earth, earthen: hee adueth; And the second is the Lord from heauen. It is not denied of the godlie, that Christ is from heauen; seeing they attribute vnto him the diuine nature: but yet it cometh not to passe thereby, that whateuer hee the Lord, who came downe from heauen, had, is either of heauenly nature, or else brought from heauen. For if we list after that sort to reason of the first Adam, we shall not say that hee is vterline of the earth earthen; seeing (before the body) hee had also a soule, which is a diuine thing, and was not taken out of the slime of the earth.

So as (according to this reason) we may saie, that as Adam had not onelie a body fashioned out of the earth, but also a heauenly mind: so Christ comprehendeth not onelie the diuine nature, which was out of heauen, but a natural body, which hee took out of the earth in the virgine. And Augustine, in the 12. chapter *De ciuitate Dei*, searcth not whoeuer to attribute vnto the man Christ a natural body: or thereto, if we shall grant vnto Christ a body

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The text of the dialog of Peter Martyr himselfe.

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brought out of heauen, he shall not be a man; seeing heauenly things are furthest of all differing from earthly things. But that Christ was verie man, as well the scripture euery where testifieth, as also Paule in this place expressely calleth him a man. Albeit (as touching the humanity) Christ may be saide to haue come out of heauen, seeing his body had no original from the seed of man, but from the holie Ghost: as the angel promised vnto the virgine, when he saith; The spirit of the highest shall ouershadoue thee. Whereover, he might be saide to come from heauen, in respect of affections and actions of his humane conueration: when as in manners and humilitee of life, he altogether beheaded himselfe heauenly and diuine. Furthermore, the apostle speaketh of Christ, having respect vnto the state of the resurrection, whereunto we also shall be brought. And it is not to be doubted, but that hee challenged vnto himselfe the condition of resurrection, not naturallie, but by his diuine power.

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6. But now seeing the exposition of this place is manifest, there resteth yet to reponne them, which haue other wise iudged, saying; that Christ took not his body of the virgine, but brought the same forth with him out of heauen: and that hee passed through the virgine Marie as through a conduit. But specialle let vs consider, what reasons they rest vpon. First they saie; that if the body of Christ be not blinde and heauenly, but a creature taken of the virgins wombe; when as Paule saith; that Christ dwelled in our harts: as we read vnto the Ephesians; Iue shall haue no more but halfe of him. For it shall be no otherwise than according to his diuine nature. But we answer them, that in what sort Christ dwelleth in our harts, the same apostle doth plainlie declare: for hee adueth; By faith. Which faith doth not apperch Christ in part, but whole; as well in the sacrament of the Eucharist, as also in the word of God, which is set forth vnto vs for our saluation. And that this must be iudged after a spiritual sort, it appereth, by comparing together of other places.

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In the eighth chapter vnto the Romans it is said; If Christ do dwell in you, God, which raised him from the dead, shall also quicken your mortall bodies, for his spirit like which dwelleth in you. Where now we plainlie heare that Christ, by his spirit, dwelleth in vs. And in the third chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, we are by no other reason affirmed to be the temple of God; but because the holie Ghost dwelleth in vs. Neither is there required vnto that confirmation, which we haue with Christ; that his body should in verie deed penetrate our breads of our minds. By faith, and by the spirit, Christ is all wholy apprehended of vs; as well touching

his diuine nature, as touching his humane nature. And when we affirme the diuine nature of Christ to be euery where, we do not say of the humane. It must not be thought, that we make a diuision of Christ, as Nestorius did. For we grant, that whole Christ, if (as I may saie) thou understand him personallie, is in euery place: yet neuertheless, we will not grant that all that is of Christ is euery where.

For wherefore the forme of God is, he vnderstande it is, that hath the humane nature joined with him; although not wherefore hee be, hee maketh the same to be present in verie deed, wherefore hee himselfe is: seeing by the verie truth thereof it is necessarie, that it be bounde within his owne limits, and be contained within a certaine place. Further, they argue, that in the last daie of iudgement, the body of Christ shall be same of all them, which shall be iudged. The which, foolishly as they shall be an exceeding great number, so as they will occupie a great part of the whole world; vnto the we grant vnto Christ a body of too wonderful greatness, as the sunne, or some notable star, he cannot be manifest vnto all. Here we doe saie, that all those which shall be iudged, shall be changed: so as they shall no longer haue a natural body. And although the which shall not passe into the change of gloire, yet shall they haue a body so reformed, as they shall haue no longer need of meat or drinke. So that they may be so iudged with such a perfeccion of sense, as they shall be able to behold their Sauge, from the parts that be verie far distant.

7. They saie also, that according to our doctrine, Christ is not to be iudged; but by faith. And it is manifest, that no creature must be iudged. For if Christ had his body from the virgine, it was vnquestionable created: wherefore, in right it should not be iudged. But heere onto we haue already said, that we must not sumer the natures of Christ, as Nestor did. We must consider, that hee be united to the person, and whole Christ is iudged; by that is to saie, the same diuine person, which hath wherefore it is, as is iudged; it hath the humanity joined vnto it, which cannot be sundered from the diuine nature. But if we would search the verie cause of iudgement, the same is not to be found in the humanity, but in the deitie. Also they saie, that a humane body, being it is affirmed of vs to be a creature, and that therefore to the creature, and vnto time: and that therefore it is not meet that we should iudge the same with the forme of God. Neuertheless, we confess it to be true, which these men saie concerning the flesh and a humane body, vnto the person and sanctified by the holie spirit.

But we denie that, which they take as grant;

The second reason. Mart. 14. 40.

The third reason.

The fourth reason.



self, so as it needed the less exposition of vs.

And in the psalmic, by the testimony of the epistle to the Hebrews, it is spoken as touching our saviour; Therefore hath Goddy God anointed them with oile of gladness above thy fellows. And in the Acts of the apostles the 10. chapter, Peter preached unto Cornelius the Centurion, of Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with spirit, and with power. And in the epistle of John it is written: The vncion shall lead you in all things. Also in the 105. psalmic, when there was mention made of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, &c. it is written; Touch not mine anointed. And he could not call them, anointed, (so farre as can be gathered of the holie scripture) by reason of anie external and symbollicall vncion: wherefore it is holden to be referred vnto the infusid of the holie spirit. Neither must it be passed over, that our Lord Iesus Christ attained to so abundant & plentiful bestowall of the spirit, as the same by him sheweth also vnto vs, which becometh in him: as copying thereunto it is written in the second epistle to the Corinthians, the first chapter, in these words: It is God furche that confirmed vs, together with you, in Christ, and hath anointed vs, who also hath sealed vs, and hath giuen the earnest of the spirit in our hearts. Whereby it cometh to passe, that so manie as true belieue, are not vniuile called both Christes & quians.

12 But this we must note, that these ceremonies of the laue did vnto by the coming of Christ. Wherefore the papists, and some of the others also were lead vnto a certaine false affection, in that they obtained to be their anointing. They would haue that oile of theirs to be (et sepi) so curiouse, with such pompe and solemnitie, as no other sacrament is so bright commended vnto vs by Christ. This is the disposition of men, that they alwaies make more account of their owne inventions, then of the commandements of God. And these men, in their oile, do becaue I cannot tell what more than a washe that cannot be blotted off. And yet, what the same is, they knowe not, and yet, they being asked, be able to teach others what it meaneth. But all these things, Christ, by his coming, did abrogate: wherefore, there is no need of oile. It is sufficient if ministers be lawfullie chosen, that they may both false authority teach the people. Neither is it needfull for kings and princes to be anointed. But if be there be any that at this date be anointed, the whole consideration thereof, (in my iudgement) belongeth to ciuill obedience, & not to religion. Albeit therein also cometh to be some false affection of the felowes: for now we be all anointed, and quians; and it is sufficient to haue the thing it selfe. There is no need of a signe, at

ter that we haue dedicated our name vnto Christ. And we are said to be anointed, not becaue we be stroked with oile; but in respect that we haue attained vnto that, which the oile in old time signified. Wherewith the thing it selfe is put for the signe, and the signe also for the thing. Christ was neuer anointed with oile, so far as we read: and yet Isaac thus blesseth him: The holie spirit be upon me, becaue he hath anointed me. And in the 105. psalmic, David said of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: When they were but a few in number, and God had led them about, defended them, and punished kings for their sakes: I touch not (saith he) mine anointed. Wee read not, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were anointed with oile; yet, becaue they were consecrated for to instruct the people of God, they be called Christe, and anointed. The thing it selfe is taken for the signe.

13 Christ also is called Lord. Which name doth little agree with him: for all things are giuen vnto him by the father, and he hath paid the price for our saluation; wherefore he is iustly called Lord. And we may gather, that he is by the obtained this name, becaue the Hebrewes neuer pronounce the holie name Tetragrammaton, written of foure letters, which is, Iehouah, but pronounced by foure words, that is, Elohim, Adonai, which signifieth, might or dominion. Wherby thing seemed to be the cause, that the 70. interpreters, when they read this name Tetragrammaton, translated it by this word vltio, which is, Lord. As it appeareth in manie places, of the which we will alledge one: The Lord said vnto my Lord: where in the first place is written Iehouah, which they translated, Lord. So as when Christ is called Lord, it is as much as if he be called God. Although Terullian, a gainst Praxeas, saith; that Christ is called Lord, when he is joined with the father: for then the father is called God. But and if the same, being joined with him, should also be called God, the Church might thinke, that we grant more gods than one. Wherefore, to witness and their infusid, we make this word Lord an epitheton of the same. But if the name Iesus Christ by himselfe, and alone, he is plainlie called God: as it appeareth in manie places of the scriptures. He is plainlie a certaine similitude. As a beame of the sunne, when we make mention of it by it selfe alone, we call it the sunne, and we saie, that the sunne entereth in at our windowes: but when it is joined, that the sunne is to be named Iesus Christ, then we call not the beame by the name of the sunne, but saie it is the beame of the sunne. But the first reason is more firm, in as much as concerning the kingdom of Christ, it is seemeth to bring no small difficulty, when as in the holie scriptures, there is often mention made

made of the eternall kingdom of Christ; which, (if it shall haue an end, as the words of Paule in the 15. chapter of the first to the Corinthians, seeme to signifie, some contrarie will appere to be stirred up. Gabriel said vnto Marie; God shall giue vnto him the seate of his father David; he shall reigne in the house of Iacob for euer, and there shall be no end of his kingdom.

And Daniel, when he prophesied toucheth of the sparachies, he was not silent as touching the kingdom of Christ; but he prophesied, that that should be a kingdom of all woordes, and for euer. This knot did Ambrose vnto, that we must not beleue, that the sonne will so deliuer by his kingdom vnto the father, as he shall cease to reigne: but becaue he will then declare vnto all persons, that he doth not reigne by himselfe, but that all his strengths and actions be of the father, from whome is all paternitie both in heauen in earth. And after this sort he shall open lie glorie him. Which thing shall be, to deliuer the kingdom vnto God, to the father; that is, not to the same vnto himselfe onlie. Augustine, wherefore he intreateth of this place, consenteth vnto Ambrose. But we may expound it otherwise, and (as I thinke) with a more exposition, by these waies that followe: as to saie, that to reigne, is sometime taken as it were to excell, to be above others, and to hold the highest place. And in this signification Christ shall reigne perpetuallie.

But if we saie, that to reigne, is in such sort as to exercise the office of a king, to fight, to defend, to overcome, and other such like: Christ shall not alwaies reigne. For when we shall be perfect and absolute, there will be no need of these helps of Christ. When he came into the world, he preached, he taught, he died for our saluation: now also he mighte intercession for vs vnto the father, he defendeth vs from euilles that hang ouer our heads, neither doth he at a nicie time cease from the office and actions of a mediator; but in the end, when all things be pacified, he shall resigne these offices to his father, when as there is no longer place for them. & then as when a most mightie king fenceth his onelle some into some pounce of his kingdom, that is disquieted with seditions, tumults, and rebellions; and his sonne going forward with empire, and with a strong host, the rebelles hath let at quiet, and hath reduced the rebelles into subiection, he returned a conqueror vnto his father, trimmings, and deliuereth vnto him the pounce subdued, and besteth the empire of warre and legions no longer. So was it used at Rome: when the enemies were subdued, the Dictator renounced his authoritie; & being become a private person, returned to his accustomed business. But better we say like things,

and this that we haue now in hand, this is the difference: that the sonne of God will not so renounce himselfe, as he can be deposed of his honour: but becaue (as I haue said) in the latter daie he shall rest from the office of reigning, and shall be said to deliuer vnto God the father, the kingdom being in peace and tranquillitie, and the enemies subdued.

15 Touching the death and resurrection of the Lord, the apostle writeth, that he taught the Corinthians first of all. For these two principal and these points of our religion, vnto which (without controuersie) all the rest be referred. Further he saith, that he taught them, even as he had received of God, and of Christ Iesus our Lord: as he testified vnto the Galatians, and as we read in the Acts. As Galat. 1.2. Acts. 9.10.

Now ought also to consider with our selues, what we ought to beare that Christ died for our finnes; how outmeasure and cruel our finnes is; in what it beuoyed the sonne of God to be there fore deliuered vnto the death of the crosse. Neither let anie man tell me, that God might haue redeemed the world by some other means; and that it was not altogether necessary for the saluation of man, that the sonne of God should be fastened vnto the crosse. For if we once determine, that God is a most wise and iust considerer of things; we will acknowledge, that he choosing this meanes of our saluation, did exceedingly detect the nature of sinne, when he deere to give his owne sonne vnto death, and that vnto a shameful death; to the end he might rid his elect from sinne. Neither will we iudge it to be done without cause, if we remember that sinne is the onelle thing, which we will and iust considerer of things; we will acknowledge, that he choosing this meanes of our saluation, did exceedingly detect the nature of sinne, when he deere to give his owne sonne vnto death, and that vnto a shameful death; to the end he might rid his elect from sinne. Neither will we iudge it to be done without cause, if we remember that sinne is the onelle thing, which we will and iust considerer of things; we will acknowledge, that he choosing this meanes of our saluation, did exceedingly detect the nature of sinne, when he deere to give his owne sonne vnto death, and that vnto a shameful death; to the end he might rid his elect from sinne.

Phil. 1.9. Phil. 4.8.

Acts. 10.39.

1. John. 2.20. veric. 15.

veric. 21.

1. Tim. 10. at the beginning.

of anointing. 1. Cor. 12.3. King. 1.34. 92.

1. Cor. 12.3. 1. Tim. 1.6. 21.

Luk. 13.

Deut. 44.

Ambrose.

what is meant by deliuering the kingdome to the father.

Phil. 1.10.

A similitude.

the name of the Dictator.

1. Tim. 1.6. 21.

the first motions of the mind. That original sinne is against God, hereby it is thence, in that he made man into his owne image, in righteousness, in holiness, and in truth. So as against this institution, we are borne the children of wrath, and strangers from God; and are whole given to lying and ungodliness. Therefore original sinne both altogether contend against the ordinance of God.

These things therefore have we now alleged, to the intent we may acknowledge the whole and perfect benefit of Christ. We must not weigh the gift of God, as though it were but halfe a benefit. When thou wast borne, that he died for our finnes; understand the same to be not onlie for the original fault, but extend thou this sentence, even unto the members and natural lulls, and also unto those finnes, which we commit by the consent of reason. Alas, where, note even our selves also unto Christ, for notable gifts. The people of Rome yielded unto Cornelius, and unto the Decii; because they had bowed themselves to death for the safeguard of the people. But these things being compared with Christ, are nothing; for to his name others have bowed their heads. Unto which name Christ was not bound; living in him it was as well to save whole his life, as to take it againe. We see their eyes was left perfect glorie, and praise of men, for the notable act which they took in hand; but the death of Christ, as concerning humane judgement, had some thine there; with on evrie side. Those men, for their loving countrie and here faines took their death; but Christ, (as we read unto the Romans) died for the weakes for the wicked, for sinners, and for his enemies; which doth exceed all manner of charity.

16 And then he saith; According to the scriptures; this is not to be referred unto his death, which was apparent enough. Since, humane reason, and humane historiographers do testify this; that Iesus of Nazareth suffered death upon the crosse; but that he was made a sacrifice for our finnes, that is not proved by the sense or reason of mans judgement. He added also mention of buriall, the which appertaineth unto death; for in that he was buried, it gave a more certaine declaration of his death. And although here it be not added; According to the scriptures, yet is it commonlie admitted. Touching the resurrection also he addeth, that it was done according to the scriptures. Therefore it now remaineth, that we see, by what scriptures the death of Christ and his resurrection are proved. Undoubtedly, the places are manie; all which it shall not be great force to recite. Onele this I will admonish, that it should not much trouble us, if the Hebrews at any time withstand these testimonies, which Christ and the apostles

allege for confirmation of these articles. Because it is not to be doubted, but that the Apostles, and Christ, did cherlie admit the common and received expostions of the fathers. For it was so allowed at that time, that those places should be so understood of the Apostles, as they that here present could not for shame and conscience false deny the same.

Therefore we read not in the Gospels, that they testified; because the scriptures, which were brought, were not to be understood touching Apostles; but we rather perceive, that their mouths were so stopped, as they had not wherewith to answer. But now, when they received expostions are no longer allowed among the Hebrews, we may perceive lies to be readie with them. Therefore we, when we shall here Christ of the apostles to have interpreted arie place, let us give unwounded credit unto them.

Albeit there are found in the scriptures certaine places so manifest, as the Hebrews themselves cannot resist them, if they would. In the 22. chapter, as well the death as the resurrection of Christ are verie plainlie left forth. Unto which place it seemeth that Christ of verie purpose wrote us, when he died upon the crosse. And the 53. chapter of Eiaie is so evident, as thou mightest thinke thee selfe not to read a prophesie, but an plaine historie of the evangelist. Also the apostles were accustomed, for confirming of the resurrection, to bring in those places of the prophets, which make mention of restoring Davids kingdome.

For seeing that external kingdome is not restored, nor that we ought to looke for restitution; we must have respect unto his, who reigneth in heaven, and in them which be his; and shall reigne eternallie. Christ alleged the type of Iosue as the prophet, concerning his death and resurrection; and in manie such like places the death and resurrection of Christ were shadowed. As for this time, we gaine, it is to be noted, that these things, which I have before, were not onlie types and shadows, but of the death and resurrection of Christ, which is now called by the apostles, which (after the Hebrew manner of speaking) is the sacrifice for sinne. But, to condemn, significth in this place to take away, and to discharge those things, which life to followe them that are condemned. And that we may the easier understand, how Christ by his death condemned sinne; we ought by faith to be assured, that he hath obtained the holis price for vs, by whom our finnes be forgiven; and by whom, lulls, which are the root of all finnes, be repressed in vs.

18 But here ariseth a doubt; by what means the apostle may seeme to sever and place these things one from another; namely, forgiveness of finnes, and iustificacion; and on the other part, the faith of the death, from the faith of the resurrection; when as it may seeme, that by the

faith, and become most manifest.

17 Auguline, in his 14. booke against Paulus, disputeth against an heretic, which refused Moses, as though he were contumelious against Christ, when he wrote; Cursed be euerie one that hangeth upon the tree. Unto whom Auguline answereth; that thou, upon this occasion, condemn Moses, thou must also reiect Paule; for he writeth; that Christ became accursed for vs. And the same Paule saith; that He, which knew not sinne, became sinne for our sakes. Whence, he, being a place to the Romans; that God sent his owne sonne in the similitude of the flesh of sinne, and by sinne condemned sinne. He bringeth also a reason, why the flesh of Christ is called sinne; namely, because it was mortall, and called of death, which of necessitie followeth sinne.

And he affirmeth this to be a figurative kind of speech, wherein, by that which goes before, is expressed that which followeth. But besides this interpretation of Auguline, I remember also another, which the same Auguline followeth, and it seemeth he learned the same out of Origin. And that interpretation is taken out of Leuiticus; where, when as there be viuers kinds of sacrifices instituted, mention is made of an oblation for sinne. But unto that word is offered times adde a preposition; and in the Hebrew it is written *Lechameth*, and *Lechama*, that is, for sinne and for trespass. So that hereby we may see, that the sacraments (as we haue often said) haue the names of those things, that they signify. And other tongues also, both Latine & Greeke, seeme to have imitated this forme of speaking. For the Latine call that *Panctum* or *Panctorem hostiam*, which is offered to turne away the wrath of God. The same thing the Grecians call *καθάρσιον*, of making cleane, and *καθάρσιον*. And this is it, which Paule sometimes calleth sinne, & a curse. This therefore is the meaning; that Christ condemned sinne, which was in our flesh; by sinne, that is, by that oblation, which was for sinne; that is, by his flesh, which is now called *corpi sacrificium*, which (after the Hebrew manner of speaking) is the sacrifice for sinne. But, to condemn, significth in this place to take away, and to discharge those things, which life to followe them that are condemned. And that we may the easier understand, how Christ by his death condemned sinne; we ought by faith to be assured, that he hath obtained the holis price for vs, by whom our finnes be forgiven; and by whom, lulls, which are the root of all finnes, be repressed in vs.

18 But here ariseth a doubt; by what means the apostle may seeme to sever and place these things one from another; namely, forgiveness of finnes, and iustificacion; and on the other part, the faith of the death, from the faith of the resurrection; when as it may seeme, that by the

faith of both parts (3. because of the death and resurrection) there is given remission of sinne, and iustificacion; Auguline in his 16. booke against Paulus, seemeth to bring this inter-pretation; that our faith is chiefly directed by the resurrection of Christ. That he died, the Christians also grant; but that he rose againe, they bitterlie denie. And therefore, saying faith is to be the thing, whereby we are iustified; Paule would make mention of that thing, which in faith is most conuerfart. And for confirmation of his saying, he citeth a place out of the tenth chapter to the Romans; It with thy mouth thou vellest, confesse thy Lord Iesus Christ, and beleue in thy hart, that he was raised from the dead; thou shalt be saved. With which words it appeareth, that saluation and iustificacion are attributed unto the faith of Christs resurrection.

But these things must not to be understood, as though our faith should not be directed, euen unto the death of the Lord. Indeed it is true, that the Christians confesse that Christ hath borne shame; but they beleue not the same to be worth the finnes of men, but rather for some fault of his owne; or else by inturie. Whereas we ascribe blame, that he was crucified for the saluation and redemption of mankind. So as our faith is exercised, as well in the death of Christ, as in his resurrection. And that, which he bringeth out of the tenth chapter to the Romans, doth make nothing against vs. For who denieth that, that in the faith of the resurrection of Christ, is comprehended that which also we haue of his death and crosse. And therefore, there remaine those other interpretations, which be libelle to be true. Whereof the first is, that by the verie death of Christ, the price of our redemption was performed. And that this might be applied unto vs, there must be lay to beleue Christ, that he had first shed his blood, that he had risen from death, that he is now with his apostles to preach in all parts, and that he is now with his father as an intercessor and high priest. He is said to have an therefore risen againe, that he might helpe vs to obtaine iustificacion. Chrysostome seemeth to like of this exposition.

Another exposition is, that the faith of the death and of the resurrection bringeth iustificacion; but that Paule differed these things, to the intent he might ascrie declare the analogie and proportion betwixt them. Unto the death of Christ, verie well answered the forgiveness of finnes; by reason of them, death was due unto vs, and as Christ, concerning this corruptible life, died so also he ought, when he is iustified, to die unto sinne. Again, because iustificacion (as we have seen) be declared, in that he began new life; therefore it is referred unto the

our faith to also come to the Lords death.

In the faith of the resurrection is complete, yea, the faith of the faith of his death.

In Rom. 5. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

In Gal. 3. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

In an oblation for sinne is called sinne.

In Rom. 5. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

In Rom. 5. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

the people at Rome attributed much unto the death and little unto the resurrection.

Rom. 5. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

to be dealt with the sinners.



the redemption of Christ, for that he then seemed to have brought an heavenly and happy life. Paul believeth in a manner the self-same things of Paul, when he saith: With the hart we believe unto righteousness; and with the mouth we confess unto salvation. For the faith of the heart both truly righteousness, and also bringeth salvation. Whereby became declared in action; therefore he ascribeth it to confession. But whether of these expostions is the truer, neither do I contend, no; yet willinglie will I now declare.

In Rom.  
5, vers. 8.

19 Rightlie therefore it is said, that God commended his love towards vs; when he delivered his owne sonne unto the crosse for our sakes. For here is nothing, that men hold more deere, and let more store by, than their children. Wherefore we read, that wicked mothers, when they would forsake their adulterous lovers, their most terrible love and faithfullnes of their continuall companie, due their owne children; because they sawe they had no other argument more true to comfort their good will towards them. So God, when for our sakes he delivered his sonne unto the death, and unto a most shameful death, gave unto vs a most true token of his exceeding good will towards vs, that he created the world for our sakes, it was indeed a great signe of his good will towards vs; although therein rather shined forth his power, and divine might and wisdom. For it is the part of liberal and free hearted loves, to give and bestow manie things upon their lovers. Whereby, loves will never goe far, as they will endanger themselves for their servants sakes. Wherefore, when God gave his owne sonne unto the death for our sakes, there in (as Paul saith) the most of all let forth his love towards vs: which thing he therefore did, to stir vs up to love him againe.

The charitie of God shined most in the death of Christ.

Why God seemed to have done this for our sakes.

God had commanded vs in the law, that we should love him with all our hart, with all our soule, and with all our strength. And that we might the willinglier performe this, he thought fit to declare his good will towards vs, that it might appeare, that he loved and cared for vs, more than for himselfe. For he thought best, even for our sakes: which death yet we so little esteeme, that we will suffer nothing for it; nor receive our selves from any commodities of the bodie, or desires of the flesh. Yet his will was, that all men should be in good case, and in the meane tyme alive to suffer: but we desire to be in good case our selves alone, although all other in the meane tyme must perish. And it is not possible, that there should be in vs so great a contempt both of our owne salvation, and also of the salvation of others; but that either we believe not to great a benefit of God, or else we do not

earnestlie enough weigh it. Therefore must know, that with his great a desire and fervent love married his spouse, as Christ hath married unto himselfe his church. Whether hath any man, at any time, married a wife so true and unchangeable to him to match with, as Christ hath done the church. For in what state the church was, before Christ married her, is described in the 16. chapter described, where he saith, that She laye upon the ground, and under his wall thing was not cut off, neither was the washed with water, nor powdered with saffron, & there was no eie that had compassion on her.

Paul also, both to the Romans, and elsewhere, both attentively declare as large in what state we were before we came to Christ. Unto the Ephesians, he not onelie saith, that we were by nature the children of wrath, but also he addeth; Ye were once darknes, but now we are light in the Lord. Unto Titus he saith; We were as soles, nor obedient, but wandering out in the waste, giving our selves to sundrie lusts, living in malice and envie, hateful, and hating one another. In the first to the Corinthians, when he had reckoned a headfull of most heinous sinnes, he saith; These things uncharitable were yee sometimes, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified. Wherefore, we have the forme of Gods given unto vs, as a pledge of the love of God. He playes met in his side as an angel; or an archangel, although he might so have bene. He was bound to come himselfe, and to suffer a most bitter death upon the crosse. It behooveth, that for our redemption there should be some such good thing offered unto God, which might either equalitie, or else more please God, than all the sinnes of the world had displeased him. And this hath Christ offered to vs. And if a man be worthy, by the death of Christ thus so acceptable unto God; there can no other reason be given, but his unmeasurable charitie and love. God indeed might have bene contented with any other thing: but his will was rather to have this thing; not because he would feed his eyes and mind with the affliction and punishment of Christ; for that had bene the part of a cruel father: neither for that he would see (as the great love and wisdom in his love (although these things were for Christ most singular, and of wicke great force with the father: but (as 3. Petrelli (longe) bewaile that by this one time means, he might let his love towards vs to be most perfect and cleare, and also an example of most holie life to be let forth for men to followe. For if the forme of God should in such kind be 3. answer, that were much to be put no necessity of compassion; seeing there is nothing in God, that is by violence; neither also was there any necessity

Rom. 3.

Eph. 2.

Titus. 3.

1. Cor. 12.

What was required in the price of our redemption.

necessitie of nature. For although there be in the divine nature, many things of necessity; namely, that it be one, and that it be true, and that it be good, and such other; yet were it a witnesse to think, that any outward effect proceed from the same, through natural necessity, seeing that neither God hath, he doth it freely. Neither do we here put any necessity by supposition of the end. For the salvation of man might have bene brought by manie other waies and means, if Gods will had bene so. But it was of necessity, that Christ should die by supposition of the divine providence a comely, because God had decreed it should be so. And this he did cheselie to declare his infinite love.

In Rom. 8, vers. 3.  
What is great love of God requirith of us.

20 Now resteth to see, what this so great love of God towards vs requirith againe at our hands: and these things are manie. For first, as Christ applied all his will and endeavour to redeem vs; so is it our part on the other side, and all wholie to addit our selves unto him. And as he, setting aside all things, had a care onelie of our salvation; so also ought we to plucke away our mind from all things, and not to care our owne anie more, but that which belongeth unto Christ. They, which have returned againe into favour with their enemies, may have an example unto vs. For they, least they should have seemed to do it counterfeite, or false, leave no dutie undone, but that they shoulde unto their new reconciled friends: yet they take speciall heed, that they be not thought to retaine still any remnants of enmitie, or dissimulation closed by in their mind; as we read that Cicero, Cæsar, Pompeius, and manie other did.

Heb. 12.

Further also, seeing by the merite of God, through the death of Christ, we are so freed and placed; we must take heed, that through wicked and shamefull acts, we shoulde not our selves downe headlong from thence. For they, which after they have bene once reconciled, persist in defiling themselves with vices, do not onelie fall headlong from their most excellent state and condition; but also (as it is written unto the Hebrewes) do tread under foot the sonne of God, and pollute his blood, which was shed for them. By this place also we are taught to love our enemies, not after that ordinarie manner; as when men are wont to saie, that it is enough to wish well unto their enemy, if they hate him not; but yet in the meane time, they will put no inducement, either to amend him, or to bring him to saluation. And that, which is more gracious, they not onelie are not beneficiall towards their enemies; but also through their hostilitie, they suffer the weak be weakened, and they winke at their faults, neither do they vice their admonitions and reprehensions

to amend them. There are besides infinite other instructions, which the love of God teacheth vs. For we have no booke furnished with more plentiful doctrine than is the death of Christ, the which if the diligent examine, we shall be thoughtlie taught almost in all the duties, which be necessary unto saluation.

21 Furthermore, those things that be said, touching the death and resurrection of Christ, are the most manifest. But what is it to sit at the right hand of God, it both not to plainlie appeare. The speech is metaphorical, derived from princes and kings, who place at their right hand such as they hold in greatest honour and estimation. In the 100. psalme it is written; Sit at my right hand, untill I make thine enemies thy footstool. And Salomon, when he was minded to shew great honour unto his mother Berisba, he commanded that the shoulde have a throne set for her upon his right hand. Also the sonnes of Zebedee desired of Christ, that they might sit, the one at his right hand, and the other at his left hand. Touching this high honour granted to him of his father, Christ himselfe saith: All things are given unto me of my father, and there is all, that all things should be delivered unto him. And John the Evangelist saith; Iesus knowing himselfe, that all things should be delivered unto him, and aboute principallitie, power, verue, dominion, and aboute euerie name that is named, be it in this world, or in the world to come.

And unto the Philippians; He gave him a name that is above euerie name; that in the name of Iesus euerie knee should bow; of things in heaven, of things in earth, or of things under the earth. And unto the Colossians; He is the beginning and first begotten of the dead, that in all things he might have the preeminence. For it pleased the father, that in him all fullnes should abide. And although the right hand of God (as we have said) signifyeth honour and high dignitie; yet must we not thinke, that the bodie of Christ is fixed out so farre, as his Godhead and right hand is extended. For that bodie (as the state of humane nature requirith) is comprehended in a certaine and definite place, the which is heauen; as Peter in the Acts of the apostles hath testifie, as the article of his ascension hath taught us to believe, and as Augustine and many of the fathers have instructed us.

¶ Look the dialog of both natures in Christ. Of Christ's person, death, and resurrection, look 3. sermon, and the epistle unto the brethren of Poland. When as I was come thus far forward, there happened into my hands (which had in vain sought long before our authors exposition upon the apostolical Creed, written in his owne



an apt testimonie of the perfect and singular goodnes of our most mercifull father: which thing as it is most true, so it ought not to be contemned.

Five other principall points belonging to the person of the sonne.

5 I beleue in Iesus Christ, his onelie sonne our Lord, conceived of the holie Ghost, borne of the virgine Marie, suffered vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, buried, who descended into hell, the third daie he rose againe from the dead, he ascended into heauen, he sitteth at the right hand of God the father almightie, from thence shall hee come to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

In these articles, whereby we are led to know these things, which be necessarie to saluate our soules, as it is to note five things of the greatest importance concerning the second person in diuinitie: which (as I haue said) is called the sonne. The first is that this sonne of God, Iesus Christ, is the true and lastfull Lord; Secondly, that he was made to be such a one; for our life and be-hofe; Thirdlie, that whatsoeuer he suffered, he suffered for our sakes; Fourthly, that he was also for our commontie exalted aboue all hea- uens; fifthly, that he shall come at the last day for our iudgement. Now therefore let vs be, touching the first; to wit, that Iesus Christ, the onelie sonne of God, is as true and as properrie our Lord. Of which matter that we may intreat or derlie, let vs first see, what this is that we first call by the title of Lord; for afterwards it will easi- ly be ingred, whether to excellent a prerogative be fit for him or no. And we be constrained (as hath) it selfe witnesseth to vs) to confesse, that this Christ is nothing else, but a particular per- son, in whom are ioined together the diuine and humane nature with an indissoluble unit.

And this both Iohn, in the first chapter, manifestly declare, saying; that The word became flesh. Whereas, by the names of Word and Flesh, he meaneth nothing but these two na- tures; namely, that God and man is a perpetuall societie in the person of Christ. And as concerning the word, it may easilie be gathered, because it is written before; And the word was with God, and that word was God. Also, that

Flesh in the holy Scriptures betokeneth humane nature, it is to be evident vnto him, that di- uinitie and manie times perserueth true. What to proceed no further, vntill some testi- monie of this matter. I will bring two, whereof the first is in Ezechiel, where it is thus spoken; And all flesh shall see that God spake; and the latter is in that, which is spoken of Ioseph: I will powre

out of my spirit vpon all flesh. In the which places it is manifest; that in the name of flesh, there is signified man. Whereby therefore it appeareth, that the Evangelist, when he said that the word was made flesh, ment no other, than that which he had first declared; namely, that the na- tures diuine and humane were united together in Christ.

6 Appear, that humane nature was in him, the things which follow in this place do plainlie enough declare; to wit, that he suffered death, and was buried. Wherefore the entiaies of Chri- stian religion (I meane the subtler and more hidden) for the most part oppose them- selves much against the humane nature of Christ; and they, which at a certaine time went about to make trial of it, were easilie conuinc- ed and confuted. But the number of them was greater, which stirred by often tumults, and that with greater beneuolence, concerning the bette- of Christ. Nevertheless, their false and per- uerse opinion was constrained of necessity, to their great shame, to give place to the cleere and comfortable light of the holie Scriptures. For, besides that testimonie at Iohn now cited; And the word was God, we haue that saying of the apostle, which he wrote vnto the Romans; to wit, that Christ, according to the flesh, took the come of the people of the Iewes. And there- withall he addeth, Who is God blessed for euer. These two places being as manifest, they ought to suffice for the confirming of the opinion of faithful men in the truth of God.

But yet the holie Scriptures do manifestly te- stifie many other places besides these, that he was truly our Lord. Wherefore I leave it vnto the iudgement and will come of them, which frequent themselves in meditation in the reading of the Scriptures. For my part am suffi- ciently satisfied with this one reason, which I would not passe ouer in silence. For it is fit enough, not onlie to persons, but also to contraites to confesse, that Christ is the true God. As especially appereth in this plainlie uttered in many places, name- ly, that we must not put due trust in any crea- ture, nor not in beie man by name: as in Iere- mie this is manifestly shewed; Curfed is hee that trusteth in man; and putted flesh for his arme. Further, David hath expressed this be- hind the confidence, which they tended to put in men, and in princes. Wherefore, if Christ be a true man, and by no means God, it may be to be desired for vs to trust in him at all; which not- withstanding the holie Scriptures do not welle permit, but also command a opposite; that we shall be fastened with a liethe hope in Christ, or in any man; it is to be thus said to call him the Iewes do: that on the other side, whoeuer doth not beleue no; trust in him, is subject to the

Ch. b. h. i. e. t. of the sonne of man. This was the opinion of the apostles.

Iohn. 1.

Rom. 9.

Ch. b. h. i. e. t. of the sonne of man. This was the opinion of the apostles.

Iere. 17.

Psalm. 44.

Ch. b. h. i. e. t. of the sonne of man. This was the opinion of the apostles.

the curst. Wherby therefore the bolitic conclude, that this particular person, of whom we speak, is intent, hath beleeie in himselfe the nature both diuine and humane.

7 For which cause it is not in doubt, that he is described vnto vs in the booke of the holie Scriptures by this famous double name IESVS CHRIST. Whereof the one, namely, IESVS signified nothing else, but a fauour, which hath beloued the children of God from their sinnes, and therefore from all euill. For Ioseph the high- band of Marie was commanded by the angel, to call him IESVS; saying Hee shall saue his people (saue he) from their sinnes. And I haue added further; From all euill: because there is no euill, which hath not his original from sinne. So as he that can giue, that the root of euill (is) taken from him, may also assure indite, that he hath rid alioe all euill. But this if we do not perscute as yet perforce, we shall at the length perceiue it, in that happy time of resurrection. The other name certeinlie (which is CHRIST) betokeneth The anointed of God, and the sanctified king: which name doth be- lieue agree with him, being that by the guide of his spirit and word, he directeth and leadeth his children to life eternall. Wherefore, by reason of these two names, whereof he consisteth, and by whole two names it is easilie perceiued, that the title, wherewith we magnifie him, calling him, Our Lord; is to be most and fit for him.

8 For first, as touching his diuine nature, it cannot be doubted, but that in the old testa- ment, God manie times is called Lord; as he that is far aboue all things, being he is the ma- ior of them. And this title also pertained vnto man, who in the person of him, of whom we in- treat, was united with God; because he, being raised from all sinne, was replenished with all good. If any such creatures were in this world (as there neuer was besides him) and would he not (as he) be aduocated with those gifts, that he had the name of Lord might fully agree vnto him; I can to truely it seemeth to me, that when as a man is free from sinne, he is by no means a servant. The first seruitude entered vnto the world by sinne; and he that is thined with diuine properties, and of doubt is able to helpe others. Whereof it cometh, that Iudas and they that are rulers ouer others, if they be law- fully called, are not preferred to be aboue others, but rather to be seruants; and that they being born of all vice, may be as armed with strenght and fortitude, so they should be able to succour all those, which be vnder their subiection.

That Christ was vnbondurable without sinne, I suppose it needlesse to proue vnto any: seeing (as Matthee beareth record) He was concei-

ued by the holie Ghost, that by this means he might be free from original sinne. The which also is manifest, in that he, being among vs, ne- uer sinned. And Peter writeth; that He did no sinne. And vpon agréeth Paul, when he saith; & Elai. 58. He, that knew no sinne, for our sakes became sinne. Iohn 28. Itt also sheweth him to his disci- ples, as the most pure lamb of God, which should take away the finnes of the world. For it was meet for him to be pure, and without all blemish; as a sacrifice that should be offered by vnto God. Further, the beuallie father, not without miracle, testified with his owne voice, that he was well pleased in him; that is to saie, that he was innocent and pure from all fault: such this is not acceptable thing vnto God. And who doubteth, but that he was adorned with di- uine properties; & being Paule vnto the Colos- sians calleth him, The image of the inuible God; because he be truelie expressed him, and all things that be in him; in such sort, as there ne- uer hath bene, nor now is, nor hereafter shall be, anye some more perfectie resembling his father than Christ Iesus do. Whereof, of all he is he called as well God as man. And we confesse him to be the onelie sonne of God, as he that in diuine nature hath no other brother; inasmuch as he is the onelie word of God, of which word we speake. And among men, though he haue manie brethren by adoption, he may iustlie be called Only, for the heape that he hath of the liue pleasing graces of God; and because of the image and similitude of the eternall fa- ther. After therefore it is fit that he be called Lord; as well, for that he is without time, as for the heape that he hath of his graces.

9 Let patie this, that he, which patie rau- fone to rebuene a captiue, is his Lord. Wherby thing that Christ did for vs together, and bond- slaues of time and fate, none that he faithfully should to doubt; & being Paule, both to the Ro- mans and Corinthians affirmeth; that We haue obtained remission of finnes; namely, by his obedi- ent seruice, which he hath, pleasurable and liberallie shed for vs vpon the crocke. And therefore he must of god right be called our Lord. Furthermore, there is a custome receiued by long life among the lastest lordes of kings and princes; that the first of his lordes should be called the Lordship; as among his younger brethren. Wherby thing is not without reason, which haue to ender the holie scriptures witnesseth; as if, which haue it were vnto his lordes that is the manner of go- uerning in kingdoms and lordships of the world. And vnto the Romans and Catholians it is plainlie shewed; that All the faithful be the children of God. Vnto the Romans it is writ- ten; that His spirit resteth with our spirit, that we be the children of God. And vnto the Cal- uins

1. Pet. 2. 22. Cor. 5. 21. Iohn. 1. 29.

Col. 1. 15.

Ch. b. h. i. e. t. of the sonne of God. The onelie word of God.

Rom. 8. 2. 1. Pet. 1. 7.

Ch. b. h. i. e. t. of the sonne of God. The onelie word of God.

Rom. 8. 14. Gal. 4. 7.

Rom. 8. 16.

In the person of the sonne, five things are to be noted.

That Iesus Christ is true and as properrie our Lord.

veric. 14.

Christ both God and man.

Flesh in the holy Scriptures betokeneth humane nature.

Ezech. 40. 1.

Ioc. 1. 28.



on a certaine noble and pretious painted table: so is it much less decent for a man that far excellently all other creatures, to be stained with infamy and dishonour. And as concerning Christ, which was the head of men, the prince of angels, and the onelie sonne of God (he being not onlie lust and innocent, but also verie innocencie and iustitie it selfe) certaine it was to his shamefull and ignominious, that he should be burdened with so grievous crimes: and that in iudgement, not before the citizens of one citie onelie, but before all the people of the whole kingdome of Iewrie, who at that time by a vniuersall custome, were compelled to celebrate Caeser at Ierusalem.

Neither did it suffice them, that they had of tentimes defamed him with railings, calling him a possessor of euill spirits, a forcerer, a familiar of vipers, by whose helpe he did wondrous miracles; and that they called him a glutinous felow, a drunkard, from whence no sound doctrine could proceede, like vnto a companion of publicans & sinners, and finally of infamous and wicked men; that from him proceeded nothing but offences, & euill examples. They called him a Samaritan, a stranger frō the true worshiping of God. From whence, as from some prophane person that was excommunicated from the church, all men were to shun. They (I saie) were not content with these reprochings, to the intent they might pursue him vnto death, they laid this thing against him before Pilate and Herod; namely, that he had uttered intolerable blasphemie against the lawe of God, arrogating vnto himselfe the name of the sonne of God; that he was a sceditious man, not onelie against their owne lawes, but also against the common state of the Roman empire, by perswading of the people to denie tribute vnto Caesar: and that he earnestly persued this one thing; to wit, that contrarie vnto order, and without consent of the Romans, he challenged the dignitie of a king.

14 And by this meanes he came into such shame and contempt, as Barrabas, though he were a wicked and notable thief, was iudged to be more lust than he: so that such a man being quit, our Christ was condemned. And in token of his lust condemnation, and to haue it manifest, that he (aboue all other vniuersall commonlie are iudged wicked) was worthy of the crosse; he (by decree of the iudge) was hanged betwene two thieves, as though he had bene the chiefest among those that were most wicked and mischieuous persons. But this was fulfilled that prophetic, which is written in Esai, which sayeth; that Christ should be contented and nothing regarded among men: from whose sight euery one should withdraw himselfe, and

that at the length he should be rethorced among the wicked. And certaine, his sentence was not disagreeing with that, which Paul teacheth in his epistle to the Galathians, where he saith, that He became a curse for vs, to deliver vs from the curse of the lawe: for because it is written, Cursed is euery one that hangeth vpon a tree. And here cometh to remembrance to speake a few words of the iustice of God, who exceeding freely isauer the same woe. But then me (I pray the) if shame and confusion be of god right due vnto sinners; what greater and more heaped measure of shame might there be found, than that, which Christ suffered for our sakes?

Where not the offences of man sufficientlie and aboue measure derided vnto Christ, & the same punished in him with all shame and dishonour. Some man perhaps will saie, that the rebukes were of little waite; because of his groundles innocencie. And in verie deed on this be half some easement might haue bene brought to those reproches, if that innocencie had bene most manifest to the sight of all men. But alv realie, vpon that daie, wherein Christ was led vnto the crosse, he was so oppressed with the great heape of despitefull railings, and false accusations of euill, as the people miserablie beheld him nailed vnto the crosse, wagging their head at him; not as though they were troubled by perceiving his afflictions, but that they might pursue him still being wearied with his ignominies and slanders, as though they allowed by their iudgement, all those troubles and miseries, which inuironed him on euery side. Iustitie therefore may we reioice, that we by faith are made partakers of so great a benefit; seeing all the rebukes and ignominies, which were due for our sinnes, Christ our head took vpon him, and vnto himselfe abolished. For vndoubtedly, in the place of this shame & ignominie, we by that merit of Christ possess in hope both glorie and honour in the sight of God, as a thing due vnto vs.

15 But seeing not onelie shame and ignominie, but by the lust iudgement of God due to sinne, but also punishments, which are laid vpon vs, according to the manner and measure of the sinne; for this cause Christ departed this life, not onelie laden with railings and contumelies, but also was as if were plucked from the same life by the violence of most grievous paines, and most cruel punishments. The which being the euangelicall so plentifulle recite, it is not our meaning to spend anie longer time in particular describing of the same. Wherbeit, it seemeth that all those punishments of Christ, which vndoubtedly are innumerable, may be contrived specialie into foure chiefe partes. Among which, the first appeare to be the sundrie sorts of

scourings, wherevnto he was diuers times assailed: first were the spitting in his face, the spitting, and insulting him by the name of king; the putting off of his owne garments, and clothing him with other garments vnto us; the repugning of him sometime to be a king, and sometime a pinner; by binding his eyes with a cloth, and by putting the scepter of a king (though the same were of a reed) into his hands; also, being so straled, the bidding of him to prophesie by such as mocked him; also to be set naked in the sight of all the people: finally, to see his garments diuided to most wicked heanes, and lots to be cast vpon them. I passe ouer, that he was accounted of Herod as it were a common sale, & an infinite number of other mocks, with the which he was disgraced; as the wile reader shall easilie vnderstand out of the holie scriptures. But if one demand, wherein the rebukes and ignominies laid vpon Christ, whereof we haue spoken before, do differ from those of later: I answer, that those belong to vniuersall sinners, to accusation, and vniuersal condemnation; but these were added for the punishment of those faults, which stand vnto the end were laid vpon him.

16 Besides these reproches, we must weigh the stripes and bloodie wounds, which he suffered in his whole bodie, the blowes, the scourging, the striking with the reed, the prickings with thornes, and an infinite number of other things more, which he suffered at the sessions of the priests and elders, in the iudgement hall, in the streets, and else where in diuers other places. These hetro afflictions received he vnder the crosse, the which he bare on his shoulder with great trauell, whole it held him stretched out vpon it with his whole bodie. But he was crucified being not tied with ante bands, as perhaps the rest were; yet nailed vnto the wood through hands and feet, euen as he himselfe before gave a true testimonie after his resurrection, when he said vnto Thomas; Bring thy finger hither, and see my hands, and put forth thine hand, and put it into my side. Which he added, by reason of the wound that he receiued in his side by a certaine spear after his death. The verie which thing David, by the spirit of prophesie, had foretold in the 33d psalmes; They perced (saith he) my hands and my feet. The same prophet also said not ouer in silence, that vnto the last of my life, the which being mingled with vinegar, was proffered vnto Christ for a drinke: for he teacheth in the 69. psalmes; They gaue me gall for my food, and vinegar for quenching of my thirst.

The fourth and last punishment, which Christ for our sake took vpon him, was that separation of the soule from his precious bodie; the which as he that had the same soule in his owne person,

er, and that saies all things to be fulfilled, that were sayd of him by the prophet, touching the former matter, he of his owne accord, making a loud voyce predeed by his spirit.

17 But here, being asie it thing is most worthy to be heeded, I stand in some doubt, what thing I may here first lette me selfe to examine. Wherby it maye meane things, I shall not to treat (as he saies as I can) of this, which I haue adde, let me alie vpon one question; where there is some most strange vnto you, that is, (whom another rather kind of inuention might haue receiued) pinner to himselfe; take in hand the performance thereof by his owne and to grievous paines and labours, of his owne sonne: for this is certaine, that he might haue taken anie other toaie in his hands, or vnto his own sonne; why then he did so vnto himselfe, he is subject to be made vnto us and reioice, where I saye I answer, that the iustice of God might by no other meanes be satisfied, which answer, as it is true, so it is commonly expressed. Wherfore I suppose it meet to note here, that things most possible to be inuolue, the God shall be this; that we may inuolue vnto the end, by that he means, which God bid for the curement of our saluation had great a bond by the lust iudgement of God was growne through our sinnes, both grievous was the burthen of them, both great was the wrath, enmitie, and hatred which God had conceived against vs, and both horrible a reuenge hang ouer our heads. Which, if he be diligent enough considered, will it not be a most fit waie to reframe our lues, and to saie vs from falling into foule and shameful acts, and into the vicioune howles of backslidde of this world, and of the flesh: vnto backslidde vs, confounding with the eyes of our faith, how heuerlie and sharpelie God hath punished them in Christ, euery one of vs ought to be carefull to the wiselie from them.

Another thing that is meet here to be noted is this; namely, that the consciences of men, which through the infirmities of the flesh do oftentimes faint, can neuer assure themselves, from themselves faile they become, a specialitie when as God is most indigne, who neuer lea with our sinnes unpunished, is alwaies set before our eyes. Spens minde (I saie) being stricken with the face of sinne, can neuer haue taken anie comfort in them; vnto the seuerie reuerence against Christ he gaue before. But when he perceiue, that the sonne of God, by so hard and bitter chastisement, aboue the punishment for alwaies sinners, does, that from hence inspireth a full aduersion to our minde; we can neuer be satisfied in giving of thanks vnto the mercie of God, for that he call all our iniquities

Use these  
trees and  
railings  
against  
Christ.

In the 11.  
lection.

His blowes  
& wounds.

His crosse.

John. 14.

Ps. 11.

Ps. 11.

His death.

Christ was  
more  
wounded  
than  
any  
other.

He was  
crucified.

Esai. 53.

Gal. 3.

The Imp.  
of Christ  
Christ's  
cruelty.

Why Christ  
departed  
this life  
with  
these  
pains  
and  
punish-  
ments.

Edi.53.5.

red.37.

ties upon Christ, according as it is foretold by Elias, that so he should suffer for our finnes those grievous wounds and afflictions: And that it is which Paul remembereth in the eighth chapter to the Romans; that GOD spared not his own onely sonne, but gave him to death for vs. all.

18 But now let us come to the third point of doctrine, which it becometh vs diligent to weigh. Besides the profitable uses that we have before assigned, as touching the sufferings of Christ; here be himselfe himselfe an example and liuelie image of all perfection: seeing we may here behold that patience, obedience, and charitie our Christ taught vs in doing for vs. Certainlie, this doctrine is a most fit thing, inuented for the keeping of conscience in all afflictions. Shall there anie be found, if he be pressed with aduersities, or overcharged with diuelli temptations, or if he run into anie other miseries whatsoeuer, that turning his eyes upon Christ hanging on the crosse, both not in the greatest troubles and calamities whatsoeuer, comfort himselfe with this iote: I boldie here asseme, that such a man, aboue all others, will keepe the quietnes and tranquillitie of his minde; seeing he acknowledgeth himselfe by reason heretofore to walke in the pathes, and to tread in the steps of our most beloued master, and onelie redeemer Iesus Christ. Where is no affliction will be grievous vnto him, neither will it disquiet him to susteine anie aduersities or hard persecutions, whatsoeuer they be, for the honour of GOD, and glorie of his Gospel. Who is it from hence forthward, that will refuse to drinke of this cup of afflictions; seeing Christ our head and prince hath by chierulic vnto others: obtaining saluation vnto others:

These things (I saie) if euery faithfull man will thoughtfully consider vnto himselfe, he will not suffer the consciences of the flesh anie longer to take place, and beare rule in his minde; but with this picke of the crosse will daue and might be egged forward, and be profitable vnto the mortifying of them; while he shall consider, that the flesh of Christ, by the commendement of his father, was humbled vnto this triu; and that the same was obedient vnto death, the which death was no lesse cruell than ignominious. So as, by the passion of Christ, we not onelie picke out a consolation in our miseries, misfortunes, and calamities, which often times light vpon vs; but also a liuelie exhortation, that we may be crucified with him, as concerning this also man and our duty according to that, which Paul saith to the Colossians thus: They (saith he) whoe of Christ, haue crucified the flesh with the afflictions and hums: therefore the same possible bid to call his afflictions, sig-

Gal. 5.4.

ma, that is, The prints and scales of Christ ingraued in his bodie.

By reason whereof we cannot marvell enough at the folle; also madnes of some Christians, which run hither & thither on pilgrimage, as for as Ilerusalem, for the prints and scales which they haue bought that their Francis was marked. But persecutions, or rather tribulations and losses, which must be sustained either in goods or in bodies themselves for Christs religion sake, or else for working of obedience to GOD, they refuse them; or else certainlie they twinge with complain of their euertie moment. At all these things it followeth, that we ought verie much to shewe afflictions, punishments, and troubles, which we endure by the will of GOD, for the glorie of Christ; as being scales & marks of all those things, which the onelie sonne of GOD, and our redeemer Christ suffered for vs upon the crosse. Now, albeit that the spirituelle and weighty things of this matter in hand, doth no small daue allure me into it, and scarcele permit me to be led so longe from hence vnto an other discourse: yet while I consider, that I haue giue onelie an instruction vnto them that be the more ignorant, and no full teaching of the better learned Christians: I will here state my selfe, & take in hand to describe that state, which the bodie and the soule of Christ tasted of after his death.

He was buried, he descended into hell.

19 Two parts there be of man, assumptus by the word into the unitie of the person; namely, the soule and the bodie, euen as other men also consist of a soule and bodie: but those parts were separated and diuised by the crosse. The bodie as the euangelists do testifie was laide in the sepulchre, wherein it remained vntill the third daie: which was the time appointed for the eternall feare, for the most happy resurrection of Christ. And which myltie, when Paul intertreateth in the epistle to the Romans, he saith that The buried which be baptised into Christ, Iesus are buried in baptisme. Which saying must needs be vnderstood, namely, that we are to be dead vnto sinne in Christ, that we haue no more to be diuised, seeing Christ being blotted out the same, so that it should not afterward be imputed vnto vs to be dead. Whereby, that as the bodie of them that be dead, be buried in the sepulchre; neither do appeare from thence vnto the eyes of men (not that they be not in the world, but because that they be incorpore) and rotten it is not so sent; euen so our sinne, peruerse will, and naughty lust, whatsoeuer they be do

Gal. 5. 17. The true marks of Christs bodie.

Chap. 10.

Rom. 6.

upon the Cread.

Part.2.

of Peter Martyr.

Cap.18.

Page.621.

stroked by the crosse of Christ, yet they cease not to remaine in vs, but are couered in the sight of GOD. That that GOD knoweth not of them inscientitie, vnto whose eyes all things are disclosed and manifest; but that he doth mercifully dissemble them, reuengeth not, nor yet is so angrie that he hanged dead vpon vs by reason of them. Wherefore the death of Christ, being buried after his death, signified that our sinne as it were buried before the iust tribunal seat of GOD. It signified also, that the power of the lawe is broken. Finally, it betokened, that the pla synodues and ceremonies of the lawe are utterly abolished.

20 As concerning the verie soule it selfe, immediately after it departed from the bodie; it remained not idle, but it descended into the lower parts. Which word declare nothing else, but that it entred into the same state, which the rest of the soules separated from the bodies haue experience of; the which are either churched into the fellowship of saints, or else are thrust out into euertlasting destruction, with the spirits of them that be damned. And aduorable both the one and the other; as well the societie of the goodlie spirits, as also of them that should be damned, felt the presence of the soules of Christ. For the spirits of the faithfull (who as Christ saith in Luke, while he was hanging on that bannike rich man, and of most happy Lazarus) rested in a verie quiet place, which there is aptly called The bosome of Abraham; that they bring all inuoced vnto one faith, that holie patriarch, should wait for saluation, through Christ, which there was nauesd vnto Abraham. Those spirits (I saie) reioiced with great consolation, a gaue thanks vnto the great GOD, who had deliuered them by the hand of that mediator; and because he had performed that thing, which be to long before had promised. Also the other spirits, which were appointed to damnation, felt the comming of the soule of Christ. For (as we read in the first epistle of Peter, the third chapter) To them the spirit of Christ preached.

Luke 16.27.

ver.19.

Which may be vnderstood after this sort; namely, that they might reioyce them for their obtinacie and vnderle, wherein they were hardened against the word of GOD, and against the goodlie admonitions, which euer among were propounding vnto them, while they yet liued: or else, that be euen they which vnto them, that same persons and most true word. Which word, seeing they being alwaies like to themselves, did not incredulitie which they be doing alie, they themselves gaue a most manifest testimonie against themselves of their most wil condemnation; especially, seeing they might not anie longer pretend anie manner of ignorance. Thus the

lastedome of GOD through his iudgements carthely perfect pacis and restuome. And here we are to craue of GOD, that he will vnto us to glie vnto be such a minde, as we euen not make of our peruerse lues, than of a thinking carcass, which is alreadie laid close at the sepulchre: and that he will so open our heart, to inuance his holie promises; least while our cares are stricken onelie with the outward seruice of them, we likewise resist the true earnest of them. It is our part also, that seeing Christ, by his manie labours and sufferings, appoynted him selfe for certainlie to be verie man, we being comforted by his hope, should plainlie meditate himne and beuente lie. And haueing so great a benefice giuen of GOD, by the death and buriall of Christ, we should do him no small wrong, if we would in verie deed thinke, that our owne wayes suale anie thing for reconciliation of vs vnto him: when as we posside rather by this article of faith, that he was pacified with mankind, by the onelie death of Christ, and by his bitter passion.

He rose againe the third daie, as ascended into heauen, he sitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty.

21 If Christ that onelie sonne of GOD, which the same volume vnto vs, and for our saluation was slain by a most bitter death of the crosse; had thought, or not bene able to haue suffered death; and being closed in the sepulchre, had tasted the force of corruption, as other men do: how might we haue confidence to be saued by him, that had not bene able to saue himselfe? In like manner, as if a man that would promise his helpe to one perishing in the water, leapech with a god courage into the water: neuertheless, he himselfe, whiles he endeavour to saue another, perissheth, being swallowed up in the deepe of the water; can he that perissheth himselfe, bring anie helpe to him that is perishing? Vnderstande no other commoditie can come thereof, but that the losse groweth to be borle; if vnto the death of the first, there is also added the death of a second, vnto his death should bring so much the more losse, in both much his life was more pure and holie. So then it also; either beuolued, first, that for our saluation Christ should deliuer him selfe from death; then, to persuade vs himselfe, that by faith in him saluation is obtained for vs. Wherefore, they which be held him hanging vpon the crosse, did reprochfully call him in the death with these things; Let Mait. 17.44. him saue himselfe, and we will beleuee him; he saued others, himselfe he cannot saue. And he

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rose againe from death: wherein he expressed  
saith a greater power, than if he had first de-  
scended from the crosse. He strowe in such sort  
with death, as he mighte conquering and de-  
stroying the same, might not be retained there-  
by. For this cause doe we here confesse, that he  
was raised by the third daie, according to the  
scriptures; and that by his fathers death he as-  
cended into heauen, and that he sitteth at the  
right hand of the father. *Wh*ich article of our  
faith we note toke out most sweet comfort; to  
wit, that Christ is exalted for our saluation. And  
here fall out two things most worthy to be no-  
ted; the first is; that manner of exaltation and  
new glorie of Christ the same was; the second,  
what profit may redound to the faithful thereby.

Two things  
the things to  
be noted,  
in the ex-  
position of  
Christ  
the glorie of  
Christ.

Phil. 2. 7.

Christ  
was  
raised from  
his bodie.

28  
himselfe  
suffered.

Mat. 10. 18.

Ioh. 13. 3.

mines; namely, unto the wicked, and unto them  
whom were tholie covered in the sinke of im-  
purity; to whom he so erected the parts  
of a servant, as for the sake of them he spent  
his own life. And this is it, that Paule teacheth  
in his epistle to the Romans: When as (saith  
he) were yet we but weak, sinners, enemies,  
and wicked men, Christ died for vs. *He* there-  
fore being so humble and abased, as he is cal-  
led by the prophet A worme and no man; being  
he mounted up from so base a seruitude, unto so  
high and noble a degree of dignitie; from an  
earthlie condition, unto a celestiall glorie; out  
of a place subject to many infirmitie and tri-  
bulations, unto a state free and free from tri-  
bulation; from mortal flesh, unto an immortal bo-  
die; finally, when as he being so thund' doulne,  
ascended neare the highest unto the highest state  
of the most excellent monarchy: doth it not ap-  
peare to you, that he hath bene verie honora-  
ble lifted up on high?

Rom. 8. 3.

Phil. 2. 7.

the faith  
of the  
Eph. 1. 10.

Phil. 2. 7.

Mat. 23. 18.

22 And that he being raised up from the dead,  
hath attained this principallie; Paule both  
apptie teach in his epistle to the Ephesians, say-  
ing; Whome God placed at his right hand in  
heaven, far above all principallie, and power,  
and might, and domination, and above euerie  
name that is named, not onlie in this world,  
but also in the world to come. And he hath put  
all things in subiection vnder his feet, and hath  
appointed him ouer all things to behead to the  
Church. *The* verie same things also the  
same apostle put vs in mind of, in his epistle to  
the Philippians, where by Christs voluntarie  
submission of himselfe, euen to the time of his  
glorie, he gathereth profitable and excellent do-  
ctrine in the words, saying; For that he submit-  
ted himselfe, and became obedient vnto death,  
euen to the death of the crosse; therefore GOD  
hath highly exalted him, and given him a name  
that is above euerie name, that in the name of  
Jesus, and of things in earth, and things vnder  
the earth. *Which* saying in verie good wise  
is agreeable to him, according to the rule prescrib-  
ed by himselfe in another place; He that will  
be humble himselfe shall be exalted. *Wher*by also  
it may be gathered, that the glorie must be high  
and magnificient, according as the submission is  
voluntarie.

And seeing there neuer was, nor neuer shall  
be, any voluntarie submission to abase as the  
same that appeared in Christ; it followeth there-  
by, that of a most beforned right, he is aduanced  
above euerie creature that is most high. *For*  
all afflictions and miseries did he suffer, while he  
liued here among men: not he inuoluntarily  
blest rest, and is safe, as well in bodie as in  
soule, from all trouble and disquietude. *The* so  
passed

Rom. 8. 3.

the faith  
of the  
Eph. 1. 10.

1 Co. 15. 44.

Mat. 23. 18.

Ioh. 13. 3.

passed from the most shameful and ignominious  
death, unto the most excellent life, as he is  
now all tholie blessed and immortal. *Wher*-  
fore the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans,  
saith that Christ being raised up from the dead,  
dieth no more; death hath no more power ouer  
him. *Now* then, if he be altogether free from  
death, he must of necessitie also be rid from all  
infirmities and sufferings, which in like manner  
be the ministers and followers of death. There is  
none, but both sufficientlie understood, how far  
distant heauen is from earth. In like manner al-  
so must we confesse, that the same high state, vnto  
the which Christ is now carried, both euen as  
much better from that state, to the which he sub-  
mitted himselfe, while he liued here among men.

24 And albeit that difference betwene the  
earthly and heauenlie state may seeme to be  
ample, this nevertheless is certaine, that 3 pro-  
ceeds not so far in these words as Paule doth, who,  
in the first epistle to the Corinthians, calleth that  
bodie, which shall be reformed to vs, in the last re-  
surrection, not celestiall, but spiritual; it is so-  
uerain (saith he) a naturall bodie, and shall be raised  
up a spiritual bodie. *He* meaneth not, that Christ  
and the rest of the saints, which shall rise with  
him, shall not haue flesh, bones, blood, distinct  
members, and finally a true bodie. For with-  
out doubt, the truth and propriety of humane na-  
ture shall remaine; but he calleth it a spiri-  
tual bodie, because that same noble nature and  
forme, unto the which it shall be reformed, shall  
not stoue from an earthlie originall, such as hu-  
mane flesh is; but from the power of Gods spir-  
it. *For* furthermore, the bodie being raised by  
the aduancement with new qualities, which shall  
haue more unto the nature of the spirit, and  
not vnto the nature of the earth; and for that  
cause shall intill be called spiritual. *Wher*efore,  
he that rightlie shall weigh the words of the ap-  
ostle, while he nameth it a spiritual bodie, will  
not alledge the same against a corporall bodie,  
but against an earthlie, mortall, and corrupt bo-  
die. *Wher*efore he adueth these words; It is so-  
uerain an infamous bodie, it is with a glorious bodie;  
it is soverain in weaknesse, it is with in power; it is  
soverain a naturall bodie, it is with a spiritual bo-  
die. In a bodie raised to be no infirmitie of na-  
ture, and in a bodie to resist the spirit; no heauenlie  
or profane as great, but that it shall be able to  
be with the right affections of the spirit.

Whosoever it be, it is sufficientlie confirmed  
by those things, which haue bene spoken; that  
the name of spiritual doth in verie good right  
apertene vnto the bodie of Christ, being raised  
up; because it is somewhat more, than if thou  
shouldst saie, Heauenlie; for so much as Christ,  
after his resurrection (as it is added in this  
Creed) not onlie ascended into heauen, but also

was carried above heauen, 3 there sitteth at the  
right hand of GOD the father almighty. *The* right  
manner of speech, saying it laith before our eyes  
certaine humane forme, we must diligently  
ponder from whence it is deriued. 3 say therfore;  
that no others are placed at the princes side, but by  
those, whom princes fauouring haue exalted to  
some high degree of dignitie. And among those,  
which be indue with this honour, no others are  
placed at the right hand, but those which are ad-  
uanced to the highest come of honour; or power  
nert the prince. *But* this, which here is declared  
touching Christ, we must understand to be alto-  
gether figuratiue spoken of Christ; saying GOD  
is without bodie, hands, 3 feet; neither hath he  
right hand or left. *But* by this manner of speech,  
he is given to understand, that Christ, in that he  
is man, is by GOD indue after the resurrection  
with such honours; a dignitie, as there is nothing in  
the tholie empire, that not onlie cannot be pre-  
ferred above him, but not compared with him.

25 *But* this being now declared; namely,  
unto that high glorie Christ by his resurrection of the  
ascended, and the same being set forth as plain  
as the capicite of them, to whom these things  
be written, will beare, and as the occasion of  
mine owne leasure would giue me leave, it shall  
be verie necessitie to aduise what profit the same  
may bring vnto vs; whereby also we shall un-  
derstand, unto that use we ought to referre the  
same. *For*, seeing there is no action of Christ,  
that is not of verie great importance, to the ser-  
uance of our saluation; this use ought to ac-  
count with our felices, that by this action, which  
easie asperly among others, the greatest and  
cheapest commodities do redound vnto vs.  
*Wher*efore let this cogitation first enter into our  
mind, that seeing Christ could not be overcome  
of death; he is able now the better a great deale  
to releue our necessities, and that by the fauour  
and power of his father, vnto whom he hath al-  
luded (as it hath bene said) so familiarly access, and  
to whom he continually offering prayers  
of singular efficacy for vs, intineth vs his fa-  
uour, and procureth vs such strength, as oth-  
erwise we could neuer obtaine to our felices.

3 *Wher*efore, Christ being raised from death, who  
is our head, we also are raised in him. *I* tell me  
(3 refresh you) I tell you not Iudge him to haue  
escaped the danger of death, which falling into a  
swift riuer, holoth by all his head above those  
depe and dangerous waters; notwithstanding that  
the rest of his members be as yet distorbed  
in the same. *When* so we, which be one bodie in  
Christ; seeing he is our head, hath escaped  
from the exceeding depth of death; while also  
of good right are not yete laid to be raised by from  
death, holosoener the as yet in this mortall state  
be couered with the same. *For* othervise bodie  
p p p p p

leffe we should denie him to be our head. And so we profess our selves to be the members of him, we must of necessitie also acknowledge, that our resurrection is after a sort begone in his resurrection.

If in the winter time we see a bare tree with-out leaves, flowers, and fruit, so that by the outward rind it may be taken as withered, and yet so long as the root richly fast in the ground, it is alive, and is not counted dead. But if a man cannot persuade himselfe thereto, let him expect till the spring of the yere, and then the truth of the matter will appear by the leaves and flowers which spring forth. For by evident effects it will be well knowne, that the life of that tree laie hidden before. Even so we, which here seeme to be as it were the bottie of death, and in whom no tokens of soules life doe appear: if we be ingrafted in Christ, which is our lincie, & for our fathers is raised by againe, therefore do we not doubt of our resurrection to come: And this is it that Paul saith in the epistle to the Colos. Ye are dead (saith he) and your life is hidden in Christ with God: when Christ, which is your life, shall be made manifest, then also shall ye be made manifest with him in glorie. Fur-ther, Christ departing into heaven, gratified vs with that singular gift of the spirit: to whom, as the original & life of our soules, and begin-ning of christian regeneration is due: so is it also of the resurrection of our bodies: as Paul testifieth in his epistle to the Ephesians, to wit, that We beled vnto him through the effectuall working of his strong power, which God shedd forth in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his right hand in heauenlie places.

Seeing therefore we haue the first fruits of the spirit, by the vertue whereof Christ rose againe from the dead, who as we knowe hath attained unto that glorious end, whereunto he is intended to come; we must be of a cheerefull mind, and confirme our selves in that gift, which he hath granted vnto vs. For what so great brightness of state shall happen vnto vs in this life, that can hope vs in laboure and beuities of mind: as Paul saith in the epistle to the Romans: We are now laied by hope. Assuredly, it is not to be counted a small gain, that we by Christ are deliuered from death: so that we may now holbolic triumph, not onlie against it, but against all other miseries and misfortunes, which be as it were gardeners of the same. And we may comfort and cheere up our minds against the violent motions of the flesh, the which being constrained by such miseries, both continuallie murmur; seeing there is not onlie a promise made vnto vs of a new life, but we haue also a certeine and sure pledge of the

same in Christ.

26 Furthermore, that noble resurrection doth out of all doubt further graunt our saluation. For, albeit that sinnes be forgiven by the death of Christ, and by that onlie and most acceptable sacrifice; and that in his flesh fastened vpon the crosse all our faults haue bene punished: yet nevertheless, the figure of that spiritual life (wherein we must live no longer vnto the flesh, but vnto the spirit; not vnto old Adam, but vnto Christ; not vnto our selves, but vnto Gods father): is not perceived thereby. But this did afterward appear in that life, which Christ received by his most mighty resurrection. And therefore Paul testifieth in his epistle to the Romans; that Christ died for our offences, and was raised up for our iustification. And by the death of Christ we were reconciled vnto God: but herein is not offered any promise of our state to come, but doubtlesse in the resurrection it shall shine most perfectly. For: it was not beyond nature, that the flesh of Christ (which was subiect to the same infirmities that we be) should die: but his resurrection so went beyond nature it selfe, as when the flesh of it selfe was instructed in no vertue, whereby it might assure it selfe of a new life, that whole was giuen to it by the mere grace and bounty of God. This also, as far as aspertineth to that new and iustified regeneration, can compass the same by no vertue, as desert of our owne works; but God, of his grace and goodnesse, gaue it vnto vs without any respect of our merits. Further, even as Christ, being risen from the dead, ascended into heauen; so we, being iustified by his grace, it is met for vs, in all our whole life, to thinke no more vpon earthlie, but vpon heauenlie things. This doth Paul teach vs in his epistle to the Colossians; If ye be brethren (saith he) with Christ, seeke ye the things that be above, and not earthlie things.

Besides this, as Christ being risen from the dead, dieth no more; so he that is regenerated by faith, let him take heed, that he do not fall againe into miserable and dangerous infidelitie. For which cause Paul admonished Timothy, that he should remember, that Jesus Christ was risen againe from the dead. For the remembrance of the same resurrection of Christ, is of no small stirring vnto the leading of a goodly and innocent life; that in such sort we may forsake this world, who being new, deliuered him selfe from death by euery. So we, being by his blood freed from sinne, it is not convenient, that we should intangle our selves againe vnder the yoke of sinne. And herof doth the same apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, verie well admonish vs; Even as Christ (saith he) was raised vp from the dead vnto the glorie of the father: so

Christes resurrection our liues iust.

Rom. 4.25.

The resurrection of Christ is the fountaine of our saluation.

Col. 3.1.

2. Tim. 1.1.

Rom. 6.4.

we also should walke in newnesse of life. And vnto this ought we, with all inducure, to apply our selves, continuallie going forward, as Paul in the epistle to the Philippians speaketh of himselfe; namely, that Forgetting those things, which were behind, and indouering to things, which should be before, we might followe hard towards the mark, for the price of the high calling of God, whether he was not yet come! This verelie was to knowe Christ, and the strength of his resurrection. And he saith laie before vs, I will trie if I may by any means attaine to the resurrection of the dead.

Herein standeth the whole summe of christi-anitie, that inwardly we should be euery renewed, and that outwardly, as far as lieth in vs, we should pleasure and benefit our neighbors; seeing Christ, being raised from the dead, hath so greatlye induced vs with his benefite, by giuing from that time vnto his children that precious gift of the holie Ghost; and first went vnto his father, where he continuallie beholde vs, and offereth most acceptable prayers vnto God for vs. His being renewed in him by his resurrection, he benefitteth us in heaped measure increase his graces in his elect. He beinge exalted vnto that most excellent power, doth now protect vs from all euill, and filleth vs with all goodnesse. Therefore, our part is to bend all our care and diligence vnto that end, that we may honor him after a goodlie sort: not with earthlie ceremonies, or with fundie inventions of men; but with spiritual worshiping, and with that which may be agreeable vnto that heauenlie and spiritual state, wherein to Christ is now received. Before that he was come vnto vs, and so long as he was conuer- sal in the world after an humane sort, the shadowes and figures of the lawe, copious worshipings, and too holie ceremonies were in force: but now, we being raised up with Christ, it is met, that euen as we behold him both in the place and degree, wherein he is set; so also, that we should with lifted vp eyes of our mind, fasten our hope vpon him.

From thence he shall come to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

27 Our flesh, humane reason, and the whole rout of wicked men, shall not overcome obstinate vphayds, that we haue denied to our selves a God, a Lord, and a prince, which will neuer exhibit himselfe to be seene, or to be perceived of humane sense: I meane Christ our sauour. For, after that he haue confessed him to be glorious at the right hand of the father; we adde, that the same Christ will at the length euidentlie shew himselfe to the world, when he

shall come into his binghome, to execute the parts of a iudge. For it shall be a most meet thing, that he, which was condemned himselfe, by sentence of the iudge, should at the length make manifest vnto the whole world, that most excellent authoritie and righteousness of his, the which was condemned; not onlie that Christ received the sentence of death, but also as it were by continuall succession it endured by humane flesh and wisdom the same iudgements, in the ages that came after: and that not onlie in the person of Christ, but also in his holie members and brethren, whether they be alreadye dead, or as yet liuauer here in this earth, who are verie wisely manie reprobates and contumelies, suffer persecutions, and all kind of injuries; in such sort, as there is scarce anie corner of the world, that ringeth not of the sorrowfull lamentations of the goodlie.

But seeing all such iudgements be corrupt and peruerse, that last iudgement shall at the length come forth: from the which there shall be no appeal to a higher iudge; and the which shall be correct and reforme mens equiuaies and de- ceases, which induced were contrarie vnto equitie and iustice: so forthwith as shall haue power and qualities, altogether contrarie vnto those twiue iudgements. Christ the most excellent iudge shall flourish in wisdom, which shall perse and preceue all alike, as well those things which be most manifest and euident to all men, as euery thing else that is most obscure and most secret: according to that, which Paul de- clareth in his epistle to the Romans; namely, that He shall iudge of the secrets of men. He shall then haue no need of auditors, and inquisi- tors. But on the other side, though I hold my peace, euery one of the faithful doth sufficient- ly understand those peruerse iudgements, which he vngodlike do oftentimes decree. In such sort Christ and his members, how please they let aboue their owne foolishnesse, and extreme backslid of mind. Christ, when he shall ex- ecute his iudgment in that latter daye, shall most iustlye iudge vnto euery one, and shall temper his sentence both singular iustice; nei- ther shall he decline to the right, neither by per- uerse affections, neither by anie gifts.

28 Therefore, this is spoken touching him, that With him there is no acceptation of persons: Rom. 2. 11. which were sufficient not the enemies of true good- liuere, either to speake or giue any sort of christi- anitie. But one man beinge moved with the in- becure of private conuincion, another beinge plucked aboue with other peruerse affections, rashlie condemneth both Christ, and them that be his, and persecuteth them with fundie repro- ches. Whereupon it is said in the Coloss. How Matt. 23. 34. can

28 simili- tudine.

Col. 3.3.

the gift of the spirit.

Ephes. 1.19.

Rom. 8.31.

Rom. 8. ver. 37, &c.

28 descrip- tion of the iudge and of the iudge ment.

Rom. 2. 16.

Rom. 1. 1. and 2.

How Matt. 23. 34.



borne of the water, and of the spirit, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. From the vertic fame alle is the remission of finnes laid to stowe. Therefore Christ breathed vpon the face of the apostles, & said; Receiue ye the holie Ghost, whose finnes ye shall forgiue; the same shall be forgiven, and whose finnes ye retaine shall be retained. Whosoever then sinneth against the holie Ghost, doeth not obtaine remission of his finnes; because that it is dredde dome against him, from whome the remission of finnes proceedeth.

Neither for all that doe we attribute this vnto him, but so much as we be laden with such weightiness, as we be scarce able to rise from the earth, being alwaies pressed downe with the burthen of our flesh, and with our copposall senses, we should lie still in the earth; vntill we be waied raised by that spirit, who strenghteneth and erecteth by vnto heauen our minds (which though naturall corruption are altogether forgotten in the affections of the flesh) euen as the soule fullmeth the fraile and mortall bodie, and setteth the same bynight: that in this life the e cle may in a manner haue the same experience

of themselves, that is permitted to be in bottles, which being the volume exprie into the water, fall to the bottome; but if so be they be blown and filled with wind, they float above the water. Such is mens minde, being void of that spirit, are disolued through their olone affections and lusts: but when they be filled with that holie spirit, they be matters owne fume, and they suffer not themselves at anie time to be overcome by it. This also we obtaine by the benefit of the same spirit: our nature, as it is corrupt and peruerse, would neuer in ferre bee the billung of it selfe, or would then in this aile adions, which either respect of themselves should be acceptable vnto God, or in that they proceed from his; being extinguisht vnto him, but that spirit of God placing himselfe here amongst vs, doth so fashion our mynd, as that he neuer dotheth from vs by the helpe of him, is most gratefull and acceptable vnto God: and that because he inuiciblely reioyneth vs, that we may become most wel come friends, yea rather most deere beloued children.

33 Here ye see, what singular benefit this article of our faith bringeth, when it is knowne and vnderstood. And vnderwrite our affections, our mind, yea and the members of the verie bodie be instruments of the spirit it selfe. Wherefore Paule twerthly vnto the Romans, that Those  
34 finally be the children of God, which be lead by the spirit of God. And euen as he cannot be called a man, who is destitute of the mind of man;

now that a dog, which beareth not the forme of li-  
ving property of a dog: no more is he partner  
of the diuine nature, which is void of the spirit of  
God. And therefore I cannot marvell enough  
at the follie of some, which if a man saie, that they  
be no christians, cannot abide this report; and  
yet in the meane time will neither feare to be  
indued with that spirit, neither will be perua-  
ded, or themselves graunt that none may be a  
christian without the same. *Secondly*, because Paule  
in his epistle to the *Romans* doth bolde-  
ly affirme that He which hath not the spirit, the same *Rom. 8.*  
is no sonne. Therefore let such men go, and by  
the same infidelitie, whereby they mistrust of  
the bating of Gods spirit; let them stand in  
doubt whether they be christians. And if so be  
any man aide, how hee haue him? I answer,  
that the most excellent father, for Christ his late-  
sensed him vnto vs; according as Christ pro-  
mised to be in the person of his apostles: The *Iohn. 14.*  
comforter (saith he) which is the holie Ghost,  
whom my father will send in my name, &c.

Pen and this 3 may boldly adde, that Christ himselfe cometh into vs from the father: even as in another place he saith, The spirit, which I will send from the Father into you, he is he that is sent into us, rather from the father, & not from the Sonne; & so by another end, but to us rich he abundantly with those gifts and verie excellent riches. But yet the scripture sheweth, that this cheefest worke both specialitie consist in teaching. Christ promised to his disciples, that he would send the holie Ghost, which should teach them, and lead them into all truth, which he had shewed unto them. He warned them also, that when they should be bought before princes, they should take no care; because it should not be that they should speake, but the spirit of their father that they should speake in them. And certeinlie, the apostles were not dispersed abroad in the world for preaching of the Gospell, before they were indued from above with that heauenlie power: by the helpe whereof, they not onlie preached the Gospell mightilie by vntingement of men unto the obedience of Christ; but they also edified the truth of their doctrine with wonderfull signes and miracles. And that manner of teaching, by which that spirit is performed to us, must be inuicible considered in the minde: the which be not onlie repleished with his light, but also both gentlie and perswasive the same, and maketh those things acceptable, from which otherwise, by reason of our corrupt nature, we doe utterlie flye. Thus both be wrought a marvellous transforming in the minde of the clea, while he directeth them by unto the interior of god worlks and goodlie actions, which by the guide of nature they might not be able to performe.

upon the Creed.

24. And yet doubt he may by force constrain  
 them into these words, but rather with effect  
 perswade them inwardly. And this is hap-  
 pened libertie, whereby the chosen of Christ be in-  
 duced, who by the power and perswasion of  
 the same spirit, do twofold their whole endeavour  
 into such actions, which by the onlie guide of  
 nature could neither be done by them, nor yet  
 would be acceptable unto God. Further also,  
 from that spiritual boorne, which flourisheth  
 inwardly, there springeth afterward an al-  
 tered mortification, as well in the mind as in  
 the flesh; as Paul testifieth in his epistle to the Ro-  
 mans, where he warneth, that if they would by  
 the spirit mortifie the deeds of the flesh, they  
 should live. To these things added, if you will,  
 that the comfort, which springeth by the assurance  
 of our salvation, is so great; as even in the mi-  
 dest of troubles, miseries, calamities, and so-  
 rowes of this world, we may lead a cheerful  
 and merrie life. And that without cause: fe-  
 eling too feeble in us that singular and noble gift,  
 which Paul to the Corinthians calleth The pledge  
 of our salvation. To it we now bowe our neck,  
 upon our cause, can build of his comming one  
 day into that state of Christ, when he perfectly  
 alreadie, that his soule liueth by the same spirit  
 of Christ.

But if a man will demand; how true knoweth  
that our souls be quickened by the same spirit &  
Anſwer may be made by the words of Paul,  
*Gala. 3. 26.* I live not any longer (saith Paul) to the Gala-  
thians; but Christ liveth in me. And unto the  
*Phil. 3. 11.* Philippians; Christ unto me is life. Which  
words declare no other thing; but that the godlie  
do live in Christ, and Christ in them, and that  
by his spirit. It is also written in the epistle to  
*Rom. 8. 16.* the Romans; that The same spirit dooth testify  
unto our spirit, that we are the fonnnes of GOD.  
And it is not fit by any means to refuse to cer-  
tifie a testimonie. But whosoever hath not  
this testimonie inwardly in himselfe, is un-  
worthy to be called a christian. But if any man  
object, that although Paul were indeed wit-  
nessed this assured persuasion; and that he felt in  
wonder this inward testimonie in himselfe: yet  
followeth not, that the selfe-same thing must be  
granted to be in others. Yea answer, that Paul  
invoct all these things unto the Romans, who  
as yet were farre off from perfection: neither  
had they profited so much as Paul. And that  
be their own contentions, suspitions, and ras-  
tugments; and also their verie feeble & weak  
consciences beare witness: all which things the  
apostle dooth oftentimes reprehend in these be-  
littlings.

And yet neuerthelesse, when the Romans were such, he wrote vnto them of that adoption, whereby God had determined to make

them his children, when they should embrace christian religion. Therefore (beloved brethren) let us put off this spirit that miserable bountie of our salvation: for seeing there is nothing that is more contrary to our faith, which is the lively and true foundation of all our felicity. Who both by sufficient inwardness, how great contraries are believing and doubting; and how much they are repugnant the one to the other: I certeinly, for my part, do not see how these things may agree: I do beleve truely in Christ my onlie and true saviour; And so I stand likewise in doubt of him, whether he will save me or no; seeing he hath received me into his faith, and do gratefully by his spirit unto my mind, that sweet and bountifull affection of his towaerd me. And I thus admit the tediousness of men, who naturally are liars, I prone to deceit, that the in the same should cleave to them; how much rather ought we to repose our selves in all those things, which that god & true spirit of God both confirme by his testimonie. Whilste perauenture we suffer our felces to be perclouded, that there is more truth and stedfastness in men, than there is in God. Which if anie be so hardie to saie, he shall in this point alone most plainlie bewray himselfe to be such a one as he is.

Wherefore let vs yield into the most benig-  
nigne and mercifull God, as great and manifold  
thanks as we can, who hath (not by the minis-  
terie of angels, or of any other creature, but of his  
owne selfe) by the power of his onlie spirit (ingra-  
fed in vs) in Christ his true and naturall sonne, and  
by him hath renewed and sanctified vs, and fo-  
riched vs with the knowledge of him, and with  
other heavenly gifts, as now we are destitute  
neither of strength, neither of force, neither of  
light, neither of any facultie to let vs, whereby  
we should be lesse able to tell of his grace  
And thus he shall reuelate a cheerefull and quiet  
life, euen in the midst of persecutions, which  
often the world and satan doe try to; so that we  
be most fully perswaded by that holie spirit, that  
the faith obtaine eternall life: and that none  
of our owne merits, but by the grace of our Lord  
Jesus Christ, which liueth and reigneth for euer  
Amen.

*I be'eeue in the holie catholike  
church, the communion  
of Saints, &c.*

35 This article of the faith is so aptlie knitt  
vnto the other that goeth before, as to any man  
that is of sound iudgement, the former may  
seeme to be the root of stem of the latter, out of  
which this latter article ariseth and buddeth  
forth.

The spirit  
is the root  
of the  
church.  
Two similes

toys as a most fit branch. And that is shewed unto vs after this sort. In whatsoeuer bodie life is placed, the power and strength thereof is to guide, and also by a most true bond to unite all the parts of the whole bodie, by how great a space fouer they be dispersed one from the other: euen so the congregation of the goodlie, which commonlie (if the believers be considered of in respect that they be earthly men) is called the church, how much fouer it be compas of sundrie people, and hath hir parts setled a great space one from another in the world: and that, as much as the uttermost quarter of the world is distant by the spaces of regions, from the other part of the world; yet neuertheless it is ioined, knit, and couched together. And so that cause it is by Paule compared to a bodie, and that oftentimes in his epistles unto the Ephesians and Corinthians. But by what bond the Christians (who so greatly differ one from another, yet their respect be to their condition, country, language) are so stricte knit together, it is manifestly understood, by the order which ioineh this latter article of our faith unto the former. For there our faith confesseth the holie Ghost; and here it treateth of the bodie of the faithful, which with a sincere faith, embracing the doctrine of Christ, is by him gathered together in one.

what the name church signifieth.

A multitude.

the church is a mysticall bodie.

gouerned by the holie Ghost, by whose words which Paule teacheth in the epistle to the Ephesians; We (saith he) be one bodie and one spirit. Again also it is more plainlie shewed in the first epistle to the Corinthians; By one spirit we are all baptizied into one bodie, and haue dronke of one spirit. Whereupon it followeth, that whatsoever be destitute of that spirit, do not belong to this bodie. For he that hath not the spirit of Christ, how can he assure himselfe to be a member of that bodie, whereof Christ is the head, and in whom there is no other life, than the which spirit it selfe? Doubtleslie it sufficeth not, it sufficeth not (I saie) to put on certaine commendable works, whereby we should be taken by the iudgement of men for members of that bodie. Peter was called of Christ, blessed: not because he confessed him with outward voice to be the sonne of God; but because neither selfe, nor blood, nor any humane reason had revealed unto him his great a mysticall, but onelie the beneuolent father. Paule also in his first epistle to the Corinthians, in the place aboue recited, witteth, that No man can saie that Iesus is the Lord, but by the holie Ghost. By which places it is manifest, what condition at the least is required in the church; namely, not that which proceedeth of mans sense, but that which is stirred by and brought forth by the spirit of God. For otherwise the diuelles themselves, and also the Mahometanes in their Alcoran, do ascribe a certaine honour unto Christ, while they confesse his paine.

37 What here might appeare some difficultie, which is the church invisible, that it cannot be perceived in the world with corporall eyes. And doubt not the verie sense it selfe tell, that the companie of men is there gathered together, for celebrating and calling upon the name of Christ. Now then is that believed, which is seene: As faith caried unto those things, which be most manifest, and are subiect euen to the senses themselves: Whereunto we answer, that the multitude of men, which outwardlie profess Christ, are indeed sense of vs, but not sufficiently knowne of vs, because wee as yettend it with our outward sense, as it hath bene said. But we beleeue certelie, that this companie of men both so come together, as neuertheless it is no mans bodie. A philosopher, or some other he then man would object, that such assemblies be sects of men, which might vsing up of diuers and sundrie opinions; and be brought forth by light, according as places and times require. Doubtleslie, wee liue not by the industrie of men, but this worke must be attributed to the spirit of God, whome we haue before confessed.

Neither must we passe over the cause, while the church is

upon the Creed.  
called the church.

the church is called Catholike, which is a Greeke word, and significth no other thing, than if thou shouldst saie, vniuersall: for that it is not bound more to one place than to an other. But euen as God is a God of the whole vniuersall world; euen so will be, that the bodie of his sonne, which is his church, should be extended into euerie place. Telly him there is no exception of persons; neither had he respect, whether they, which he calleth into his church, be either husbandmen, or smithes, men or women, princes or seruants, rich or poore, barbarous, citizens, or Gentiles; as though he were moued by these outward things to chuse them: but of euerie nation he choseth those, whome he thinkeeth meet. Wherefore the church is an vniuersall bodie, compared of men of euerie kind and condition. But it excelleth also in a nobler societie, which is of such sort, as whatsoever be truelie gathered together unto that bodie, be indued with the same feeling of faith. And doubtleslie, in vaine shall euery other consent be, if minds disagre in the doctrine of faith.

Neither is there euer any thing, that bringeth more betrimment vnto this faith, than the inventions of men. From hence haue flowed all the heresies that euer were, which in verie deed are nothing else, but the opinions of men, concluded besides the meaning of the scriptures, and setten abroad among diuers people: as if they were certaine diuine mysteries, which bying saluation; or else worke most acceptable vnto God. And toasmuch as such doctrines are nothing else, but deuils of men, by which the ay hours of them haue taught their owne gaine and commoditie; first they be mere lies, descriptions, and twisted iuglings; secondlie, when they are piced from the invention of men, they cannot satisfie all men. For lacke holie manie men, so manie sundrie opinions there be: so that some dissent in one article of the faith, and some in another. So in verie deed it happened among the Greekes and other Christians, which inhabit towards the East part, whome if thou examine, thou shalt vnderstande how they haue allowed the holie scriptures: but in those sundrie impietities, the which they haue oftentimes desired, there will appeare great disagreement.

the doctrine of the church is not to be followed.

38 Besides, in the denieles of impietities, the church of Rome carrieth about the pure and simple religion of Christ in such abominations, as haue one of the sinnes of paganism, in refusing and (as they saie, or rather say they lie) in refusing them to a better forme; it hath troden vnder fate and defiled all things. Also this it obtineth together, that euerie mans faith hath rest in such public things. And

mens inventions are more esteemed than the lathe doctrine of the truth, as haue one of the lathe fountaines of the scriptures. And this might not others, which in like manner be inferred with their owne superstitions, adides, that they, who haue been the Romans, should doubtlesse haue kept all and before their fauored worshipings and humane inventions. But they, which haue embraced the principall and sincere doctrine of Christ, be not crinies against those superstitions; seeing they perceive, that thereby the glorie of Christ and his merits are altogether obscured, the honour of God translated vnto his creatures; his seruice vied without his looe, a set forth onelie after the desire of men: so that the church, which at this be challengeh vnto vnto it selfe alone, the name of Catholike; she alone (I saie) more than others hath feared, and euen rent in limner that common and vniuersall societie of the faithful.

For it had staid it selfe in that religion and seruice, which the holie scriptures doe prescribe vnto vs; there had not proceeded so manie schismes from thence. But whereto it hath vied no measure of his owne felmed desires, and it hath entreated by force a armes to constrain euerie man to receive the same. From hence haue risen infinite dissensions, amongst which there be some that remaine vnto this daie; as euerywhere it selfe plainlie testifieth. And as touching those that haue bene in the former ages, whatsoever well diligentlie applie his mind in reading of histories, shall easily perceiue them. Doubtlesse, whatsoever fashion, by his cunning, which brought, the Catholike church remaineth still dead and insensate, and that stricte liue abide euen vntill the last daie of iudgement. For the same betwixteth nothing else, but an vniuersall bodie, compact together of men of euerie state and condition, the which, in what parts fouer of the earth they dwell, they retaine the same faith and grace, righte conscience, holinesse, and baptime; and finally, they embrace euery good thing offered them in Christ: and so, as they will neuer liue themselves one lot to be led from that truth, which the spirit of God hath revealed to be in the holie scriptures; but they will assure themselves of that anelie worshiping to be lathe and acceptable vnto God, which he hath prescribed in those holie scriptures.

the Catholike church standeth fast.

39 Further are they so any other end commended to this societie, but that they should edifie one another to their poluer: euen as the ioining together, that is in the members of a mans bodie, is chiefly ordeined for the helpe and preferation of euerie particular member. The church stineth not, to the intent it might challenge vnto it selfe some chiefe empire of tempo,

*An exposition*

temporal limitation: it promises no such end to itself, as it would break by exceeding treasures and earthly riches. The scope thereof is not to rule nations, to make warres, to late hold upon cities, and to vanquish them. In what this booke is not destitute of his weapons, but that hee is spiritual, and not carnall weapons; namely, the word and the spirit, both the which overcome the wilfulness of man, raise it to the ground, leadly capture the mind and cogitation to the obedience of Christ. And the fame (undeniable) opposeth not the bootes with tyrannical ferments, or wasteth awaye mens goods by greivous tributes. This selfe-same doctrine both Paule in his manye wordes inculcate in his later epistle to the Corinthians, where he beris well beribeth the twissellings of this congregation: and he in the same epistle, treatinge there of his blame, and of other of the apostles authentic sayis; that The same was granted unto him to edifie, and not to delivoe. Unto the which worthily standing, they had singulare bent themselves, which will alone be called heads, and apostles of the church.

¶ **Wolbeite** (in the meane time) with all their  
 power they vext the flocke of God. Neither do  
 they suffer the perfect state of our iudification to  
 be quickned; but rather by their humane decayes  
 and confusions, laie infinite snares against  
 the miserable soules of the people committed to  
 them, the which notwithstanding are rebekmed  
 by the precious bloud of Christ. And yet farther,  
 they pollute with their turbid abuses, the sacra-  
 ments ordeined of God, and especiallye the holie  
 Supper of the Church, which they have turned into  
 filthie and damnable idolatrie, and of the signes  
 & seales thereof, they admit the simple flocke to  
 the participation of one onlie; as though they  
 were in their power to inuert the order, which  
 the Church hath appointed. They not content  
 (I say) to defraud the flocke of Christ of that prin-  
 cipall food of soules, which is the word of GOD,  
 but also cut awaie halfe the sacrament, which is  
 as it were the visibill word, and the evident tes-  
 timonie of the goodnesse, charitie, and ardent af-  
 fection of Christ toward vs, a memoriall of his  
 death, the most effectuall markes of that union  
 whereby they growe by together vnder Christ  
 himselfe being head, vnto a holie bodie of the  
 church. But this will I here adde, that this one  
 thing they touch by their traditions; namelye  
 they establish that tyrannie of theirs, and make  
 it to ctern for their aboad. Wolbeite the hope  
 is, that Christ will at length take pittie of  
 noble a bodie of his, and that he will not suffer  
 a mortall man arie longer to baunt himselfe  
 psonallye against his head. This Christ onelie  
 can do. Christ I saie is the head of the church.

to the church) as the will commonlie be accorde Popes are not  
heads of the  
church.  
(which) also his shamelesse flatterers feare  
not to publish openly, both by wordes and writ-  
tings) forme in my judgement to be like unto  
those wicked Jewes, which all with one voice  
denied Christ to be their king, and professed Ce-  
sar to be their prince. Thus as in a booke well  
framed, there is one head; so must the church,  
unless be transformed into some kind of mor-  
tue, be indued with one head onelie, the chiefe  
head is Christ. Neither standeth it with any rea-  
son that they saye they haue the Romane bishop  
to be appointed another head, as it were under  
the chiefe head Christ; whose bishopps, to wit, that  
other head, they will haue to be a necessarie in-  
strument. For there was neuer time, in a well  
shapen booke, such a disorder, as thereto should  
be ioined two heads; wherewith one should be  
subiect vnder another: I saye the verie name of  
Head, signifieth the chiefe part of the booke. But  
Christ alone is worthy himselfe alone the church,  
be it altogether by marvellous and unspicable  
means, ioined the humane nature vnder the  
diuine nature. Behold the head, which God ap-  
pointed to that beloved booke, as it is written  
in the epistle to the Ephesians. We telle thee in Eph. i. 22.  
that the members in that booke be diuerse,  
whereof one is more excellent than another: but  
in this point they conspire all in one, that they  
be subiect vnder that head, and are to serue fully  
sublie vnder it. Wherefore it is not lawfull to do  
wile more heads together: and vnbouldie it  
is verie intolerable pride, for one to arrogate  
unto himselfe the honour of Christ.

Now (I beseech you) let it be as these men  
will, that the Pope should be counted another  
head, under Christ the principal head. Yet,  
with that faith he is under Christ, as an in-  
strument, experience it selfe speaketh: which  
beareth record, that he is not one that doth cleave  
unto Christ, but that he is plainlie against him,  
both in words, deeds, and counsels. Neither is  
it my purpose, to let forth at large the proofe of  
this matter: seeing Barnard hath declared the same.  
And so fullitt exception may be answered. There-  
fore, being content with this profitable declara-  
tion, I will not here at this time adde any  
more, but that I conclude againe, that these  
doe hath onlie Christ to be the head; and not  
anye sille man, which with his owne alone  
may loose, corrupt, erre, and erre in further  
the wordes of the scriptures: wherof he boasteth  
under his fayt, that he hath the closet of his  
key, hath the full knowledge and perfect inter-  
pretation, not a sille man, which (according to  
the waken judgement of his owne will) may re-  
pulle out of the church whome he please, and ac-  
cuse and condemn them: not a sille man, that

*upon the Creed.*

at his owne onelie becke may appoint pastors,  
rectors, and bishops into churches, to whom he  
will not commit the custodie, no not of their  
own goods; because he must suffre their wit and  
indurie, therof he hath not had anie one lot  
of triall. Now then we be content with one  
head; namelie Christ, the holie Ghost being the  
guide, and the holie scripture being as an out-  
ward testimonie of his will: the certeyne per-  
suasion wherof, the power of the holie Ghost  
doth inwardlie seale in our minds.

41 But let vs twigh (I beleeue you) by what  
means that most holie bodie of the church may be  
be established, edified, and also increase. And  
here I affirme, that because the inward grace,  
faith, and outward scripture, we haue also neede  
of admonitions and godlie sermons out of the  
mouth of God: the which be miserable interpreted  
at this daye, by them which would be called  
christians. And yet neuertheless this is the chiefest  
and principall vnto the Apopofallical office  
the which, as though it were vniuerso; the for  
dignitie of a Bishop (to witte) the first beade  
of the church haue committed it vnto certaine

of the church have committed it into certain  
hungry worms, who nevertheless are threaten-  
ed unto perdition, unto perpetual pyns, and  
to be put to evill; mozt cruel death, if they pass  
the bounds prescribed by them. To which  
they knowe very handsomely hold. In tribulation  
they themselves from their owne office, charge, and  
labour; but so, as they will never cease to bid  
the people concerning holie things. Yet never-  
theless, whosoever do take that charge in hand,  
they will have them to preach after the rules pre-  
scribed by them. Whereof it cometh to passe  
that the pope's milke flockes of Chyff, either pre-  
ach with hunger, or else are scantie and de-  
ficie die. And commonlie, the sermons touch-  
ing holie things, are onelic made in the time  
of Lent, and a verie few beared and read; and  
either by a sort of unlearned and vndercast men  
which knowe not sufficientlie holie things that  
they speake; or els by them which find more a  
fraie of fame, than they ought to do; or els by  
such as hunt after honours, riches, or fauour  
which are not fit for their vocation. Wherefore  
at that time they have sermons, but yet such, as  
in them they utter more trifles, and bewraye the  
grosse barbarie of ignorance.

[illegible]

42. These be these exquisite arts, whereby the  
bodye of *Christ* is preferred, unto the which must  
be adde the life of the sacraments, but yet whole  
and thoughtlesse clemed from the deuities of men.  
Whi thou that holie tupper of the *Lords*, how ma-  
nie tonnes art thou here miserable dishonoured  
and polluted! Whi masse, masse, masse, what  
remaineth long in this! I say here will I for-  
bear my stile, facing I write a Catechisme,  
and not a full treatise of the sacraments, w<sup>ch</sup>  
needlesse like I hope thoult (if the *Lords* lend  
me life) to bring to passe. These few things I  
haue written onlie to this end, that I may  
hitherto make ill these things haue bene handled,  
which do make for the increase and profit of the  
church, I will speake nothing of baptism, fei-  
ning by the merite of Gods, the same hath bene  
somewhat lesse polluted with foule doubts. And  
although it be not pure and soundlie said,  
yet there is lesse cause for this to complaine  
herein. Wherefore the life of the sacraments is  
most profitable unto the church; feiing they be  
as it were vnto words, the which consist in  
those euident signes of water, bread, and wine.  
Whi which signes, as it were by words, all the  
promises of Gods mercie are effectually re-  
presented unto vs.

And here, not onlie the promises are giuen  
vs, but we be assuredlie partakers of the thing  
it selfe : and therefore those sacraments are be-  
come necessarie vnto vs, and further vs not a little  
vnto saluation. Vnto which sacraments must be  
iointed brotherlie correction, which in these daies  
is so neglected, as no man will apply it, either

The use of  
the sacra-  
ments.

Brotherly  
correction

What the

40

49 But they, which saie, that the Pope is hea

 $\Delta$





*The Resurrection of  
the flesh.*

*¶ Look more hereof in the third part.*

47 *How these members should be knit together, by a more fit art, I cannot perceive. Some (as it is knowne) hath bene the onlie and whole cause of many death: and that we have remission of sinnes through Christ, it was shewed a little before. Now then remaineth this one thing; to wit, that by him we shall be delivered from death, and released from the tyrannie thereof, so soon as ever we have access unto Christ by faith: with them shall perity in it the continual institution, which it obtained against us. For seeing the natural power hereof is such, as that it hath once fastened upon, it sticketh holdeth: therefore the philosophers write, that it must not be granted, that from such punishment men can returne to their ancient habit. In which matter certeinly they be not deceived, if they should but consider the power of sinne. But we, which be indeed with faith, we are fast of death, as we knowe that there is an end and limit appointed, to the working thereof: we being confirmed through the promise of Christ himselfe, who in the first of John faith, that He will loose none of them which his father hath given him, but will raise them up at the latter daye.*

John 6, 39.

*¶ But it is to be shewed, that they will raise up not onlie them that be godlie, but also the unbelievers: and shall therefore raise in Christ (as touching the resurrection) profit anie thing? I answer, that the confidence in Christ hath nothing at all profit unto the meere and absolute resurrection: seeing that begeth, both the godlie and the wicked shall obtaine: but the resurrection unto felicitie, unto life eternal, and unto heauenly blessedness, is onlie granted by them, which by faith are united unto Christ. Wherof, I thinke not meet to passe over this; (to wit) that whereas the wicked shall rise againe, they obtaine not that, by the power of their owne nature, but by Christ. For, seeing we confesse that by the death of that one first man, we were all made subiect unto death; it is reason also we should grant, that who manie sever be made partakers of this second life, should also obtaine the same by that one man Christ, who first was raised up. Wherof the wicked, whether they will or no, shall feele in themselves the power of Christ: but that which these shall obtaine to their great benefit, and men shall receive to their great benefit, this is the doctrine of Paule to the Corinthians, when he faith; As by one man came death, so by*

1 Cor. 15, 1.  
one

one man came the resurrection of the dead. And as by Adam all men die, so by Christ all shall be made alive: but euerie one in his owne order. The first fruits is Christ, then they which be of Christ. And in the last and most unhappy state shall they be, which be strangers from Christ.

And as there shall be a difference in the state & condition; so shall there be also in the place. For the saints then raised up, shall together with the godlie, which then perhaps shall remaine alive, be caught up, to meet with that high King our Lord IESVS CHRIST in the aire; Who undoubtedly (as we have already confessed) shall come to iudge the quicke and the dead: as we have expressely shewed in the article of the last iudgement. Therefore Christ will then saye his power generallie towards all, as well good as bad; not onlie in the iudgement it selfe, but in the resurrection also. We therefore is the first that hath risen, and we shall followe him at the time appointed. The church is a bodie quickened by the spirit of GOD, the which increaseth by degrees; no otherwise than a living bodie is naturalie foimed, by little and little. For of the power of foaming, which is in the seed, first some one member is formed, and brought forth in the lump; whether the same be the heart, or anie other member, it sufficeth not; it sufficeth, that sense and moving be given to anie one of them. The same spirit after that goeth forward by little and little, to frame other members. And euen this happeneth in the holie bodie of beleueers, wherein the spirit of GOD hath raised by Christ, the verie head of them all. Afterward, the same spirit, by the same power, whereby it raised by Christ in all vs, will be the diere members of his bodie, will bring forth the same effects of resurrection: as we read in the first chapter to the Ephesians, and as we have declared in that article, wherein we intreated of the resurrection of Christ.

48 But how great consolation that blessed hope bringeth to the godlie, let euen they themselves iudge, which in great ioy celebrate with such pompe and ambition the daie of their nativitie; or else that daie, wherein they were preferred to some degree of honour. And thus they celebrate, with ioyfull memorie, the beginnings of so great miseries and calamities, as this life is subiect unto; and as are incident unto principalities and wretched honours. Whilst the true nativitie of the saints of Christ, this is the true triumph; this is that heauenly interesting of them. Then shall be opened unto us the wounds, or rather the gats of glory. Here ought all our hope to reuiue, if at anie time (as oftentimes it doth happen) we appear to be negligent, and to go slowlie forward in the way

of the Lord; by reason of the burden of our flesh, which oppresseth vs. And this we ought our minds to be strengthened, to endure the troubles, which seeme to be hard and difficult unto the bodie, unto nature, and unto the sense. And this we ought to be confirmed to the mortifying of our senses & consequences; seeing we knowe out of Paule, that we, which have bene partakers of the death of Christ, shall also be partakers of his resurrection. For then we shall be delivered from the labours, miseries, sorowes, and toyments of this life: and we shall have a bodie so much more excellent, as a heauenly and spiritual bodie doth excell an earthly and fleshy bodie.

And certeinly, I speake not this, as though we should not requere so much flesh, blood, and bones, as shall be sufficient unto the constitution of a bodie: but because it will be a much more excellent bodie; because heauenly and spiritual, both names of nature. The which titles and prerogatives, Paule, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, gave unto bodie renewed by the resurrection. And Christ in Matthew, when he was tempted of the Seducers; promise, that he would be like unto the angels: that so that we should be like unto the angels: that in heauen there shall be no use of matrimonie. For seeing that death shall have no dominion, there shall be no need also of generation; which is granted unto vs for supplying the number of such as death taketh dailye awaye. The same is assured touching hunger, thirst, and all that sullie band of troubles. Wherof, therefore goeth forward unto so noble and glorious a state, ought to regard but a little, all the troubles and labours which be endured for the name of Christ. But this doth not the wisest of us consider; yet it seemeth to be a matter of no weight unto them, that they submit their soules unto the bondage of innumerable miseries, and suffer the same to be matted with the flames of naughty lusts.

They do not make anie account of having their bodie once for, and discharged from: natural necessities; as men that iudge it a thing impossible, because they measure the power of God by the course of those things, which continually be brought forth, and be here among vs. But contrariwise the godlie, which by vertue of the resurrection do hope for that most excellent gift (to wit, that neither death, nor yet other natural infirmities may be able to do anie more displeasure to the bodie) must bend their whole indour to rid their minds from the tyrannie of vices and affections; whereby they may be more and more confirmed in the hope of recovering of a free bodie, wherein the mind may be clothed, that now through Christ hath gotten the victorye over lusts and sinnes, which by means

the heires  
of the  
church.

Mat. 18, 19  
and 20.

1 Cor. 3, 8

1 Cor. 15, 43

Mat. 22, 30

Eph. 1, 19

Wherof  
all these  
function  
hunger  
great com-  
fort to the  
godlie.



of the storms of this world, the haven of so great a felicitie. Unto the which we beseech him to bring us, that by his precious death hath procured it for vs. And that it will please him through his holie spirit, to bring therunto all such as through him are regenerated by the eternall Father: with whom he lieth, triumpheth, and reigneth for ever, Amen.

¶ Here (brethren) ye have a short exposition of the particular things belonging to our faith. And as touching those things, which shall be perceived of

you to want, I beseech you to allow of these excuses. One is, that my ability is but small and slender: the other is, for that I meane, in the booke which I have in hand touching the true worshipping of God: to supplye manie wantes, which for brevities sake I have omitted. God and the Father make you partakers more and more of his grace in Christ Iesu our Lord! Amen.  
(..)

*The end of the Second Part.*



# THE

## Third Part of the Common Places of

### PETER MARTYR.

In the which is treated of the causes and generall meanes, whereby we are let into the possession of Christ and of salvation: and as touching the effects of Christ remission.



### *The first Chapter.*

Of Predestination. Vpon the ninth chapter to the Romans, at the latter end of the chapter.

Under the  
signe of  
the  
crosse, &c.



A building  
of the  
city.

Call in disputing our talke might traie to farre, which might easilie come to passe, in to large a feeld of Gods predestination, the tract wherof is verie intricate, all that we mind to saie, we

will divide into foure principall points; that is to wit, I will first diligently search out the nature and definition thereof. Secondly, what are the causes of it; for nothing can prestate be knowne, which is not knowne by causes. Thirdly, what are the effects, which predestination bringeth forth in men; for there are manie things, which by their effects are most plainly understood and perceived. Lastly, whether the power of aze thereof be such, that it bringeth unto men necessitie; and whether it either taketh away, or hindereth the libertie of the will of man; and whether it may be altered or changed. These parts being diligently discussed, we will then make an end of this discourse. And yet will I not promise of this matter to speake all that were to be spoken; for there are infinite things, which come to their minds that consider of this matter: onele those things will I touch at this present, which shall seeme most necessary, and are in greatest controuersie; which

being so compacted, it shall not be hard for others; to gather also before to themselves much more matter. But before we go to the definition of predestination, I am to dispatch two matters. The one is, whether it stand with true christian religion, either to dispute or to preach of predestination; least that if it be not lawful, we should seeme to do vntoable. The other, forasmuch as the Logicians teach, that the question, whether a thing be or no, naturalie goeth before that question, whereby it is denianded, what a thing is; that we breake not that order, let vs first consider, whether there be any predestination or no; to the end we may afterward the more easilie define it.

As touching the former question, this is to be considered; that there are summe elections of God. For there are some, which serue for the executing of some certaine office, as to a kingdom, or to an apostleship; and others there are, vnto eternall life. And these elections are sometimes separated asunder; for it happeneth oftentimes that he which is chosen vnto a kingdom, is not fruitefully chosen vnto eternall life; which also happeneth of the apostleship, as in Iudas. Howbeit, sometimes they are ioined together; so that whereas we speake of temporall election, we may also vnderstand that the same is ment of the eternall. And after this sort Paule saith; that he was called to be an apostle, and secured

The election  
of God  
is decreed.

Iohn 15.

Gal. 1.





rich, and men should be left under necessity. This can be thought many thus to be remedied, if we will that God doth all things presently. But he should have remembered, that in the prophets, and other scriptures, many promises are recorded, wherein things were determined and appointed, how they should be done before they were done. What shall we here say? Shall we think that those promises were not before those things which were to come? Christ saith, that it is known that the scripture should be fulfilled: therefore these fond imaginations are to no purpose. These men trouble onlie, with their lying inventions, to make darke a thing plaine and manifest, as the filly directly the mud to be white and lame it selfe.

7 Pighius also goeth on further, and saith, that the poudence of God hath not pceded unto men the time of kind, either of life or death; yea rather (he saith) that have bene manie, which as touching the poudence of God, might have liued longer, if they had not either by negligence, or intemperance, chosen their life. For if all things were to determine (saith he) a murtherer, when he killeth a man, may be excused, because he hath executed the will of God. Wherein I wonder that a man being a diuine, could let such an old wiues tale once come out of his mouth. As though the murtherer, when he slayeth a man, hath respect to the pleading of God. This onlie he regardeth, how he may plae the theefe, or accomplish his hatred or enimities: for how could he knowe, that this is the will of God, seeing God hath in his lawes commanded the contrarie? Woe he thinkes, that Iudas can be excused of his wicked treason, because he had heard the Lord saye thus mischeuously: But had Pharisee therefore be excused, because God had fore-told that his hart should be hardened? Wherefore is a folly thing to bying in an excuse of sinnes, by reason of the determination which we ascribe to be in God. But Pighius addeth also an other argument; For our sinners (saith he) should in such sort be determined by God, when they had all our care, pience, and vndeceit be taken away: for what might it profit (saith he) to avoid theuery and dangerous iourneys, or failings in the winter, or frettings, or unholiness, either in both the kind, and time of death, and such other life, be already certainlie appointed of God?

Where cometh to my mind, that which Origin hath in his second booke against Celsus, where he maketh mention of a subtil argument touch betwixt those which dispute of fate or destinie. A certaine man goes counsel to a sicke man, not to lend to the physician; because (saith he) it is not more ardeable appointed by destiny, either that thou shalt recover of this disease,

or that thou shalt not. If it be thy destinie that thou shalt recover, then shalt thou not need the physician; if it be not thy destinie, the physician shall nothing hope that therefore, whether destiny have decreed, that thou shalt recover, or not: recover, the physician shall be called in vaine. And other by the like argument alluaded his friend from marriage. Thou wilt marrie (saith he) a wiue to beget children; but if it be thy destinie to haue children, then shalt haue them without a wiue; if it be not thy destinie, then wilt it therunto nothing profit thee to marrie a wiue: so that whatsoever destinie hath decreed, thou shalt in vaine marrie a wiue. Thus did they decide and leaue fate or destinie: for they intended to flye, in what absurdities men should fall, if they would defend fate.

Contrariwise, they which defended destiny thus alluaded these reasons; and shewed, that those reasons should not trouble men. Wherefore they said, that the sicke man might thus haue made an answer; I saie rather, if by fate it be appointed that I shall recover, I will send for the physician, because he professeth to restore health to the sicke; that by his industrie I may attaine unto that which destinie hath decreed. And that other, which deliberated as touching the marriage of a wiue, they imagined thus to answer; If it be appointed that I shall haue children so farre as that can come by no other means, but by the coupling of man & woman, I will marrie a wiue, that destinie may take place. But Pighius also thinks, that these answers may serue against him; for him also be the holie scriptures openlie reprove. For unto the life of Ezechias were added 15. yeres, for to the captiuitie of Babylon were prescribed 70. yeres. And Christ saith, that All the leaves of four head are numbed; and that Not so much as a sparrowe shall light vpon the ground without the will of God.

8 That also is childish, which he addeth; namelie, that our prayers should be in vaine, if the euents of things were certaine appointed. Of these things we haue spoken in another place; that God hath not onlie decreed, what he will giue vnto vs; but also hath determined means, whereby he will haue vs to attaine unto them. So Christ saith, that God knoweth what we haue need of, and yet nevertheless admonisheth vs to praye. This is nothing else than to lead aduaie a man from the poudence of God: for that poudence is not new, but an eternall disposition of the things. Vnto the death of Christ, both the place, and time, and manner, was prescribed and reuealed in the foresayd of the prophets; and that it could not otherwise come to passe, Christ himselfe saith; Mine hour is not yet come.

come. And that which was true in Christ, how can it be denied in others? We grant, that in the stars are long before the seasons and causes of winde, snowes, tempests, fauours of weather, and dynesse, and shall we not ascribe unto the causes to be in God, who infinite comprehendeth more things than heauen doth; and the scriptures doe not onelie speake manifestly of that which we a little before rehearsed, as touching the twins, that Before they were borne, or had done good or euill, it was said; The elder shall serue the younger; Jacob haue I loued, but Esau I hate: but spake it also of the time to come; I will haue mercie, on whom I will haue mercie. Also; Not of works, but of him that calleth, that the purpose should remaine according to election. And in Deuteronomie it is written; He chose their feed after them. Vnto David was appointed a posteritie, euen to the coming of Christ; and when he had committed sin, it was told him, that The sword should not depart from his house; and that his iuites should openlie be delioured by the sword of his bloud. And of Ieremie, it is written; Before that I framed thee in the wombe, I knew thee, Christ saith, that The elect also shall be decreed, if it were possible: and That as manie as were giuen him of his father, no man should be able to plucke out of his hand. And in the Acts, we reade; They beleeued, as manie as were ordeined to eternal life.

God also is compared vnto a pottor, who undoubtedly, before he beginneth to worke, saith in his mind what kind of vessel he will frame. And a little before; Whom he fore-knew, those also hath he predestinate, to be made like vnto the image of his sonne. Predestination is set in the former place, and afterward followeth the conformitie to the image of the sonne of God. And in the Acts we reade, that The lewes taught Christ, and crucified him; according to the fore-knowledge and determination council of God. What need we any more testimonies: Paule to the Ephesians saith, that We were elected before the foundations of the world were laid. These things infinite be clear, that we are not decreed, when we teach that the fore-knowledge and predestination of God, both before all eternitie go before those things, which are fore-knowledge and predestination; and that vnto this determination this is no let, that in Gods action, there is nothing creaturely to be come. If these things, which we haue brought out of the holie scriptures, it is verie manifest, that there is a predestination of God: which will appore, euen by those things, which we will afterward make mention of. Now in the meane time it shall be confirmed by a reason, and that such a reason, as doubtes

in my iudgement, may seeme to be a broniuation. And yet where vnto we are made, far pfectly nature; for that by our owne power and strength we cannot attaine vnto it: so that we haue need of God, to prepare vs, and to leaue vs vnto it. Therefore Paule faith to the Corinthians; As the eier hath not seene, nor the earch hath not heard, neither haue ascended into the hart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that loue him. Wherefore, seeing that of necessitie, we must by God be brought vnto the end, this cannot be don by chance; or rather; but by the counsell of God, which was appointed and determined, euen from before all world.

9 Now, seeing that there is no let, but that we may come to the definition of predestination, I thinke it best to begin with that, which the Logicians call *Quid nominis*, that is, what the word significth. The Logicians call predestination *propositio*, of this verbe *proponere*, which significth I do determine and appoint before; for *pro* is *Terminus*, that is, a bound or a limit: for as the eies are separated aduaie from them that are not elect. The Latins call this *Predestinatione*. For to predestinate, is nothing else, but firme in mind to determine, and constantlie to appoint anie thing, or by some firme decree of the mind to direct a thing to some purpose.

But predestination, which we speake of, may be taken two manner of waies: either as touching the bringing of it to the effect, as that Paule going to Damascus was conuerted to Christ, and by that means separated from the vndebeuers: or in respect it is with God from eternitie, before men are borne. At this Paule writing to the Calathians, saith, that He was Galat. 1.5. fet apart to preach the Gospell, from his mothers wombe, long before he was conuerted. And to the Ephesians also he saith, that We were predestinate before the foundations of the Ephes. 1. 4. world were laid. And to the Romans, of the twins, he saith; Before they had done either good or euill, Jacob haue I loued, but Esau I hate. And we at this present speake of this eternall predestination of God: wherefore the effect is nothing but a declaration of this predestination; therefore predestination may be taken both commonlie and properly.

But now I come to God doth all things by an appointed counsell, and not nothing by chance or fortune; undoubtedly whatsoever he createth or doth, he appointeth it to some end or use. After this manner, neither the wicked, nor the diuell himselfe, nor sinnes, can be created from predestination: for all these things both God be according to his will. Wherefore Paule calleth the wicked men bound to utter damnation, that is, the vessels of God, vpon whom he maketh open his wrath. And Salomon in his

10. p. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

When a murtherer killeth a man, he hath no regard to the will of God.

Iohn. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

It may not excuse sinners by reason of the determination which we ascribe to be in God.

It is subtil argument touching fate.

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**Prov. 6, 4.** Proverbs saith, that God made all things for himselfe, and the wicked man also to the euill daie. And of Pharoa it saith; Euen to this end haue I raised thee vp, to shew my power in thee. **2 Pet. 1** Of predestination be thus taken, then shall it be common to all things. Neither shall this word signifie any thing else, than the absolute aduancement of God, touching his creatures, vnto some certaine life or state. But the holy scriptures doe not much like this word; but touching the elect alone, although in the 4. chap. of the **1. Cor.** we read; They assembled together, to do whatsoever by hand and counsell had predestinated to be done. Which words yet, if they be referred vnto the death of Christ, & vnto the redemption of mankind, passe not the bounds of election to saluation. But if they haue a respect vnto those also, which assembled together against the Lord, they comprehend likewise the reprobate.

**1. Cor. 13**  
The elect are predestinate

In the text it is said that the name of predestination is common to all things

**Rom. 8, 28**  
The knowledge of God extendeth further than his predestination

**1. Cor. 13**  
The elect are predestinate

haue it so: for other wise he would let it. Therefore God doth knoweth these things, which he will haue come to passe. Further, God hath not also predestinate all those, whom he saith, knoweth; for he knoweth the reprobate, whom he knoweth shall be damned. But euen as the presence of God hath joined with in his will, yet notwithstanding pertaining to the knowledge or vnderstanding of God: so contrariwise predestination, although it cannot be without foreknowledge; yet it properly pertaineth vnto the will: which thing Paule declarerth to the Ephesians, when he teacheth; that We are predestinate according to purpose, by the power whereof God worketh all things, according to the decree of his will. By these things we may, after a sort, see how predestination is joined with foreknowledge, and how it differeth from it.

Now let vs see that it hath common with providence, or wherein it differeth from the same. As if it hath common with providence; that either of them requirerth knowledge, and is referred vnto the will, and that either of them hath a respect vnto things to come. But herein they differ; for that providence comprehendeth all creatures; but predestination, as we speake oft, pertaineth onely vnto the saints, and vnto the elect. Besides this, providence directeth things to their natural ends; but predestination on leadeth to those ends which are aboue nature: as is this; To be adopted into the sonne of God; To be regenerate; To be indued with grace; To live well; and last of all, To come into glory. Wherefore we do not faie, that brute beasts are predestinate; for they are not capable of this supernaturall end: neither are eagles now predestinate; for they haue alreadie attained vnto their end. But predestination hath respect vnto things to come. Whereas we saith, that providence pertaines to all things; that may thus be paused, because nothing is hidden from God: otherwise he should not be so much wiser. And if he knowe all things, either he knoweth all those things, or else he knoweth the care of manie of them. If he be absent the care of any thing, he therefore doth it, either because he cannot; or because he will not take vpon him the care of those things. If he cannot, then is not he most mighty; if he will not, then is he not most good. But to denie that God is most wise, most mightie, and most good, were plainlie to denie him to be God. So then it remaineth, that Gods providence is ouer all things, which the scriptures in infinite places, most manifestly testifie. For they teach, that the care of God extendeth euen vnto the leaues of trees, euen vnto the beards of the beard, euen vnto sparrows.

Providence map thus, by the word, be defined; Providence is Gods appointed, unmovable, and perpetual administration of all things. When 3 speake of God, 3 mean that he is indued with great authoritie, and that he is mighty to doe what he will. Administration significth, that his government is not tyrannous; but quiet, gentle, & fatherly: For tyrants violently oppresse their subiects, and refer all things to their owne commoditie and lust. But Gods violentie pertaineth no man, neither by this government getteth any comendation vnto himselfe; but onely commendeth his godlines vnto creatures. And his administration extendeth vnto all things; for there is nothing frō from it, neither can it endure without it. It is called, appointed; because it is joined with most excellent wisdom: so that it admitteth no confusion. It is unmovable, because the knowledge of this governo: is not declined, neither can his power be made frustrate. It is also perpetual, because Gods himselfe is present with the things: for neither do he, when he hath created things, leaue them vnto themselves: nare rather, he himselfe is in them, and perpetually moueth them. For in him we live, we moue, and haue our being. And thus much of providence.

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Unto these things fate is also like, which word, if (as we haue before said) it be taken for a certaine inmutable necessity, which depends of the power of stars, the fathers haue not without fault cause abhorred. But if it signifie no other else, but a certaine coercion of second causes, which is not carried rashly, or by chance, but is governed by the providence of God, and may at his will be changed; & if no cause, why the thing it selfe should be of its own nature reuered. Doubtless, because there is danger, that error might sometimes creep in; as Augustine thinketh best, that we vnto the extreme from that word. We ought also to remember, that the free election, and predestination of God, are so ordered in themselves, that they followe one another in a certaine course. First, to the knowledge of God are offered all men not being in happy estate, yea rather being needy and miserable; whome God of his pure and singular mercie loueth, those he carthly fo, and putteth a part from other whome he overpasseth, and enuereheth not with his beneuolence; and they by this separation, are said to be elected; and those fo reuered, are appointed to an end.

Augustine in his booke De predestinatione saith thus, the twelfth chapter, thus defineth predestination; that it is a preparation of grace. And in the twelfth chapter he saith; that the same is a foreknowledge, and a preparation of the gifts of God, whereby they are certainlie deliuered, which are deliuered; but the rest are left in the masse of lumpes of perdition. In ano-

ther place, he called it, The purpose of mercie. The matter of the sentence, is in the first booke, distinction 4.; defineth it to be a preparation of grace in this world, and of glorie in the world to come. These definitions 3 cited not; howbeit, because they comprehend not the whole matter, 3 will (as might as 3 can) bring another definition on my self. 3 faie therefore, that predestination is on the most wide purpose of God, whereby he hath from the beginning, constantlie decreed to call all those, whome he hath loued in Christ, to the adoption of his children, to iustificatiō by faith, and at the length to glorie through god worke; that they may be made like vnto the image of the son of God; and that in them may be declared the glorie and mercie of the creature. This definition (as 3 thinke) comprehendeth all things that pertaine to the nature of predestination; and all the parts thereof may be proued by the holie scriptures.

First to take purpose for the general word; purpose is for that word is common both to predestination and reprobation. Paule vnto the Ephesians saith; that We are predestinate according to the purpose of God. And in the epistle to the Romanes he saith; That the purpose might be able according to election. But what this purpose is, we vnderstand by the first chapter vnto the Ephesians. As if there it is thus written, that God hath predestinate vs according to his good pleasure. By these words it is manifest, that that is called his good pleasure, which Paule afterward call purpose. And that this purpose pertaineth vnto the will, those things which afterward followe, do declare; By whose power to the will (saith he) God worketh all things according to the counsell of his will. But by this will we ought to vnderstand that will which is effectual, by which they call consequent; whereby is brought to passe, that the predestination of God is not frustrate. This purpose we call most wise, by chance. This purpose we call most great, by chance. And all things with most great wisdom. Therefore the Apostle joineth predestination together with foreknowledge, saing; Whome he hath foreknown, those hath he predestinate. [The purpose of God from the beginning.] This is therefore ad, because predestination is no other thing; neither such (as manie faie); that he goeth not before things, or euer they be done, new things.

Paule saith in his later epistle to Timothee; Which hath called vs with his holie calling, not according to our works; but by according to his purpose & grace, which was giue to vs in Christ Iesus before the world was. Where we manifestly faie, that with the predestination of God, is ioined the eternitie of times. And vnto the Ephesians, We are said to be elect, before the foundations of this world were laid; whereby

purpose is for that word is common both to predestination and reprobation. Paule vnto the Ephesians saith; that We are predestinate according to the purpose of God. And in the epistle to the Romanes he saith; That the purpose might be able according to election.

The pure will of God is his good pleasure, purpose pertaineth vnto the will

The might, which they call consequent; whereby is brought to passe, that the predestination of God is not frustrate.

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of god is  
immutable.  
1 Tim.2.9.  
Rom.9.35.  
Rom.8.  
ver.14.

ver.29.  
Ibidem.

James 1.7.  
ver.14.

ver.1.  
Rom.9.11.  
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he hath constantly decreed. By these words we are taught, that the predestination of God is immutable: for Paul faith in the latter epistle unto Timothy: The foundation standeth firme; and the Lord knoweth who are his. And in the eight chapter, when the apostle would teach, that hope maketh not ashamed, that they which had an assured hope should be lauded, he bringeth a promise thereof by predestination, saying; Whom he hath foreknowne, those also hath he predestinate. And he addeth; Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation? Shall anguish? &c. And James faith, that With God, there is no changing nor variableness. And in Esaie, God crieth; I am God, and am not changed. And in the epistle to the Romans the 11. chapter, where is treated of predestination, Paul faith, The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. But whereas God in Ieremie the 18. chapter faith, that he would change his sentence, which he had threatened unto many nations, to which they would consent, that is not to be understood of predestination, but of those things which are yet to be said unto to passe, by that will of God, which they call the will of the signe: namely, when by his prophets he declareth unto men, either what their finnes have deserved, or what he might over their heads by reason of natural causes.

12. [Whom he hath loved in Christ]. This we add, because whatsoever God giveth, or decreeth to give, that giveth he, and will give, through Christ. And as we have oftentimes alleged, Paul to the Ephesians faith, that We are elected and predestinate in Christ; for he is the prince and head of all the predestinate, yea none is predestinate, but onlie to this end, to be made a member of Christ. [To call into the adoption of children]. So Paul in a manner expresseth where he speaketh, specially in the first chapter, that we are predestinate to the adoption of children. And that calling followeth straight waie after predestination, those words which we have alleged alleged do declare; Whom he hath predestinate, those also hath he called. [To iustification by faith]. That unto calling is added iustification, Paul by the selfe same words teacheth; Whom he hath called, those also hath he iustified. [Unto glorie, by good works]. This also Paul teacheth in the selfe same place; Whom he hath iustified (saith he) those also hath he glorified. And that this glorie shall followe by good works, and that we are predestinate unto those good works, that place unto the Ephesians, which we have already often cited, manifesteth plainely. For first he faith; that We are predestinate, that we should be holie & blameless before God. Afterward he faith, that God hath

prepared good works, wherein we should walke.

[That they may be made like unto the image of that sonne of God]. This image indeed becomen to us by regeneration, when we are iustified; and in them that are of full age, it groweth daily by perfection by good works, and is fully finished in the eternall glorie. But it begins this likeness both place, while that it is infant by regeneration, and is finished in that last glorie, whosoever in them, for want of age, are not required good works. [That in them might be declared the mercie and goodnes of the Creator]. This is the last end of predestination, shadowed unto us by Paul in the similitude of the potter, which both potter to make one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour: so God hath prepared his vessels to glorie, that in them he might be clear his glorie. By this definition we gather, that God hath predestinate unto the elect, not onlie glorie, but also good works; that is, means whereby he will have his elect come unto glorie. By this we may see, how foolish they are deceived, which laye locke, and yet in the meane time boast that they are predestinate. For the scriptures teach, that men, according unto the predestination of God, are not brought unto glorie by wicked facts and naughty deeds, but by virtuous life and manners. Neither are they to be hardened unto, which crye out; Howsoever I live, the predestination of God shall have his effect. For this is utterlie to be ignorant unto predestination, and impudent to go about this to abuse it.

13. Also that we have severally, after this manner, examined this definition by his parts; let us gather thereout certaine things not to be possible. First, this, that predestination is a decree of God, and is to be placed in the purpose of God: for although men are said to be predestinate, yet must we not appoint predestination in them. So likewise things are said to be predestinate, a knowledge; when as yet in them is neither knowledge nor predestinate, but onlie in the man of God, that knoweth them. Therefore, even as we can foresee, if either raie, or cold, or frost, before they come, so God predestineth men, which as yet have no being. For of relations some are such, that of necessity the one cannot be but together with the other, as a father and a sonne: and some there are, where of the one may be, although the other be not at the same time both; it as the former and the latter, knowledge and the thing to be knowne. Predestination therefore is to be referred unto this latter kind of relations; as when we predestinate yet, as if it as if it were already have laid in the mind of him that predestineth: those things, whereof the predestination are referred, namely grace, iustification, good works and glorification, are in them which be predestinate:

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note: for these have no place, but in the saints. But in that we have put the effects of predestination, in the definition thereof; it is not to be marvelled at: for this definition cannot be given, without the corollaries (as they call them) be also expressed. For predestination is in him defined, but of necessity these must be expressed and declared the ends, unto which men are by it directed. And therefore they are joined with these knowledge, because God knoweth both the beginnings, and means, and ends of our salvation. This moreover is to be knowne, that when of the fathers (as sometimes it happeneth) predestination is called foreknowledge, that then it signifieth, not onlie knowledge, but also appointment: which (as we have declared) pertaineth unto purpose. Therefore we did what we could, to speake properly, to the end these things should not be confounded. And this to be considered also, how in predestination, are knit together the goodnes, wisdom, and power of God, which are his most dear properties: yea, and which commeth of his goodnes, as places in the will of God. For knowledge, as places in the will of God, for the will purporeth nothing, which is not before knowne. Lastly when it is come to be put in execution, then is power present.

14. And now, because things contrarie pertaine to one and the selfe same knowledge, and the one of them fructify much to the knowledge of the other; even as we have defined predestination, so also will we define reprobation. I said before, that I was of the same mind that the Scholemen are; namely, that the reprobate are not predestinate: not for that I judged their reasons to be so firme, but because the scriptures wee see to speake for the most part. It is his their reason, because predestination directeth not onlie to the end, but also unto the means which lead to the end. But forasmuch as sine are the means, by which men are damned: they say that God can not be named to be the cause of them. And indeed, if we will speake by right line and properly, God can not be said to be the cause of sins, because yet we can in no wise but by the exclusion from the government and ordering of time: for he is the cause of those actions, which to us are sins; although as they are of God, they are more iustice: for God punisheth them by sins. Wherefore sins, as they are punishments, are laid upon men by God, as by a iust judge. And this is God which withoutally his grace from men; which being without grace, it can not be chosen, but that they must fall. And forasmuch as through his agitation or stirring up, all we both live and move; doubtless all the works which we do, must needs in a manner be done by his impulsion. Although thereof follow

weeth nothing; for he should pertaine into his hands our naughtiness; for he have naughtiness abundant enough of our felices, both by reason of original sin, and also because the creature, if it be not helped by God, of its selfe it declineth without measure and end, to worse and worse.

Furthermore God, and that undoubtedly by iustice, immitteth unto the reprobate, and unto the wicked, occasions of sinning; and thundereth fallie beneath the parts of men, not onlie to god, but also (as Augustine faith) by his iust judgement to cull. For, also he vberth the malice of men, will they or will they, unto those ends, which he hath purposed unto himselfe. And the holie scriptures like not to false, that God delivereth men into a reprobate sense, and decreeth them blinde, and severeth them from manie other such things; and causeth them to be blind, as the cause of sins, seeing Rom. 1. 24. we have the true cause of sins sufficient in our felices. So as that reason of the Scholemen is not firme, neither clearly it to a verie free foundation. Whereby, I therefore separate the reprobate from the predestinate; because the scriptures no where that I knowe of call men that shall be damned predestinate. Which sentence, though I follow no reason why, yet would I judge is to be false; because of the authority of the word of God. Whereby, I say that the holie scriptures to speake; for that (as we have before said) predestination hath regard unto those ends, unto which men can not by nature attaine: such as are iustification, grace, life, and glorification; by which God rewardeth by nature. For about all strength and power of nature. But the sins, for which men are damned, although they are excluded from the government of God, namely, after that manner, as we have already declared; yet do they not passe the strength of our nature: for curie man of himselfe is prone though to sin.

15. Wherefore reprobation is the most iust purpose of God, whereby he hath before all eternitie, constantly decreed without any iustification, not to have mercie on those whom he hath not loved, but hath ewerighed them; that by their iust condemnation, he might declare his wrath towards sins, and also his glorie. The former parts of this definition are already declared, when we defined predestination, even unto that part without any iustification: which part is in iustice added, because God before all his mercie no man; although he bestoweth not his mercie upon those, for he is not bound unto any man by any lawe; neither he is compelled of dutie, to have mercie upon any man. Wherefore God answereth in the Gospel; Is thine eye wicked, because I am good? Is it not lawfull for me, to do what mine owne what I will? The selfe same hath

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their owne accord they bend themselves to holines, and unto purines of life. **God by Moses** commanded the Israelites to sanctifie themselves: and yet in another place he manifesteth the elect, that it is he, which sanctifieth the people. And **Paul** unto the **Cornthians** saith, that Christ was made unto vs, wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and sanctification. **God also** commandeth vs to be blame; and yet the scriptures else-where testifie, that **Faith** is the gift of God.

**18** **God** **will** all these things therefore it is verie manifest, how little this place maketh for our aduerfaries, which woe fower they turne them selves. Besides all this, the scriptures do not onely teach, that predestination is not of works foretune, but also plaine contrarie. **For** **Paul** pronounceth of those twins; Before they were borne, or had done either good or euill, it was said. The elder shall serue the younger: **Also**; **Jacob** haue I loued, and **Esaue** haue I hated; that it should not be of works, but of him that calleth. Therefore he denieth, that either the loue or hatred of **God** cometh of works. But they are worthy to be laughed at, which calld; that **Paul** inuad reclused works altogether done, but not those which are to be done. **For** they see not, that **Paul** in this place goeth about to remove all manner of difference from those two brethren; that we might fullie vnderstand, that they were altogether like as touching their felices. **For** when he declared, that they were borne of one father and mother, that they were brought forth also both at one birth; his meaning tendeth to no other end, but vnto this; by their equalitie to them, that the election of **God** is free, so that it late in him to elect the one, and to reject the other. But if the difference were left onely in works foretune, then should **Paul** in blame haue put to great an equalitie. Wherefore **Paul** speaketh generallye of Not of works. In which words he comprehendeth, as I haue shewed, that we are, as works alone done. And that we might the more fully vnderstand this, he addeth; But of him that calleth. Wherefore **Paul** senteth vs vnto **God**, and not vnto works.

And if a man diligentlie marke all those things which follow in that chapter, you shall see, that the apostle baweth those things, which be teacheth of predestination, to these principall points; namelye vnto polner: **for** he saith; Had not the potter power? **Unto** purpose of god pleasure; **Unto** the **Cepheans** he weth both works, **Unto** will; **for** he saith, He had mercie on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. **Unto** mercie of loue; **for** he saith, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of **God** that

haue I hated. Seeing **Paul**, that cause fower either here, or in any other place be giue of predestination, reduceth the same to these four principall points; can we doubt of his meaning? **For** shall we take vnto to give sentence either hereby? But as touching works, he speaketh not so much as one word, wherefore he treateth of this matter; but onely to exclude them. Further, consider this, that there is nothing more against the scope and meaning of **Paul**, than to put works foretune to be the causes of predestination: **for** by that means, works should be the causes of imputation; but that doctrine the apostle woth by all manner of means oppose.

And hereby **3** yone this reason to be firme, because the apostle manifest predestination the cause of calling, and calling the cause of iustification. Wherefore if works be the causes of predestination, they shall also be causes of iustification. **For** this is a firme rule among the iustifications; **Wherefore** is the cause of a cause, is also cause of the effect. Further, no man can denie, but that god works pieces of predestination; **for** we are said to be predestinate, that we should be holy & blameles. **And**; **God** by predestination hath prepared good works, in which we should walke. And **Paul** himselfe confesseth, that He obtained mercie, to the end hee the effects of predestination, how can we then late, that they are the causes thereof, and chiefe of those kind of causes, which are called effects? **For** that title of free will is nothing but worth, which they so often brag of, as though they haue it of our felices, and not of the mercie of **God**. **For** **Paul** saith, that It is **God** which worketh in vs both to will and to performe. **And** **God** in **Ezechiel** saith; I will take away from them their fionie hart, and will giue them a hart of flesh. We cannot (saith **Paul**) thinke anie good thing of our felices, as of our felices. And if we had in our felices that god title, which they speake of, that should be, but that we might giue thereof? **Unboubteable** the **Lord** saith; No man cometh vnto me, vntlesse my father Iohna, 44 drawe him. And Ieron against the Pelagians, berie weth twyth, that they which are to be bystone, are to be woth signified, to haue been bystone beforeward, reading, and unwilling, but as be backward, reading, and unwilling.

terward **God** do to worketh, that he changeth them. This selfe-same thing also, woth the nature of grace yone: **for** **Paul** saith; That the remanents might be faued, according to the free election of grace, which is to faue, according to free election; **for** so is the genuine cause after the which we phrase to be reformed.

**19** Further, in the definition of predestination, in the first place, we haue put this word purpose;

purpose; which thing it signifyeth nothing else (as we haue taught out of the epistle vnto the **Cepheans**) but the god pleasure of **God**, thence by euidently appereth, that we may not yett where we take the cause of predestination. **For** out, works cannot be the causes of our calling, and much lesse of our predestination: **for** predestination goeth before calling. And that works are not the causes of calling, it is declared by the epistle vnto **Timothie**; **God** hath called vs (saith **Paul**) with his holie calling, not by our works, but according to his purpose, & the grace which we haue in **Christ** before the world was. Here by it most manifestly appereth, that works are not the causes of our calling. **For** neither also are works the causes of our saluation; which yett were far more like: **for** by god works **God** bringeth vs to eternitie. But **Paul** to **Titus** saith, that **God** hath faued vs, not by the works of righteousness, but according to his mercie. Further, what needeth **Paul** after this disputatation to crie out? O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of **God**! How vnsearchable are his iudgements, and his waies past finding out? **For** if he would haue followed their mens opinion, he might with one word haue dispatched the whole matter, & haue said; that some are predestinate, and other none reformed, because of the works which **God** foretune should be in both of them. Those men Augustine in mockage, called sharpe bittern men, which to trimle and to callie false those things that **Paul** could not fe.

But late they, **The** **Apostle** in this place as forth this question. But it is absurd so to faue, especially, seeing that he brought it in of purpose; and the solution thereof serued very much vnto that which he had in hand. And how (in **Gods** name) can he seeme not to haue alloied the question, when he reduced that cuen vnto the highest cause; namelye, vnto the will of **God**, and therewithall the weth, that we ought not to go anie further? **When** **God** had appointed liuities, at the foot of the mount **Sina**; if anie man had gone beyond those limits, he woud by the lawe punished. Wherefore let these men be wath, wath what boldnes they presume to go further than **Paul** would they should. But they say, that the apostle here rebuketh the impudent. **As** it is, but yet this rebuking is a most true solution of the question: **for** **Paul** by this representation prohibiteth vs not to inquire anie thing beyond the mercie and will of **God**. If these men vnderstand such a solution, as mans reason may refuse vpon, I will callie grant, that the question is not to alloied; but if they feke that solution, which saith ought to imbrace and to rell vpon, they are blind, if they fe not the solution.

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difference, for that the one was borne of a free woman, and the other of a hand-maiden: afterwards he brought two brethren that were twins, Jacob and Esau, which had not onlie one the same parents; but also were brought forth both at one time, and in one of the selfsame birth. And as touching twins, there was no difference at all betwixt them: for as the apostle saith, before they had done either good or euill, it was said: The elder shall serue the younger. Again; Jacob haue I loued, but Esau haue I hated. And thus there, that Paule should so diligently allege these things, but to make the two brethren therein equal in all points, as touching nature: which had bene to no purpose, if still there had remained so much difference in works foreseene. So then it followeth, that whatsoever difference is in merit, the same dependeth onlie of the will of God: for other wise we are all borne vnder sinne.

21. Further, if there should be any thing of our felices which might moue God to predestinate vs, that should chieffe be faith. For Augustine also, when he was yet pong, & was not so well a thoughtle acquainted with this question, thought that God in predestination & reprobation, hath a respect vnto faith, & vnto infidelitie: which opinion, both Ambrose and Chrysostome embraced before. But this in verie deed cannot be attributed, no not vnto faith; for faith alio cometh of predestination. For if it is not of our felices, but is giuen of God; and that not easily, but by his determinate counsell: which may be easily proued by manie places of the scriptures. For Paule vnto the Ephesians writeth; By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of your felices, for it is the gift of God, least any man should boast. And againe in the same epistle; Charitie and faith from God the father, through Iesus Christ. And in the epistle vnto the Romans; As God hath diuided vnto euerie man the measure of faith. And vnto the Corinthians; I haue obteneid mercie, that I might be faithful. Vnto the Philippians; Vnto you it is giuen, not onlie to beleue in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. In the Acts; God opened the hart of the woman that sold purple, that she might hee vnto those things which were in the sight of Paule. And in the 13. chapter; They beleued, as manie as were ordeined vnto eternall life. Christ also saith in the Gospels; I came to seffe vnto thee, o father of heauen and earth, that thou shalt hidee these things from the wise and prudent, and shalt reueale them vnto infants: euen so, o father, because it hath so pleased thee.

And in another place; Vnto them (saith he) I speake in parables, that when they heare, they should not heare; & when they see, they should not see: but vnto you it is giuen to vnderstand,

And vnto Peter he said; Blessed art thou Simon Bariona, for flesh and blood hath not reuealed this vnto thee. And there are manie other testimoines in the holie scriptures, whereby is proued, that faith is giuen and distributed by God onlie; so as it cannot be the cause of predestination: and of faith cannot, works can much lesse. 22. Spokeener, no man can denie, but that the predestination of God is eternal: for Paule to Timothy saith; that God hath elected vs before the world was: And vnto the Ephesians; Before the foundations of the world were laid, we our works are temporal, therefore that which is eternal, cannot come of them. But they vnto caull, that those works, in whose respect we are predestinated, are so to be taken, as they are foreseene of God; and by this means they cannot seeme to be temporal. But to take them in that manner; yet can it not be denied, but that they are after predestination: for we depend of it, and are the effects thereof, as too haue before taught. Therefore after these mens doctrine, that which cometh after, should be the efficient cause of that which went before; which, how abourd it is, euerie man may easily vnderstand. Further, the efficient cause is, of his ouer nature, more worthy, and of more excellencie than the effect; speciallie in respect is such a cause. So then, if works be the cause of predestination, they are also more worthy, and cannot be of more excellencie than predestination. Where of more excellencie is sure, constant, and infallible; this predestination is sure, constant, and infallible; how then shall we asse, that it dependeth vpon works of free will, which are vncertaine, and vncertain, and may be together to fro, if a man consider them particularlie: for men are althe prone vnto this; of that kind of sinne, as occasions are offered, & free will before, if we will peake generallie, & free will before, if generation can do nothing else but sinne, by reason of the corruption that cometh by our first parents.

So as, according to the mind of these men, it must needs follozie, that the predestination of God, which certifie, dependeth of the works of men, which are not onlie vncertaine, but sinnes also. Neither can they saie, that they meant as touching those works, which follozie regeneration: for those (as we haue taught) spring of grace and of predestination. Neither do these men consider that they, to fastifie mans reason, and to attribute a libertie (I knowe not vnto) to men, do rob God of his due power and libertie in election: which power and libertie yet the apostle setteth forth, and saith; that God hath no lesse power ouer men, than hath the potter ouer the vessels which he maketh. But after these mens opinion God may not elect, but him onlie, whom he knoweth that because

because himselfe fell: neither can he reiect any man, but whom he seeth shall be euill. But this is to go about to ouer-rule God, and to make him subiect vnto the lawes of our reason. As for Erasmus, he in vaine speakeb about this reason: for he saith, that it is not absurd, to take as issue from God that power, which he himselfe will not haue attributed vnto him; namely, to do any thing vniuerselle.

For we saie, that Paule hath in vaine, yet rather falselie fast fastly this libertie of God, if he neither haue it, nor will that it should be attributed vnto him. But how Paule hath proued this libertie of God, that place which we haue cited, most manifestly declarer. They also to no purpose obiect vnto vs the iustice of God; for here is intreated onlie of his mercie. Neither can they denie, but that they, by this their opinion, do derogate much the loue and good will of God towards men. For the holie scripture, when it would commend vnto vs the fatherlie loue of God, as it is, that He gaue his son, and that vnto the death, and at that time when we were yet sinners, enemies, and children of wrath. But they will haue no man to be predestinated, which hath not good works foreseene in the mind of God. And to euerie man may saie with him selfe; If I be predestinated, the cause thereof dependeth of my selfe. But another, which feeleth trule in his hart, that he is frelie elected of God for Christ sake, when as he of himselfe was all manner of waies vniuerselle of so great loue, will without all doubt be wonderfullie inflamed to loue God againe.

23. It is also possible vnto vs, that our saluation should not depend of our works. For we oftentimes loue, and in liuing vniuerselle are not constant. Doubtles, if we should put confidence in our ouer strength, we should vterlie despair: but if we beleue, that our saluation abideth in God, fixed and assured for Christ sake, we cannot but be of good comfort. Further, if predestination should come vnto vs by our works foreseene, the beginning of our saluation should be of our felices; against which opinion, the scriptures euerie where crye out: for that were to raise vp an idoll in our felices. Spokeener, the iustice of God should then haue need of the external rule of our works. But Christ saith; Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you.

Neither is that consideration in God, which is in men, when they begin to fauour a man, as to loue a friend: for men are moued by excellent gifts, whereby they see a man adorned; but God can find nothing good in vs, which first precedeth not from him. And Cyrian hath (as Augustine oftentimes citeth him) that we therefore can not gloie, for that we haue nothing that is our ouer: and therefore Augustine crye

clutely, that we ought not to part shakes betwixt God and vs, to giue one part to him, and to keepe another vnto our felices, to obtaine saluation: for all whole is without doubt to be ascribed vnto him. The apostle, when he writeth of predestination, hath aliothes this end before him, to confirme our confidence, and especiallie in afflictions; out of which he saith that God will deliuer vs. But if the reason of Gods purpose should be referred vnto our works, as the causes, then could we by no means conceiue any such confidence: for we oftentimes fall, and the righteousness of our works is so finall, as it can not stand before the iudgement fall of God. And that the apostle, for this cause chieffe, he made mention of predestination, we may vnderstand by the eight chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. For when he described the effects of iustification, amongst other things he saith, that we by it haue obtained the adoption of children, and that we are moued by the spirit of God, as the sons of God; and therefore by a valiant mind the suffer aduersities; and for that cause euerie creature groweth, and stretcheth itself, that he to the length be deliuered; and the spirit it selfe maketh intercession for vs. And at the last he addeth; That vnto them that loue God, all things worke to good. And who they be, that loue God, he draveth out orderly; Which are called (saith he) according to purpose. These toll Paule make creature, that they should not think, that they are hindered, when they are exercised with aduersities; because they are forsook, predestinated, called and iustified. And that he had a respect vnto this security, these things declare, which follozie; If God be on our side, who shall be against vs? Who shall accuse against the elect of God? First by this method is gathered, that the aduersaries are much, supposing that by this place they may infer, that predestination cometh of works foreseene: for Paule before that graduation, loueth these words; To them that loue God, all things worke to good: as though foreknowledge and predestination, thereof he afterwards maketh mention, should depend of that sentence.

And to this sense they cite that of the Psalme of Salomon; I loue them that loue me, Salomon certifies (as we haue said) that by the merits of this place, intemeth to declare, who Paule in this place, intemeth to declare, who they are, vnto whom it is giuen to loue God. And to whom all things worke to good. And those (he saith) are they, which by predestination are chosen of God. And as touching Salomon, we also confesse, that those which loue God, are againe loued of him. But this is not in question, whether the loue of God, thereby be intimated, whether of growe from our loue: this is not in question.

concluding saluation from the whole merit must be ascribed vnto God.

24. In predestination the spirit is not to be regarded, it would make vs not to hope, but to despair.

Rom. 8. 1. and 8. 30.

Ibidem. 27.

In which words of Salomon the iudicialties are certifies.

Psalm. 137. the loue of God is the cause that we geth out of our loue, but contrarie.

13. 14.

doth John by expresse words declare in his epistle; He hath not (saith he) first loved vs, because we have loved him. The second thing, that we gather of the works of Paule is, that the predestination of God (if it be of this force, to condemn vs, touching the god-will and love of God to towards vs) cannot depend of our works: for our works are both weakes, and of verie small righteousness. Again, this is to be considered, that Paule concealeth not those causes, which might have bene assigned; for he expressely sets downe, that the mercie and iustice of God may appeare. But when he cometh to the efficient cause, he will have vs to fallie to raise our felices on the will of God, that he compareth God to a potter, and vs to clate: in which comparison he sheweth, that there is nothing which we ought further to inquire.

I knowe that the aduersaries saie, that that comparison is brought onlie to repelle the malapertnes of the demandor: not that the matter on both parts is to indeed, for that God electeth men by works foreknowledge. But if it be so, how then by this similitude shall the multitude of murderers be sowed? for they will saie, If the iustice of God require this, that election be of works foreknowledge, what needed Paule to say, Because they had done good or euill, it was said, The elder shall serue the younger? Jacob haue I loved, & Esau haue I hated. Again, Not of works, but of him that calleth, that election might abide firme, according to the purpose? And this is this similitude of the potter brought, being the thing it selfe is far otherwise; and neither doth God as a potter, all things after his owne lust, neither are we as clate utterly without discretion? Doubtles by this reason the malapert questioner is not repelled: naie rather, there is offered an occasion of reply; for that the similitude, which is brought, serueth not to the purpose.

24 There is also another sentence of Paule vnto the Ephesians, whereby this saying is greatly confirmed; for when he had said, that we are predestinated according to the purpose of God, he addeth; By the power whereof he worketh all things, according to the counsel of his will. But if it were so, as these men imagine, God should not worke all things according to his will, but according to the will of another. For, as we should ouer our works, so should he moderate his election; and that is to be led by another mans will, and not by his owne. This is the thing which Paule to the Corinthians also, saith; God hath chosen the foolish, weak, and vile things of this world, to confound the wise, mightie, and noble. Like beareth (saith he) vpon your calling: Not manie wise, not manie mightie, not manie noble. And

in the selfe-same epistle, when he had described the former estate of the elect, and had reckoned up a great manie and greivous finnes, at the length addeth; And these things were yet, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified. And vnto the Ephesians; Ye were (saith he) once without God, without hope in the world. These things passe, that the calling and predestination of God depend not of our merits. But as Augustine writeth vnto Simplicianus; God vndermethy manie philosophers, men of sharpe wit, and of notable learning. He hath also ouerblyped manie, which if a man haue a respect vnto ciuill manners, were innocents, and of life good enough. Neither is this to be marvelled at, for if God to this end predestinate, to make manifest the riches of his mercie; that is sooner accomplished, if by thing to saluation those who both rellie more; & by reason of their defaults of life, are further from him, than if he should elect those, whom manie reason may iudge more fit.

Whereof it came, that Christ taught the flocke of his disciples out of sinners. Doubtles these causes, and bade men: neither disdained he to call vnto him, theenes and harlots. In all which, men, what consideration (I beseech you) shall there to be had vnto merits? Paule also writeth vnto the Corinthians; We preach Christ crucified, vnto the Iews indeed an offense, and vnto the Greeks foolishnes; but vnto them, that are called, both Iewes and Gentils, Christ the power of God, and wisdom of God. And also in this place, wherence the apostle setteth the difference, when he affirmeth, that some thinke will of Christ preached, and some ill; for all this he faith cometh wholie of calling: for he saith; But vnto the called. As if he should haue said; They which are not called, haue Christ for an offense, and for foolishnes; but they which are called, do both folowe him, and also imbrace him for the power and wisdom of God. In the prophete also, when God promitteth that he will deliver his people, he saith not that he will do it for their works or merits sake; but I will do it (saith he) for my name sake. From this reason Paule departeth not; for he sheweth, that by predestination, will make open the riches of his glorie, that all men might knowe howe true the Iewes had delerred this election of God; which should be counted for the people of God. Whiche thing Steuen expoundeth in the Acts of the apostles, when he saith; that they had euer refused God, and had bin alwaies stiff-necked. What god worke then did God in them, to prefer that nation before all other nations? Euen diel notable be described, how God looked vnto the people of the Iewes at the beginning; name-lyc, as vpon a naked damsell, and on euery spot.

polluted, and shamefullie berolled in blood; I passed by (saith the Lord) and when I sawe thee in that case, I had compassion of thee.

25 Further, let vs remember what is the scope of the apostle in the epistle to the Romans; for if we will iudge wrightly of controversies, we must not cast our eye off from the merites. The inducement of the apostle was, that he might by all manner of meanes commend the grace of Christ. And this purpose can nothing more hinder, than to affirme, that the predestination of God; that is, the head and fountaine of grace, cometh of the works of men. And if it be counted a fault in Oratores, if in their opinion they perchance describe things which would much hinder the cause that they toke in hand; how can we suspect that the holie Ghost perfectly not in that which began, but speaketh things strange from that which he purposed? Neither can we make any other reason of the members, than of the head, which is Christ Iesus. Seeing therefore that no man can doubt, but that the forme of God did fraile take vpon him, manie nature; for if the question should be asked, why rather he, than any other man, tooke flesh of the virgin Marie? There can no other reason be giuen, but that it so pleased him. For as touching works, any other man, borne of any other virgin, might haue had them, no lesse than he which was borne of Marie. For whosoever had had the Godhead, as Christ had; trulie he should haue borne the selfe-same works which Christ did. Seeing therefore that that humane was taken of the forme of God fraile, and of the pure and more mercie of God: euen after the selfe-same manner, whosoever are the members of Christ, are chosen fraile, and without any merits of works. Finally, all those reasons, which proue, that iustification consisteth not of works; the same also proue, that predestination dependeth not of works.

Now rellie to declare, whether Christ and his death, may be said to be the cause of predestination. Here we answer, that Christ and his death is the principall and chiefe effect of predestination. For amongst those things, which are of God giuen vnto the elect, is Christ himselfe, & the fruit of his death. For whosoever is giuen vnto by this waie, and by this conduit, as it were, is berieued vnto vs from God. And forasmuch as it is certaine, that the effects of predestination may be so copared together, as one may be the cause of the other; but vnto none of them agreeth to be the beginning of predestination: therefore we denie, that Christ, as touching his humane or death, is the cause of our predestination, although he be the beginning and cause of all good things, which come vnto vs by the purpose of God.

26 I am not ignorant, that there haue bene some, which haue gone about to reconcile together the sentences of the fathers, with this most true doctrine, which we haue now by many reasons proued. For they saie, that the fathers, when they wrote that predestination is of works foreknowledge; by the name of predestination, do not understand the worke or action of God, whereby he electeth or predestinate any man; but rather the end and certaine meane; and that as touching them, nothing can let, but that those may be causes. For it is without all doubt certaine, that the last baptism cometh of works, as the cause; and god works spyzing of faith, as from their head or fountaine.

I haue indeed, that the intent of these men is not to be discommended, which labour to aplice the sentences of the fathers vnto the truth, as much as is possible; but yet that which they auouch to be true, cannot I affirme. For there are certaine sentences of the fathers so hard, that they can be by no meane be aduante to this meaning: that for they, to defend the libertie of our will, will not haue all things to depend of the predestination of God; and of purpose faile, that all wholie is (is not of God), but somewhat also is required of vs. And they expressely write, that God electeth some; for that he foreseeth that they would be leue. They haue also here and there manie other such like sayings, so that I by no means can see, how their sentences can agree with our doctrine in this point. Doubtless Augustine fully agreeth with it; I scorn also to disagree from it, although oftentimes in manie places he agreeth with Origin and others; but against the Pelagians he highlie commended the sentence of Augustine touching this matter, and excorciating aliotherwise his writings against this heresie. Seeing therefore that Augustine effectu-ly vnto this argument against the Pelagians, it must needs be, that the same verbe well as pleased Ierom vnto being old, And Cyprian, as he haue before said, manifestly writeth, that there is nothing ours; to witte, the following of necessity, that it is all of God. But howe- soeuer it be, there is no need, that we should note any dispute as touching the fathers, as in all other things, which belong vnto faith; so also in this question we must giue sentence according to the scriptures, not according to the fathers. And this selfe-same thing euen the fathers themselves require at our hands, which I in alleging of arguments haue per- formed to my power.

27 Amongst the latter writers, Pighius be- ing forced by the vehemence of the scriptures, granteth vnto vs, that works are not causes of predestination. For he confesseth that it con- sisteth fraile, and of the more mercie of God, with

Sentence of the fathers agree not touching this doctrine.

It is not true that the fathers saie, that wholie is not of God.

It is not true also that our elects, because of faith foreknowledge, are chosen.

We must giue sentence according to the scriptures, not according to the fathers.







God would in this man, by a certaine singular, and unaccustomed dispensation, fear a some others from the like wickedness and impiety. Wherby, this neither conformable happy, as far as we can gather out of histories; neither also can anie man, by the holie scriptures, see this dispensation. And peradventure God did not this to Spiera, but the diuill (whose bondslau he was) hauing now renouued godlines suggested this; to the end he might driue him to viter desperation. So then we must make a distinction (as we before admonished) that either we speake of them that are viterle without all feeling of pietie, or else of the godly, and of them that are now called. If we talke of strangers, they either nothing regard these counsels of God, or else they are already in despair of themselves: if we meane of the godly, they will not suffer themselves anie long time to be commited with this suspicion; for that they now fee themselves called and faithful, and therefore are iustified: all which things persuade them to haue a confidence, and to hope that their names are entered in the roll of the elect.

24. Lastlie, Pighius imagineth, that we speke things absurd, because we teach that men were first in a masse merced and corrupted with original sinne, before that they were predestinated of God: as though we would iustifie the purpose of God, when yet notwithstanding we in the counsell of predestination, put condemnation and eternal infernec, before finnes and our corrupt nature; and so we iustifie that which is first, by that which cometh after. We adde also, that by this meannes, as touching the purpose of God, euen by our diuine doctrine, the end is first appointed, and those things also which bring vnto the end. Wherefore, forso much as original sinne is one of the iuncans, whereby we are condemned, it cannot, as we imagine, go before reprobation; when as it falleth an, is comprehended vnder it as a cause. And thus we see, how this meane vnto eternal condemnation, is not that things thus, that this man understood not that we saie. Neither Augustine nor we euer said, that original sinne went before predestination, being predestination is before anie sinne; as Adam sel in this. Neither is it to ascribe as he imagineth, that finnes should fall vnder reprobation, not indeed as the cause thereof; but as the cause of condemnation and of eternal infernec: And whereas he saith, that if it were so, it should followe; that God would wilch finnes. And he has declared how this is to be answered. Neither can be deny, but that God selectt finnes, which are continuallie committed, to those ends which he himselfe hath appointed. And forso much as this is not borne of him rathle, but by

his determinate counsell; how can it be, that after a lost finnes are not comprehended vnder reprobation?

And if he contend that God after one lost wilch, and is not the cause of finnes and god wilch; we also ascribe the same. But yet in the meane time, let him cease to count it for a thing absurd, that as well the end, as the meane either of predestination, or of reprobation, are comprehended vnder the purpose of God, though after a diuers manner. And as touching original sinne, we also ascribe, that it goeth not before predestination or reprobation; but of necessity followeth it: for that God would not produce men out of any other stocke or matter, but out of the pignette of Adam; by means whereof, we are all bozne infected with the spot of corruption. And forso much as this was not hidden from God, therefore Augustine & we also will him saie, that God from euersaling purpose to haue merrie on those whom he loued, and not to haue merrie on others whom he loued not: so that if they, which want that merrie, which is bestowed vpon others, so lead their life in original sinne; and when they are come to age, and to the life of reason, be adde vnto it wantie other finnes, then are they iustlie and worthilie damned. And this may effectually be said, to repell those, which prebentur psumptio to late the cause of their damnation, not vpon their othere faults, but vpon God. Wherefore original sinne goeth before the birth of all men, so that those haue a respect vnto euerie particular man: it also goeth before the damnation of all the wicked, although it could not be before the eternal purpose of God, but onlie as touching forso muchness.

25. These things being as we haue declared them, as they are in no case absurd, euen so may they well be perceived; if we depart not from the sense of the scriptures: which sense, how much in this place Pighius overpasseth, by meanes of his othere first intention, I will in few words touch. He maketh manie begines or actus in the mind of God, which he ordereth in themselves; not by distinction of time, but of nature: and therefore, sayd acts he callth signes; and yet has he not that out of the holie scriptures, but brouched it out of Scotus. In the first signe (saith he) God appointed to bring forth all men to eternal saluation, which they might haue fruite of together with him, and that without anie difference, and ouer them he would haue Christ to be the head, whom he thinketh also should haue come in the flesh, although the first man had not sinned. In the second signe, he saith that God forsooke the fall of man, by reason whereof it was not now possible that men should come vnto saluation, that is, vnto the end,

end, which God had purposed in himselfe, when he decreed in the beginning to create man. He thought, that the matter might go forward, he saith, that God did put in the this signe, remedies in Christ; namely, of grace, and of the spirit, & such like, whereby might be holpen those which would receive them, and those forsaken which should refuse them. A scribe in the fourth signe, for that he is scribe that manie would well and eternallie, he therefore predestinated them to saluation: but others, whom he sawe would reuert the benefices of God, he abandoned to viter destruction. This he speaketh concerning them that be of full age. But forso much as by this fond imagination, he could not satisfie as touching infants that perish before they can haue the use of free will, he patcheth ther vnto another fable; namely, that they, after the vntubment, shall be in this world happy, with a certaine natural blessednesse, where in they shall continue till praise God, & euer thanks vnto him, for that their estate is tolerable. So this man fineth a doctrine, which he can not proue by anie one word of the scripture.

For how attributeth he vnto God, that he in the first signe decreed those things, which should not haue success; namely, that all men should eternie electie? It is the point of a wise man, I will not saie of God, to decree vnto will those things, which shall take no effect. As him also bring forth some opacles of God, to declare vnto vs, that the forme of God should haue taken vnto him mans flesh, though man had not sinned: but he shall no where be able to shew anie such thing, seeing the holie scriptures euerie where testifie vnto vs, that he was giuen for our redemption; and for the remission of finnes; which also might haue taught him, if he had considered, that original sinne went before all the effects of predestination, creation ouerlapped. Seeing Christ was in this end predestinated and giuen vnto vs, that he might haue a remedie of our fals; of all which fals original sinne led the head and principall: and he had not taken vnto him humane flesh, if there had been no sinne committed. We, without the scriptures also, imagineth, that it lieth in the power of our free will, to receive the remedies being generally left forth; when as this is the most generall gift of God. And that which he last of all bringeth, namely, of the natural electie of children, is not onlie auouched before the scripture, but also is plainlie against it; which teacheth, that all perily in Adam, butlie they be redeemed by the mediator: But to perily, or to die, how repugnant it is with electie, all men easily vnderstand. And besides that, he hath not on his side one of all the fathers, which durst ima-

gine anie such fond deuices. Either can I be persuaded, that Pelagius himselfe, if he were alive againe, would more diligentlie colour his opinion, than this man hath painted it out and set it forth.

26. That which we haue hitherto proued touching predestination; namely, that it dependeth not of workes foregone; the selfe same thing also ascriue we of reprobation: for neither death it also depend of finnes foregone; so that by reprobation thou vnderstand not extreme damnation, but that most daie eternal purpose of God, of not hauing merrie. For Paul testifieth alike of Esau and Jacob; Before they had done anie good or euill, it was laid; The elder shall serue the younger. Jacob haue I loued, but Esau haue I hated, that it should not bee of workes, but of him that calleth. And Pighius laboureth in vaine, to haue this sentence of Paul vnderstood of one of them onelie; seeing the apostle ioined them both together, vnder one and the selfe same condition. Which he more manifestlie afterward declarath, saying; Hee hath merrie on whom he will, & whom he will hee hardeneth. Further, if I shoulde were the cause of reprobation, then should none be elected; seeing God forso much, that all men are defiled with it. The verie which thing Augustine proueth vnto Simplicianus.

27. But now we will entreat of the third article, to see what are the effects of predestination; & we will be the briefer, for that those things which shall be spoken, haue much light of that is already spoken. The first effect therefore of predestination is Christ himselfe; for the elect can haue none of the gifts of God, vntill by our Saviour it be giuen vnto them. Then also let there be put those effects, which Paul describeth in the 8. chapter to the Romans, when he saith; Whom he foreknew, those also he predestinated, whom he hath called, those also he hath iustified, those he glorified. Whereby it is evident, that calling also, & iustification, and glorification are the effects of predestination; inuher vnto also make be added, conformitie to the image of the sonne of God, seeing that Paul testifieth it by as an effect of predestination. Let good workes also be added, seeing that God is said to haue prepared them, that he should walke in them. And then followeth the certaintie or confirmation of the riches of the elect, which Paul testifieth in the 11. chapter to the Romans; & Ephes. 2. 6. the effects of reprobation.

But as touching reprobation, if it be compared

the godly subject not their being to the reprobate, and why?

Pighius understand not our meaning. Original sinne becometh necessarye predestination. From finnes fall vnto reprobation.

God appointeth not euill things, which shall haue no benefit.

Original sinne goeth before euill in mans damnation.

Christ was not comen, but hee had bene committed.

Indulgentia perit, sed peccata non remittuntur, sed mercedem.

Rom. 9. 11.

1 Iun. vi. 18.

3 Iun. vi. 18. the true cause of reprobation, none should be elected.

2 Iun. vi. 18. the effect of reprobation.

Christ in the first effect of predestination.

verse. 28.

Ephes. 2. 10.

Rom. 9. 22. & Ephes. 2. the effects of reprobation.



Peter also in the Acts of the Apostles, said unto Simon Magus; Repent, if peradventure God <sup>Ad. 8. 23.</sup> forgive vnto thee this thing. But they said that in this place Peter doubted not, but that grace is common vnto all men: but he was vntrue in whether Simon would receive it, and earnestly repent. But this subtilty nothing helpeth them; for, as the apostle teacheth, <sup>Repentance to the gift of God.</sup> he vnto Timothy, Euen repentance also is the gift of God. for he admonisheth a bishop, to hold fast found doctrine, & to reprove them that resist, if peradventure God give vnto them to repent. Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>1. Timor. 2. 3. and 4.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>Mat. 11. 23.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>Ad. 8. 23. 24.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>Apoc. 3. 20.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>Phil. 1. 13.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>Mat. 20. 16. and 22. 4.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>1. Cor. 12. 13.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>1. Cor. 3. 5.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>Phil. 1. 13.</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God. <sup>1. Cor. 15. 10</sup> Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to receive into the waite, vnles it be given them of God.

Romans he writeth; It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercede. Which could not be true, if it were in our will to receive grace when it is offered. Touching which place, Augustine to Simplicianus, in his first booke and second question faith, that the meaning of those words is not, as though it were sufficient for vs to will, vnles God ad vs with his grace; for by that means he might contrariwise haue said, It is not of God that hath mercede, but of him that willeth. But the sense is, as it is written vnto the Iphylipians; that It is God which worketh in vs to will; and to performe; and it is true, that we in haue will, vnles God haue mercede, & help. But Iphylip will saie, that God in vaine hath mercede; if we will not. In Ezekiel he prophesit it is said; that God himselfe would change our harts, & in Ezek. 1. 18. David in the psalme singeth; Incline my hart, & God vnto thy testimonies; to declare, that it pertaineth vnto God to haue our will. Which he in another place ment, when he said; A cleane hart create in me, o God, And in the booke of Ecclesiastes it is written, that No man can haue a diall hart, but he vnto whom God shall giue it. And Christ must manifeste taught, that Ancestrum tree cannot bring forth good fruits. Therefore, so long as men are not regenerate, they cannot bring forth to god fruit, that they should ascent vnto grace when it knocketh. So that first it is necessarie, that they be changed from the flesh, and that of cull plants they be made good. As in the generation of the flesh, no man which is procreated, helpeth any thing thereto: euen so is it in regeneration, for that there also we are borne againe through Christ and in Christ.

Wherefore, if we should giue place vnto the opinion of these men, all boasting should not be excluded, for euery man might boast of that his owne act, whereby he receiued grace when it was offered. Furthermore, seeing that this apprehension, according to our mind is done by faith, but (as they thinke) by charitie, what will they do? Will they denie that faith and charitie are the gifts of God? Augustine also reasoneth, that As in Christ the diuine nature to the humane nature free, not waiting for the consent thereof; so they, which are iustified, are not iustified by their owne will or assent. The same father also noteth, that Eternal life is in the scriptures sometimes called by the name of a reward; for that god works so before it. But grace (saith he) and righteousness, are neuer in the holie scriptures called by the name of a reward; for that before it, goeth no good worke acceptable vnto God. And vnto the Romanes Paul writeth; I knowe that in me, that is in my flesh

flesh dwelleth no good: where, by faith, he vnderstandeth what he is in a man not yet regenerate. And dare they notwithstanding attribute vnto man being pet in the flesh, that is, not yet regenerate, so much good, that he is able to asplie saluation vnto him selfe?

And vnto the Corinthians; What haist thou (saith he) which thou hast not receiued? And if thou hast receiued, why boastest thou, as though thou hadst not receiued? Neither will we suffer these men to runne vnto creation; for here they speake not of the soule, or of the powers thereof, that is of will or understanding, which we had of God by creation: but of that action of free will, to the receiving of grace. And forso much as they saie, that they haue this of themselves; they manifestly speake against the apostle. for the Corinthians might haue answered; I haue demerited of vs, what hath separated vs, what haue we haue that we haue not receiued? Which, we now thinke vnto thee, that art assist, whereby we fralle, and that art assist, whereby we receive the grace, which thou praeferdest vnto vs; this doth separate vs from others: and so Paul haue in vaine in such sort repurpose them, as though, if grace were set forth as common to all men, as these men teach, what should we saye vnto God for the conuersion of infidels? Doubtles we do so, for that we beleue it lieth in the hand of God to open their hearts, if he will.

Neither must we thinke, as these men saie, that God giueth to euery man so much grace as is sufficient to moue them: for if he did suffice, they should doubtles be moued. For if there were set before a man, a thing of huge weight; he being willing to moue it, had in himselfe so much strength as were sufficient, that is, as might overcome the weight, which is to be moued; then without doubt there would followe motion. So to God as they saie, should in verie deed moue the hearts of the wicked, & would giue so much strength, that is, so much grace, as should suffice; yea rather so much as should exceed the hardnesse of the wicked hart, nothing could let, but that it should be moued, not in deed by compulsion, but by most effectuall persuasion. Augustine vnto Simplicianus, in his first booke a second question saith, that There are two facts of calling, one common, whereby men are called, but not by one & the selfe same manner, whereby they are apt to be moued & conuerted: others be so called, as they are apt to be moued. Neither must we thinke (saith he) that God could not so haue called Elias, as he might be moued, and as he might be made apt: for all men are not after one and the selfe same manner allure and moued vnto God. Wherefore for

so much as he is omnipotent, he might by his impulsion take away that naturall hardnesse. But saie they, if he would, he might: yet it will not. God alwaies doeth that he can do. Let it be so; we fine euen the selfe same, that God ouerhijphth some, & will not haue mercede on them, & therefore giueth not vnto all men, so much as might be sufficient vnto their saluation. And against those whom he ouerhijphth, he attaineth the end that he willeth; as it is written of Pharo; To this purpose haue I raised thee vp, to declare in thee my power, & that my name might be spread abroad throughout the whole earth.

Christ knewe verie well, as he himselfe testified, that Tyre, Sidon, & Sodoma would haue beene moued to repentance, if he had apalled to them the miracles & doctrine which he granted to the Iewes. Wherefore, so much as he gaue not those things vnto them, they wanted that which sufficed vnto saluation. The Lord also said vnto the Apostles; I haue chosen you, but ye haue not chosen me. But by the opinion of the aduersaries, that vniuersall grace being granted, no man should be chosen of God, forso much as he should be after one and the selfe same sort vnto vs; yea rather, we should choose God, in receiving his grace when it is offered; and we should be formers of the election of God, and should not be formed of him. I haue planted (saith Paul) Apollo hath watered, but God hath giuen the increase, that is, life and spirit. But if those things should be granted to be common vnto all men, he should rather haue said; I haue taken vnto your felues the spirit, life, and grace. The selfe same apostle saith, that God had begun in the Iphylipians a good worke, and also would performe the same againe till the date of the 1. 2. which words plainly declare, that all whole is to be ascribed vnto God; namely, to begin and to performe. And vnto the Ephesians; He worketh all things, according to the counsell of his will, not (saith he) according to the counsell of another mans will; which doubtles he should haue said, if euery man had in his power to take saluation, or not to take it. Again, vnto the Galathians; When it seemed good vnto him, which separated me from my mothers wombe. If it were (as these men imagine) Paul should haue said; When it seemed good vnto me. For, as touching God, they asserme that grace is alwaies ready, and offered vnto all men. Wherefore by their iudgement, conuersion should then come, when it should please vs.

These arguments I thinke to be sufficient at this time, though many more might be brought. Why now reflect to ouerthynde these arguments, which seeme to make against vs. But before we enter into that matter, this we saie, that



John. 9. be understood; God lighteth euery man which cometh into this world; Come vnto me all ye which labour, &c. are laden. *For all men are polluted by the oracles of God, and all men are inwardly moued by some prouoking. All these interpretations are doubtles verie likele, and also apt: and yet is there another betweene these, readie and plaine. The holie scriptures set forth two societies of men: to the one of the godlie, and the other of the vngodlie, and of both societies haue patched together vniuersall propositions, which ought of the warie reader to be beaten to their kind. The prophets saie, & Christ certy the same; All men shall be taught of God. And; All men shall know me, fro the least to the greatest. Again; When I shall be lifted up from the earth, I will drawe all things vnto my selfe. These vniuersall propositions, whilste they be understood of the godlie, which are elected, are not true: as are these also; I will poure of my spirit vpon all flesh. And; All flesh shall come in to my night, and shall worship in Ierusalem. Again; All flesh shall see the saluation of God. Again also; God lieth vpon all them that fall. Iohu, who saith not, that these things are to be understood onlie of the saints? Contrariwise, to the fellowship of the vngodlie perteineth these sentences; No man receiued his re-  
Matten. 23. mune, and yet manie belaued. All men haue hated of all men. Again; All men haue declined, and are altogether made vnprou-  
Phil. 2. 1. fitable: there is none that doth good, no not one. When as yet holie men, and they that are now regenerate, are acceptable vnto God, and do inuener themselves to exhibite vnto him some euidence of the laue. But these vniuersall sayings, ought not to be extended beyond their euene sphericke.*

This distinction had Augustine a regard vnto, in his booke *De ciuitate Dei*, where he declarith and proueth, that there haue euer bene two ci-  
two ciuities, namely, one the citie of God, and ano-  
ther the citie of the diuell. Wherefore in these ge-  
nerall propositions, we must alwaies haue a consideration vnto that order or fellowship of men they pertaine. Which if we in this present place doe, then shall we applye vnto the saints, and vnto the elect this sentence, which we haue now in hand; namely, that God will haue all men to be faued, and by that means all man-  
ner of doubt is taken away. Wherwise, if that God effectualle willety not the saluation of all men, heerie manie instances declare, which perily without God; and manie also which are borne faulce, and deafe, & had neuer in their life time the right & iust vie of reason. And it oftentimes happeneth, that some haue liued long time, ho-  
nedlie and faithfullie enough, and yet suddenly

at the last do fall, and being taken out of the world do perith eternallie. And contrariwise, others, which haue perpetuallie led their liues in wickedness, being at the end of their liues touched with sudden faith and repentance, are faued; when yet notwithstanding, those first might haue bin taken away, that maliciousnes might not haue changed their minds. Who will in these examples saie, that God abate effectualle willety the saluation of all men?

45 They object also a sentence of Christ; How often would I haue gathered together his children, as a hen gathereth together hir chickens, and thou wouldest not? But here also is ment of the antecedent will of the signe, where-  
Matten. 23. by God by his prophets, preachers, apotles and scriptures, manie times inuited the Iewes to die vnto him by repentance: which yet they refused to doe. But yet God, by his effectual will, which he call consequent, perpetuallie de-  
Matten. 23. cludeth to him, those that were his: neither was there euer any age, wherein he gathered not together as manie of the Iewes as he had predestinate. Wherefore Augustine saith; Those which I would, I haue gathered together, although thou wouldest not? They thinke also, that this ma-  
Matten. 23. keth on their side, which is written in the be-  
ginning of the epistle to the Romans, concerning the Gentiles, namely, that they were incredula-  
Rom. 1. 2. ble: which they fae could not haue bin said, but vnto euery man were given so much grace and helpe, as might suffice vnto saluation. But this is to be knownen, that the apostle in this place inteteth only of knowledge; namely, that the Gentiles could not excuse their sins, for that they had not a laue given vnto them of God, as had the Iewes: neither for that God had not in such sort opened himselfe vnto them, as he manifested himselfe vnto the people of the Iewes. Ye knowe God (saith he) by his creaturs, and by the light of nature; ye wanted not the knowledge of right and wrong; therefore, ye are inexcusable. Wherefore we must not thinke, that this sentence extendeth further, than for the which Paule spake it. And if also thou thinkest the matter better, thou shalt fee, that the Ethniks and vngodlie men, against whom the apostle writeth, thought not that they wanted strength to performe those things which they knew to be vpright: so much as they ascribed all things vnto fre will. So as the apo-  
Rom. 1. 2. stle verie well concludeth against them, as if he should haue said; Doe ye thinke that ye haue strength enough, so that ye purge that ye haue no need of Christ? But so much as I haue proued that ye wanted not knowledge, I haue notwithstanding liued wickedlie, I doe there-  
fore inferre, that ye are inexcusable. Further-  
more, innumerate and want of ablene to execute

Matten. 23.

Whether Christ were let, that he could not gather the elect ages that.

as the god of all men.

whether God be the god of all men.

1 Tim. 2. 4.

whether God be the god of all men.

Rom. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

not; seeing that we haue it not in our selues by creation, and by our first institution; but by the fall and sinne, which was brought in into our whole kind, by the first man.

The Ethniks also were inexcusable, for that they performed not that in civill civility, which lay in them to doe. Wherefore nothing can be inferred of this place, which can proue the sen-  
Rom. 3. 2. tence of the aduerfaries. They thinke that this also matcheth with them, which is spoken in the selfe same epistle to the Romans; Is God the God of Iewes onlie, and not of the Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also. They labour of this place to inferre, that God giueth vnto all men sufficient aid, for that he is the God of all men. But they should consider, that Paule there reponeth the Iewes, for that they thought that the beneuolence & grace of God was so bound vnto them, that the Gentiles were vnto them excluded: so then he declared, that God hath not only elected some of the Iewes, but also hath his elect amongst the Gentiles. Neither followeth it therefore of necessity, that vnto all the Gen-  
Rom. 3. 2. tiles should be giuen grace, which might suffice vnto saluation; seeing that neither all the Iewes were partakers of such grace. And we speake this, not as though we denie God to be the God of all men; for we knowe that euen the wicked also, will they or will they, are subiect vnto him; neither can they auoid his prouidence; whom although he bring not to eternall saluation, yet at the least waie, he punisheth them for their evil doers. But he is peculiarly laue, to be the God of them, vnto whom he hath giuen to acknowledge him for their God; and hauing acknowledged him, so worship him.

47 But that place seemeth to be of more im-  
portance, which is written vnto Timothee, where God is called the fauourer of all men, and especiallie of the faithfull. In which words, this word *seruare*, that is Saviour, is to be taken, not as though God giueth vnto all men eternall salu-  
Rom. 1. 2. ation, but as it signifieth, that he preferreth and defendeth all men from manie evils, which o-  
therwise the diuell pteacheth against them. For so great is his rage against mankind, that if he were not restrained of God, he would destroye all things: he would suffer no common-welth no church, but would bring to naught, both gods, and all things whatsoever pertaine to mans liue. So therefore God is the fauourer of all men, in that he giueth aid to great evils from them. But as touching eternall saluation, that is to be understood of the elect onlie: and therefore it is added; And especiallie of the faith-  
Rom. 1. 2. full. For seeing they are predestinated, they are borne all other, attaine vnto this benefit. They wiseth that also out of the prophet Esai, which also Paule hath a little after, in the same epistle;

All idole long haue I stretched out my hands vnto a people that beleechen not, but I speake a-  
gainst me. But of which place they can gather nothing else, but that which hath oftentimes bin said; namely, that all men vniuersallie are vnto of God; that the prophets were sent inben-  
Rom. 1. 2. ditent vnto all men; that the scriptures are set forth to all men. But this makes nothing to the grace of efficacie, whereof we speake; we grant also that he standeth at the doore and knocketh, I will enter in, if any man will let him in. But this they should adde, that there is no man, who can of himselfe open; but it is necessarie that it be first giuen vnto him of the mere goodnes of him that knocketh. And to commente also of the merite of God, they bring a sentence of Esai; Though a mother can forget hir children, yet will I not forget thee. Which sentence doubtles, were little or nothing at all pertaineth to this matter, whereof we are treated. Who euer be-  
Rom. 1. 2. lieue, but that God is a constant faith, I standeth vnto his promises: & c. This doth God in that place promise of himselfe; namely, that he will not forget his people. And we also eue-  
Rom. 1. 2. nowhere better to haue taught, that the predes-  
tination of God is most certaine; therefore, whe-  
ther this place of the covenants and promises; yet doth it not thereof followe, that it is to be understood of all men. Pighius also cannot abide that, which both Augustine and we faue; name-  
Rom. 1. 2. ly, that the regenerate do serue the purpose of God, to aduance a set forth the power of Gods freeuirtie; and faith further, that God hath no men of this cruell dealing, to make his name famous. Which thing he laboureth to proue by a certaine sentence taken out of the booke of Ecclesiastes. But that is thus to be interpre-  
Rom. 1. 2. ted, that none of vs ought to thinke, that God hath need of the works of men: for his felici-  
ty is perfect and absolute, without the aid and helpe of any creature. But that the iustice of God is made manifest by the vniuersallities, & wicked fales of men, while that God taketh ven-  
Rom. 1. 2. geance on them: who are denie, when as Paule teacheth that most euidently and plaine; Ye certy also out of the selfe same booke of Ecce-  
Rom. 1. 2.lesiastes; God hath merice on all men, & winketh at the finnes of all men, because of repentance. But the solution of this objection eu-  
Rom. 1. 2. dently appeareth, by that which hath bin spoken; namely, that these words are to be understood of the vniuersalltie of the elect. For by the win-  
Rom. 1. 2. ning at finnes, it is so farre off that the wicked do aspiere vnto repentance, that they rather waue euery daie waile and woef; they fall brauall into more grieuous finnes. But it pertaineth to the predestinate onlie, to returne againe vnto the right waie, after that God hath bene-  
Rom. 1. 2. fited.

Apoc. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

whether God be the god of all men.

Rom. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

1 Cor. 1. 2.

The reprobate  
hath may  
be a while  
good  
works,  
the predesti-  
nate may  
fall into mo-  
derate  
gracious  
finnes.

1 Sam.9:27  
1 King.17:14

1 Kings.17:  
27,8. 19:  
13. 19:13

Ezech.18:14

1 Sam.17:14  
Mat.26:74  
Mat.26:73  
Ezech.3:1

Good works  
doe serve  
both to pre-  
destination,  
as to repro-  
bation.

Finnes also  
doe serve to  
both.

some while with them.  
48 And touching answering to oblations,  
here will I finally, and consequentie end the  
third article. Whobiet this was will in the  
meane time put you in mind of, that the repro-  
bate may sometimes in some degree do good  
works: and that the predestination on the other  
side, maie fall into finnes most grievous. As  
the first part, Saule maie be vnto vs an ex-  
ample and firme testimonie: for he was at the be-  
ginning moderate, hauing a modest opinion of  
himselfe, as the scripture saith, Salomon al-  
so at the later end of his age fell grieuoully; yea,  
he fell away from God, lohen pet at the begin-  
ning he was most holie; and had in his piety,  
which he was consecrated, required those  
things, which highlie please God: wherefore he  
was also heard. Likewise Achab repented,  
which repentance God talking with Helias,  
commended. And also loas the same God, who  
loada the pietye houle, beuoynd himselfe well.  
Ezechiel also teacheth the selfe-same thing.  
when he teacheth the selfe-same man depart  
from his righteousness and live wickedlie, I will  
forget all his righteousness. Yea, and experi-  
ence it selfe testifieth, that there are many which  
haue lived indifferent humbly, and yet be at  
the length, in the last time of their life perit.  
Wherefore it is manifest, that in the reprobate,  
good works sometimes haue place, which yet  
come not from a sincere and perfect faith, but  
from a faith, that inuadeth but for a time; and  
therefore they cannot suffice to be to God,  
neither doe they in deede bee please God, but  
onlie haue a shew of goodness, and maie as tou-  
ching outward discipline be praised.  
And that the predestination doe sometimes mo-  
derate finne, David is a witnes, who com-  
mitted auerterie and man-slaughter. Peter also  
is a witnesse, who aduised his labour. Likewise  
Moses and Aaron are witnesses, who as  
the scripture testifieth, committed no light  
finne. The same also say, that they, which are  
perducature in the number of the predestina-  
ted, do fall into horrible crimes: and there-  
fore we maie ascribe, that god works doe  
sometimes serue vnto predestination, and  
sometimes also to reprobation. Predestination  
by them bringeth the elect to eternal life: as  
touching reprobation, they are sometimes rea-  
sons, why the fall is made the grieuouler. For  
they which fall away from God, so much as  
they were by him aduoynd with good works;  
as their finnes are most grievous, so also is their  
punishment more sharpe. Some in like man-  
ner serue both to reprobation: as to predestina-  
tion; for they that are reprobate, are by them brought  
to eternal destruction, they which are predesti-  
nate, by them the more set fast the glorie of

God, when they are belieted to them. And there-  
by also is manifested vnto them occasion more  
and more to knowe themselves, as to acknow-  
ledge the benefits that are given vnto them of  
God; and so to giue thanks for them, I do call  
vpon him for helpe. And yet are not these things  
to be taken, that because God by his most sin-  
gular wilfulnes, weth these things most right-  
lie to our saluation, we should therefore sinne;  
we must followe the holie scripture, which com-  
mandeth, that Euill things are not to be done, Rom.3,8.  
that good may come thereof.  
49 Now let vs at the length come to the  
fourth article, in which we purpose to intreare  
of these things in especiall; First, whether by the  
predestination; or reprobation of God, any ne-  
cessitie be laid vpon vs; Secondly, if there be  
any necessitie, whether the same doe hinder free  
will, I aske, whether by the foreknowledge, or  
predestination of God be taken away his ius-  
tice, whereby he is said in the Scriptures to  
rener to curie man according to his worke.  
These things being thusly declared, I trust  
the article propoised shalbe fully satisfied. Touch-  
ing the first part, this we said first, that neces-  
sity is defined to be that which cannot be other-  
wise. But the principles or grounds of neces-  
sity, are sometimes inward, and sometimes out-  
ward. Things, which of their owne nature are  
of necessity, and of an inward principle; ether  
they are absolute necessitie, as God; and  
whatsoever things, if they be changed, include  
contradiction (as they speake); As, that foure is  
not an euen number, or that foure and three are  
not an euen, and this is called a Geometrical ne-  
cessitie; for that it suffereth no Variation. Other  
things inuolue are of necessity of an inward  
ground, but yet not absolute and simple, vi-  
celle they followe the accustomed course of na-  
ture. Fire is said of necessity to burne that  
which is apt to be burnt, and the same also of  
necessitie perpetuall moueth; but these are  
not simple necessitie: for God is able to let  
them, and to caule these physicall and naturall  
things sometimes to cease from their proper o-  
peration. As it is manifest of the three children  
put into the oven of fire, which were not burnt,  
although the same were most great. The Im-  
mortal also from his course, whilst Iolus pur-  
ued after his enemies. And in the time of Helias,  
it is most likeli, that there were vapors draw-  
en out of the earth, and out of the sea, and yet for  
all that, for the space of three yeares, came not  
downe out of the clouds deaw, nor raine. This  
also is manifest of Ezechias, that his disease  
was by nature to die, And these things  
shall suffice touching inward necessity.  
That necessitie also, which cometh out-  
wardly, is of two sorts: the one violent, which  
things

1 Sam.9:27  
1 King.17:14

1 Kings.17:  
27,8. 19:  
13. 19:13

Ezech.18:14

1 Sam.17:14  
Mat.26:74  
Mat.26:73  
Ezech.3:1

Good works  
doe serve  
both to pre-  
destination,  
as to repro-  
bation.

Finnes also  
doe serve to  
both.

1 Sam.17:14  
Mat.26:74  
Mat.26:73  
Ezech.3:1

Good works  
doe serve  
both to pre-  
destination,  
as to repro-  
bation.

is selfe  
compell  
and a selfe  
determined.

So other  
will  
of necessity.

Our acti-  
ons haue  
no necessity  
of inward  
principle,  
but they  
are deter-  
mined.

The will  
cannot be  
constrained.

things are compelled to abide, or to worke con-  
trarie to their nature; the other is by imposi-  
tion; by occasion whereof the schol-men haue  
said, that there is a necessitie of the consequence  
as an effect of the consequent. By which distinc-  
tion, they ment nothing else, but that the con-  
uersion is sometimes necessitie, although that  
which is inferred be not of selfe necessitie. The  
logicians also haue thus distinguished them;  
that they call the one a compounded sense, and  
that they call the other a diuided sense: as if thou wilt say, that  
it is not possible that white should be blacke; that  
it is not possible, if these two things be taken  
continuentlie and together; namely, that one  
is the selfe-same thing, should be both white and  
blacke, which is by no means possible: but if  
they be taken apart, then it may be said not to  
be impossible; for that which is now white may  
be changed to made blacke. Wherefore the schol-  
men thinke, that the whole difficultie of this  
controversie consisteth in the necessitie of the  
consequence, and of the consequent in the com-  
pounded sense. But we for the more perspicui-  
tie, will adde another distinction; that there is  
one necessitie of certaintie, or infallibilitie, and  
another of coaction.  
Now let vs more narrowly search out,  
how these distinctions of necessity may be ap-  
plied vnto this present purpose. First I saie, that  
our actions haue not necessitie by an inward  
principle; for that is will, which of his owne na-  
ture, that is, (as God hath made it) is mutable  
and flexible vnto either part: whobiet they haue  
necessitie by imposition. For that as same as  
thou respectest the foreknowledge and predesti-  
nation of God, it followeth of necessity, that it  
shall so come to passe, as it is of Gods foreknow-  
ledge and predestination. Our will indeed hath an ap-  
petite, that it may be bowed to ether part alike;  
but the action thereof, namely the conuersion, it  
shall not haue, but to that part which God hath  
foreknowne; wherefore the necessitie fallieth  
vpon the conuersion and continuation of the pre-  
destination of God with our works. Which  
they ment by the compounded sense, and by the  
necessitie of the consequence. For our works, if  
they be considered apart, and that we onlie haue  
a respect vnto their right originall, that is, vnto  
the will, are of necessity. Here also is con-  
fessed necessitie of certaintie, or of infallibilitie:  
for that God can neither be changed nor decei-  
ued. Neither doe we plainelie grant, that pro-  
duction bringeth necessitie of coaction: for  
coaction and violence is against the nature of  
will. For if it should be willing to doe any thing,  
it should not then be called will, but rather a ne-  
cessitie (as a man may for terme it) which were to over-  
throwe it. I knowe that the schol-men thinke  
among themselves, whether God foreknoweth

those things, which he foreknoweth, neede  
force, or contingentie. But in this conten-  
tion, I will not intermeddle my selfe, for that  
there is no such matter set forth in the scrip-  
tures; it is sufficient vnto me, to proue that  
God is cleare from all manner of change and al-  
teration. For the contingentie and necessitie  
is in the things; but God alwaies and perpetu-  
allie abideth one and the selfe-same.  
But that there is such a necessitie, namely  
of the consequence, or of the compounded sense,  
or of infallibilitie found in the holie scriptures,  
we will alledge certaine places, which euident-  
lie proue the same. I call any should thinke it  
but a feigned inuention, Christ said; I must  
needs be, that he should be deliuered vnto the  
Iewes, to be mocked. This necessitie can be of  
no other thing inferred, but of the definite con-  
uersion of God: which Peter teacheth in his sermon  
in the acts of the apostles. Christ also said;  
I must needs be, that the scriptures should be  
fulfilled. In Iohn it is written; The scripture  
cannot be broken, that is, it is not possible, but  
that it must needs be fulfilled. Vnto the he-  
bryes, it is vnpollable, that they which once be-  
ing illuminated, should be againe in darkness.  
In which place is intreated of sinne against the holie Ghost, that it is  
impossible, that they which are guilty of it  
should escape; for that God hath altogether  
decided, for euer to forsake those, which haue fo-  
saken. Christ also said of the temptations of  
the latter times, that The elect also, if it were  
possible, should be decieved, Against; Heauen  
and earth shall passe, burny words shall not  
passe away. In which words is signified, that  
all those things, which God hath spoken either in  
the scriptures, or in his eternall eternum, cannot  
be by any means be made frustrate. We  
answereth also vnto his parents; Didye not  
knowe that it behooued me to worke those  
things, which pertaine to my father? Vnto Ti-  
motic Paul teacheth; The foundation standeth  
firme, God knoweth who are his. And in Iohn;  
When the father hath giuen vnto me, no man  
can take out of my hand. Alas, things what-  
soeuer he would he hath done both in heauen &  
in earth. Wherefore of all these things is gather-  
ed, how euidentie this necessitie of certaintie  
or infallibilitie is set forth in the holie scriptures,  
neither is it (as some thinke) a deuise of man.  
1 And these things which we haue spoken  
of foreknowledge, pertaine also to prouidence;  
for although in this vniuersallie of things, manie  
things are said to be done by chance; yet  
nothing is without a cause, that there is nothing  
but neuer so small, but it is subiect vnto the  
prouidence of God, therefore also hath it neces-  
sity, which we call, necessitie of certaintie; and  
others, of consequence. But if, as someth  
things

Whobiet  
for certaintie  
they say  
pauline  
Mat.23:19

John.10:33

Heb.6.4.

Mat.24:34  
Iacob. 3:1

Luk.1:49.

1 Tim.3:19

Iohn.10:29  
Psal.115:13

These things  
long also  
vnto prou-  
dence.

Neither  
shall be  
called causa  
et effectus  
ingent.



things may be called partite necessarie, and partite also contingent; or free, as we have denoted, who will aske whether condition is most agreeable unto them: 3. And nature, that is most agreeable, which is natural and inward. Forasmuch therefore as the necessitie, wherof we now intreat, concerneth outwardly, and is onelie by supposition; therefore things ought in no wise to be esteemed according to it, but according to those principles, or grounds, which are under stood of vs: for our works, which proceed from will, shall be said to be free; those things, which are to produced in nature; that also their contrarie may come to passe) are counted contingent. Whobest, that necessitie of certeinie, or of consequence, which we affirme, is neuer to be denied; neither must the place where our works, either from nature, or from foreknowledge, or from the providence of God. And as touching the will of God, we must thinke, that in verie deed it governeth and moderateth all things, which thing is of all men commonlie granted. For although men persue and feele, that they by will do verie and chose those things which they are minded to do: yet if they be goodlie men, they will alwaie saye; This or that will I do, if God permit. As if they be yet without the religion of Christ (as were the Gentiles) yet notwithstanding, they alwaies make mention of fate, or destinie, of the three sisters called Parce, or of chance, which is oftentimes read in the poets. Whose (as we have said before) if by the word fate, or such like, they understand the connerion of causes, our which God himselfe is the ruler, and moderateth governeth it, then is there no hurt in that opinion; although, by reason of the abuse of the word, it is better viterlie to abstaine from it. There are some also, which because of a certeinie fatall, mightie, and strong necessitie, ascribe bin to the stars, and unto natural causes, which God himselfe cannot change: which is erroneous, wicked, and far from the wisdome of old time; who expressely declare, that by fate they understand the will and government of God. The verses of Cleanthes the Stoike, which he wrote touching this matter, Seneca in his 18. booke of epistles hath turned into Latine, whose meaning in english is thus;

Lead me, O Iovis ether,  
and Loos of Iovis siter,  
Where placefeth life: for I obvie  
to followe predile.  
Lo, prest I am without delaye,  
though loth thou makest me,  
Yet going forward shall I go,  
and call while I live.  
What, beinge sook, I might have done,  
to doe I shall be faine.

The willing persons fates doo lead,  
unwilling they constrain.  
Although in these verses be avouched fate of destinie, yet is the government thereof put in the hands of God; for he calleth upon the most high father, and desireth to be led of him; whose will notwithstanding, he affirmeth to be both certein and infallible. The selfe-same thing saith Homer in his Odyssie to have ment in these verses, which are thus in English;

Such is the mind in caribbe men,  
and so themselves they bend,  
Armoz to the fier of men, and gods:  
that dalle doo ascend.

And then we speake of foreknowledge, we ex-  
clude not will; for, as we at the beginning ad-  
monished, God cannot foreknowe that any  
thing shall come to passe, unless he willeth that  
it shall come to passe. For there can nothing be,  
but that which God willeth to be; and that which  
God willeth, he also willeth to passe; for vs:  
for as Paule saith, He worketh in vs both to  
will and to performe.

52. What this will ought to be foreknowledge,  
neither inwardly nor outwardly nature, but  
willeth in them, as is agreeing with them; and  
therefore, bysomewhat as the nature and propie-  
ty of the will of man is to worke felicitie and by  
elevation, the foreknowledge and will of God  
taketh not abate this facultie or power from it,  
although his predestination be the cause of all  
good actions, which are done of the elect, and in  
the elect. Whiche thing is not onelie proved by  
testimonies of the scripture, but also the con-  
sent of the church in their praiers affirmeth the  
same. For thus it prayeth, O God from whom  
all holie desires, all good counsailes, and all iust  
works doo proceed, &c. And likewise, although  
after a sort they are subject unto the will of God  
yet are they not in such sort produced of it, as are  
good actions: but rather, this ought to be for cer-  
teinie, that they also are not borne viterlie out  
of our will of God. For permission, which  
some doo admitte, that which he will not let  
for God permitte that which he will not let  
neither ought it to be so, that the body should  
longe permit, but willinglie; as Angustine  
saith, Therefore in either kind of worke, the  
will and foreknowledge of God, in such sort  
let it be, that it overthelme not the facultie  
or power of mans will. In the predestinate it  
permitteth, that nothing be of their committeth,  
which may overthrowe their everlasting salu-  
tion. And from the reprobate it taketh away  
no natural power, which pertaineth to the  
substance of nature, neither completeth it them  
against their will to attempt any thing: but it  
bestoweth not upon them so much merie, no  
somuch grace, as it doth upon the elect, and as  
should

should be needfull to save them. But a great ma-  
nie be at stumbe, for that they thinke with their  
eyes; 34. God have foreknowledge, that we shall  
meet together to morrowe, then must it needs be  
that our will was viterlie determined to this  
part; otherwise that could not be foreknowledge.

But we answer, as we have already signi-  
fied, that that determination is indich fort with  
God, as is agreeing with the propriety of na-  
ture of the will. But unto it is proper to be  
one part, that of his nature, it can also will the  
other part. Wherefore we confesse, that if we  
have a respect unto God, it is appointed and de-  
creed what he shall do; for his knowledge is  
not in vaine called foreknowledge: for he hath  
not an opinion of things, so that his knowledge  
can be changed, but hath a certein and sure  
knowledge. And there can be no knowledge,  
unless as we have said) it be certein and  
willeth. But this definition and certeinie of his,  
we both have said, and doo fate, inuertheth not  
the nature of things, neither taketh away libertie  
from our nature. Whiche is proved by this rea-  
son: God bid foreknowledge that manie things are  
possible, which in verie deed shall never be: and  
although they shall never be, yet the foreknow-  
ledge of God taketh not away from them, but  
that they are possible. Whiche we will declare  
by an example of the scripture; Christ, when he  
was taken, said; I could have asked of my fa-  
ther, & he would have given me eleven legions  
of angels, which should defend me from these  
souldiers. Wherefore Christ affirmeth, that it  
was possible for him to alike, and that unto him  
might be granted the manie legions of angels:  
which yet was neither done, nor was by any  
means to be done. And yet notwithstanding,  
God foreknowe that it might have bene done:  
and although it should never come to passe, yet  
was it not hindered by foreknowledge, but that  
it was possible. Wherefore, as the foreknow-  
ledge of God letteth not possibillitie; so likewise  
it taketh not away contingencie and libertie.

53. This necessitie of infallibleness, is not  
onelie declared and proved by the holie scrip-  
tures, and by reasons (as we have now shewed)  
but also is acknowledged of the fathers. Origin  
against Celsus, in his second booke against the  
argument of Celsus, which he objected against  
the christians, saing; Your Christ at his last  
supper foretold (as we saie) that he should be re-  
probated of all his disciples: if he were God, as  
you counted he was, could not he let the doing  
thereof? Origin here wndertheth, a snuwerth,  
that this objection is verie ridiculous: for, forso-  
much as he foretold that that should come to  
passe, if he had let it, then had he not spoken  
the truth; and therefore he added, that it was of  
necessitie; neither could it otherwise be, but

that the same should come to passe which was  
foretold. Whobest, because that this foretel-  
ling changed not the will of Iudas, therefore he  
is willethlie accused, neither ought the blame  
to be laid upon Christ which foretold it. Origin in  
that place acknowledgeth the one and the other;  
namelie the necessitie of certeinie, and the na-  
ture of will not letted. Ambrose also interpret-  
ing the words of Paule; Iacob have I loved,  
but Elau have I hated, referreth the sentence of  
the apostle to Iacobs foreknowledge, and yet addeth,  
that it could not otherwise have come to passe,  
but as God foreknewe that it should come to  
passe. Chryllosome also expounding that which  
is written unto the Corinthians; Ie behouch  
that hereties should be, confesseth, that this ne-  
cessitie is a necessitie of foretelling, which is no  
thing preiudiciall unto the power of our will &  
choise. Neither is this necessitie taken away,  
by certein places in the scriptures, which some-  
times at the first sight seeme to asseme a change  
to be in the mind of God; as is that of Eliae,  
when he threatened to Ezechias the king, pre-  
sent death; which prophete nevertheless God re-  
sented to change, when he prolonged his life si-  
fence yeeres. And to the cite of Ninuie it was  
foretold, that it should be destroyed within forty  
daies; which nevertheless came not to passe.

Those things in verie deed make nothing  
against the truth before taught; for God fore-  
knewe unto Ezechias his death, which was con-  
stant at hand, according to the callies of the oracle,  
whereof he was then sicke, and therein was  
made no lie. But as touching foreknowledge, as  
God foreknewe, that the king should be  
in danger of that most deadly disease; even so  
foreknewe he that his life should be prolonged  
fiftene yeeres. And as he foreknewe, that the  
sinner of the Ninuies belated present destru-  
tion; even so likewise foreknewe he, that of his  
mercie he would give unto them to repent, and  
to be saved. Yet the verie which rule is to be ex-  
pounded that place of Ieremie, in the 18. chap.  
ter, wherein God saith, that He also would  
change his mind, or repent him of the plague,  
which he had threatened unto any cite, nation,  
or kingdom, if they would repent. But that  
shall we saie of Paule, who willeth to the Co-  
rinthians, that He chastised his bodie, and  
brought it into bondage, that he might not be a  
reprobate: What merit he saie might not be the  
purpose of God? Merit he saie might not, that  
he was able to inuert the order of the predesti-  
nation; or reprobation of God; and therefore he  
said not, Let it become a reprobate, but Let it  
be reprobate; for he minded by all industrie  
and carefulnesse to be obedient to the predesti-  
nation of God. For they which are predestinate  
unto eternal life, studie to iustifie the des-  
tination. And

Rom. 9. 13.

1. Cor. 11. 19.

2. Kings. 17.  
1. and 5.  
The cre-  
tinie of the  
foreknowledge  
of Gods  
constant is  
not chan-  
ged.1. Kings. 17.  
1. and 5.  
The cre-  
tinie of the  
foreknowledge  
of Gods  
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ged.1. Kings. 17.  
1. and 5.  
The cre-  
tinie of the  
foreknowledge  
of Gods  
constant is  
not chan-  
ged.

verses of  
Cleanthes  
touching  
destinie.

whether  
our will be  
necessarie to  
our part.

The predi-  
cance of God  
must not be  
separated  
from his  
will.

What  
things are  
possible  
which ne-  
ver shall be.

Man. 35.

Whiche  
is the  
cause of  
all our  
good  
actions.

of the church

Whiche  
will  
belong  
unto will.

Man. 35.

What  
does  
God bid  
reprobate  
that he  
reprobate.

The fathers  
would well  
to the end  
they may be  
obedient to  
predestina-  
tion.

And he said that he would not become repro-  
ved, that is, he would not be found and accused,  
to lead his life otherwise than he preached; which  
kind of vice all men disallow, detest, and con-  
demne. Therefore in that place, was not increas-  
ed the reprobation of God; but of that kind  
of crime, which they are guilty of, who recei-  
ve good monitions, and in the meantime time,  
they themselves lead their life most wickedly.  
Although if a man will needs refer these things  
to the judgement of God, he might well grant  
the same as touching present justice or in-  
justice; but not according to firme purpose, where-  
of we at this present treatate.

¶ Cicero, a man otherwise full of wit, and  
of good literature, being well deservant, was ex-  
ceedingly decreed in this question; as it is  
evident by his second booke *De divinatione*.  
Which thing Augustine declareth in his first  
booke *De civitate Dei*, the ninth and tenth chap-  
ters. For he thought it impossible, that the fores-  
knowledge of things to come should not over-  
throwe the facultie of power of mans will; ther-  
fore he saith, that all power of predestination  
is foretelling. Which opinion, how much repug-  
nant it is to our religion, all men understand;  
being it is said upon the oracles of the pro-  
phets, as upon faire foundations. And it is writ-  
ten, that God did never ante thing, which was of  
certaine weight, but he first revealed it unto the  
prophets. He shewed unto Noe the destruction  
of Noah; 7. that should come by the flood, long time be-  
fore; 8. that it came to passe. Unto Abraham he sheweth  
Gen. 12, 7. the burning of Sodoma; and unto him he sig-  
nified the oppression and deliverance of his po-  
pule in Egypt. And in a manner unto the  
false, false prophets he gave charge to foretell  
the captivitee of Babylon, and the returne from  
there. He also commanded all the prophets to  
prophesie, that Christ should come. And there-  
fore unto vs is so constant is the authoritie of pro-  
phets, that to denie it, is vnto us to overthrowe  
all religion. Therefore Augustine not without  
just cause said; that those men, which were cal-  
led Gensericke, which annoyed the fatal necesse-  
sities of the stars, were more tollerable than  
Cicero; for they gave some place unto God.  
But if he be denie to foreknowledge things to  
come; thereby also is he denie to be God. Da-  
uid saith; The foolish man hath in his hart, there  
is no God. Which saying he sheweth to be the o-  
pinion of the wicked; for that they, when they  
commit wicked facts, thinke that God doth  
sceth them not; that he will never punish them. And  
Cicero hath given vs occasion to suspect, that  
he was after a sort infected with this impietie;  
for that in his booke *De natura deorum*, he bring-  
eth in Cotta, and the highest part thus reason-  
ing together; that Cotta beareth mudy, that he might

have undoubtedly proved unto him, that there  
are gods. Wherof, because he saith that it was  
a thing odious, hateful, and in a manner in-  
convenient, to denie that there is a God; therefore  
towards the end of the booke, he gave sentence  
on Balbus sior, who defended that there are  
gods; but yet he gave sentence, that he said  
unto Velleius, that the opinion of Cotta seemed  
unto him more probable. Cetera a goble man,  
and one confirmed in religion, would never  
saie that that sentence is like to be true, where  
in the divinitie is called into doubt. But these  
are the disputations of our reason, wherof Paule  
abundantly wrote in the first chapter of the epistle  
to the Romans.

But afterward Cicero himselfe in his booke  
*De divinatione*, under his owne person, bewitch-  
eth God to have the foreknowledge of things to  
come; and maketh answer to his brother Quintus,  
confermed by the whole course of the first booke, hab-  
ing of confirmed prophecies and oracles. But wher he  
saith, he foreknowledge; he was therefore  
driven unto it; for that he saith that he must  
needs grant an order of causes, and of effects,  
which is unmoveable and constant: for other-  
wise, things to come could not be foretold.  
Now, if such an order be granted, he supposeth  
that nothing remaineth in our hands power.  
But as in God, we must ascribe to be a most  
singular will, joined with a most singular pow-  
er; even so unto him must be attributed the  
foreknowledge of all things; yet let us not therefore  
be afraid, but that we may do the things which  
we do, by our owne will and choice. The Sto-  
icks, which did appoint fate; or destinie, seeme also  
to have bene somewhat moved with Ciceros  
reason: for they did place the motions of the  
will of man, not to be under fate; or the conver-  
sion of causes. For that they vnto make free  
the will of man, but onely they affirmed, that  
in it laie, at the choice thereof, to meddle or not  
to meddle with some things; which if it meddle  
will, straitwaie it should be trapped in the ne-  
cessitie of fate. By an example the thing may  
be made manifest; they saie that it laie in Oe-  
dipus to companie with a woman, or to ab-  
staine; but if he once companie, he could not  
chose but commit incest; of which incest chil-  
dren should be begotten, which should pollute  
themselves with murdering of their brother,  
and should overthrowe their fathers kingdom.  
The ancienter philosophers, as Democritus &  
Empedocles, affirme, that The will also is sub-  
ject to fate; or to the contrivance of causes. But  
Chrysippus the Stoike hereunto rather inclineth  
to exempt mans will, as Oenomaus the Cynike  
by report of Eulubus Cafarianus *De preparatione*  
enamelica saith, that Democritus made men  
bond-men, and Chrysippus halfe bond-men.

But leaving these, let vs returne unto  
Cicero, who said; If there be foreknowledge,  
then things should in such sort come to passe,  
as they were foreknown; neither can the event  
foreknowledge be avoided; so that the libertie of man  
is utterly lost. Alas, admonitions, rewards,  
punishments, and such like things are in vaine;  
wherefore he purpoeth a choice, that a man  
should chose, whether he would rather admit  
foreknowledge, or libertie of the will; for that  
they could not consist both together, as far as he  
is judged. And because he was a man having to  
do in civil matters, and delt in lawes; judge-  
ments; he rather reiecteth the foreknowledge  
of God, than he would lose the libertie of the  
will of man. And for this cause Augustine saith  
of him; That which will be free, he maketh sa-  
crilegious, so that for defence of their libertie,  
they speake God of his foreknowledge. Ciceros  
reason was; If the will be free, there can be no  
further contrivance of causes. For if it were sure,  
it might not be broken by our will; and if there  
be no free contrivance, then foreknowledge can-  
not stand, and therefore he affirmeth, that God  
also foreknoweth not what things shall come to  
passe. For if he should foreknowe them, then  
should there be a sure and firme order of causes;  
which being granted, there should nothing re-  
maine in the power of our will. But we ought  
to hold both these, because we have experience  
of the one by sense. For curie man may perceive  
in himselfe, how he is wrought by counsaile & deli-  
beration, and choiceth that which pleaseth him.  
But the other, that is, the foreknowledge of God,  
we hold by faith; which knowledge is of no less  
force than the apprehension both of sense and rea-  
son. And so we denie unto Cicero that conse-  
quence. There is a certaine and constant order  
of causes, which God foreknoweth; therefore there  
is nothing in our will. And for this the argu-  
ment is denied, because our wills also are to be  
placed amongst the causes of things, yea & have  
not amongst them the unworthiest place.  
Wherefore, even as God can foreknowe what  
shall come to passe of other causes; in like sort  
is he able plainly to see what our wills will  
chose. And as in foreseeing other causes, and  
their effects, he in no wise bettereth nor chan-  
geth the nature of them; so likewise he hath left  
the wills of men untouched.

This also moved Cicero, that then nothing  
should happen by chance; but solemly as very  
many things happen by chance & fortune, it is  
manifest, that there can be no sure order & fore-  
knowledge of causes. In this text reasoneth  
he. But we answer, that those things, which  
are said to come by chance, are called things  
comming by chance, as they are referred to  
our understanding, which being but weak by

reason of his bulnes, it seeth not the course  
or contrivance of causes; but if they be referred  
unto the mind of God, from which nothing is  
hidden, they cannot be said to come by chance  
or rathle. As the infinitie of the mind of man hath  
made place for fortune or chance, which we will  
declare by an example; If a waiter should send  
his servant to get a candle, and command him  
to be there by fire of the candle, and should also  
command his bulle apart, to do the selfe same  
thing, doubtles both the bulle and the servant  
shall meet together; which to either of them shall  
happen by chance, for that they knew not of  
their masters commandment; and the mas-  
ter himselfe, who knoweth the matter, will not  
judge this to come by chance. Which thing also  
by this may appere; Suppose that I know that  
there were treasure hidden in a place, and I  
should command one to dig in that place, when  
he should find the treasure, he would erie, God  
fortune; but I which know the matter, would  
attribute nothing unto fortune. So in so God,  
solemly as he knoweth the course and con-  
trivance of all causes, never findeth any. There-  
fore let us submit all things unto the pres-  
cience of God; and amongst all other things,  
our wills, which we must ascribe to have that  
power, which God would, though tempereth  
the power and nature of all things.

There is a certaine cause, (as saith Augu-  
stine) which is wrought, that is by no means  
thought; and such a cause is God. And there  
is another cause, which is wrought by our will,  
thought of another; of which kind is our will,  
which is wrought and wrought, as it is wrought  
of God. Therefore we saith, neither to ascribe  
unto Cicero, nor to the Stoicks; for as we ought  
to ascribe nothing to the foreknowledge  
of God, so least of all are our wills to be ex-  
empted from it, for they pertaine to the latter part  
of the world. For what should be a cause of  
what? What should be foreknown, if the should not  
have a cause of men? But wills (as saith Augu-  
stine) are able to do so much, as God would  
and foreknowe what they should be able to do,  
therefore, whatsoever they are able to do, they  
most certainly are able to do; & whatsoever  
they shall do, they shall without all doubt do it;  
for that he, whose foreknowledge cannot be de-  
ceived, foreknoweth that they should be both able,  
and also do it. And in the tenth chapter of the  
first booke before cited, he distinguishing, as we  
did, the two fates of necessitie, one, whereby we  
are compelled to suffer those things which we  
would not, as is the necessitie of death, whereun-  
to, will we or will we, we must give place; the  
other necessitie he saith, is that, according to  
which one thing is said to be necessary, that is  
to saie, that which shall undoubtedly come to  
passe.

Not energetic  
needless  
hurry  
the will.

What things wicked men wish for in this question.

Our marriage complete  
leth not  
things past  
to be past.

Our marriage complete  
leth not  
things past  
to be past.

Second  
causes m  
be doub  
full, whe  
as yet th  
will of a  
in certai

currie  
thing while  
it is, is of  
necessity.

We do not  
defend free  
will.

Matt.6, 12  
Gala.5, 17

verfc.24.

D: Gentleness,  
 E: laws, and  
 F: punishments are

Waters also  
fo are not  
in vaine.

Mat 26, 21  
An exam-  
ple.

cup Ibidem 39

Ioh. 10, 11

*Dea.* Herod and Pilate are in the Acts of the  
*Ad. 12.* apostles said to have agreed together, to do  
 those things, which the council of God had de-  
 creed. Are either the *Jewes*, or those princes, by  
 reason of this, to be acquitted from guilt; when  
 as they condemned and slew an innocent man?  
*Gen. 45.* *Who will save us?* Shall any man also acquit  
 of villanie the brethren of Joseph, when they  
 fob their brother; although God would by  
 this meanes that Joseph should come into Aegypt?  
*Esaie. 10.* *Whether shall the crucitie of the king of Baby-*  
*lon be crucied,* although the iustice of God  
 intended to haue the *Jewes* in such sort puni-  
 shed.  
*Exo. 23.* *He which is killed,* is said to be deliuered by  
 God into the hands of his enimie. And God is  
*Iosias. 6.* also said to deliuer a citie, when it is toon by as-  
 sault. And Iob saith, that those things, which were  
 by violence and robberie taken awaie from  
 him by the Chaldeans and Sabeans, were ta-  
 ken awaie by God; The Lord (saith he) gaue,  
 and the Lord hath taken awaie. *Whether* of  
 that council of God, whereby he vnto sinners  
 their appointed ends, cannot be inferred anie  
 ill crucities of sinners: for whether looke  
 we iudged and condemned, by reason of the leu-  
 and corrupt hart, from whence they are deriued.  
*Whether* let no man be offended with the do-  
 ctrine of predestination, seeing rather by it we  
 are led to acknowledge the benefits of God,  
 and to giue thanks vnto him onlie. And let vs  
 also learne, not to attribute more vnto our  
 owne strength than we ought: let it be haue  
 an assured persuasion of the good will of God to-  
 wards vs, whereby he would clear his before the  
 foundations of the world were laid. Let vs  
 mo; rather be confirmed in our certaintie, know-  
 ing assuredly, that whatsoever calamitie hap-  
 peneth, it is done by the council and will of God;  
 and that finally by the moderation of predesti-  
 nation it shall turne to good, and to eternall sal-  
 uation.

*Whether God would kill or de-*  
*stroye anie man.*

*In 1 Sam.* *2.* *Whether* is it  
 a doubt, whether God  
 would kill or destroye anie man: for it is writ-  
 ten, that the sonnes of Hele hard not their fa-  
 thers words, because the Lord would slaie them.  
*In the 18. and 33. chapters* for both the chap-  
 ters are of one argument, although Ieron  
 shewes some difference betweene them, yet so  
 finally, as it maketh in a manner no matter.  
*Ezechiel*, vnder the person of God saith, As I  
 as I live, I will not the death of a sinner, but  
 that he conuert and liue. And in Esaie 28. chap-  
 ter, it is reuered, I said the Lord, will do a strange  
 worke; namely, to punish you: whereupon it is  
 gathered, that it is farre from the nature of God

to laie punishments vpon vs for sinnes. Where-  
 fore it is euerie where pronounced of the church,  
 that the propertie of God is to forgive, and to be  
 mercifull. And in the first chapter of *William* ibidem, 13.  
 (if yet we shall allowe of that booke) it is written;  
 God made not dead, nor delighet in the de-  
 struction of the liuing. Furthermore, the name  
 of the vertue *Q. D. D.* is called in the holie  
 scriptures *Iehouah*; which wordeth nothing  
 else, than Being, or To be. *Whether* Augustine  
 in his booke *De vera religione*, the twelfth chap-  
 ter saith; that the nature of God is to be; for  
 so much as all things haue from thence, even  
 that things that they haue. But death belongeth  
 not to proceed from God. And in *Cornelius* it is  
 written, that God made man a liuing soule: Gene-  
 1. 7. whereupon it followeth, that he did not make  
 him, that he would destroye him; but rather that  
 he should liue. And in the 29. chapter of *Iere-*  
 mie it is said; My thoughts are the thoughts of  
 peace, and not of affliction, saith the Lord. *Whether*  
 we vnderstand here, that he would  
 destroye the sonnes of Hele. And Ieron in the  
 lamentations saith, that God minded to ouer-  
 throwe the wall of Zion, and in Zacharie it is  
 said; Even as God thought to punish you, what  
 Ioue as I determined to doo well vnto you.  
 now haue I fathered to doo well vnto you.  
 And there is a place extant in the 14. chapter of  
 Esaie, wherein by manifest words it is decla-  
 red, that God consuled and decreed with him-  
 selfe vnto to destroye the Babylonians and  
 Assyrians. And verie manie testimonies, for the  
 confirmation of this matter, might be gather-  
 ed out of the holie scriptures: but because we  
 meere with them euerie where, I will passe  
 them ouer.

60 As touching the discourse which we haue  
 in hand; first we must determine of some cer-  
 taine thing; for example, we must incounter the  
 testimonies and reasons, which may seme to be  
 against the conclusion let before. First of all,  
 the nature of death is to be distinguished; bi-  
 cause there is one of the soule, and another of the  
 bodie. As touching that of the bodie, it would be  
 superfluous to faie anie thing; seeing by the  
 sense we perceiue the same to be nothing else,  
 but a departure of the soule from the flesh. *Whether*  
 therefore, whether other sine we asserme, that the death  
 of the soule doth then happen, when we for sinne  
 are separated frō God. Vnto these things,  
 this also is to be added, that the death of the bo-  
 die doth depend of the death of the soule; for  
 because that had gone before, this should not followe;  
 whereupon Paule most trulie wrote; that by  
 sinne came death into the world. *Whether* Christ  
 is here to be excepted, who onlie died without  
 sinne: albeit that neither he, in verie deed, died  
 altogether

altogether without sinne, seeing that he bare our  
 sins on his bodie vpon the crocife. But the pro-  
 curer of death (as Augustine saith in his fourth  
 booke *De civitate Dei*, the 12. chapter) was the di-  
 uell; for he was as therefore of Iohn called a mur-  
 derer: euen from the beginning, because he  
 thrust the first men vnto sinne. Euen as Christ  
 thrust the mediator of life, for he is the diuell  
 of death. And it is written, that Sinne entred  
 into the world by one man, because that sinne  
 one, that is, the first man, was corrupted by the  
 diuell. Therefore saith Augustine; God made  
 not death absolute, and by it selfe, but for a  
 full recompence imposed the same vpon sinners.  
 For in verie deed it is one thing to produce a  
 thing absolute, and by it selfe; and another  
 thing iustitie to lay it vpon vs; for all things that  
 are done of God by themselves, are in verie  
 deed good; for God lawe all things that he had  
 made, and they were verie good.

These things also which are laid vpon vs for  
 a reward of sinnes, although in their owne na-  
 ture they be euill, that is to saie, against our na-  
 ture; yet so far saith as they haue the nature of  
 iustice, they ought to be counted for good things.  
 For the plaine declaration whereof, Augustine  
 writ a verie apt similitude; When a iudge con-  
 demneth a man to execution, he is not proper-  
 ly said to haue done the execution, seeing the  
 guiltie man procured the same to himselfe. *Whether*  
 therefore there is a certaine will of God absolute,  
 and another (as Augustine callith it) recompensing.  
 To whether of these belongeth the present place,  
 wherewith is said, that God would destroye  
 the sonnes of Hele? *Whether* shall we vnderstand it  
 of the absolute will, or of the recompensing will?  
 Doubtles of the recompensing; because of the  
 absolute will it must not be vnderstood. *Whether*  
 (saith Augustine) it is most iust, that when  
 our soule shall of his owne will depart from  
 God, it should be separated from his bodie, whe-  
 ther it will or no. In like manner, there would  
 be a difference put betweene the conditions of  
 sinners; for there be some of them which sorowle  
 that they haue sinned, and whom it repenteth of  
 their sinnes committed: these men, as they be-  
 long to the election, euen so do they exercise the  
 faith whereunto they are assigned.

61 Of this kind of sinners speaketh God,  
 when he saith in Ezechiel; I will not the death of  
 a sinner. And this will of God is so firme and  
 steadfast, as he confirmeth the same with an oath.  
 As I saie as I live (saith he) I will not the death of  
 a sinner. But others do so sicke in their iur-  
 hebennesse, as they are neuer led with anie repen-  
 tance; for so much as they belong to the number  
 of the reprobates: these men assuredly God  
 would haue to die. And for a truth, after that  
 they haue fulfilled the measure of their græuous

sinnes, it is requisite that they should die; that  
 one day at the length they may make an end of  
 their sinning. Therefore, whereas the prophet  
 saith vnder the person of God, that He will not  
 the death of a sinner, it must not be vnderstood  
 vniuersally, as touching all; but of some cer-  
 taine. We might also adde with manie bunnis;  
 that there is a certaine will of God, which they  
 call effectual; and also another of the figure: for  
 there are giuen to all men one with another  
 certaine figures of saluation; such as are out-  
 ward location, which doth specificall consist of  
 the word of God, of preaching, and of the admini-  
 stration of the sacraments. Another will  
 there is of God secret, which is called effectual;  
 and belongeth not vnto all men together: for  
 if it comprehended all men, no doubt but all  
 men should be saved. For such is the strength  
 and power of God, as often the scriptures pro-  
 nounce; He hath done all things whatsoever he  
 would. So that the prophet Ezechiel might say;  
 our punishments must not be ascribed to God;  
 but rather to the sinnes of our owne felices.

And when he addeth, that God would, that  
 men should conuert and live; that must not be  
 vnderstood, as though we may obtaine eter-  
 nall life by the merit of repentance; seeing we  
 obtaine that by faith, which onlie procureth to vs  
 the mercie of God, through Christ. And no lesse  
 is repentance than our faith to be reckoned as  
 among the gifts of God. And vnboughtly, as  
 touching repentance, Paule speaketh thus; Ti-  
 mothee; If peradventure God shall giue thee  
 repentance: but of faith it is written to the  
 heathen; God hath not onlie giuen it vnto you, 2. Tim. 2.  
 that you should beleue, but also to faich ye  
 his sake. And vnto the Christians; By faith ye  
 are saved, and that not of your felices, it is the  
 gift of God. *Whether* we haue the free things  
 by the liberaltie of God, not of our owne strength;  
 because we are not sufficient of our felices, as of  
 our felices, to further anie thing vnto our sal-  
 uation; For it is God that worketh in vs both to 2. Cor. 5.  
 will and to performe; wherefore not some part Phil. 2.  
 of our saluation, but the whole dependeth  
 of God. Vnto and thou that demand, who God  
 belongeth rather his gifts rather than our mer-  
 it, than on that; It is a thing vnderstandable. *Whether*  
 ought to latine vs, to confesse, that whatsoever  
 he doeth, he doeth it rightlie and iustlie.

62 But whereas Esaie saith, that God doeth  
 a strange worke, when he bringeth iust punish-  
 ments vnto the wicked by the sentence that we haue  
 set downe, seeing that God, of his owne accord,  
 and without iust cause, inflicteth no euill; for he  
 is prouoked by our sinnes, and he recompenseth  
 our wickednes with a iust damnation. *Whether*  
 theles, in that place a strange worke faimes vs





the effects, and (as the Scholome-men saie) *apologie* more, that is, by that which followeth after. God would make our calling and election certain: for Peter in his latter epistle, and first chapter, after he had spoken largely of works, he added; Wherefore brethren, indeavour your selves rather to make your calling and election sure. But if thou shalt againe demand; Seeing the spirit of our neighbour is not well knowne unto vs, can there be any other waie for vs to iudge of him, than by works? A suretie left in our neighbours, whereby we should iudge of our neighbours: for he said; By their fruits ye shall knowe them: and charitie ought to perswade euery man, that when thou shalt see thy brother to be couerant in the church, to lead an unblamable life, and to maintaine the right possessed faith; of such a man hope thou well. And Paule was in god hope of the Corinthians, partie of charitie, whereby he embraced them; and partie for their works sake, and gifts of the holie Ghost, the which appeared to be mainte in their church: partie he was led by the spirit, whereby he was warned, that in that place there was much people which pertained unto God.

Of Grace.

7 This place putteth vs in mind to speake fourth of grace. Sources, which as the Logicians haue put abstradie as substantiues, are vsually declared by their concrets, or adiectiues; the significations of which are more reuerend to the sense. Wherefore let vs first see what is signified among the Latins by this word *Gratia*, that is, *Creatio*. He said among all men to be gracious, whom all men fauour, and unto whom god will is commonlie boiue: euen so, in the holie scriptures, men are said to be gracious, which haue found grace with God; for to the scripture belongeth to speake of them, whom God doth fauour, and unto whom he extendeth his loue. Whobest, as concerning this, there is a great difference betwene God and men: for men fauour none, but him, in whom they find things, whereby they may be allured to haue them to loue. Therefore it becometh, that he which will be loued of men, haue in himselfe the causes of loue and god will. But contrariwise, God findeth nothing in vs, whereby to be loued, whereby he might be induced to loue them: for he himselfe first loued vs, and through that he hath by himselfe put in whatsoeuer he haue that may please him. Wherefore the name of grace, in the holie scripture, is understood two waies. First a *deuotio* meritis, and the thanks and free fauour that he beareth vnto

to the elect. Secondly, for so much as God doth inuoe his elect with excellent gifts; grace doth sometimes signifie euen those gifts, which are freely bestowed vpon vs by God.

This two manner of significations of grace, being well knowne, doth plainlie shew, with how great a beneficent our aduocates and we asseme one and the same sentence. For both of vs saie, that a man is iustified by grace: but this is the difference, that they, vnder the name of grace vnderstand those gifts, which are bestowed vpon them that be iustified; namely, the habits or grounded dispositions, which are powred into them: mozeouer, god works, and such other things as God worketh in the elect. But we (as before) saie we see, that so long as we are in this life, these gifts through our corruption are imperfect: beue that we can be iustified by them, so that Gods iudgement can by any means be satisfied by them; therefore we vnderstand, that to be iustified by grace, is to be iustified by the onlie, mere, and sincere god will of God, which he beareth vnto vs of his owne onlie mercie. We saie also, that we be iustified by the mercie of Christ, which his father beareth him: for seeing he is most gracious before him, he bringeth to passe, that the father also leueth vs in him, as his members and brethren by faith.

8 But the Scholome-men saie to themselves, that grace is an habit powred into the soule, whereby the soule may be easilier be directed by the reader to god works; which beuise of theirs they are not able any waie to confirme by the holie scriptures. And they seeme to haue taken it from the philosophers, who teach in that place, that faculties and powers are strenghtened by the habit of the mind, whereby they be able to performe that, which before they could not: or if they could, yet might they not do it, without great difficultie. The verie same thing doth these men wadge of the soule, that seeing it cannot by nature it selfe find the means to be acceptable vnto God, and to do the works which may please him; it becometh to haue a heauentlie and spirittuall habit, to bring these things to passe: and while they thus add them felues to their philosophie, they steale from the common and allowed sense. For when we saie, that a souler is in fauour with the king or emperor; we saie not, that there is fauour of grace in the souler, but rather in the king or emperor, which with fauour maketh much of the souler: euen to here, if we shall please rightlie, we will not saie, that grace is giuen or powred into vs; but rather that we be receiued vnto grace by God, when as we were his enemies before.

But that the error of the Scholome-men may the better be found out, let vs shew what their definition

the definition which the Scholome-men assigne vnto grace.

The god will of God is that which he beareth vnto vs of his owne onlie mercie.

The loue of god to vs is that which he beareth vnto vs of his owne onlie mercie.

God is not changed, although he be changed by vs.

To haue the grace of god, is to be receiued vnto grace by God, when as we were his enemies before.

definition is: for they define grace to be a habit powred in by God, like vnto his goodnetie and charitie, whereby he that hath it, is made acceptable vnto God, and doth works that be meritorious and well pleasing to him. When they saie, that the habit is powred in by God, they separate the same from naturall vertues: further, whereas they make the same to be like vnto the goodnes and charitie of God, they thinke, that they alledge a reason, why those which be induced with this habit, be accepted of God; namely, because of that similitude. And seeing they be not able to proue out of the scriptures, that grace is a thing created, they indure to affirme the same by reasons: for Thomas saith, that the god will of God is not idle; for that God is said to loue, when he bestoweth any good things. Wherefore he saith, that the well willing of God vnto any man, or the fauouring of any, is to giue them or powre into them such an habit, as we haue already described. But this argument is most feeble; for we grant, that the god will of God lieth not idle, but doth bestow benefits vpon vs, and those verie manifest. But how folloiweth this argument; God bestoweth many gifts vpon vs, therefore he createth or powreth in such an habit.

Moreover, it is no small error, that they would haue vs to be made acceptable vnto God by this habit or creature. For it had bene a necessary thing, that he hauing bestowed this benefit vpon vs, we should first haue loued him, for the loue of God goeth before all his gifts. Inuoe the vertues, which do folloiw, haue some reason therby they be giuen, yet can they not haue the power to allure God to loue vs; for we had not our fauourable God, euen before he bestowed these things vpon vs. And another reason of theirs is this; If those men (saie they) which be conuerted vnto Christ, haue the spirit of God, which they had not before, of necessity there went some change betwene. But in God there is no change, wherefore it becometh to appoint the same to be in vs; namely, that we should haue the habit of grace, which before we had not. But this reason also stands to none effect, because God doth bestow his gifts, as to him seemeth good, and moueth the hearts of men at a time appointed, when as he moueth them not before. Which thing neuertheless we doubt not to be done without any change of will; for we knowe that he created the world, which before had not bene; and yet he did not therefore change, that God is changed.

9 Now there remaineth, that we confirme by the scriptures, that the grace of God significeth his owne voluntarie or free god will; to conuolde, the benefits or gifts which are bestowed vpon the saints; to witte, that the grace of

Christ is that, which carrieth authority with the father, and into which he beuoluntarie the father. Of the first, Paule saith vnto the Ephesians; that We were chosen of God before the foundations of the world were laid, according to the god pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glorie of his grace. In which place we see the cause of our election to be, that the god will and grace of God should be commended vnto vs. And in the latter epistle to Timothee he saith; Who hath called vs by his holie calling, not through works, but according to his purpose and grace. And Peter exhorteth, that we should hope in that grace, which is offered vs; and it is not lawfull to hope in a creature. And as touching Christ, Paule saith vnto the Ephesians; that God hath made vs acceptable in the beloved, that is in Christ, whom he leueth most, and as his onlie darling. And in the epistle to the Romans, he callith Grace euertlasting life. Therefore let this be the true definition of grace, and that which is most agreeable vnto the scriptures; It is the god will of God, that commeth voluntarie of his owne accord, to beuoluntarie he bestoweth his gifts vnto Christ, and so giueth vs here in Christ the holie Christ, a perfect life, and euertlasting felicitie. By which definition thou vnderstandest, not onlie that we may call grace, but also by whom we haue the same; and in like manner what the effects of the same are.

10 Now let vs see by what means God worketh his excellent good things in vs. First he offereth the promises of that thing, according to his disposition he opereth the hart, that those promises may be admitted; which vnto those he sheweth, do, those good things would neuer find place in vs; for mans hart is fubstone and reuelith spirittuall things; and therefore there is need of continual ministration in the church. For it is the duty of pastors, to laie before the people the promises of God, and not onlie to wadge the same with words, but also to scale the same by sacraments, which are certine visible words. But first of all their part is to geminate two imperiments, which chiefly leue men auaile from the promises of God. For on the one part, men thinke they cannot attaine to the promises of God, because they be unworthy of them: here ought a faithfull minister diligently to perswade & teach, that these things are freely bestowed by God, not through works, or any mans worthines of the receivers. On the other part, men are wont to doubt, lest they themselves, by the election of God, be excluded from these promises or no: here must they teach, that it is the part of faithfull people to receive the promises of God generallie, as they be taught vs in the holie scriptures, by the



spirit of God; and that they ought not to be in the iniquity of the secret will of God. For undoubtedly, he would have revealed & declared who be the chosen & reprobate. If he had known that the grace should be profitable to salvation.

Therefore, seeing the scriptures set none particulare from the promises, curie man ought to harken unto them, as if they should particulare pertaine to himselfe. And certaine, together with faith, there will be a perseverance of the spirit, given unto the believers; so as they shall not be in any doubt, but that they verie pertaine unto the elect. As this means the ministration of the church doth serve unto God, and worketh with him for our salvation: not that the goodnes and power of God cannot without it, both offer his promises unto vs, and also incline our minds to receive the same. For the grace of God is not necessitate bound to the ministration, as to the sacraments, as life to the outward word. But we must speake of the inward means, whereby God doth lead men unto salvation. And then as we have once obtained the promises of God, we which before were dead in sinne, begin forthwith to revive againe; and being so refreshed unto life, in some part we obey the lawe of God, w<sup>ch</sup> undoubtedly not in perfect wise, but onely by an entrance into obedience. Further, against our enemies, the flesh, and the diuill, we haue the present helpe of God; and in afflictions, a wonderful comfort: and we haue the strenghts and faculties of the mind and bodie refreshed. And to speake alowd word, the grace of God, which we haue described, is the well-spring of all good things.

11 But this one thing we seeme to haue affirmed, which as yet is not proued by the scriptures; namely, that God doth not onely by his mere grace and good will offer the promises, which we haue now spoken of; but that he also by his spirit bendeth our hart to receive them. The first part was allowed euen of the Pelagians; to wit, that there is required a grace of doctrine and illustration. But the other thing, namely, that the hart should either receive, or refuse the promises offered, they thought did stand in free will. But the scripture teacheth far otherwise; For Ezechiel saith in the 11. chapter that God would giue to his faithful a new hart, and a new spirit, and that he would take away from them their flonie hart, & would giue them a fleshie hart. These things do teach most manifestly, that there must be a change made in our minds. Therefore, when as we read either in Augustine, or in other of the fathers, that grace doth first come, which our will doth accompany, as a handmaide; that must not to be understood, as if our will followeth of his

owne power, being onely stirred by and animated by grace. Unless the will should be changed, it would neuer followe: therefore, it is first required, that the will be changed, then that it should obey.

Chrysolome also must be heard with direction, who in his sermon De inuentione crucis, faith, that whether the grace of God can do any thing without our will, no, our will without grace: for it is not generallie true, that grace can do nothing without our will, vnles ye lo understand will, to be that about which grace worketh; but that grace must expect the consent of the will, that is not true; for grace changeth the will, before the same be able to giue any consent. Therefore David prayeth; A cleane hart create in me, O Lord. And Salomon; Incline, Lord, the hart of this people to execute thy commandments. And David againe; Incline my hart vnto thy testimonies. The Pelagians taught, that the beginning of good works cometh from the will, that is to saie, from free will; and that grace doth helpe forward unto the easier and readier performance of them.

12 But the latter Diuines and Schollers, which they should haue altogether to agree with the Pelagians, haue thus decreed; that Grace doth indeed come first, but that it is our part, either to receive it, or to denie it. But this hath no more truth in it, than hath that opinion of Pelagians; for both haue we wherewithall to admit the same grace? If this were true, saluation should come from our felues. But Paul saith; What haist thou, that thou hast not received? And if thou hast receiued, why dost thou glory, as though thou hadst not receiued? And against this Augustine crieth the words of Paul; It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth; but in God that sheweth merie. If the sentence faile by the men were true, the apostle with little reason might haue said; It is not in God that sheweth merie, but in him that willeth and runneth. For, as these men teach, the wozie faileth to be distributed, so as the one part is ascribed unto God, and the other is left vnto vs; and so, that the grace of God is not sufficient, vnlesse that we also put in our helpe; and that we do will, and run. But far otherwise the apostle; It is neither (saith he) of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth merie. And in another place he sayeth himselfe; I haue laboured more than all, yet not I, but the grace of God which is in me: by which words he renoueth all in himselfe, & alaceth it vnto the grace of God.

And Augustine addeth, Ecce pte fac me, our enemies, which as yet be euill, and will not obey God, and do refuse his promises. Which thing when we do, what do we will, but that God will change

change their wills? Which vnlesse it were in Gods power to do, it should be craved of him in vaine. And in another place, Paul saith; Not that we be fit to thinke any thing of our felues, as of our felues. But and if we be not able to do as we thinke a thought, certeinly much lesse can we will; for will followeth cogitation and knowledge. Neither do I speake these things, as though the will being changed by God, should become idle, and do nothing; for being refreshed, it must worke together with God, according to that which Barnard speaketh of free will, that the same which is begun by the one, be performed by both. For then we are not onely mere men; or naked, but are made also the spouses of God, and haue added vnto vs the motion of the holie Ghost. And Paul faith vnto Timothy; That the man of God taught in the holie scriptures is now apt and meet vnto all good things.

13 But men are wont to saie, and commonly to boast, that the grace of God is laid forth to all men; wherfore if the same be not imbrodred, the fault is in our felues, for that merie man may attaine to it if he will. This cloud we must rid awaie by some short discourse. Indeed we may grant, that after this sort, grace is set abroad vnto all men; because the generall promises of God are offered and preached indifferently to all men. Neither do the preachers, which publish those promises, make any thing about the secret will of God, or else thinke this with themselves; I peradventure this man is not predestinate; or I shall further nothing by my trauell: they imagine no such thing, but they propound the word of God to all men generallie. By this means the grace and calling of God may be said to be common vnto all men. Howbeit, when as any man receiveth the promises of God offered, he doth it by his owne power; or will; for of necessity his hart must be opened: which thing Luke in the Acts testifieth of the woman that sounded purple. For all men are not effectually called, and according to the purpose of God. But these men seeme to feigne to themselves a grace, as it were some garment hanging in the aire, which euery man may put on that will. But these be the deuiles of mans wisedome, the holie scriptures speake otherwise.

They be wont also to distinguish grace on this sort; that there is grace working, and a grace that worketh together; from which distinction Augustine differeth not; for the same seemeth to be taken out of the words of the apostle; It is God that worketh in vs both to will and to performe. Wherfore working grace is that, which at the beginning healeth the will and changeth it; then afterward it bringeth to passe

that the same being changed and healed, it doth rightlie; and first indeed it is called a working grace; afterward a grace working together. And this is all one grace, and not two graces; as grace but the distinction is taken from the effects of the same. For first the will, when it is healed, it concurreth with grace pacellike; for the same is said to be changed; and we are said to be regenerated; but afterward, it becometh it selfe both actiue and pacellike; for when it is begun forward by God, it also willeth and doth. And in this sense that is true which is written to the Hebrewes; Take heed that ye fall not awaie from the grace of God; for being regenerate, we ought not to fall idle, but to worke as liue according to the grace which accompanie vs.

But those do exceedingly erre, which imagine that the vertie will it selfe can will good things; and that by grace; the spirit is onely wrought to will effectually, and that those things, which are to be done, may be obtained. This (as I haue already shewed) is contrary vnto the scriptures. They demand further, whether we be serue any thing by that first grace? Indeed our aueraries affirme, that we be; howbeit we denie the same, and alwayes rect the consideration of merit; and forsooth little canke we do the same, it shall be more to declare alowd. We confesse doubtles, that God is wont of his liberallitie and merie to grant benefits after their benefit; but we grant not, for all this, that each first gift of God can defuse other latter gifts. And so must those places be understood in the gospell; To him that hath shall be giuen; And Go to good friends, because thou hast been faithful in few things, I will set thee ouer many things.

14 Besides this, they diuine grace into grace preuenting, and grace after following; which diuision Augustine seemeth to allow, by the words of David in the 139. psalme; His merie shall preuent me, and his merie shall followe me. Howbeit, this distinction must be so admitted, as it is meant of one and the same grace, and the diuinitie consisteth in the effects. For there be manie and sundrie gifts, with the which the merie of God both garnish vs; for first the will is healed, and the same being healed, it is giueneth to will well; afterward, those things that it willeth well, it beginneth to execute; it is giueneth, it continueth in doing well; and last of all, it is crowned. Wherfore grace preuenteth our will in healing of it; the vertie same followeth it, in bringing to passe, that those things which be right, may please. It preuenteth, that we may will, it followeth, in diuining vs to performe those things that we will; it preuenteth, by mouing vs to good works; it followeth, by giuing of performance; it preuenteth by giuing

the grace of God is not necessitate bound to the ministration, as to the sacraments, as life to the outward word.

what maner of grace the Pelagians and grace is,

Ezech. 11, 19 God would giue to his faithful a new hart, and a new spirit, and that he would take away from them their flonie hart, & would giue them a fleshie hart. These things do teach most manifestly, that there must be a change made in our minds.

the will being changed by God, should become idle, and do nothing; for being refreshed, it must worke together with God, according to that which Barnard speaketh of free will, that the same which is begun by the one, be performed by both.

1 Tim. 3, 17 That the man of God taught in the holie scriptures is now apt and meet vnto all good things.

whether the grace of God is laid forth to all men; wherfore if the same be not imbrodred, the fault is in our felues, for that merie man may attaine to it if he will.

when a man receiveth the promises of God offered, he doth it by his owne power; or will; for of necessity his hart must be opened: which thing Luke in the Acts testifieth of the woman that sounded purple.

A grace working, and a grace that worketh together.

Phil. 2, 13 It is God that worketh in vs both to will and to performe.

working a working together. grace is all one grace,

Heb. 12, 1, Take heed that ye fall not awaie from the grace of God; for being regenerate, we ought not to fall idle, but to worke as liue according to the grace which accompanie vs.

the will of it selfe can will good things; and that by grace; the spirit is onely wrought to will effectually, and that those things, which are to be done, may be obtained.

each first gift of God can defuse other latter gifts. And so must those places be understood in the gospell; To him that hath shall be giuen; And Go to good friends, because thou hast been faithful in few things, I will set thee ouer many things.

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It is meant of one and the same grace, and the diuinitie consisteth in the effects. For there be manie and sundrie gifts, with the which the merie of God both garnish vs; for first the will is healed, and the same being healed, it is giueneth to will well; afterward, those things that it willeth well, it beginneth to execute; it is giueneth, it continueth in doing well; and last of all, it is crowned.

C. 11, perfo

2. In illis  
tudo.

peruence; it followeth after, by crowning  
of the same. And euen as it is one and the same  
light of the sunne, which nourisheth and prepa-  
reth the earth to receive seed, and that maketh  
the same to growe, when it is committed to the  
earth, and being growne by itselfe them, that  
they may beare fruit: euen so it is all one  
grace of God, which both commeth before  
the will, and also which followeth after. Also Augu-  
stine saith, Grace preuienteth, that we may be  
healed; it followeth after, that we may be quick-  
ened; it preuienteth, that we may be called; it  
followeth, that we may be glorified.

Wherefore, they iudge amisse, which thinke,  
that grace preuienting is a certaine common  
motion, wherewith God hrooketh at the hearts  
of men, inuiting them to liue well: as though  
it were in mans hand, either to come; or refuse,  
when grace inuitteth. So little doe they erre,  
which tangle in the schooles, that it is one grace  
which is frelie giuen, and another that maketh  
men acceptable. For all grace must be frelie  
giuen; for otherwise (as Paule saith) Grace  
should be no grace. And whereas by grace that  
maketh acceptable, they meane (as I haue  
taught) an habit; they iudge likewise, in as-  
firming that men are by such gifts, made ac-  
ceptable vnto God: for with him we are recei-  
ued into grace, by his onelic merite, and for  
Christ his sake. And it is not meet to attribute  
that vnto other creatures, which belongeth vnto  
Christ, and vnto the goodnes of God onelic. Be-  
sides this, we are first acceptable vnto God, by  
his owne free election, before that any such  
gifts be granted vnto vs. I grant indeed, that  
there be manie free gifts, by which the godlie  
cannot be discerned from the vngodlie; such are  
the gifts of tongues, prophesying, the gifts of hea-  
ling, and other such like; which things do no leffe  
happen vnto the euill, than vnto the good. And  
the other free, faith, hope, and charitie, belong  
onlie to the saints.

All natural gifts, as pregnancy of wit,  
strength of bodie, and such like, are sometimes  
called graces. And in this wise the Pelagians  
cowardly confessed, that to lead a good life, men  
had need of grace: but by grace they meant free  
will, reason, a will. These be not, but that these  
things are so frelie granted by God, howbeit, we  
denie them to be graces, which happen vnto the  
elect, through the redemption of Christ. And  
when the church had confuted the error; of Pela-  
gians, it spake not of this kind of grace; but of  
that grace, wherewith we be regenerated and  
iustified, without the which no man is acceptor  
of God, or can liue well. Sometime the will of  
man is compared vnto a horse, and grace with  
him that sitteth thereon; which comparison,  
in respect of manie properties, I mislike not:

but this must speciallie be considered, that in  
that sort fouer we vnderstand grace; we must  
alwaies assure our selues, that the same is giuen  
freilie, and not through woorks. For either doth it  
by anie meane make a man acceptable, but so  
far forth, as it is taken for the good will of God.  
And thus much haue wee spoken concerning  
grace.

### How grace and woorks are vnto eternall life.

15 Now let vs especiallie consider in what  
sort grace and woorks are as touching eternall  
life. And so much as may be gathered, either  
out of the holie scriptures; or out of those things,  
which Augustine hath left in writing, as touch-  
ing that matter, we will plainlie declare; so  
that it shall be made manifest, how much our  
aduerbities disagree from vs in this point. As  
touching the first; if by grace we vnderstand the  
fauour and merite of God, then is it the onelic  
cause though Iesus Christ, why we obtaine  
eternall life. For our woorks can be by no means  
be the causes of our felicitie; howbeit, they are  
certaine meanes, whereby God bringeth vs in-  
to felicitie. As the waie is not the cause of the  
end thereof, nor the running place the cause of  
the goal; or marke; and yet by them men are led  
both vnto the end of the waie, and vnto the  
marke: so God, by good woorks bringeth vs vnto  
eternall life, when as yet the onelic cause ther-  
of is the election of God, as Paule most mani-  
festlie teacheth in his epistle to the Romians.  
Whom he hath predestinated (saith he) whole al-  
together, so hath he called; whom he hath called, those  
also hath he iustified; and whom he hath iustified,  
those also hath he glorified. This declareth,  
that all these things do so come from the grace  
of God, that they consequentlie foloweth the  
one; the other; and God, which giueth the one, will  
also frelie and liberallie geue the other.

Wherefore the whole respect of merit ought  
to be utterly taken away; for that which proper-  
ly mereth any thing, must of necessitie haue  
a due reward. And thus we see, that he that  
in a free offering, neither ought it to be due for  
any other cause. Wherefore, so much as we  
owe of dutie vnto God, all things that we haue;  
vnto him, wherewith we do, it can merite  
nothing. For woorks, those things, whereby we  
will merit any thing thought, to be our owne; but  
good woorks are not our owne, but are of God.  
Besides this also, all imperfection and vnclean-  
nesse must of necessitie be remoued awaie, o-  
therwise our woorks are defiled; neither can  
they be leuied to the rule which is prescribed  
by God. Wherefore we ought rather to reue-  
rend, than once to thinke vpon price or re-  
ward. Further, betwene merit and reward there

It beho-  
ueth that  
all grace  
be giuen  
freely.

It is not  
to gifts  
and habits  
made ac-  
ceptable  
vnto God,  
but by his  
merit grace  
and merite.

There be  
manie free  
gifts, by  
which the  
godlie can-  
not be dis-  
cerned from  
the vngodlie.

As small  
gifts are  
sometimes  
called  
graces.

What grace  
the pelagian  
and merit.

At compa-  
rison.

There can  
be no pro-  
portion be-  
tweene our  
woorks and  
eternall li-

Rom. 6.

Rom. 6.

When we  
shall see  
that the  
grace of  
God, which  
is the cause  
of our  
eternall li-

Augu-  
stine.

John. 1.

Rom. 12.

When we  
shall see  
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God, which  
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stine.

John. 1.

Rom. 12.

there ought to be some proportion; but there  
can be no proportion betwene our woorks and  
eternall felicitie: wherefore they cannot propor-  
tionally be called merites. For woorks, God would that  
there should be taken from vs all matter of glo-  
rying; which thing were not possible, if by our  
woorks we should deserve eternall life. And for  
as much as Paule describeth eternall life, by the  
name of grace; vnto him it cannot be of grace.  
Let it this suffice as touching the first.

16 Now will I briefly declare that Augu-  
stine hath written, as touching this place. In his  
Enchiridion to Laurence, the 107. chapter; I  
aspended (saith he) is paid in warfare as a debt,  
and not given as a gift: therefore Paule saith;  
The spend of sinnes death: to declare, that  
death is rendered vnto sinne, not without desert,  
but as due; but grace, vnto him that is not  
grace. Wherefore as touching the good woorks  
of man, so much as they are the gifts of God,  
vnto which eternall life is rendered, grace is re-  
compensed for grace. The same Augustine in  
his booke De gratia & libero arbitrio, the 9. cha-  
pter; In the Gospell of Iohn (saith he) it is writ-  
ten; that We all haue receiued of his fulnes and  
grace, for grace for grace, euery man as God hath di-  
uided vnto him the measure of faith. For euery man  
hath receiued a proper gift from God, one thus,  
and another thus. Wherefore when eternall  
life is rendered, grace is rendered for grace. But  
so is it not of debt, because that is rendered as  
due vnto the warfare of the duell. Therefore,  
whereas the apostle might haue said, that righte-  
ousnesse is the spend of righteounes is eternall life,  
he would rather saie; But the grace of God is e-  
ternall life; that thereby we might vnderstand,  
that God bringeth vs vnto eternall life, not for  
our owne meritis, but for his merite. Wherefore  
it is written in the 103. psalme; Which crow-  
neth us in merite and compassions: because it  
is he that worketh in vs, both to will and also to  
performe.

17 The same father, in his 105. epistle to  
Sittus, when the apostle hath said; The spend of  
sinnes is death, who would not iudge, that he  
should most aptly and consequentlie haue ad-  
deyded that the spend of righteounes is eternall  
life: And it is true, because euen as to the merit  
of sinne, death is rendered for a spend; so also  
vnto the merit of righteounes eternall life is  
rendered as a spend. But the blessed apostle  
most sightlyly tawring ag auid pise, when he  
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thinke that these things are spoken for humilitie  
and moderation sake; for the matter is to be  
well seen. For our woorks receive not eternall  
life for a gift and desired spend; and therefore  
he saith, that in name onelic is called righteounes,  
but that ought to be true righteounesse, vnto  
which eternall life is due; which righteounes  
if it be not of this, then is it from above, de-  
scending from the father of lights. And where-  
of I say, if thou shalt receive eternall life, it is  
of God.

through the election of grace shall be saved. A-  
gain vnto the Ephesians; By grace are we sa-  
ued through faith, and that not of our fleshes.  
Again, Not of works, least anie man should  
glorie.

This doubt (saith Augustine,) cannot other-  
wise be dissolued, vntlesse we grant that an y-  
right and boile life is grace: for to either fauour  
may take place; for eternall life is rendered vnto  
to woorks. But because woorks are frelie giuen  
vs of God, therefore also is eternall life called  
grace. And in his booke De correctioe ad gr. 114.  
the 1. chapter, he saith, that Iames writeth, that  
iudgement shall be without merite vnto him  
which sheweth not merite. By which woords  
(saith he) appereth, that they which liue well,  
shall in the last iudgement be iudged with mer-  
it; & they which haue liued wickedly, shall be  
iudged without merite. And it is that in iudgement  
we haue need of merite, then is it not none done  
for merite. And in the same fence he alleggeth  
the mother of the Machabees, who (as it is writ-  
ten in the second booke and fourth chapter)  
thus speaketh vnto her sonne; That I may in  
that merite receive thee with thy brethren; in  
which place the ralley the baie of iudgement,  
merite. And vnto him, when he shall come  
before the iudgement face of God, who shall  
boast that he hath a chaff hart? & who shall  
boast that he hath a cleane hart? Wherefore he  
saith is there needfull alie, whereby he may be  
made blessed, vnto whom the Lord hath not im-  
puted sinne.

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whether it followeth, that they be received in the holie scriptures, and yet we beleue them. The apostles knew, that they had received the holie Ghost, and yet were they not therefore of the faith. But that which is spoken of this man should be true, if we could knowe this thing: why thing can in no wise be done, for they come not to our knowledge or theorie, but by reuelation. But this man in feare of euidence do not certifie.

The last part which is in the definition, where in it is said, that this affinitie with the grace and wisdom of the flesh, may manifestly be declared, not onlie by the example of Abraham; but also by a great manie of other examples. God promised deliuerance vnto the children of Israel, and yet in the meane time increased their affliction: they were charged with a great number of bricks, they had no strawe giuen them for their woorkes, they were sharplie and cruelly beaten; and when they were alreadie departed out of Egypt, the sea came against them, on the other side of them were great huge rocks, and at their backes Pharaos was with a great mightie armie; against which hindrances the flesh could not thing but strue.

And in like sort, waite things seemed to be against the yonnie made to David, whereby he should be manue, not to belauie the amointment by Samuel, against the which it was needed full that he should be strengthened by faith. The apostles also desired manie tokens of infirmities in Christ, which they ought to haue overcome by faith. Therefore we may conclude, that faith is the nature of our faith, that it hath alwaies some strife with doubting.

And whereas it is added, Giuing the glorie vnto God, the end wherunto faith tendeth is respected; namely, to auance and increase the glorie of God, which herein consisteth, that we conuince such worlthie estimation towards God. It is said that Abraham was well-nere a hundred yeres old; for (as it is written in the verses of Genesis the 17. chapter) he was 99. yeres of age, when this promise was made to him: he had no like example before his time; by consideration whereof his mind might be confirmed, for he is the first that the scriptures do make mention of, to haue had strength of getting children restored againe to him. Neither is it anie maruell, that by the woorkes of faith is auanced Gods glorie; forso much as thereby we see Gods grace denie the best part of our selues, which is our mind and reason, whereby we are either silent or not assent vnto things set forth vnto vs. Therefore it is manifest, that there can be nothing more excellent offered by vs

to God than faith; for it is a wonderfull testification of the power and goodnes of God, for his sake to quench in our selues the sense of nature. But I wonder at these, which so diligently comment woorkes, and so lightly extoll giftes, sole life, and other woorkes; and yet are so cold in setting forth of the commendation of faith, seeing thereby commeth the diauole, by which we overcome both our selues, and also the whole world. For so Iohn saith: This is the victorie that ouercommeth the world, euen our faith. Which thing I speake not, as though I ment, that we are iustified by faith, as it is a woork: for it is polluted by sunshie blemishes of our infirmities.

And Augustine saith, that this sentence must by no means be admitted; namely, that faith meritteth iustification vnto vs: for faith is not (saith he) of our selues, but as Paule expressely teacheth to the Ephesians. It is the gift of God. Howbeit, in so much as it is a woork, it erreth, when they imagine, that faith can consist without god woorkes: for after their iudgement, faith should not attaine vnto the worthinesse of wisdom: which (as the philosophers would wite, and also they themselves confesse) cannot be had without the rest of the vertues. What manner of diuine faith shall it then be, if it reach not to the perfection of wisdom? Forso much, forso much as vertue suffereth not vice to be joined together with it, and they them selfes affirme that faith is a vertue; how will they haue true faith to be in sinners, and in such as be strangers from God? But they will saie, that they appoint faith to be a vertue of the understanding; vnto which kind of vertues, vices are not repugnant: for we see sometimes, that the most wicked men of all haue excellent sciences in them. But neither will this anie thing helpe them, their owne seigned imagination is a lethther: for they imagine, that those things, which are left faith to our understanding, if they be obscure, and not vertie euident; that assent is not giuen vnto them, vntill it be, because the will commandeth the understanding to giue assent, and herein to subiect it selfe to the truth of God. Wherefore I will demand of these men, whether the woorkes of the will, whereby it commandeth the understanding to giue place, and to assent vnto the woorkes of God, be god or euill? Doubtlesse, they must be compelled, howe they will, or no, to saie it is god. But without charitie it is not possible, that the will should bring the understanding to embrace the things that are to be beleued: wherefore the selfe denials of these are repugnant to the one or the other.

But we teach no such thing, that faith should depend

upon the commandment of the will: for how should the will be moued to command things that are to be beleued, as god and his things offereth, vntill it had first received the same by understanding? And we knowe, that those things, which we beleue are obscure, and not vertie euident to humane reason: but they are made plaine to the understanding by the light of diuine reuelation, and by the lightening of the holie Ghost: wherefore, by the aduancement of reason, they are embraced and admitted vnto the best certitie. Which things being so knowne and received, the will consequentially cleaith it selfe in them, and so earnestly embraceth them, as it commandeth the other powers of the mind to do woorkes agreeable vnto that truth, which the mind hath beleued; and by this meanes, out of faith springeth charitie; after the which hope dash followe. For the things, which we beleue, and earnestly love, we wait for with a courageous and patient mind: which thing pertaineth chiefly vnto hope. Neither let anie man thinke, that this is against reason, or else that it cryeth vnto the nature of man; for that we see me in beleuening to refuse humane sense, as though this were a madness in vs, as Festus saith vnto Paule, when he preached the faith of Christ; Much learning hath made thee mad. The cause by faith, that our reason is brought to passe by faith, that our reason maketh it selfe subiect vnto the doctrine of God, and to his reuelation, rather than to inferior reasonings and persuasions; the which being but vnderpings to the holie scriptures, man is rather persuaded by, than humbled by them. And if anie man saie, that men become mad with beleuings, we will adde, that the same is done most of all by reason.

The apostle maketh mention, that God quickeneth them that he bea; and that the bodie of Abraham was dead, and also the wombe of Sara. In which woords Chrysostom saith are laid the foundations of our resurrection, which we beleue hath come. For if God were able to do these things, then can there be no want in him, either of meanes or power to restore the dead to life againe. And doubtlesse, I am persuaded, that this faith was no small helpe vnto Abraham for mouing of him to sacrifice his sonne, according as God had required at his hands. For though he had received the promise, that he should haue posteritie by Isaac; yet he saue, that although he were dead, yet there was place still remaining for that promise: for he beleued, that God was able to raise him up, although he were dead, and make him to liue againe. And both praise-worthie the faith of that patriarchy was, Paule declareth, when he saith, that he had not a regard vnto his owne

deceit, or to the dead wombe of Sara; but gaue the glorie vnto God, being most assuredly persuaded, that God was able to performe and bring to passe whatsoever he had promised. Ambrose by an Antithesis or contrarie position, declareth the excellencie of this faith; for he compareth it with the incredulitie of Zacharie, vnto whom when the angel shewed of the birth of Iohn Baptist, yet he remained still in doubtlesse; and therefore he was requiem of the Lord, and his tongue tied, that he could not declare it; which punishment was verie commendable for that offence: for they which beleue not, do neither speake nor confesse. Abraham considered with himselfe; I although I am now by nature past child getting, and am become barren; yet the power and might of God is not subject vnto the impediments of creatures: for God can, beyond the accustomed manner and course of nature, bring to passe, whatsoever he will. Wherefore, although I, by mine ability, cannot beget a child; yet God can make his promise exceed with a miracle, whereby he may erre the order of nature.

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But for the retaining skill of certainte, we must lye unto that which is written a little after; namely, that The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. And that we may be, how profitable this admonition of the apostle is unto them that be faithful, and that it is in anie respect vaine, we will see this distinctly: first, to say as touching the church, what is to be feared. If we speake of the whole church, we must not in anie wise feare, that it shall ever fall: for Christ promised, that He would be with it unto the end of the world. Anded it may be tempted, siced, and shaken; but overcome it cannot be: wherefore let vs praise, that the crosse, temptations, and persecutions thereof may be alwayed, and turned to good.

Particular churches may faile.

We are to feare our own possesse.

Gen 17.

But touching particular churches, because it is possible that they may be transferred, we do praise as well against their continual temptations, as also that with them, and especially with our church, may abide the kingdome of God. And concerning our posteritie also, there is cause why we should feare; because the promise is indefinitely for faith: and unless the same be borne more narrow through election and predestination, it may come to passe, that it shall not comprehend them; even as all the Jewes were not comprehended in the promise. And touching infants, we may also touch the like: in verie bad, the covenant and promise excludeth them not, naie rather they be generalised signified in these wordes, wherein the Lord saith; I will be thy God, and the God of thy flesh: under which promise we baptise them, and visible incorporate them into the church; where yet, when they come to age, may reiect the covenant, and contemne the Gospell. Whereby is made manifest, that they in verie bad pertained not to election, and unto the promise: wherefore we may iustly feare, least they should not stand, as we see happened in Imael and Esau.

There are moreover in the church some wretched, that is, which beleue but for a time, and in the time of temptation they backe, as did Iudas; and they which in time of persecutions deny Christ: wherefore for these also we have great cause to be afraid. As touching those which sincerely beleue in Christ, although they have a confidence of their salvation, and are assured thereof; yet so long as we live here, there be many fallies euen ready at hand with vs, and their great: as it is manifest by that which Peter and David did. Wherefore they have warning to be afraid, although they be not afraid, that they shall eternally be damned; but assuredly hope, that either they shall be defended by God, or that if they do fall, they shall be reposed againe. As we also do trust of them which be ex-

communicated; for they are not cast out of the church, to the intent they should perish; but that their spirit might at length be saved. And therefore the elect also, and they which sincerely beleue, ought continually to be afraid of falling; and to beware, least they be cut off from Christ, though it be but for a time. And of this refection of them that have fallen, is also mention made in Ieremie, in the third chapter; Thus hath plaid the harlot with thy thyngs; howbeit returne againe. All these things declare unto vs, that this exhortation of Paule unto feare, is not impossible; seeing we ought to manie waies to be careful both for our selues, and also for others. Further Chrysostome addeth hereunto; that The abuse of the grace of God, which reigneth among vs, ought to be unto vs a great feare and horror, to often as we consider of it.

10 Whereunto belongeth that, which is written both unto the Romans, and unto the Corin- thians; to wit, That the godlie stand by faith. Neither is that hereinto repugnant, which is written in the selfe same 1; chapter of the epistle to the Corinthians, that They stood in the Gospell; because faith is referred unto the Gospell, as unto his owne object: yea rather it springeth hereof after a sort, as we have heard before. Neither is there any speech made in this place of men particularly, but of the whole congregation and bodie of the beleuers; and therefore he admonisheth vs upon iust cause, that We should not be high minded, but should feare. For euen as the church of the Jewes is now extinguisht, and Africke likewise, and Greece, and Asia have lost manie churches; so is it to be feared, least the selfe same thing happen now unto the churches which seeme to stand: wherefore, let them not advance themselves. But none of the number of the faithful ought to be in doubt of his owne salvation; for the nature of faith is to make men assured of the promises of God. Whereof this must be understood, that it is not possible to shake off all feare, so long as we live in this life: for we be continually tossed betwixen two cogitations; one touching the goodnes, faith, and constancie of God; the other as touching our corruption, infirmities, and pronesse to euill.

For when we consider, how weak we are, and how prone to euill, and twixt also the purpures and imperfection of our works, how god foeceer they be; and therewithall the feru- rity of the lawe, in requiring the verie uttermost of things that it commandeth; this consideration (I saie) if it be earnestly had, cannot but make the mind exceedingly afraid, and cast it downe. But when on the other side we consider the goodnes, clemencie, and mercie of God,

The godlie must be as feare of communion.

10. Rom. 12.

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all his steadfastnesse in promises, and herewithal he remember also, that all the merits of Christ are communicated with vs, we are refreshed and recreated, and the feare is either qualified, or else sometimes plainely laid aboue. For these afflictions, where they be perfect, although be bent, do one succed another: for they cannot be both at one time; or else if they be both at one time, then they appeare both to be remiss. But in what manner they giue place the one to the other, we may by manie experience vnderstand.

For if anie man be set vpon the top of an high tower, and when he is there, his mind runneth vpon nothing else, but vpon the height of the tower, and what a deepe waite he should fall, so that he cannot fall without danger of death; it is not possible, but (if his mind be still bent vpon this) he will be altogether smitten with horror: but if he turne his eyes asid to the bars of battlements which staie him vp, so that he cannot fall, then will he plucke by his spirits a game, and will put aboue all feare. Neither ought it to seeme strange to anie man, that we saie, that faith expelleth that feare which is tainted with doubting of salvation; when as it is said in Iohn, that Charitie driueth out feare: for it is most certeine, that that which the scripture attributeth vnto charitie, ought much more to be attributed to faith; for charitie springeth thereof. But (as we haue already said) Paule meaneth not of men particularly, but of the publike profession of Christ, of the preaching of the Gospell, and of the religion thereof receiued in anie whole nation or prouince. And that which is here spoken, directly by godlie men to most feruent praier for perfection of the churches.

11 But because the apostle in his epistle vnto the Romans writeth on this wise; Ye haue not recieued the spirit of bondage to feare anie more: it shall not be from the purpose, but else to see, whether Paule meaneth, that we be deliuered from all kind of feare or no. First this is certeine, that feare is nothing else, but a certeine affection of the mind, whereby we are driuen, by reason of some great & deable euill at hand. We are not wont to be moued with bangere a fax off, but with such as hang ouer our heads; neither do things that be light, and of small weight make vs afraid. Wherefore feare (as a diuine speaketh of feare) hath respect vnto sinne, vnto the wrath of God, vnto chastisements and scourges, and finally vnto hell-fire. But there are two kinds of feare reckoned to be, of which the one is commonlie called a childe feare; and the other a seruile feare. And that is counted a seruile feare, which onely for feare of paines and of hell-fire, either walueth vs backe from doing euill, or forsooth vs to do

well. Euen so signified an Chisme poet; *Quoniam peccare mali formidat panna*, that is, The wicked hate to male for feare of punishment. But the childe feare is that, whereby men lye vngiltly, and are wickedness; because they desire the glorie of God, and so feare, that they allow righteousnes euen for it selfe. Wherefore the same poet saith;

*Quoniam peccare boni virtutis amor*; that is, The good hate to sinne for the lone of vertue. And these two kinds of feare are manie things spoken oftentimes by Augustine in sundrie places, especially in his 9. treatise vpon the epistle of Iohn: it is read in the maiesty of the sentences, in the third booke, and 36. distinction, where Augustine alledgeth two places out of the holie scriptures, which seeme to be repugnant one to another. The one is out of Iohn; Perfect loue driueth out feare: the other is taken out of the 19. psalme; The feare of the Lord verbe. 10. abideth for euer. To abide, and to be driuen forth, agree not together; this contrarie be maifest at one in this wise, I saith, that they in verie bad disagee not. For euen as two pipes, being blown with one 2 the selfe same breath, discharge not: so (saith) he two hartes, namelie the hart of David, and the hart of Iohn, being stirred with one and the selfe same spirit, cannot disagree the one from the other. But yet they require an indifferent and an attentive heare; for Iohn speaketh of seruile feare, and of perfect loue; but David speaketh of the childe feare aforesaid. And therefore he saith; The feare of the Lord is chast or cleane (for in Iehune it is written, *Ierach, Ie chah, Ie eharah*.) and abideth for euer. On this manner (he thinketh) that the appearance of contradiction which seemeth to be in these two places, may be holpen. And be vnderstand for each feare this similitude.

Let vs suppose (saith) he that there be two women, the one chaste, and the other vndast: and aueritely; doubles each of these women search her husband: the aueritely feareth him, when he is absent, least he should returne againe; and when he is present, least he should vnderstand either naughty behaviour: but the chaste willeth afraid of her husband when he is present, least he should depart from her, or should not loue her so well, or should by some offence be alienated from her. By this similitude Augustine thence hath may be distinctly perceived each kind of those feares. Whereas I say moreover, that this seruile feare is not altogether vnprofitable, for feruile feare it prepareth a waie vnto loue: for (saith) that which it striketh the mind, and terrifieth vnto sinne, it thrusteth them up to righteousnesse for sinnes; it thrusteth them up to righteousnesse for sinnes of punishment. And an bright lye, by little and little passeth into an life, and is by little made pleasant: and so at the length men begin

begin to reſerre their doings unto God, and to eſtreme righteouſnes in reſpect of ſelle. For euen as a neele, when anle thing is to be ſolde, firſt enſtreth in, and draweth with it the thred that is anneth thereto, but it ſelle abſoluth not in that which is ſolde: ſo (ſaie they) enſtreth it into to be ſeruite fear, which is afterwarde excluded, when charitie and a chaſt fear doe once take place.

But what is to be thought of thoſe terrors, which in our minds go before faith, it is manifeſt; namely, that they are ſins before the Lord: but if anie profit or comfozt followe them, that is to be attributed, not unto their owne nature, but to the goodnes of the holie Chriſt: for he uſeth thoſe to be meenes of our iuſtification. The ſpallier of the ſentences, in ſtead of the two kinds of fear, which Auguſtine maketh mention of, putteth ſcare. The firſt is a worſhip fear, whereby men, rather than they will loſe riches, pleaſures, and honours, fall aſide from Chriſt: and this is ſcare moſt pernicious, and moſt ſure from all goodnes. The ſecond is a ſeruite fear, which we before haue deſcribed. The third is an intiall fear, that is a ſcare that ſerueeth at the beginning, whereby men are ſo moued with the ſcare of puniſhment, that together therewith they haue allo a regard unto God, and are taught with a certaine loue of his righteouſnes and will: this ſcare in his iudgement is mingled both with a ſeruite fear, and allo with a childlike fear. Laſt of all he ſaith that pure childlike fear with perfect charitie. But the ſchole-men, which followed the ſpallier of the ſentences, becauſe they alight aboue ſome thing of their owne, haue brought forth another fear, which they call natural: whereby euen by the impuſſion of nature it ſelfe, we ſie from thoſe things, which are againſt the conſtitution of nature.

12 Now that I haue blaſſie and faithfullie declared theſe things out of Auguſtine, out of the ſpallier of the ſentences, and out of the ſchole-men: I will in few wordes ſet forth what is to be taught touching them. Firſt I confeſſe, that there is more than one kind of fear: for I knowe that Peter ſaith otherwiſe than did Iudas: for Iudas ſeemed to be ſcared, as he deſpaired; but Peter ſo ſcared, as he returned againe unto Chriſt, whom before he by denying had forſaken. Therefore we ſaie, that a ſeruite fear is that, whereby we be ſo horriblely afraid of God, and ſie from him when he is angrie, that we are utterlie void of faith. But a childlike fear is that, whereby in the miſt of terrors, we are liſted up through faith: neither ſuffer we our ſelues to be ſwallowed by both terrors. Therefore in godlie men ſcare is neuer ſeparated from faith: for theſe two things muſt be hnt

together, that faith too alwaies gouerne feare: ſo that it ſhould not be ſo, deſperation would eaſily followe. For, euen as the late euangelical ſermones to be ioined with the Goſpell, ſo ought feare to be eniued ioined with faith. And ſo with the imbrace the Goſpell, but that we alwaies thinke vpon the obedience of the commandments of God. And when we ſie how often, and how grieuouſly we fall, we call our ſelues thereto, backe againe to repentance. On the contrarye, the late is not to be receiued without the Goſpell: for if it ſhould, we could neither obie it without Chriſt, neither yet obtaine pardon for the offences that we haue committed againſt it. Therefore Paule calleth vs not backe bitterlie from all feare of God: but from that feare which we haue, and which ſheth from God, as from an enimie, and from a cruel tyrant. But that feare which hath faith to moderate it, cannot be reſpoued: for it is the gift of the holie Chriſt, as we read in the eleventh chapter of Eliſie. And the properties of the gift of the holie Chriſt is, that by them we ſubmit allo our vertues and affections to the moderation of the gifts of faith, and make them to ſerue God trulie and ſincerely.

Theſe gifts they commonlie counted to be ſeuen; and if a man demand how they prome that, they ſtraightwaie cite the eleventh chapter of Eliſie. Howbeit, if we examine that place by the truth of the Hebrew, we ſhall ſeele ſine ſix gifts to be there; namely, the ſpirit of wiſdom, of vnderſtanding, of counſell, of fortitude, of knowledge, and of the feare of the Lord. But theſe men haue beene deceived by the Latine translation, which followed not the truth of the Hebrew, but the ſeueritie interpreters; for they, betwene the ſpirit of knowledge and of feare, haue put the ſpirit of pietie. Therefore, that is pertaining to the obedience of God: whereby it ſerueeth, that they ment to interpret what manner of feare of God that ſhould be, which might light vpon Meſſias, of whom in that place there is mention made. For that feare was neither ſeruite, nor yet a childlike feare; but onlie an obedience, pietie, and reuerence towards God his father. Neither haue the ſeueritie interpreters onlie once ſo interpreted the feare of God: for in the booke of Iob, where we read; Fearing God, they haue turned it into the ſpirit of obedience. God. Howbeit, vnderſtable we ought not to diuie together into ſo ſtrict a number, the gifts of the holie Chriſt, to thinke that to be but onlie ſix or ſeuen; for beſides allo thoſe, which are reckoned in that chapter, the ſame Eliſie reckoneth in another place, the ſpirit of iudgement and of zeale. And Zacharie maketh mention of the ſpirit of grace, and Paule of the ſpirit of ſanctification, and Iohn of the ſpirit of truth;

truth; and Paule againe in another place of the ſpirit of adoption, and to the Corinthians of the ſpirit of promiſe, and a great inname of other liue gifts.

13 Theſe things being ſo, let vs now ſie, how both in this life, and in the other life, feare may haue place. The ſaints, when they are in heauen, ſo that they ſhall then haue perfect chaſtity (to ſpeake of feare properly, as it is a mortie thred by by means of ſome greivous will that hangeth ouer vs) ſhall haue no feare. This both Auguſtine conſeſſes when ſie feare to wards the holie temple. But in them can onlie be that ſeruite, that is, obedience, reuerence, worſhipping, and pietie towards God; as the

70. interpetours haue expounded the ſpirit of the feare of the Lord: and ſo ſuch a gift might be found in Chriſt, who indubitably could nei ther feare ſine, nor hell-fire, nor yet fatherlie chaſtiments of God. And if a man would ſaie, that he ſcared death, that muſt be vnder ſtand of naturall feare, whereof we intrat not at this preſent. And after this ſort do I vnder ſtand Ambroſe, when in his booke De ſpiritu ſancto he affirmeth, that the gifts of the holie Chriſt are in the angels. Out of which wordes the ſchole-men gather, that in them is the feare of God; for he doubtleſſe, ſeing they are in bleſſed ſtate, that can be no otherwiſe vnderſtand, but as if hath bene alreadye ſhewed of me. But as touching the godlie in this life: we muſt ſo ſerue, as we thinke not, that they can be without childlike feare: ſo that that feare be ſo vnder ſtand (according as I taught before) that they do not onlie ſie from offending of God, and are afraid of fallies againſt his will, but allo are innued with the feare of hell-fire, and of the wrath of God, and of his puniſhments: unto which feare neuertheles, a quiet faith and con ſcience in the mercie of God, are as a preſent conſort.

For we ought not to thinke, that the theate mings in the holie ſcriptures are vaine; for they are alſo profitable to the godlie, eſpecially when they haue not as yet obtained perfect chaſtity & abſolute regeneration. Chriſt ſaid unto his apoſtles; I will ſhew you whom ye ſhall feare, euen him, which after he hath killed the bodie, hath power allo to caſt the ſoule into hell-fire. And Paule to the Corinthians bringeth forth ex amples of the Hebrews in old time, whereby he declareth, that for their abuſing the ſacraments of God, they were deſtroyed in the deſert. By which examples he ment to warne the Corin thians, to beware of the like vengeance; Manie (ſaith he) are weakie, and manie ſleepe. And if we would iudge our ſelues, we vnderſtable ſhould not be iudged: but now, ſo much as

we are iudged, we be corrected of the Lord, thus we ſhould not be condemned with this world. And unto the Philippians; Work ye Phila, ſalutation with feare and with trembling. And unto the Romans; Be not our wiſe, but feare. Whereby we ſie, that godlie men lue not from the earth without the feare of God. And here, feare hath reſpect to manie kinds of euils: for the godlie are afraid of time, of often falling, of the wrath of God, of fatherlie chaſtiments, of ſcourges whereby God puniſheth his people when they ſinne, and finally of hell-fire: which they fey haue deſerued, unleſſe God by his mercie, and Chriſt by his ſacrifice, which he offered vpon the croſſe, ſhould helpe and ſuccour vs.

But what meaneth that which Iohn ſaith; Perfect charitie caſteth out feare. I knowe there be ſome, which interpret theſe wordes in this ſenſe; to wit, that they which lue God trulie, are not afraid to put themſelues for godlie neceſſe into all manner of dangers; neither do they ſperre perſecutions, but valiantlie do ſtand ſteadfast in all manner of aduerſities. The verie which thing Paule in the latter epiſtle to Timothy wrote in other wordes ſaieing; We haue not (ſaith he) receiued the ſpirit of fearefulneſſe, but of might and of loue. Therefore he exhorteth Timothy, not to be aſhamed of the teſtimonie of the Lord, or of him being in bonds for the Lords ſake: but couragiuſlie to indure labour for the Goſpel ſake. Albeit that theſe things be true, yet this is not that which the place of Iohn teacheth; for it maketh mention there of the iudgement of the Lord, of which he willeth the godlie, which lue God, not to be afraid: and he reſemblyeth a reaſon; becauſe feare hath diſquiet nes ioined with it. Therefore I willingly aſſent vnto Auguſtine, which ſaith that Iohn ſpeaketh of perfect chaſtity: the which, ſeing it cannot be had in this life, we may not loke to haue it without feare. Further, we might in this place vnderſtand that feare, which is uttered from confidence, and therefore diſtinct from deſperation: for they which beleue and loue God trulie, uphold their feare with a liuie faith.

### Of Securitie.

14 Securitie ſerueeth to be a contempt of Gods iudice, whereby ſinnes are puniſhed. If we ſpeake of this ſecuritie, it can neuer be otherwiſe than tickled; but there is alſo another ſound, the which no doubt is to be allowed, and is commendable. But to make the thing more plaine, let vs conſider of theſe things: ſecuritie, hope, a deſperation. Hope is the meane which ought alwaies to be commended: ſecuritie is eſpecially,

A ſimilitude.

The ſpallier of the ſentences maketh four kinds of feare.

The ſchole men haue added a ſixt feare.

Matth 27, 18, and 26, 71. Peter and Iudas ſcared after a ſimilitude manner.

A true diſtinction between a ſeruite feare and a childlike feare.

In godlie men feare

is ſeruite feare

is ſeruite feare

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Eph. 1, 13.

What manner of feare is in the heart of a ſanctified man.

verſ. 8. what manner of feare Chriſt hath.

The ſimilitude of theſe three direct vnderſtand feare.

Chriſt ſaith in the laſt are not valiant, but hope.

Leu. 24, 15.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

1 Cor. 10, 1.

Rom. 11, 20.

1 Joh. 4, 18. A place of 1 Joh. 4, 18.

1 Tim. 1, 7.

1 Tim. 1, 8.

1 Joh. 20, 17.

hope is the meane between deſperation and ſecuritie

excesse, but desperation is a waite. For as in putting away the merite of God, we are made desperate; so in contemning his iudice, we become secure. Therefore we may conclude, that Securitie is a certaine immoderate hope: and hereof it springeth; either because we attribute too much to our owne strength and wisdom, as though we thinke that by our felues we be able to obtaine anie thing: or else, though we thinke that the same lieth in the merite of God, yet we suppose that he for our weaknesse ought to accomplish it. So do they, which promise to themselves remission of their finnes, and eternall felicitie, though they do no repentance, but live unpurcell and wickedly. We esse it springeth herof, because we beleue not that there is in God anie execution of iudice.

And this securitie, whereof we intreate, is not onely contrarie vnto desperation; but also vnto the feare of God. For desperation procuredeth too much feare of the iudice of God against finnes; but securitie thinke nothing at all of that iudice. Therefore Barnard hath righte said; When as the feare of God is the beginning of wisdom, so securitie is the foundation of all impietie, and the beginning of vniuersities. For the feare of the Lord (as the scrip- tures testifie of it) pertaineth chieflie vnto pi- etie and religion. Wherefore in the 122 the fourth chapter; Cornelius is called a man religious and fearing God. And therefore securitie hath impietie ioined therewith; as if it springeth of an euill beginning, to which it bringeth fastly euill and naughty finnes; as flug- gishnes, vniuersities of mind, and foolishnes. Wherefore they, which trust vnto themselves, neither seke for helpe at the hand of God, nei- ther pray for the aid of men.

1. The people of Ias, which are spoken of in the 8. of Judges, were securitie, although they were ioined in the league of fellowship with their next neighbours. They were also infected with negligence, which is nothing else but a p- nation of that indolence, which we ought to ap- ply for the gouerning of things: by it the will is weakened, and the seruities of the body is diminished. This kind of securitie hath euer- more a danger ioined with it; for those things are not chafed away which may be hurtfull. For both should that be done, when they be secure or careless; thinking rightlie neither of their owne ableness, nor yet of the merite of God: yea, they are vnto vniuersities, vnto vniuersi- ties; for they knowe themselves, they knowe not time to securitie. Augustine vpon the 90. psalme writeth; Whereas most securitie is, there is most danger. And he addeh, that a ship, when it is brought into the haven, thinketh that it is in safetie: But by the same waie

that the ship entereth in, the wind entereth also, a storme toseth it, and breaketh it vpon a rocke. Where then can there be securitie? Adam fell in paradise, Iudas in the fellowship of Christ, Cham in the familie of Noe, manie in the lawe, and manie also in the Gospell; where then shall live live securitie? Doubtleslie no where. Therefore, Ecclesiasticus doth verie well ad- monish vs, Sonne, stand in the feare of the Lord, and prepare thy selfe to temptation. The 3. fra- lites saue the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea; soas it then met for them to live in securi- tie: So beretie: yea, within a while after, they were tempted in the wilderness. Christ was baptised by Iohn; soas he therefore made for cure: So, for he was straightwaie tempted of the diuell. Therefore we ought then to be most careful of all, when we are receiued into the fauour of God: for then the diuell doth most of all watch for our destruction, and inuiceth to make vs fall; and therefore there is no place for securitie.

16 But are we to be made by God, that we can be no there secure? Not so doubtleslie: for there is another good and laudable securitie, (as Augustine saith) consisteth in the faith of God, and is taken hold of by thep- ingenereth not lustifines, or flugghines, but churcheines and diligence. Of this, David hath verie well pronounced in the 91. psalme: he, which dwelleth in the hope of the most high, shall abide vnder the protection of the God of heauen. Whereas it is written in the Latine, *Admiror*; that is, In the helpe; the Helpe toope signifieth a Couer, or secret place, which no man taketh hold of, but the which hath faith in the promises of God. For that buckler we be before- bud, with that thame we be covered against all harme. This is the securitie of faith, and therefore it cleaueh vnto the word of God, and therefore it must needs be commendeth to God.

And the other securitie is of the flesh, and therefore it is execrable and detestable. Against it are cer- tain most manifest commandments of Christ, namelie, To praeie alwaies, to knocke, to seeke, Man, and to watch: for the daie of the Lord will come like a theefe. If the good-man of the house knowe what time the theefe would come, he would vndoubtedly watch, neither would he suffer his house to be broken through. We ought to praeie and watch: because, although the spirit be readie, yet is the flesh weak.

Paul admonisheth vs To put on the armour of God, that we may resist in the euill day. Stand (saith he) with your loines girded with the gir- dle of truth, being clothed with the breastplate of righteoufnesse, and hauing shoes on your feet, that ye may be ready to the Gospell of peace; about all things taking vnto you the shield of

faith, whereby ye may quench all the fierie darts of the euill one: and take vnto you the helmet of saluation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God. So doth Peter also intreate vs against securitie, in his first epistle the first chap- ter; The duell (saith he) your enemie goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may deu- vore; resist him with a sound faith. But because I haue said, that securitie is contrarie to feare, I would not haue anie man to thinke, that all securitie is to be praised: for there is also an euill feare, and that springeth of an euill iudgment of god and euill things: as if a man should thinke that the aduerities of this world, and the crof- ses which the clea suffer, are both altogether eu- ill, and vnto be feared. Against these things we must figh together with David; I will not feare what man can doe to me. There is also another feare of the vngodly to be re- poned, which feare is increased by an euill confi- dence: for they which live shamefullie and wic- kedlie are alwaies afraid that the vengeance from heauen hangeth ouer them.

Such feare putteth in his booke of felicitie callid foxes of the mind. There are (saith he) foxes as well in the mind as in the bodie. And he addeh an excellent similitude. As they which in a feare either cold or hot, because induracie they be either cold or hot, are more growneout sick, than if either the heat or cold were ap- plied vnto vnto their bodies: so they, which are wred in the mind, are much more toment- ed, than they which are afflicted in the bodie. Af- ter the same manner we may saie, that they al- waies tremble and are afraid, whose consciences are troubled. Wherefore David saith; They haue trembled through feare, whereas no feare was to Cain, and to Iudas also were womber- vnde aspired. Seneca vnto Lucilius, in his hui- dred 1. epistle faith, that so place will make a wicked man quiet: for thus he alwaies thinketh; Although I be not as yet taken, I may neede- theles be taken at the length: and that I haue not withered bene taken, it came rather of for- tune, than of confidence. They also do feare crowdingle, which are themselves fearefull and horrible vnto others; for he must needs be afraid of manie, which manie do feare.

17 Against such feares Seneca hath inu- ented remedies; namelie, that we should live by- rightlie, and commit nothing that is wicked. But who can by this meanes be secure at anie time: for who is he that sineth not? But we much better reposit our selues in the faith of Christ, put all our confidence in securitie in his merite onely. This manner of vnto Paul teas- teth vs; Being iustified (saith he) by faith, we haue peace with God. This medicine hath ver- tue against all diseases. Also carelesnes, which

seemeth to be contrarie vnto securitie, is not al- waies to be praised; because therein are two bu- tures to be taken heed of. The first is, that being inuolued with it, we seke not by vnto vnto means to remedie our euill that cometh vnto vnto: as the Aduersaries, when they said; I will suffer this man to live, the Romans will come and o- throwe our place and nation: wherefore they be- came, to destroy him. Furthermore, we must be- lieue, that we be not so inuolued for triumpall confidence, as we should call vnto vnto hope and confidence of the goodnesse and p- vidence of God. Wherefore the true securitie is that, which is recured by faith, and consisteth of the pro- mises of God. Paule did put vs in mind herof, when he wrote to the Romans; If God haue gi- ven us his sonne vnto vs, how shall he not also giue us all things with him? Who shall laie any faults against the elect of God? Is it God which iustifi- fiesh, who shall then condemn? Is it Christ which died, yea and which rose againe, who al- so fitteth at the right hand of God and maketh intercession for vs. Who shall separate vs from the love of God? Shall affliction? Shall trouble? Shall persecution? Shall hunger? Shall naked- nes? Shall danger? Shall the sword? I am per- suaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalties, nor powers, nor things pre- sent, nor things to come, nor heigh, nor depth, nor anie other creature can separate vs from the love of God, which is in Christ Iesus our Lord. Now it sufficiently appereth (as I thinke) that maner of securitie is allowed, and which is condemned.

Whether true Faith may be secured from Charitie.

18 But not to be propound these things to be inquired; the first, whether true faith may be secured from charitie, as our adueraries persuade themselves that it may; another is, whether charitie be the forme of faith, according as the school-men tead; lastlie, let vs se whether charitie is more excellent than faith, and likewise how faith both ex- cell charitie. Con- cerning the first, it shall be convenient before all things, that we by some certaine definition set forth the nature of faith: for then we may ca- sily discern how much it is ioined with chari- tie. Let vs rip up the matter thoughtlie; I will let vs make a difference betweene supposing and beleaving. When anie man both giue- assent vnto one side of a controuersie, he is said to suppose or haue opinion: which thing is not without suspicion, and a doubtful mind, least peradventure the matter should be otherwise. But we are not said to beleue, vnlesse we do already giue a firme and assured consent vnto the

What is negligent.

Augustine.

It is diffi- culte.

12. 18.

It is not fa- culte and negligent.

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faie, that they be inseparable companions, in such sort, as where true faith is, there also will love and charitie be present: their natures nevertheless being safe and unmoored. Neither would we ever grant charitie to be an accident unto faith, saving that peradventure our adversaries, under the name of an accident, have understood a thing proper. For charitie doth not so loose the faith, than light followeth the flame; which thing shall be shewed by authorities out of the scripture, and also by diverse reasons. Paulus unto the Hebrewes, in the definition of faith (as he declared before) appointed faith to be a ground; or argument of those things which are hoped for: here now thou seest, that hope and faith are joined together: for so some as ever we have offered unto the promises of the mercie of God, and the remission of sinnes, we do hope for them; for we have confidence, that we shall obtayne those things which God hath promised. And it cannot be, but we should also love those things, which we already knowe and hope to be singular good. Moreover, faith is the power, whereby we apprehend Christ, who is by God made vnto vs wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. But what righteousness or sanctification can there be vnto vs, if charitie be absent? further, faith causeth vs to apprehend God, not onely in respect that he is god, but also as he is our fourerigne god. Which thing, so some as ever it is perceived, it followeth necessarily, that we should profess the same with love and charitie. I beleeve would neuer assent vnto those crabbed Sophisters, which say, that it may be, that the blessed may understand and chereish god thing, and yet nevertheless may withhold their will from the love and imbracing of the same.

Auguſtine.

24 Now let vs come to the fathers. Auguſtine *De file & operibus*, the 16. chap. teacheth, that faith which is without charitie, is the faith of devils, and not of christians. And he teacheth that to beleeve in Christ, pertaineth onely unto the true faith, of the which we now presently speake; and he declareth it to be the same, which woorthily by love. And in the next chapter he most plainely teacheth, that those counterfeit persons, which will still persist in their unbelief, must not be admitted vnto baptism: because he denieth that they beleeve in Christ: for either (saith he) theyudge that God hath made no lawe against such wickednes, or else they thinke that they may be the members of Christ together with the members of an harlot. And thus he manifestly p[ro]veth after a sort, that they beleeve not in some place the word of God. But it is necessary, that true faith give equall assent unto the whole word of God. Chrysostome in his sermon, which is intituled

Chryſoſt.

*De file, & legematuræ, & spiritus sancto*, teacheth; So some as thou beleevest, thou shalt be garnished with god woorks: & he addeth, that faith by it selfe is full of god woorks. Ieron against the Luciferians doth say, that faith is a firme and undoubted thing. I stand ready in p[re]senter, but I should not praise witless I beleeve: and if so be I did beleeve, I would denie that part, whereby God is discerned; my chiekes would be watered with teares, I would knocke my brest, my bodie would tremble, my face would be loyn, and I would lie at the feet of Christ crucified, &c. In these words thou seest, that manie god woorks are ioined with faith.

In the booke named *The calling of the Gentils*, being ascribed vnto Ambrose, it is written, that faith is the begetter of a good will, and of a lust action. Gregorie in his 22. homilie vpon Ecclesiasticall faith. *Loke how much we beleeve, so much we do love.* But this thing is more certeinly p[ro]ved by the testimonie of the holie scriptures. When the apostles were demanded by Christ, whether they also would depart? Peter answered, Lord; to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternall life; for we knowe and beleeue, that thou art Christ the sonne of the living God. Here it appereth, that vnto knowledge, and vnto a true faith was ioined charity, whereby the apostles would not forsake Christ. Christ faith; Euerie man that beleeueth in me hath life eternall. Iohn Baptiste p[ro]nounced the same, when he said; He that beleeueth in the sonne, hath euertall life. True it is indeed, that whilste we live here, we haue no absolute perfect faith; but haue onely an entrance vnto it: time not; but holinesseth it be, without charitie it cannot consist. The prophet Abacuc saith; The iust man doth live by faith. Paulus vnto the Galatians saith; Ye be all the children of God by adoption faith. I am in the Gospel of Iohn; Euerie man that hath heard of my father, and hath learned, and beleeued, cometh vnto me. And againe; This is the life eternall, that they knowe the onely true God, and Iesus Christ whom Iohn testified. All these things, which we have recited, saing they take no place, do shew, that of necessity true faith is ioined with charitie.

31 In the first epistle of Iohn, the fifth chapter, whereof beleeueth, that Iesus is that Christ, is borne of God. Some there be which say, that those which haue faith, are not permitted the children of God; but that they may easilie become the children of God, because they haue already attained to some preparation vnto the same. And Pighius, who amongst other defendeth this opinion, bringeth in the Gospel of Iohn; And how manie fouer haue received him, to them hath he giuen power to be made the children of God,

The place  
of Iohn  
is alioed.

God. Behold, faith be the euangelist hath giuen to them, which alonely beleeue, the power to obtayne the adoption of the children. Wholbeit, this man should peradventure haue twised those woorks which followe: for the euangelist addeth; that this power is giuen vnto them which beleeue in his name. Which are borne, not of blood, nor of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Wherefore they which haue received him, and beleeue in his name, are said to be borne of God and therefore are regenerated and iustified: the which things without charitie cannot be had. And whereas they are said to haue received power, it is all one, as if it should be said, that they received the gift and grace to be the children of God. Now here in this place is not understood to be that which is understood from the thing it selfe, and from the effect. Wherefore Hilary in his first booke *De trinitate*, saith; They which haue received, are augmented to be the sonnes of God, not by growing of the flesh, but by the spūging of faith.

Further, if we would grant, that power in that place both make shew of some thing as yet to be looked for, & which had no effect; they haue not yet gotten that which they would, namely, that they should interpret charitie or iustification to be looked for after faith, as though these things for a certaine space of time were deferred from faith begun; but it should rather be referred to perfect adoption. For adoption (as Paulus saith) is of two sorts, one we haue now presently, which is spoken of vnto the Romans; we haue not recieued the spirit of bondage to feare any more, but the spirit of adoption of the children, wherein we cry; Abba, Father. And this adoption haue they already obtained, who haue received Christ by faith; and as the euangelist saith; They be borne of God, and the selfe same men be iudged with charitie. But there is another adoption which is perfect, this shall be giuen in the resurrection, when we shall be free from all griefe & corruption. Whilste there is plaine mention made in the said chapter to the Romans, when it is said; Euerie creature groeneth, and waiteth for the reuelation of the children of God: yet & we our selues hauing the first fruits of the spirit, do groene amongst our selues, waiting for the adoption and redemption of our bodies. Wherefore we will say, that the believers, and those that be iustified and borne of God, haue a power; I meane a right vnto that perfect adoption, the which we expect to obtayne at the time appointed. Wherefore, holowether they haue understood that woth Power, they p[ro]mise nothing against vs.

What is to  
be said of  
three which  
haue power.

26 But they be wont to call vs in the tenth twelfth which live an unchance life, & which are quite vnconscius with halious crimes; who

nevertheless get to all the articles of faith that we do, and yet for all that it is certein, that they be behauing themselves so dishonestly, be destitute of charitie: wherefore (saie they) it cannot be denied, but that in them, at the least while, faith is separated from charitie. In answer, that the faith of these men may indeed be called a true faith, as touching those things which they confesse; but concerning the faith it selfe, if we thoughtfull consider the nature thereof, it is no verie true and lawfull faith. To make this thing manifest, I will be examples; For a man conclude that an eclipse shall be, which is to com, but p[ro]veth it by a false kind of argument, & yet heueth not the same by any iust demonstration; his knowledge, as touching the conclusion which he brought it in, may be called true yet, because he wisheth a naughty reason, the sense thereof shall neuer be called a true knowledge, but a false & sophisticalling. To beerie many Turks do confesse manie things that we beleeue; as the creation of the world, the resurrection of the dead, and that Christ was borne of the virgin Mary: whome nevertheless we will neuer account to be indeed with the true faith.

Again, they obiect that which is in Iohn; that There were certaine persons, which beleeued in Christ, which notwithstanding durst not confesse his name. And againe, that there were Iohn 5. 44. some which beleeued, vnto whom nevertheless Christ committed not himselfe. From these things (saie they) declare, that these men haue faith without charitie. Wholbeit, we p[ro]veth not as they would haue vs, that these persons are indeed with the true faith; and Christ taught, that they did not beleeue truely; & how (saith he) can you beleeue, which seeke glorie of your selues? And certein indeed it is, that the persons which touch not of Christ, would not therefore confesse him; because they feared to be cast out of the synagoges; and while they desired to much the persecution of their honours & dignities, they were turned aside from the confession of Christ; wherefore Christ pronounced vnto them not to beleeue. These men faile in one cause; they which beleeue truely, when they fall into grovnes sinnes, and yet nevertheless do beleeue the same things which they do not do, cannot be counted without faith; when as yet they be disposed of charitie. But we admit not, that they be conversant in their sins, they haue faith. Against them the apostle beareth record, that they confesse themselves to knowe God, but in their deeds they deny him. But with a found & true faith, the denying of God cannot stand; wherefore these men shall be rather said to retain an image and theen of faith, than the true faith of which we now treat. And these things shall suffice at this time for the first question.

Q. 4.

Whether

*Whether charitie may be called the forme of faith.*

27 As touching the second question, we are to examine, whether charitie be (as the Scholemen terme it) the forme of faith. And first I saie, that they so speake, not properly, but rather fondlie: for it is not becomming, that one qualitie of one and the same kind should be the forme of another. For we grant not, that one accident cleaue thy like a forme vnto another accident: and that charitie should be qualities. But whether figures doe trulie or properly pertaine vnto the predicament of qualitie, I will not stand at this present to proue: it is sufficient as concerning our purpose, that one qualitie cannot be called the forme of another. But the Scholemen by that their manner of speech ment no other thing, but that faith is made perfect by charitie: euen as matter is want to be made perfect by the forme of the same. Which I haue denie of theirs must not be allowed. For if faith be compared vnto hope and charitie, it is euen so towards them, as wisdome is to those vertues, which they call vertues of intelligence; and as pudence is towards those, which they call mozell vertues. For euen as mozell vertues are hant together in pudence: so those things also, which belong vnto intelligence, are ioined together in wisdome. But no man will saie, that other vertues of the mind be the forms of wisdome, neither that mozell vertues are the forms of pudence: wherefore, neither hope nor charitie may be called the forme of faith.

The comparison, which I take vpon me to make of faith vnto pudence, is to be read in Chrylosome vpon the epistle vnto Titus, the third homilie, where he saith; that faith is of no lesse power to the gouerning of life, than wisdome is. Furthermore, that our wisdome consisteth in faith, no man I thinke doubteth; and that hope and charitie are hant together in faith, it is herchy declared; inasmuch as where faith is, these also are present with the same. For our, to speake of the forme, according to the nature thereof, we make the same to be the beginning of the action: but faith, by a naturall propriety and vertue thereof, maketh vs to hold fast the word of God. Whether both charitie tend vnto that end, the which rather completely be to loue him, whom we haue already knowen by faith; therefore charitie in respect of faith shall not be accounted a forme, seeing it is no beginning of the action thereof, the which charitie consisteth in believing. Furthermore,

matter is gouerned of the forme, and therefore it is both contriued and contained; and not the forme by the matter. But charitie is obedient vnto faith; faith gouerneth the same: for whatsoever we loue vprightly, it must be knowen by faith, that we ought to loue the same. For this in nature we see, that lowe soloweth the iudgement of the partie that knoweth. Besides this, the thing which begetteth, is more perfect, than that which is procreated. And we hold no doubt, but that hope and charitie is ingendered by faith: wherefore, neither hope nor charitie can be the forms of faith. That god woordes are ingendered by faith, David theueth, when he saith; I beleued, and therefore haue I spoken: whereby appereth, that confession proceedeth of faith. The faith also; I haue not declined from thy iudgements, because thou hast taught me. By these things it is manifest, that the vprightnes of life proceedeth from the assent of faith.

28 But let us fee after what sort hope and charitie are ingendered of faith. In the epistle to the Romans we read; We haue iustified by faith, haue peace towards GOD through Christ, by whom all we haue accesse through faith vnto the grace wherein we now stand, and reioice vnder the hope of the glorie of God. See howe, the apostle expressely theueth, that we haue peace and accesse vnto GOD, and hope of the glorie through faith. The same doth he more plainly teach in his epistle to the Ephesians, the third chapter, where he wryteth; that We we haue peace with confidence, which cometh by faith. Here againe thou seest, that confidence (which is hope) doth spring of faith. And that charitie is derived from thence, the same apostle testifieth vnto Timothie, when he saith; Charitie out of a pure hart, a good conscience, and faith not feigned. And the reason why he touched before, perchance the same: for seeing that by faith we apprehend GOD, as the former saith; as he that is mightie, wise, and most louing towards us, which haue his onelie sonne vnto death for vs, & hath giuen all things with him; how can it be, but that our loue must beake out towards him, and towards all things, which appertene vnto him? But touching order, it is to be vnderstood, that hope springeth out first. For when as by faith we haue embraced the promise of eternall life, and hope is conceiued of obtaining the same; from hence in the third place springeth loue: for we loue not those things, which we are out of hope to obtaine.

29 Now let vs come to the arguments, which our aduersaries do vse, to proue charitie to be the forme of faith. They alleadge that sentence of Paule vnto the Galatians; Faith Gal. 5. 6 which

which worketh by loue. Seeing (saie they) that faith doth worke by charitie, the same it shall haue in deed of a forme. Hereof groweth the error of these men, that they imagine something to themselves, that should be compounded of faith and charitie, the which being all vnto one part, they might haue the first entrance of the working thereof from charitie, as from the forme. But this vaine of theirs is vaine; for seeing faith and charitie be severall vertues, and that one qualitie (as I haue said before) is no forme of another, there shall be no one thing consist of these two faculties. For our, that charitie maner of speech (to wit, that euery thing worketh by another thing) doth not alwaie respect to the forme, but sometimes the instruments. The writer wryteth by his pen, the smelter fighteth by his weapon, & the sower worketh by the bodie; but all these things they consent to be no forms, but instruments. And Paule saith, that We must all stand before the tribunall seat of Christ, that euery man shall haue away according as he hath beneued himselfe in his bodie; be it good, or be it euill. We saie also, that pudence worke by mozell vertues; which vertues notwithstanding are not counted the formes thereof.

Also they obiect, that charitie hath therfore the nature of a forme; because it is the end of the precept: and whatsoever is done without that, cannot please GOD, but is condemned as sinne. But if this argument be of force, we also will proue thereby, that faith is the forme of other vertues; (saie Paule hath said; Whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. Out of the which sentence Augustine in his 4. booke and 4. chap. against the Iudaeis taught, that all the woordes of the infidels are finnes. These men also by the saying of James, that Faith is made perfect by works: the which maketh nothing against vs; for on the reacheth, that faith is their perfect, when it worketh. Euen as the Philosophers teach, that a forme is not perfect, when it is taken as the first act; so they speake; but when it is respected as a second act: for in working it putteth forth his strength, & declareth it selfe. Wherefore we grant, that after this manner faith is made perfect by woordes; not that it is either increased, or made more earnest by the vertue of woordes; but through the more effectual operation of the holie Ghost, the which in working declareth it selfe; but in time of idleness late bid. And this is not the propriety of charitie alone, but is common vnto all other vertues: for vnto this end are vertues giuen vnto the mind, that out of their actions might be diuinen.

30 For our, they saie that charitie is therfore the forme of faith; because it is the first beginning, whereby the godly are known from the wicked. And this they proue by that place

of the Gospell, where Christ is brought in to saie at the date of iudgement; I was hungry, and ye fed me: I thirsted, and ye gaue me drinke, &c. Vnto these things we answer, that the discerning and knowledge of things is sometimes had by the causes, & by the beginnings of them, which they commonlie call *propter*; that is, *propter* the things which went before; and another is vnderstood by the effects and properties, which they name *propter*, to wit, *propter* that which cometh after. Wherefore I willingly admit, that charitie is that, whereby the godly are discerned from the wicked, by the latter knowledge, and by the effects: but this knowledge pertaineth to us Christ otherwise, without the same, very well knoweth them that be his, and fetcheth them apart; namely, by election and predestination: the which be in a manner the beginnings & causes of our saluation. Wherefore, that knowledge is had by the effects, out of the forme of things, which they take as granted, we must not grant. Whether there are auncie vnto, but in the last iudgement the saints shall be discerned from the wicked, by the woordes and effects, according as the woordes which they men begin to declare. Howbeit, if they will haue respect vnto those woordes which the Image pronounced before time, when he said; (Come ye blessed of my father, take the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world) they shall callie vnderstand, that there is a more noble & excellent knowledge left forth of saluation to be giuen, than that knowledge which is after awarded through woordes. As for the forme of faith; if auncie vnto be brought in, which property is not lawfull to be done; the same should be the spirit. For we haue faith according to the portion thereof; & the more there is of the spirit, the more ample faith is present; and the more facillite there is of the spirit, the weaker is faith.

*How Faith excelleth Charitie, and so likewise on the contrary.*

31 Now shall there remaineth to see, whether faith is preferred before charitie; and againe, what is attributed vnto charitie, rather than vnto faith. If faith vnto faith, iudification is agreeable, the which we asseme ought not to be granted vnto charitie: for faith we haue here, where charitie is alwaies trippeth. Therefore we cannot, and not in respect of the iudgement of GOD, cleane either vnto charitie, or vnto the god woordes which proceed from the same, in respect of being iustified and absolved by them. Further, in the epistles of Paule to the Romans, and to the Galatians, it is most plainly declared; that We be iustified by faith, and noby woordes. We vertie which thing the nature as well of faith, as of charitie, it be

the first reason.

the second reason of the schoolmen.

the third reason.

Chrysol.

the third reason.

the first reason.

the second reason.

the third reason.

Rom. 4. 3.

James. 2. 21.

the first reason.

the second reason.

the third reason.

the first reason.

the second reason.

the third reason.





common unto all mortall men : for the sonne of God, because he took upon him the nature of man, is ioined with all men. For seeing they haue fellowship with flesh and blood, as testifieth the euillie to the Iehuzes, he also was made partaker of flesh and blood. But this communion is in general, and weak, and onlie (as 3 I map terme it) according to the matter : for the nature of man far differeth from that nature which Christ took upon him. For the humane nature in Christ is both immortall, and exempted from sinne, and adorned with all purenes; but our nature is vnpure, corruptible, and miserable polluted with sinne : but if the same be ioined with the spirit of Christ, it is so repaired, as if differeth not much from the nature of Christ. Yea so great is that assistance (as Paule in his epistle to the Ephesians saith) that Weare flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones. Which forme of speaking seems to be diuine out of the writings of the old testament : for tralie thus doo brethren and himselfe there speake one of an other ; He is my bone, and my flesh. For they being come of one and the selfe same flesh of the father, and wombe of the mother, came to acknowledge vnto themselves one matter common to them all : whereunto this furtherly alloweth, that children diuine of their parents, not onlie a carnall and copulent substance; but also wit, affection, and disposition.

The verie which thing commeth to passe in vs, when we are ioined with the spirit of Christ : for besides our nature, which we haue common with him, we haue (as Paule both aduertieth vs in the first to the Corinthians) his mind and (according as Paule requirerh the Philippians) the selfe same sense; Let the selfe same feeling (saith he) in you, which was also in Christ Iesu. This kinning of vs together with Christ, Paule expresseth by the similitude of ingrafting, wherein are very well perceived those two things which we haue not reuerbered : for the young plant that is grafted, and the stocke wherunto it is grafted, are one thing. Further onelie are the matters which were brethren, ioined together; but they are also ingrafted together with one and the selfe same iustie, spirit, and life. The selfe same thing the apostle it selfe to be done in vs, when he saith that we are grafted into Christ. The same also hath our Saviour teach in the Gospell of Iohn, when he calleth himselfe the vine, and vs the branches : for the branches haue the selfe same life common with the vine tree; for they all spring out by one spirit, and bring forth one and the selfe same fruit. Paule also, in his epistle to the Ephesians, comparerh this matrimonie that continuation which we haue with Christ : for he saith, that the same is a great signe betwene Christ and his church.

For euen as in matrimonie, not onlie the bodies be made common (betwene man and wife) but also their affections & willies are ioined together : so commeth it to passe by a sure and firme ground betwene Christ and his church. Wherefore the Apostle pronounceth them free from sinne, which do abide in Christ, and are in him after such a sort, as 3 haue now declared; to the end they may lue his life, be of the same mind that he is, and bring forth such fruit of workes as differ not from his fruits. And they which are such cannot feare condemnation or iudgement : for the Lord Iesus is saluation it selfe, as his onie name declareth; wherefore they which are in him, stand in no perill to be condemned. Wherevnto we adde, that they also are in Christ, which in all their affaires depend vpon him; and who are moued by his spirit, whatsoever they take in hand or do; for, to depend vpon him, is nothing els, than in all things that we go about, to haue a regard vnto him, and onlie to seeke his glorie. And they that are led by his spirit, followe not the affections and prouocations of lusts. Whereby it is manifest in what sort faithful and goodlie men are in Christ; and that by all the kindes of causes. For Christ, and we haue all one matter, also we haue the selfe same first entrances of forme : for we be ioined with the selfe same notes, properties, and conditions which he had. The efficient cause, whereby we are moued to looke, is the same spirit whereby he was moued. Lastly, the end is all one; namelee, that the glorie of God may be aduanced.

36 Forthermore, euerie assemblie and congregation of men, which tendeth to a definite and certaine end, and is gouerned by precept lawes, may be called adobie. Wherefore a church, a common-wealth, a kingdom, are called ceteruities; because they haue a certaine end, to wit, that men may both be in good state as touching the bodie, and may lue according to vertue. But the bodie of Christ, which is the church, hath not onlie respect vnto this, but vnto eternal life also : and it hath all the things in common; namelee, God, Christ, the holy spirit, the word of God, grace, the sacraments; and if hath respect vnto the things of this world, which pertaine to mutual helping one of an other. And this bodie is gouerned by the ordinances and statens of the holy scriptures; and it liueth by the spirit of Christ. And of this thing we haue an excellent article of our faith, wherein we confesse the catholike church, to be the communion of Saints. But in the members of this bodie there is obstruct two sorts of continuation : one is that, which they ought to retaine among themselves; and the other, that which they ought to haue with Christ. Touching this thing we haue

beue well instructed in the fourth chapter to the Ephesians, where it is written, that by the head Christ, is mingled life and spirit, by the ioines and knitting together of the members into the whole bodie, that according to the measure of euerie part, there may be an increase in the bodie. The same is also shewed in the second chapter to the Colossians.

By which wordes it appeareth, that which men are not verie of the church, being the spirit is not infused into them by Christ the head. And they cannot be conuertent in the church, if they cannot be of the church. It is a mere imagination brought by our aduertices, that there can be withered and dead members in the bodie of Christ, the which may be reuiued againe. A member that is dead, is a member no more, neither yet ought to be called a member; vntill that which haue it all one, that to be a man which is but the signe of a man. And the Paule said in the epistle vnto the Corinthians; Shall I call the member of Christ, and make of the member of an hallo? As if he had said; These things are repugnant one with another, that we should be the members of each of them.

Wherefore this similitude declareth, what manner of continuation ought to be amongst vs, and with Christ. And certeinlie, euen as we haue said, we be ioined with Christ, as we be called flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; because through his incarnation we are made of the same nature and kind that he is of : and afterward, his grace and spirit comming to vs, we are made partakers of his spirituall conditions and properties, as it hath bene aboue declared.

Wherefore Cyrill writing vnto Reginas of the right faith, said that Our flesh is together in one substance with the flesh of Christ; and those that otherwise would iudge, he held them accursed.

27 And for the pawning of so great a communion betwene vs & Christ, there is no need of the copozall and substantiall presence of the bodie of Christ; as manie inueniour to proue in the Churchward. For we should haue neuer a whit the more profit or commodity by the same, than if we confesse Christ to be in heauen as touching his bodie. For we see that christians may be members one of another, and that most needlie knit together, although some of them lue in England, some in France, and some in Spain. But if so be this be granted as touching the members themselves, which shall it be an absurd thing to grant the same touching the head; that by this spirituall communion it may both be in heauen, and also be ioined spirituallie with vs : The verie which thing we see come to passe in matrimonie, wherein the holie scripture declareth, that Man and wife are one flesh, which thing our aduertices are constrained to grant

no lesse to be true, when man and wife are formerly times in fumble places distant one from another, than when they dwell in one house together. It to be then it is to in them, while should we denie, that the bodie of Christ may be ioined vnto vs in such sort, as we may be one with him, although by substantiall and copozall presence in the Churchward he be absent from vs? They are euery thing vnto that sentence of the Lord; This is my bodie, as though it may not another wife be vnderstand, but that there must be affirmed a naturall presence; when neuertheless we will confesse it to be the bodie of Christ, into the which we neither be transfused, neither is it required that any of vs in copozall presence should be ioined with other, as concerning the thing. But of these things we will speake verie largelie else where.

*Touching the adoption of the children of God; out of the eight chapter to the Romans, verse 15.*

38 This place seemeth to require, that we speake somewhat alio of the adoption of the children of God. The lawpers (as it is in the iustifications) define adoption to be a lawfull as which doth imitate nature, found out for the comfort of them which haue no children. Further, they make a distinction betwene adoption and arrogation : for they saie, that it is arrogation, when he that is his owne man and aliberte, is receiued into the flock of a sonne; but adoption is, when he that is receiued, is vnder another manus potuer. Wherevnto the latius folio, that the elder should be adopted of the younger; for it seemed to be a monstrous thing, that the sonne should exceed the father in parces; therefore Cicero both oftentimes mildly canoniceth against that adoption of Eledus. And both God adopt vnto himselfe his elodius; not for that he had not another sonne, for whom Christ his onlie begotten sonne, in whom he was well pleased; but because in all the nature of man he had as yet no children. For though Adam we were all yet no strangers from him; wherefore for this cause God sent his onie naturall & legitimate sonne into the world, that by him he might adopt vnto him selfe manie other children of our kind. And this is not twout commonlie to be done : for they which haue one onelie sonne, seke not to do so; they themselves other sonnes; naie rather, they are glad that the same their sonne shall not be compelled to part the inheritance with his brethren. But to great was the loue of God and of Christ towards vs, as he would ioin vs vnto a great dignitie, although we be vnderneath.

Neither is that heauenlie inheritance of that nature, that the same being communicated vnto manie, is therefore diminished.

Now let vs be bold this adoption cometh vnto vs. Paul saith to saie, that it is communicated vnto vs by the spirit of Christ: for of it we haue faith, whereby we imbrace both Christ which died for vs, and also the promises of God: and by that meane we are adopted by God vnto children. This thing did Iohn berieue well, where he saith: And as manie as receiued him, to them gaue he power to be the sons of God. By these words we vnderstand, that we be made the sonnes of God, when we receiue Christ. And this is not done either by circumcision, as by other ceremonies of the lawe, or by god morall woordes, but by faith onlie: and therefore Iohn addeth: Vnto those which haue beleued in his name. And when it is said, that Power is giuen vnto them to be made the sonnes of God, we must not thinke (as manie do) that they would haue vs, that they first beleue, and then afterward receiue power to be counted to be in the number of the sonnes of God: for power in that place is nothing else but a right and a prerogative. As if it should be said, that they which haue receiued the Law, and beleued in his name, haue a right and prerogative to come into the adoption of the sonnes of God. But Iohn addeth: Which are borne, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. First, when he saith: Nor of blood, he signifieth that adoption cometh not by the order of nature, as in this generation are mixed together the seed of man and woman. Which sentence, he more plainlie expresseth in the next words following, when he saith: Nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man. And that by the flesh he meaneth the woman, may be thus places be proued: for Adam said of his wife, which was desired vnto him by God: This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. And Paul sayeth to the Corinthians: Hee which loueth his wife, loueth himselfe: no man at anie time hath hated his owne flesh. And this interpretation Augustine followeth, albeit I feare that this place may otherwise be expounded: as when it is said, Nor of blood, we vnderstand that we come not to this adoption by force of anie flesh of kindred. For the Hebrews perswaded themselves that they did: for they alwaies boasted impudently, that they were the seed of Abraham. Neither attaine we to this adoption By the will of the flesh: for to the attainment thereof, we are not holpen by those god things, which the flesh vseth to couet: I meane, by riches, power, strength of the bodie, beaultie, and such

other like things: Neither by the will of man; namely, by those god things, which are counted more excellent, and that are thought most shewlie to become men; such are wisdom, prudence, and the woordes of morall vertues: for all these things cannot make vs to be the children of God. But we are borne (saith he) of God. All this haue we onely of the goodnes of God, and of his merite merite. Wherefore Paul vnto the Ephesians saith: Who hath predestinated vs vnto the adoption of the sonnes of God, by grace, free the whole consideration of our adoption being the gift of his election and predestination.

But of his vniuersal love, there can be no reason either vnderstood or giuen by vs; and therefore it cometh, that Christ saith in Iohn: But we ought to be borne diuinelie, and from Iohn, 3. about. And Christ commendeth this generation to the world, that they should be wise, and yet do knowe not from whence it cometh, or whither it goeth. Wherefore God, by what through Christ, giueth his spirit largely vnto those which be with the word as an instrument, and this is called the word, whereby we be regenerate. For he giueth faith, whereby we receiue the promise of the word for faith vnto vs: and by that meane we are iustified, and do obtaine the adoption of the sonnes of God, which yet so long as we live here cannot be perfected. Wherefore Paul saith: That we wait for the adoption of sonnes, and the redemption of the bodie: Iohn saith that we shall not attain vnto, vnlesse it be in that blessed resurrection. The selfe same things Paul saith to the Galatians: When the fulnes of time (saith he) came, God sent his owne Caluarie: a sonne made of a woman, and made vnder the lawe, to deliuer those which be vnder the lawe, that we might receiue the adoption of sonnes. And because we are sonnes, God sent the spirit of his sonne into our hearts, in whom we cry: Abba, Father. These woordes declare that there was, before the fulnes of time, a certaine bondage vnder the lawe: afterward was giuen the sonne, by whom we which are appointed and prepared to be made the sonnes of God, might more fullie receiue both the spirit and adoption.

This adoption, Christ saith as it were by a certaine sacrament to haue confirmed in his genealogie: for when as in Luke and in Mar. Luke 3. Mar. 1. he telleth the names of his progenitors are baried, there is mingled adoption: so that one and the selfe same man had one father by nature, and another by adoption. Also in the old testament adoption was much vset. For by Iacob adoption was giuen to his nephewes Ephraim and Manasses, to be vnto him in stead of other sonnes. And that trade was of such force at that time, as euen vnto dead men children were adopted: for when one brother was dead, the brother that remained

maintained on line, begat children of his wife, and raised dead in Israel. These things, as I haue a certain shadow, figured this our adoption vnto the sonnes of God. The common translation hath: The adoption of the sonnes of God, where as in the Greeke this word, of God, is not read: for there is onely this word υιοθεσια, that is, Adoption.

But it must be diligentlie considered, both from whence we are by this adoption brought, and whither we are transferred. We were before, the children of the diuell, of wrath, of incredulitie, of darkness, of this world, of perdition, of night, of darkness. And here vnto we be transferred, that both we are called, and are in verie deed the sonnes of God, partakers of the diuine nature, brethren of Christ, and children of light; and that we same not. (For he which is borne of God sinneth not) and that we loue our neighbours, and our enemies, to the intent we should resemble our heauenlie Father, who suffereth his sunne to shine vpon the good and euill, and rained vpon the iust and vniust; and finally, that we be peace-makers: for they shall be called the sonnes of God. But our adoption is not such, as we should thinke that we are borne of the substance of God: for that is proper vnto Iesus Christ onlie; for the word of God is by nature borne of the father, which thing neuertheless the Arrians denied. For seeing they affirmed the sonne of God to be a creature, they must needs saie that he was not the sonne of God by nature but by adoption. Doubles great is our dignitie: for we are so highly exalted, that we not onlie are called, and be the sonnes of God; but also haue Christ to be our brother. Wherefore Christ, when he was risen againe, said vnto the woman: Goe and tell my brethren. And although the fathers of the old lawe were not quite void of this dignitie, yet they had it not so publickly declared. But this was not all at that some of them were weakie; for we also in the Gospell haue manie that be weakie.

For Paul saith vnto the Corinthians, that he could not speake vnto them as vnto spirituallie, and therefore he was faine to feed them with milke. The verie which thing is written vnto the Hebrews. And on the other side, they had men which were renowned in faith, whom he doubt not but were singular in this adoption. And that this also it was in those daies, the Apostle testified in the epistle to the Romans, the 8. chapter: for he saith: Vnto whom pertained the adoption, and the glorie, and the testament, and the giuing of the lawe, and the washing, and the promises, and to whom pertained the fathers. Here we see, that adoption pertained vnto them also. Ambrose vpon this place teacheth, that of this adoption (saith he) vnto godlie men great

securitie, and vnboutable, for so much as this cometh vnto vs through the spirit, whereby we are made the sonnes of God, we ought to be farre more certaine, that we are the sonnes of God, than the sonnes of this world are certaine that they are the sonnes of them, whom they call fathers. For oftentimes the mothers deceiue both their husbands and their children: but the spirit of God deceiue no man.

In old time, Batters went about to perswade Alexander, that he was not the sonne of king Philip, but of Iupiter: afterward, when he saue there came blood out of a wound that was giuen him, he smiled, saieing, that it seemed to him to be common blood, and not the blood of gods. But we, though we suffer manie things, yea and lose our life for Christ his sake, yet notwithstanding we ought to be fullie perswaded, that we are the sonnes of God. For to the end we should not anie thing doubt of that matter, we haue not onlie the witness of the spirit; but the verie sonne of God hath taught vs to call God, Father, and to invoke: or call him by that name. And this forme of prayer ought to call vs backe from all kind of wickednes, and from all kind of dishonored woordes, and also to put us in hope to not degenerate from the nobilitie of our honorable a father, and that we in no case dishonour him: for it is accounted a great reproch vnto fathers, to haue wicked children. And seeing we cannot (as we haue said) attaine vnto this adoption, but by Christ and his faith; therefore neither Iheros, Jewes, nor men that be strangers from Christ, can call vpon God as vpon their father.

Furthermore, by these woordes (And if we be children, we be also heires, since the heires of God and fellowe-heires of Christ) the Apostle teacheth what we obtaine by this adoption; namely this, To be the heires of God. The which vnboutable can appear to be a benefite of no small estimation: for not all those that be the children of anie man, be forthwith his heires also. For onlie the first begotten haue that yeece: not all the minence; euen as we see the case standeth of children of anie man be heires. Scriptures it is manifest, that Esau and Iamac were not heires. Wherefore we be heires, and we are that of no yeece man, of no small matters: for we haue obtained the inheritance of God, and we be made heires together with Christ: we haue the inheritance of the father common with Christ, and we be to the whole graunted to him, and altogether knit to him, that by his spirit we live. But we shall then come vnto this inheritance, when it shall be said vnto vs: Come ye blessed of my father, possesse the kingdome prepared for you from the beginning of the world. We be fellow-heires, because (as Iohn saith) when

Rom. 8. 14. and 15.

By this adoption we are adopted to be sonnes.

Iohn. 1. 12.

Ibidem.

Signifieth the Supplie.

verfe. 13.

A place of Iohns church.

By this word flesh is signified the woman, Gen. 2. 23. Eph. 5. 30.

In this adoption we are adopted to be sonnes.

I. Iohn. 3. 9.

Mac. 6. 3.

Ibidem. 3.

We are not the sonne of man, but the sonne of God, I. Iohn. 1. 9.

Christ telleth the women.

Mac. 2. 15.

Mac. 2. 15.

I. Cor. 3. 1.

Heb. 1. 1.

Rom. 8. 14.

Heb. 1. 1.

Gen. 4. 1.

Gen. 4. 1.

Gen. 4. 1.

Gen. 4. 1.

Alexandria the Great.

Rom. 9. 8.

Mac. 2. 15.

he

1. John 3, 2. he shall appear, we shall be like unto him. And  
 Col. 3, 1. And Paule faith like the Colossians: Ye be dead, and  
 your life is hidden with Christ in God: and  
 when as Christ your life shall appear, then shall  
 ye also appear with him in glorie.

Inheritance  
 defined.

Inheritance (as it is defined by the Latins) is  
 a succession into the whole right of the man  
 that is dead. And may this appear to be but a  
 small matter, to be made partakers of the whole  
 right of God: Certainlie Peter saith, that We  
 be made partakers of the diuine nature. Where  
 Ambrose noted, that it is not in this matter, as  
 was commonly seie it come to passe in the world:  
 for it becometh that the testator die, before the  
 successors can come to the inheritance. But God  
 dieth not, naie rather we that are appointed to be  
 his heires do die first, before possession can be  
 deliuered vnto vs. Christ also first died, before  
 he came vnto the glorie which was appointed for  
 him.

a. Pet. 1, 4.

As he is concerned, as touching call latens, the  
 heire is gouerned one and the selfe same person  
 with him that maketh him heire. When so we,  
 through Christ, are created into brethren with  
 God, so as we are now one together with him,  
 according as Christ saith; That they may be  
 one, as thou and I are one: for all things are  
 ours, and we are Christs, & Christ is Gods. This  
 inheritance obtaine we freely, by the spirit of  
 Christ. Wherefore the Cardinals, and false bishops, do  
 diuulch, which haue that by this inheritance  
 of remission of finnes, and access vnto the king-  
 dome of God vnder their counterfeite heires, that  
 by their atchieue pleasure might feel the same,  
 and either thrust down to hell, or send by to hea-  
 uen whom they list themselves.

God dieth  
 not, and yet  
 may we be  
 made into his  
 inheritance.

As he is  
 concerned  
 one person  
 with him that  
 maketh him  
 heire.

John 17, 21.

We obtaine  
 this inheritance  
 freely.

### The description of Christian Hope, in the 5. chapter to the Ro- mans, verse 5.

42 As concerning hope, this is a notable  
 chaine, and an excellent connexion of dignitie  
 degrees. At this chaine, the first linke is fastned  
 to the post of afflictions in this life, from thence  
 the godlie ascend to patience, from patience to  
 experience, and from experience to hope: which  
 hope, so much as it maketh not ashamed, but  
 without doubting attaineth vnto God, which is  
 our principall felicitie, is fastned vnto him, as  
 vnto the highest linke of the chaine. This verie  
 proprietie of not confounding, belongeth also  
 vnto faith; for None that beleeue in him shall  
 be confounded: and that for good cause; for  
 what can be of more nere a kinne vnto faith,  
 than hope? The Latine interpreter teacheth it;  
 Non confundit, that is, Confoundeth not. What  
 but it might be propertie true; Non pudet, that

that is, Makeh not ashamed. And it is a figure,  
 true kind of speech; for Pauls mind was to figu-  
 rative, that the godlie cannot be frustrated of their  
 hope; for they which are frustrated; namely,  
 when things fall out farre otherwise than they  
 hoped for, are commonlie ashamed. Wherefore  
 Paule by shame vnderstandeth frustration; be-  
 cause shame alwaies followeth it. But the Latine  
 interpreter had respect to that perturbation  
 of the mind, which followeth shame: for, To  
 confound, is nothing els, but To perturb or  
 trouble.

Now, if this sentence be true, as in died it is  
 most true, namely, that this Hope confoundeth  
 not; it followeth, that the same dependeth not  
 of our works: for otherwise, it would offend  
 times faile. But that it is true & certaine, Paule  
 declareth, not by one word onlie, but by many,  
 and those of great efficacie. For first he bideth this  
 knowledging, which belongeth an assured  
 knowledging of a thing. He maketh mentionall  
 so of certainties, which cannot have place among  
 gods and wile men, but in those things which  
 they assure and firmly possesse. Last of all  
 he addeth, that Hope maketh not ashamed. And it  
 is not without cause, that he oftentimes induceth  
 perfections of this certaintie; because from  
 these diuine is consolation to be sought  
 for in afflictions. When Christ did hang vpon  
 the crosse, the wicked railed against him, say-  
 ing, He hoped in God, let him haue him, if he  
 will haue him; let him come downe from the  
 crosse, &c. The selfe same things are laid against  
 vs, not onlie by outward enemies; but also by  
 our selfe, our outward senses, and by humane  
 nature. Who can we resist these, but by this  
 doctrine of the apostle: Hope confoundeth not.  
 The hope which we haue put in the Lord, will  
 not make ashamed.

43 The Sophisters labour to proue, that hope  
 springeth of merits; because Paule saith it springeth  
 of patience: as though we should thinke, that  
 hope were giuen to vs by the merit of patience.  
 But in the mean time they marketh not, that those  
 things which Paule here by a certaine order di-  
 poseth, are not to be compared the one to the other,  
 as causes & effects. For who will saie that afflictions  
 are the causes of patience? And if they be  
 not, why should they more affaie, that pati-  
 ence is the cause of hope? The scripture most ex-  
 presseth teacheth, that He which putteth con-  
 demn in man, or in anie creature, is accused:  
 for man, of whose promise we depend, and as-  
 sure our selues, may either die, or alter his mind,  
 or els be let that he cannot faithfully performe  
 that which he promises: and to haue confidence  
 [in him] either for merit sake, or by reason of  
 good works, is to sette our hope in man: where-  
 fore, such hope would be made ashamed. But

the hope, which is fixed vpon God is certaine;  
 neither can it be deceived. The Sophisters crafti-  
 ly go about to auoid this sentence, by two  
 places of Paule; the one to the Romans, and the  
 other to Timothy. The place to Timothy is  
 thus; I knowe whom I haue beleeued, and am  
 certaine. And the other to the Romans is thus;  
 I am assured that neither death, nor life, nor an-  
 gels, &c. By these places they thinke to ouer-  
 thraue the people which we haue made, because  
 they thinke that these words are to be vnder-  
 stood, not vniuersally of all believers; but on-  
 ly of Paule, and such other like, who had it pre-  
 sentially revealed vnto them, that they should at-  
 taine vnto saluation.

But these their enterprises are in vaine; for  
 here is now intreated of the nature and propertie  
 of hope, whereby is manifestly proued, that  
 all they which are indued with faith, are free of their  
 faluation: so that they must needs confesse, that  
 they which doubt of their faluation, either haue  
 not the hope which belongeth to a christian; or  
 not the hope which belongeth to a christian; or  
 else if they haue that hope, they must needs be  
 assured of their faluation. But if a man will  
 faile; what if I shall be without it, and there-  
 fore God will not bestow vpon me the chiefe  
 reward? I answer, that this is a wrestling  
 of the conscience, and must be overcome by hope;  
 for the obtinment thereof let vs cleane fast  
 vnto the word of God: such as this is; God is  
 faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempt-  
 ed above your power, but together with the  
 temptation will make a waie out; and such like  
 places of the holie scripture, wherein God pro-  
 misseth, that he will giue perseverance vnto his  
 euill vnto the end. And to speake briefly, the  
 hope of the godlie leancheth onlie vnto the gods  
 power, and mercie of the onlie God. This  
 thing Basilus haue well vnderstood in his  
 exposition vpon the 32. psalme, when he interpreteth  
 these words; Hoping in his mercie: He which  
 putteth not (saith he) confidence in his owne  
 power deeds, neither hopeth to be iustified by  
 works, hath his hope of saluation onlie in the  
 mercie of God; for when he shall consider these  
 things with himselfe, I beholde Onie God and his re-  
 ward, &c.

44 But the scholers men haue taught farre  
 otherwise; for the Spasiter of the sentences, in  
 his third booke, thus defineth hope; Hope is an  
 assured expectation of the blessednes to come,  
 comming of the grace of God, and of merits  
 going before. Which definition, how absurd it  
 is, especially touching the latter part; it is ma-  
 nifest in those, which are netic in most hea-  
 venly and horrible sinnes conuerted to Christ:  
 for they vniuersally can haue no good merits,  
 seeing before they were void of charitie, from  
 which all our works proceed. Yet can there be

nothing more certaine, than that they, which be  
 conuerted vnto Christ, cannot be without hope.  
 Den, Augustine vpon the psalme; From the  
 depth haue I called vpon thee, O Lord, & thou  
 hast heard my voice. The depth which line in the  
 depth of sinne, not to call vnto hope, and that by  
 example of the theife, and of many others. It  
 may now be remembred of them, that by the  
 hope is confirmed in these men. They com-  
 monly answer, that merits do not alwaies go  
 before hope, but alwaies go before the thing ho-  
 ped for. And they declare their opinion touching  
 this matter, in such sort, as they teach that me-  
 rits go before hope, either in verbe dead, or in  
 doubtles in thought. For men netic conuer-  
 ted, commonlie while they concurre hope of  
 saluation, determine both in their mind, and in  
 their cogitation, to do good works; whereby  
 they thinke to merit the life reward. But what  
 certaine hope can these good works imagined  
 in the mind procure which are not yet wrought?  
 For of a cause, which yet is not, cannot be pro-  
 duced an effect which already is. The theife  
 there affirme the contrary; to wit, that this god-  
 lie will springeth of hope, and of hope, that that  
 faith or hope should preceide of it, as from the  
 cause.

But it is a world to see, how these men turne  
 themselves, when on the one side they saie that  
 hope is an assured expectation; and yet on the  
 other side they will haue this to be a most firme  
 doctrine, that no man can be assured of his sal-  
 uation, vntiles it be specially revealed vnto him  
 by God. Here they perseeue themselves to be  
 false tied; and they confesse, that it is a hard mat-  
 ter to vnderstand, what manner of certaintie the  
 certaintie of hope is. Where these miserable men  
 sweat, and go to worke, and feigne, and ima-  
 gine manie things. First they teach, that the  
 certaintie of hope cometh of the certaintie of  
 faith; and this indeed is not amisse: for the force  
 we certaine hope, because by faith we imbrace  
 the most certaine promise of God. But they go  
 on further, and saie, that by faith we generally  
 and absolutelie beleeue, that all the elect ap-  
 prehendement shall be saued; but that hope  
 maketh vs to haue a confidence, that we are of the  
 number of the elect: as though hope had a par-  
 ticular knowledg vnder faith; that which  
 was generally apprehended by faith, is by hope  
 applied vnto euery one of vs apart. Wherefore  
 they affirme, that this certaintie of hope is by  
 supposition; if we be of the number of the elect,  
 we do persist vnto the end. And this kind  
 of certaintie they will haue to consist of verbe  
 like like confitures. And at length they con-  
 clude, that the certaintie of hope is lesse than the  
 certaintie of faith.

45 But contrariwise, we make the certaintie  
 of hope

the cer-  
tentie of  
faith and  
hope is  
like.  
  
 faith ap-  
plicheth  
things  
which be  
foreign  
unto him  
in whom  
it is.  
  
 Certaine  
are touching  
the object  
and subiect.  
  
 As similitu-  
tude.

tie of either of them to be alike: for loke how  
much faith we have, so much hope also we have;  
so faith retaineth not to itselfe anie part of  
certentie, which it desireth not over unto  
hope. That is a fond bewtie, which they bring  
touching application, in that by hope, they ap-  
pliche unto vs, those things, which we have by  
faith, generallie and absolutele beleued. For  
the father and author of mans felicitie; but also  
of eterne godlie man by faith assuredly himselfe,  
that God both is, and will be unto him god, is  
and will be unto him a father, is and will be true  
to him the author of felicitie. Hereof cometh  
that certentie of hope. And for this cause it is,  
that Paul writeth, that It cannot confound.  
And seeing faith hath a respect unto God, as to one  
that speaketh the truth; and hope hath respect  
unto him, as unto one that is faithful, and most  
redie to performe his promises: and God him-  
selfe is no lesse faithful in performing, than  
true in promising; we may manifestly con-  
clude, that hope hath as much certentie as faith  
faith. Neither can that anie thing moze helpe  
them, which they cavill at the length; namely,  
that hope hath certentie as touching the object,  
but not as touching the subiect: for when (la-  
the) it hath a respect unto the clemencie, good-  
nes, grace, and power of God, there is no fail  
in those things, but that curie one may be  
saue; and therefore on that behalf they appoint  
a grounded certentie; but if a man consider the  
subiect, the mind I meane, and will of him  
that hopeth; forsomuch as it is pliable and va-  
uereth, and may be changed, it can neuer be  
certeine of sure of saluation.

But these men seme unto me to deale euen  
as they do, which in a siege, defending their cit-  
tie, diligentlie shut and defend all other gates  
saving one, which they leaue open; through which  
when the enemies enter in by desire, althowgh  
they perceiue that they lost all their labour. So  
these men take exceeding great paines, because  
there may seme to be no uncertentie, as touch-  
ing the goodnes, power, and clemencie of  
God, or merit of Christ. Whobeynt, in the meane  
time they appoint our will to be so subiect unto  
changing, as it neither can nog suget to pro-  
mise unto it selfe perseverance, nor not out of  
the word of God; and by this meanes they  
quite take away all certentie: so that this say-  
ing of Paule, Hope confoundeth not, can have  
no place; neither doth the certentie, which they  
go about to establish, anie thing profit. There-  
ly if we peruse the holie scriptures, we shall not  
onely understand, that God is generallie good,  
and mightie; but also that he is euermore true  
to his god and mercifull: and that therefore he will  
confirm our will, that it shall neuer fail away

from him. For as we have a little before mentio-  
ned; He will not suffer vs to be tempted above  
that which we are able to beare, but together  
with the temptation will make a waie forth.  
And in the first chapter of the first to the Corin-  
thians; He shall confine you blaunces cune  
to the end, against the daie of the Lord Iesus  
Christ: for God is faithful, by whom we are cal-  
led. There are besides, a great manie other  
testimonies in the holie scriptures, which pro-  
mise unto vs both perseverance and confirma-  
tion of our will by Christ. Therefore we claime,  
that this certentie of hope is a firme faith, and  
unto the promises offered unto vs, and received vs,  
by faith; because we knowe that we shall not  
give out, but continue euen unto the last end.  
 46 And of this great force is this hope, that as  
Augustine writeth unto Dardanus, and in ma-  
nie other places, it calleth things that are to be  
done, alreadye done: as the same Augustine be-  
rie well declaredly out of manie places of saint  
Paule, and especiallye unto the Romans, unto the  
Corinthians, unto the Colossians. For; un-  
to the Corinthians he is said, to be alreadye re-  
sued from the dead, and to be alreadye left at the  
heauenlye places. Unto the Colossians; if ye Col-  
have risen together with Christ, &c. And in a  
nother place; He hath raised vs by the fontaine  
of regeneration. And unto the Romans; By Rom. 8. 35.  
hope we are made faine. This certentie spring-  
geth therefore of a worthy estimation, which by  
faith we conceiue, touching the continuance of hope  
unto God: the which unto things of ours is able  
to cast doubt. Unto which doubtings of  
ours, doubting vs from this confidence, if we  
have reason, we must needs against hope be-  
lieue in hope; and have a full confidence that we  
shall be saued by Christ, althowgh the same  
doubtings repugne neuer to much against it;  
letting before the view of our eies our father  
Abraham, whose steps we ought by faith to  
cleaue unto.

He, as touching the promise that he should  
have issue, which not his owne age, or the age  
of his wife, which was past child bearing; but  
had a respect unto him onely which made the pro-  
mise, and consecrated his right; and therefore  
he determined most assuredly with himselfe,  
that that should come to passe which God had  
promised. Cuen so, althowgh we be unbeli-  
ving, and yet our conscience and fime is a let  
unto vs; yet let vs have no mistrust, but that by  
Christ we shall be made faine: belesse we will  
suffer our felues to be infected with unbelieve,  
the which Abraham did most of all abhorre: for  
he staggered not through unbelieve, as the apo-  
stle saith. Therefore this uncertentie of our  
anteriorities, is utterly taken away from the  
minds

Of Hope.      Part.3.      of Peter Martyr.      Cap.3.

minds of the godlie: for, for this cause (as the  
apostle testifieth) would God have vs to be us-  
tified by faith, and not by works, that the pro-  
mise should abide certaine and unshaken. And  
this is indeed to giue the glorie unto God, which  
thing Abraham was; for he, notwithstanding  
those wonderfull great impediments, hoped  
un doubtingly, that the same which God had pro-  
mised, should come to passe.  
 Iob afterwards so small account of these im-  
pediments, that he said; Although he kill me,  
yet will I hope in him: by which words he shew-  
eth, that it is the propertie of the godlie, that al-  
beit they be verie severelie afflicted by God, and  
may appeare to be hated of him, yet do not cast  
away their hope. Therefore, let vs imitate him,  
and if to be that our falling and unbeliowines  
shall set themselves before our eies; yet let vs  
not distrust. Let vs in the meane time direct  
our eies, and as much as lieth in vs, amend  
them; but yet through them let vs by no means  
be cast downe from the hope of saluation. For  
if, when the promises of God be offered, we  
should beholde our owne unbeliowines; we should  
rather be moued to desperation than to anie  
hope: for there is no man, whose mind is not la-  
den with manie and grievous sinnes. Besides  
this, Paule teacheth vs, that Peace towards God  
is had by Christ and by the faith which is to-  
wards him: which peace undoubtedly should ei-  
ther be none at all, or else verie troublesome, if  
we should continuallie doubt of his good will  
towards vs. So we are not alwaies in our prayers  
call upon him as our father: But no faine,  
which followeth naturall affection, doubteth of  
his fathers good will towards him. How then  
do we call him father, whom we suspect to be  
our enemy?

47 There might be a great manie of such  
other reasons brought for the certentie of hope.  
But now I will in few words declare, that the  
faithers also in their writings taught the selfe-  
same certentie. Chrylosome upon that place  
unto the Romans, thus writeth; Do not (saith  
he) yea though thou be of small unbeliowines, dis-  
courage thy selfe, seeing thou hast so great a de-  
sire; namely, the love or favour of the lorde.  
And a little afterwards he saith; For that cause  
the apostle himselfe (when he saith; Hope con-  
foundeth not) affereth all the things, which we  
have received, not unto our good deeds, but unto  
the love of God. Ambrose also saith, that forso-  
much as it is impossible, that they which are  
deere unto him, should be deceiued; he would  
make vs assured of the promise: because both  
it is God which hath promised, and hath promised  
unto those, whom he will have deere unto him.  
Augustine in his sermon, in the which he made  
mouable in Rogation weeke; Why (saith he)

doth your hand tremble, when ye knoeke? And  
why is your confidence to nere alwaie, when ye  
beg? I am the daie of life; I abhorre not him  
that knoeke, though he be unclene. And thus  
on the 41. psalme he saith; That doth hope in  
the selfe, but in the God; for if thou dost hope  
in thine owne life, thou shalt fall the foule with  
trouble; for as yet it hath not found whereof to  
assure it selfe of this. For these words be declar-  
erth, that the securitie which we have, cometh  
not of our felmes, but of God.  
 The same father upon the 27. psalme, when  
he expoundeth these words of Paule, out of the  
second chapter to the Ephesians; We alio by  
nature were the children of wrath, as others be:  
Why doth he saie; We were? Because (saith he)  
by hope we now are not; for in better, we still  
be: but we speake that hope is dead; name-  
ly, that which we hope are, because we be cer-  
taine of our hope: for our hope is not uncer-  
taine, that we should doubt of it. And Chryso-  
stome upon the first chapter to the Romans  
saith; that We ought no lesse to be persuaded  
of those things, which we fall receive, than we  
are of those things, which we have alreadye re-  
ceived. Cyprian also in his sermon De pestilen-  
tia, when he saith the godlie foel fearefull to die,  
confirmed them manie waies to be assured of  
their saluation: and amongst all other things  
saith; that They do feare and abhorre death,  
which are void either of faith, or hope. And Bar-  
nard wonderfullie releseth touching the death  
of Christ, touching his wounds and croffe; by  
on that roche he saith that he doth stand, and  
will not fall: for anie violence done against  
him. He maketh mention also of manie excel-  
lent things, touching this firme and constant  
certentie. Therefore, those good things, which  
we have a enough of the continuance and securi-  
tie of hope, do not onely agree with the holie  
scriptures, and with most fure fathers; but also  
with the sentences of the reasoners.  
 48 Now it shall be good to define hope, that  
the certentie thereof map the more plainelie be  
knowne. Therefore, Hope is a facultie or power  
becheired unto vs by the holie Ghost, whereby  
we, with an assured and patient mind, do wait  
that the saluation begun by Christ, & received  
of us by faith, may also be performed in us; not  
for our owne merits sake, but through the mer-  
cie of God. First it is said to be infilled by the  
holie Ghost, because it springeth not through  
nature, or continuall actions. Anded it is after  
saith, althowgh not in respect of time, yet in na-  
ture; which thing may be learned out of the epi-  
stle to the Hebrewes, where it is writen; that  
Faith is the foundation of things to be hoped  
for. For, inasmuch as things, which we hope for,  
are not euident & manifest, but are removed a  
great

hope consists in expectation of waiting for Rom. 8, 25.

great waite from vs; they ought to leane vnto faith, by which as by a prop or pillar, they may be staied vp. And that hope both continue expectation, or attending for, the epistle to the Romans the 8. chapter doth plainly declare; where Paule saith, that that Hope which is scene is hope; for how doth a man hope for that which he sees? But if we hope for that which we see not, we do by patience wait for it.

hope hath respect vnto things of great difficulty.

Neither must this be passed over, that that good thing, which hope hath a respect vnto, is difficult and hard to come by. For naturallie in living creatures, the affection of hope consisteth in the greater part of the mind, which they call the angrie part; whereby the living creature is incouraged to pursue after that good thing, which is set before it, although there be some thing to let it: for by such an affection it is stirred vp, to overcome whatsoever standeth in the waie.

A simile to be.

The Wolfe being hungrye mieteth with a bull, and through the power of appetite desireth the same for a prey: but when he seeth the great difficulty that he must haue, of coming and fighting with the bull, he is through the angrie power of the mind stirred vp by hope, and is bold to put himselfe into banger and fight; and so at the length hauing put auaile all leas, he obtieth his prey. So hath God in the nobler part of our mind, placed hope, whereby is brought to passe, that when the desire felicitie (which is a thing both difficult, and farre from vs) is set before vs, we should not be feared auaie, but by faith haue boldnes and access vnto God: as Paule saith in the 2. chapter to the Ephesians.

hope is placed in the nobler part of the mind.

And so forthwith as this felicitie is farre farre distant from the gobbie, it cannot be otherwise, but that in hoping they haue some griefe; so that they forgoe in themselves, because their present state is by God so farre removed from felicitie. But on the other side, when they are certaine and assured, that they shall attaine vnto that end; they cannot chafe but be inuolued into incredible ioy. And so this power of hope is spiritallie with the affects of ioy and forgoe. And the apostle hath signified vnto vs some part of the forgoe thereof, in that place to the Romans, which we haue already cited, when he teacheth; Euerie creature groweth, and traueileth in paine together with vs, even vnto this present: and not onelie the creature; but we also, which we receiued the first fruits of the spirit; euen we do sigh in our selues, waiting for the adoption, euen the redemption of our bodie. And that ioye is in the ioy of the selfe-same hope, he declareth in the 1. chapter of the same epistle; Reioicing (saith he) in hope.

verse. 12.

49 And although that valiant courage, and patient inuiring, seeme to bring to our minds an expectation; yet those vertues haue not the

In hope is forgoe together with ioy.

same otherwaie than from the hope which we haue desired. Neither is it to be maruelled, that that vertue should receiue anie thing of an other vertue; for they which are but meanlie conuerfant in the Ethics do knowe, that liberallitie, temperance, & such other vertues, haue much helpe at the hand of prudence: for by the helpe thereof, they haue a meciortie appointed them to followe. This is the difference that diethisthingeth hope from faith; namely, that by faith we do but and embrace the promises offered vnto vs by God: but by the helpe of hope, we do patiently wait to haue those promises at the length to be performed vnto vs.

Rom. 8, 21.

As either was hope for anie other came given by God, but because we should not cease from labouring after that good thing, which we perceive cannot be obtained by our owne deas: for they are not by anie means to be compared with it. For as the apostle saith; The tribulations of this time are not worthe of the glorie to come, the which shall be reuealed in vs. For they be like that be inuolued with hope, assure themselves, that whatsoever they do want in the strength of nature, and in works, shall be supplied by the mercede of God.

Rom. 12, 12.

Other vertues haue

And if a man demand, whether a pure life, and holie waie can auaille anie thing to the certainte of hope: We will easilie grant that it good waie may, so that we leaue the buying and selling the certainte of merits: for our works of themselves haue nothing at all, whereby they can bring forth hope. Inuolued, the persuation of faith may of them take an argument to continue hope, and to remain in this fort. God hath note of his mercede liberallie given me grace to do this or that good thing, to put auaie this or that vice out of my tozter, to put auaie this or that vice out of my mind, wherefore he will yet give me greater things, and will not denie me those things which are remaining to saluation. If the Sophisters had said thus, they might haue bene bene withall. For then in their deas is it contrarie vnto the apostles meaning; for, as we haue a little after inuared, he would haue vs, by reason of those things which God hath already granted vnto vs, to be certainte persuaded of his perpetual waie towards vs. But these men haue both byllie and taught, that hope it selfe dependeth of merits, and so dependeth, as to hope without them, they lay it in presumption and without.

So we do ferus, that somewhat may be obiect out of the scriptures, to make against this sentence of Paule, wherein he saith; that God confoundeth not. For to Timothee it is Tim. 4, 6. In my first defence, no man was on my side; and I was deliuered out of the mouth of the lion, and the Lord shall deliuer me from euerie cuill worke. Here Paule hoped to escape the persecution of Nero, but he was deceived.

for vnder him he was slain. The same apostle vnto the Philippians, when he had said, that he was distressed on both sides, because on the one part he desired to be loosed, and to be with Christ; and so that, on the other part he feared to be loosed, he desired to be loosed, and to be with Christ; that I shall abide, and wish you all continue for your furtherance, and ioye of your faith. Here againe it appereth, that the apostle hoped, that he should be deliuered from that captiuitie, the which neuertheless he did not escape. Wherefore it might haue beene, that the same hope conuinceth him. As answere to these things, we will reiterate that which we said before; namely, that hope receiue his certainte of faith, and faith hath his certainte of the word of God. Wherefore it follooweth, that either of them is as certeine, as are the promises which be offered. And God hath absolutely, and without condition promised vnto vs remission of finnes, and eternall life, and hath commanded, that we should without all doubting, both beleue and hope for them; wherefore in these things, neither faith nor hope can deceiue vs.

Why should we haue some certainte of this hope.

Some doubt of saluation are in the gobbie.

Phil. 1, 25.

God promises to us.

God promises to us.

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Why should we haue some certainte of this hope.

Some doubt of saluation are in the gobbie.

for vnder him he was slain. The same apostle vnto the Philippians, when he had said, that he was distressed on both sides, because on the one part he desired to be loosed, and to be with Christ; and so that, on the other part he feared to be loosed, he desired to be loosed, and to be with Christ; that I shall abide, and wish you all continue for your furtherance, and ioye of your faith. Here againe it appereth, that the apostle hoped, that he should be deliuered from that captiuitie, the which neuertheless he did not escape. Wherefore it might haue beene, that the same hope conuinceth him. As answere to these things, we will reiterate that which we said before; namely, that hope receiue his certainte of faith, and faith hath his certainte of the word of God. Wherefore it follooweth, that either of them is as certeine, as are the promises which be offered. And God hath absolutely, and without condition promised vnto vs remission of finnes, and eternall life, and hath commanded, that we should without all doubting, both beleue and hope for them; wherefore in these things, neither faith nor hope can deceiue vs.

But touching the dangers and aduercities of this life, we haue no plaine and absolute promise; but, as they terme it, vnder difinition: for God hath promised, that he will either deliuer vs, or else comfort vs in the dangers; so that we shall not fall auaie, but continue to confesse his name: or if we chance to fall, he hath promised to refores vs againe, that we may at length to enlurking life. Wherefore it is not met, that the certainte of hope should be fired in one of these parts onelie: which thing if a good men at anie time do, the same springeth of earthly affection, and not of chistian hope; and therefore it is maruell, if they be sometimes deceived. But to returne vnto Paule, he of a certeine great loue hoped to abide longer among the Philippians, and to edifie them; of the which thing seeing he was not instructed by the word of God, it came easilie to passe, that he was deceived. But the summe of that gobbie, which belongeth to the Gospel, is to determine certainte; that God both loue vs, and that he will at the length make vs blessed. And if sometime the minds of godlie men be distressed, as though they doubt of the promises of God, or of their saluation, this happeneth not through the default either of faith, or of hope; but by reason that while we liue here, we be not inuolued with perfection: wherefore this doubting proceedeth from the flesh, and from our humane wisdom.

And so we agree vnto our aduercities in this point, that sometimes certeine doubts of saluation do arise euen among the godlie. But herein we disagree from them; namely, that

they attribute this vnto hope: but we saie, that it cometh onlie at mans infirmite, and that it must be onlie corrected. Let a man therefore thinke, that his hath to much power in faith and hope, as he feeleth himselfe more constant and firme. And in that fort these cuils spring not of faith, or of hope, but of our owne corruption; we haue before declared by an apt similitude, and will now reiterate the same againe. No man can denie, but that the mathematical sciences are most certeine; wherefore he which hath learned them easilie, pronounceth boldly, & nothing doubteth of their conclusions: but he that hath not, but meanlie instructed in this facultie, often times doubteth, and stancheth in a perplexitie; because he hath not as yet attained perfectie vnto those sciences. Euen so are we too forth doubts, not through faith or hope; but because we do not hope no, because we think as is needfull.

Let some man will saie, that we are perardenture deceived hereby; for that in stead of the true faith of hope, we haue onelie the shadowes of them; for we cannot easilie discern the true faith of hope, from the feigned and counterfeit faith and hope. As answere, that by this inference cannot be taken auaie the properties of faith or of hope; for although one or two can of these things, yet they remaine still firme in their owne nature. As we sae it is in liberallie and progallitie: for there be manie that cannot distinguish the one from the other, and yet are not therefore their properties a condition thence auaie. Paule increaseth of the nature a property of hope. But if thou wilt after nature, demand, how these faculties or powers are discerned from the counterfeit: We answere, that they are declared by the force and power of the holie Ghost; which spirit hath in all spiritual things no other light none clare than it selfe, wherefore it should be illustrated. Which thing also we sae to be true in the summe: for the summe is not declared to be the summe, but by his owne light. Wherefore Paule vnto the Romans he wrote; It is the spirit that beareth record with our spirit, that we be the children of God. But besides this light of the holie Ghost, we require also an examination of our selues: therefore Paule thus speaketh in the latter epistle to the Corinthians; Trye your selues, whether ye be in faith.

In which triall hope must be distinguished; for there is one hope that hath alwayes repenitance, and a desire of amendment of life loosed with it; of which kind of hope the apostle speaketh, when he saith that it confoundeth not: for it hath alwayes these companions joined with it; namely, faith and charitie. Wherefore, when we teach a certainte thereof, we open not a window vnto vices, as our aduersaries haue

Gods true faith and hope are discerned from the counterfeit.

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this place take it: for as, To iustifie, is by waie of iudging & accounting, to ascribe righteousness to a man; and not to make him to be in verie deed iust. To beleue, is not in verie deed to make the woordes and promises of aint man sure, and firme; but to thinke and determine with our felues, that to they are.

But this act of beleuing, wherof we now erre, hath two manner of firmnes and certaintie. First of the things, namely, of the woordes and promises of God, which abide much more firme than heauen and earth. Secondly, as touching the persuasion it selfe; which seeing it is wrought by the power of God, it is also most firme, most certaine, and of assured persuasion; that is, that it is neuer naked, but alwaies dwelleth with it manie and sundrie motions of the mind. For experience & daily life teacheth, that in things ciuill, a man being well and fullie persuaded of pleasant promises, is filled with confidence, reioysing, sheweth a merie countenance, is glad, and pleasant, and cleaueth vnto him that made the promise, that he may be by his mannes allow him; but contrariwise, when he beleueth not the persuasion, he langueth at it, neglecteth and contemnech it, is largely cold, and beneath the brow. Wherfore it can neuer be, that the which beleueth in verie deed, can want such affections, which are accustomed to followe a full and strong persuasion. And therefore, those that are the pure professors of the Gospel, doe iustifie as such. To beleue, hath a verie great continuance with the action, or with the motion of confidence, hope, and such like affections: but most of all, with the firme and firme affection, which the same alwaies dwelleth with it.

Wherby it cometh to passe, that in the holie scriptures, promises are made both to faith, and to trust. For euen as it is said; The iust man liueth by faith: also; He which beleueth in him, shall not be confounded; and in the new testament; He which beleueth in the sonne, hath eternall life: againe; We thinke that a man is iustified by faith: euen so it is written in the Psalme; Blessed are all they which put their trust in him: and in the 126. chapter; That we shall keepe peace, because they trusted in him: and in the new testament; Hope confoundeth not: to Titus also, the 12. chapter; That we may be heires, according to the hope of eternall life. Although in the old testament we doe find the promises are oftener made vnto hope, than vnto faith; yet in the new testament it is contrariwise: the reason wherof may be this, because in the old time, the Hebrewes erred not, in believing that there was but one God, name rather, they professed the worshiping of him onelie. But this was not well amongst

them, that they had not a liuelie faith, which dwelleth with it a trust, otherwise they had by expectation conceived either a certaine opinion, or else a certaine knowledge; and therefore vnto this the scripture expotheth them, to beleue trulie and effectually, which was expelld by the effect, vnder the name of trust. But in the new testament they erred in the meaning, both the Gentiles which were worshippers of idols, and of manie gods; and also the 3. ienes, as touching the conditions of spectacles: for they looked that he should come in glorious pompe, like a king, and magnificent in worldly empire. Therefore faith was oftentimes beaten into them, whereby they might obtaine the promises of God: for it was verie necessarie, that they should rightly be instructed of the chiefe point of the thing that they should beleue.

3 And of this Hebrew verbe Amen, is deriued this name Eumene, which significeth Faith: and it sometimes significeth, certaintie, and constancie of woordes and promises. Wherfore God is oftentimes in the holie scriptures, called faithful: and his woordes are called faithful: because they be firme, and doe constantly continue: and we read in the epistle to the Hebrewes; What if some of them haue not beleueed; Hath their incredulitie made vaine the faith of God? yea, and this Latin word Fides, that is, Faith, if we maie beleue Cicero, is deriued of Fio; because that thing is done in deed, which was spoken. And sometimes it significeth the assent of our mind, whereby we receive woordes which are set forth vnto vs; as it is said of Abraham; He beleueed God, and it was impudged vnto him for righteousness. And so for much as in this discourse, we take faith vnto after this maner: it shall not be from the purpose, to define what faith is. Wherfore, faith is a firme and an assured assent of the mind, vnto the woordes of God; which assent is inspired by the holie ghost, vnto the saluation of the beleuers. And therefore it consisteth in the mind, and is occupied about the woordes of God, from whence we haue the matter thereof. Of the forme also we need not to doubt, (because it is defined to be an assent.) The efficient cause is set downe to be the inspiration of the holie ghost. And the end is declared in the last place, when as we saie, that this assent is inspired of the holie ghost, vnto the saluation of the beleuers.

Not much unlike vnto this definition, are those things, which he writteth concerning faith, in the epistle vnto the Hebrewes the 11. chapter, namely, that Faith is a substance of things to be hoped for, and an argument of things that are not yett seen. Where, that which the Latine word fides, pretours haue turned Substantia, that is, Substance, in Greke is written *Υποκειμενος*. Which

Heb. 11. the substance of things to be hoped for, is that which is not yett seen.

word Budeus most learnedly turneth in his commentaries, Boldnesse, strength, or valiantnes of mind: and it is deriued of this verbe *Υποκειμενος*, which significeth to Sustain, to receive, not to giue place vnto one that rusheth vpon a man. Wherof a solourer is called *Υποκειμενος*, which is, Trustie, and turneth not his backe vnto his enemies; but goeth against them, and resisteth them. And vndoubtedly in beleuing, we haue need of this strength, & patience; by reason of the great fight, of which we haue here experience. For we must resist the flesh, we must overcome reason, which verie much fighteth against faith; we must also resist the condemnation of our owne conscience, firme, and the iudgment of God: and there are manie things besides, by which a faithful assent is both tested and assaulted. Now this *Υποκειμενος*, or substance, and those things that are hoped for, are verie well compared together betweene these felues. For God promitteth resurrection, but yet vnto them that are rotten; he calleth them blessed, but yet those which abundantly thirst and hunger, and are on euerie side opposed; he promitteth men to be iustified, but yet such as are couered with finnes and filthines.

Wherfore, seeing these things seeme to be so far off from vs, it is needfull that we haue boldnesse, strength, and the assurance of a most firme assent, which maie make these things to abide, and to stand with vs as things most assured. Which such a most strong shield of defence ought we to be armed, whereby we maie quene all the fire barres of the diuell, when they are cast against vs, that we maie also overcome euen the world; for as John testifieth; This is the victorie, which ouercometh the world, euen our faith. Further, we must note, that this word *Υποκειμενος*, that is, Argument, which in Greke is *Υποκειμενος*, is turned of some Demonstration, that is, a Declaration; because, by faith are shewed & declared those things which are past. But not thinke Augistine, although perhaps not so Latine like, yet verie faithfully turned it *Concordia*, that is, An agreement; for by faith our mind is euermore, to grant that those things are true, which God either speaketh or promitteth.

4 But Holienss interpreting of the holie Trinitie, and the catholike faith, labouring by two reasons to shew, that faith by these woordes of the apostle is not defined; because that *Υποκειμενος*, or substance, agreeth also with hope. For as much therefore as it is not proper to faith, he saith, it cannot be applied to the definition thereof. Further, because faith hath not a regard onlie to things to come, and those things which are hoped for; but also is referred vnto things past:

for we beleue that God created heauen & earth, that Christ was borne of a virgine, that he suffered for vs, and was raised from the dead; but all these things are past, neither are they hoped for to come againe. These two reasons of Holienss are verie weak, neither do they proue, that these woordes vnto the Hebrewes cannot be applied vnto the definition of faith. For grant indeed, that the intent of the apostle in that place was not to define faith, because he spake of patience, chedie, and would shew that it is most necessarie to him to faith; because faith is *Υποκειμενος*, that is, A substance, &c. But by this reason are touched all things that expresse the nature of faith. And to the first obiection we saie, that *Υποκειμενος*, or substance, must indeed be applied vnto hope; but yet that *Υποκειμενος*, which it diuotly from faith, not that which it hath of it selfe.

Further ought it to seeme aint new matter, if these things, which are of a diuerse nature, haue one thing common in their definitions: for a lion, a dog, and a man, although they differ much in nature, yet herein they agree, that they be liuing creatures. And therefore in their definitions is something put, which is common vnto them all; seeing both they are bodies, and are also things hauiing life, and indeed both felues. Wherfore, it ought not to seeme marvellous, if faith and hope agree in that *Υποκειμενος*, so much as they are distinguished by other differences. For in faith *Υποκειμενος* is referred vnto what is referred to in hope. *Υποκειμενος* is referred to in faith, the assent, but in hope to the expectation, wherby we are patientie abide, until the promises and such things as we haue received by faith be rendered vnto vs. To the other reason we answer, that Paul made mention of things past, which are made sure and plain vnto vs by faith: for he saith not onlie, that it is a substance of things to be hoped for; but addeeth, that it is an argument or conuolition of things that are past. Now these things, which are past, appeare not by that word, Paul comprehended that which is beleueed, and is not content; whether it be past, or whether it be to come, or whether it be yett to come present. But peradventure thou wilt say, man, why in the first place be macheth mention of those things which are hoped for? &c. and fluore, that it is rightlie borne; because these things are for god cause put first, which are more hard to beleue: for peradventure there be some, which will easilie enough grant, that God created all things, that Christ the borne of the virgine came into the world, and was borne with doubt gin, and such like; but yet they will much doubt of the remission of their finnes, of the eternal glorie of the flesh to come, and of the iudgement, which shall be given to the liue. Wherfore, applye what is to things to come, and those things which are hoped for; but also is referred vnto things past:

Things differing in nature haue some things common in their definitions.

What is referred to in faith, is referred to in hope, as in hope.

Faith hath respect vnto things past, as in hope, as in hope.





is the spirit  
of goodnes

all things we ought to be most sure and cer-  
teine. But now a dayes it is not onlie called  
into controuersie, but manie disgrace one from  
another, and perniciously erre from the true  
doctrine.

But if by complaining I might arie thing  
prouale, I would at large complaine of this  
vnhappines: but soformm as that which is so,  
we can by no means bring to passe, but that  
it be so: onlie this will I present what I can;  
namely, that we fall not into those opinions,  
which biminish the glorie of God, and are re-  
pugnant vnto the holie scriptures, and also are  
hurtfull vnto our consciences. Peradventure  
some will looke that I should chuse make an-  
swere to the cursed speakinges, flanders, and re-  
proches, wherewith the aduersaries do as tou-  
ching this matter, most impudently and  
tragically infame vs: but I am not so mad,  
to thinke that these things are to be preferred  
besore the setting forth and defense of the truth.  
Wherfore first of all I will defend to the mat-  
ter, and then when I haue confirmed our olone  
opinion, I will picke out such twined obiecti-  
ons as are laid against vs, and according to  
the strength that God hath giuen me I will o-  
uerthrowe them. And to the end it may man-  
ifestlie appere, that men are not iustified by  
works, (which thing was our first proposition);  
I will reherse in due forme the order of the rea-  
sons which Paule hath in the epistle to the Ro-  
mans; wherby it may the easier be perceiued,  
that I in all points agree with him, neither do  
I once heare himself depart from his doctrine.

Rom. 1. 18.  
The first  
reason for  
the first pro-  
position.

In the first chapter he began to reproue  
the Gentiles, because before they came to the  
knowledge of Christ, although by their philo-  
sophy they knew the true God; yet they wor-  
shipped him not as they should haue done; nei-  
ther gaue they thanks vnto him, as to the au-  
thor of all good things; but being made foolish  
they became vaine in their reasones & cogitati-  
ons; and changing the glorie of God, did trans-  
fer it from him, and gaue it not onlie to the i-  
mages of men, but vnto birds, four footed  
beasts, and serpents; wherfore God deliuered  
them ouer to the afflictions and desires of their  
stone hartis, by means wherof they liued  
most shamefully, and became as it is there  
written, full of all iniquitie, maliciousnes, for-  
nication, auarice, and those things, which do  
there followe. And if so be they were vaine,  
and liued after that manner; undoubtedly they could  
not be iustified by their works: neither should  
Paule reason against the Gentiles haue bene-  
fit of any force, to prouue to them, that the reli-  
gion of Christ had bene necessarie to the iusti-  
fying of them, vntlesse he had taught, that they  
were vniuerallie such as in that first chapter he

described them to be. For who would thinke it  
to be an effectual reason, which appereth to be  
true onlie of some, and not of all?

And in the second chapter he writeth in a  
manner the same things of the Jewes; Behold  
(saith he) thou art called a Jew, & doest trust in  
the lawe, and makest thy boast of God,  
and knowest his will, and allowest the things that  
are profitable being instructed by the lawe: thou  
boatest that thou art a leader of the blind, a  
light of them which are in darkenes, and knowest  
of them which lacke discretion, a teacher  
of the vnlearned, as one that hath the forme  
of the doctrine that is by the lawe. Thou disci-  
plest which teachest another, teachest thou not  
thy selfe? Thou which preachest, a man should  
not feare, doest thou feare? Thou which im-  
palest a man should not commit adulterie, com-  
mittest thou adultery? Thou that abhorrest images,  
doest thou commit sacrilege? And thou which  
makest thy boast of the lawe, doest thou by  
transgressing of the lawe dishonour God? For  
the name of God, as it is written, is euill spoken  
of among the Gentils through you. Such there-  
fore were the Jewes without Christ; wherfore  
they could by no means be iustified by their  
works: elsse they might haue answered Paule,  
that they were so grieuously accused without  
cause.

But in that case men were before they  
received the faith of Christ, is more manifestlie  
shewed in the third chapter: for there we read;  
There is none righteous, there is none that vn-  
derstandeth or seeketh after God: all haue gone  
out of the waie, and are become vnprofitable,  
there is none that doeth good, no one that in  
his throte is an open sepulchre, with their tonges  
they haue decciued, the poison of asps is vnder  
their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bit-  
ternes: their feet are swift to shed blood, destruc-  
tion and wretchednes are in their waies, they  
haue not knowne the waie of peace, the feare of  
God is not before their eyes, &c. These testimo-  
nies Paule gathered together out of sundrie pla-  
ces of the holie scripture; by which the nature  
of man, being destitute of the grace of God, is  
and hee doeth. And that no man should  
saie, that onlie the idolatrous and wicked Gen-  
tles are by their works signified; the apostle (as  
it manifestlie appereth) sheweth, that these  
things are also extended vnto the Jewes, who  
about all other thought themselves most holie  
and hee doeth. But we knowe, that whosoever  
the lawe speakech, it speaketh vnto them which  
are vnder the lawe. And to the end the should  
not doubt, but that his intent was to bring a  
general reason, he addeth; because by the  
works of the lawe no flesh shall be iustified.  
And by the flesh hee vnderstandeth a man not  
yet

ver. 17.  
the true  
reason.

Ch. 11.  
Rom. 3. 10.

ibidem. 15.

ver. 30.  
the first  
reason.

yet regenerate.

I knowe there haue bene some, which by the  
flesh haue vnderstand the inferior parts of the  
mind, which are grosse, and intangled with  
fleshly lusts. But this sente Paule expresseth  
when he saith; By the works of the lawe, that  
is, by the works commanded by God in the  
lawe, which must needs come of reason, & not of  
the strength of the inferior parts of the mind.

Further, the scripture, after the Hebrew phrase,  
by the flesh vnderstandeth the whole man; which  
thing we haue in another place more abun-  
dantly exprest. Afterward, to the end he  
might the better confirme this sentence, he saith  
That euery mouth might be stopped, and that  
the whole world might be guilty before God.  
vnto doubtles, if men should be iustified by  
works, their mouths should not be stopped, nei-  
ther should they be guilty before God. For they  
should alwaies haue something to saie; name-  
ly, that they are quit from sinnes, because they  
haue deserued it by works: but now, when men  
perceiue the contrarie, they dare not once open  
their lips. Further, he saith; But now without  
the lawe, is the righteousness of God made ma-  
nifest, which hath the testimonie both of the  
lawe and of the prophets. What man would ap-  
point that thing to be the cause of four righteous-  
nes, without which, righteousness may be ob-  
tained? vnto doubtles no wise man would so do,  
seeing that such is the nature of causes, that  
without them the effects cannot be wrought.

To the same purpose also serueth that which  
followeth; Where is then thy boasting? It is  
excluded: By what lawe? By the lawe of works?  
No, but by the lawe of faith. He would haue vs  
knowe, that all iust cause of glorie is excluded  
and taken away from vs: for the whole glorie  
of our righteousness ought to be giuen and pei-  
ded to God. But if we should be by the glorie  
works, then would it not be so: for the glorie  
should be ours, and reuere man would count  
himselfe to be therefore iustified, because he hath  
liued virtuously and iustly. And how certeine  
and assured this was vnto the apostle, I thinke  
things which followe he declare; I thinke  
therefore that a man is iustified by faith, with-  
out the works of the lawe. Whilste then shall  
we denie that, which the apostle with so great  
vehement affirmeth to be so? vnto doubtles it  
is a thing most impudent to do. Wherfore let  
vs assent vnto him, and not resist to great te-  
dimonie of this. But besides these things, let vs  
knowe and consider the path of Pauls meaning;  
If we should be iustified by works (saith he)  
should not only haue matters to boast of; but  
the occasion of our boasting & reioicing in God,  
& of praising & commending his fauour towards  
vs, should be taken away. For without doubt

it is vnto vs a thing most praise-worthy, and  
glorious, to acknowledge, that the beneuolence  
and readie forgiveness of God towards vs, through  
Christ, is so great, that he deliuereth vs from  
men from our sinnes, and receiue vs in-  
to grace, although we be covered ouer with  
newer & greater iniquities and deges of sinne.

If we should (I saie) be iustified by works, then  
doubtles we might not trulie boast, brag, or  
glorie hereof.

But it is better for vs to heare what the apo-  
stle himselfe saith in the beginning of the fourth  
chapter; What shall we saie then, that our father  
Abraham found according to the flesh? For if  
Abraham were iustified by works, he had need  
of to boast, but not before God. For what saith  
the scriptures? Abraham beleued God, and it  
was imputed vnto him for righteousness. But  
vnto him which worketh, a reward is not im-  
puted according to grace, but according to debt.  
Wherfore to the end that no sueta consola-  
tion of the loue and beneuolence of God towards  
vs, should not be taken away from vs; let vs  
constantly asseme with the apostle, that we are  
not iustified by works. And that he might the  
better perceiue vs herof, hee vudgeth this word  
λογισθη, which we saie, is To impute, to ascri-  
be vnto a man righteousness, or to count a man to  
be iust; and he setteth it as an Antithesis; con-  
trarie position vnto merit or debt: so that he,  
to whom any thing is imputed, doeth not  
the same, neither receiue it as a debt. But the  
which otherment any thing as a debt, accom-  
teth not the same as imputed; or ascribed vnto  
him. Neither do Paule thinke it sufficient, that  
he brought the scripture, concerning Abraham,  
that he should be iustified by faith, & that he  
should be also cited; David; Blessed are they  
whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose finnes  
are covered. Blessed is the man, vnto whom  
the Lord hath not imputed sinne. vnto the  
works we do not onlie gather, that the righte-  
ousnes, by which we are said to be iustified, is  
kech not in our merits, but is imputed of God;  
& that it is such an imputation, as consisteth  
not of works, but of the mere clemencie of God.

Further, the apostle doth by another propo-  
se of god wothes confirme his opinion; namely,  
because wothes are figures of seales of the righte-  
ousnes already obtained: where by saith  
Abraham; And hee receiued the signe of cir-  
cumcision, being a leale of the righteousness  
which, which was in vncircumcision, &c. Seeing  
therefore that god wothes are figures and also  
seales, which beare witness of the righteousness  
already receiued, they cannot be the causes  
thereof. Neither haue ceremonies onlie that  
propertie, but also euery those wothes, which are  
called morall, when they are pleasant and ac-  
ceptable before God: for they also are signifi-  
cations

the ninth  
reason.

Rom. 4. 1.

ver. 5. & 4.

ver. 7.

Psalm. 137.

the tenth  
reason.

ver. 11.

them be-  
cause  
they are  
signifi-

tokens of our righteousness. **Wherefore** Peter exhorteth vs to endeavour our lives to make our vocation sure; namely, by living by sight, & by good works; and the forme of the promise which God made with Abraham, is diligentlie to be watchful; for therewith is not added a condition of the lawe, or of works. And being God added none, what boldnes were it in vs to presume to do it? and Paule saith, For not through the lawe was the promise made unto Abraham, or to his seede, that he should be the heire of the world; but through the righteousness of faith. For if those, which pertaine unto the lawe, be heires, then is faith made frustrate, and the promise is of no force; namely, because the lawe worketh anger. **Wherefore if we fulfill not the lawe, the promise shall take no place.** And to be lawe that promise, which shall never be fulfilled, would be a vaine thing; which without doubt must needs utterlie be false if it giuen upon this condition, that we should performe the lawe, when as no man can perfectlie accomplish the lawe.

But the apostle proceedeth further, and in the intent of the most mercifull counsel of God decreeth after this manner; Therefore is the inheritance giuen by faith, and according to grace, to the end the promise should be firme. As if he should say; If the promise should depend upon works, our mind would continuallie waiver; none might appoint anie certaintie of his owne saluation: for his conscience would evermore accuse him, that he had not performed those works, for the which the promise was made. To the end therefore we should not waiver, God would that our iustification should consist of faith and grace, that the promise might be firme. The same thing also is gathered by that which is declared of Abraham, howe that, Contrarie to hope, he beleeued in hope. He is said to beleue in hope, contrarie to hope, which either in him selfe, or in nature seeth; seely no manner of thing, which might perswade him to hope. Euen as Abraham was an hundred yeeres of age, his bodie was in a manner dead: his wife an old woman, and barren; all which things naturallie put him from hoping: and yet perswading him to hope. But we, if we had merites or good works, whereby we might obtaine righteousness; then should we not hope contrarie to hope, but in hope, and according to hope. **Wherefore our iustification is to be appointed no otherwise, than we read it was in Abraham; so; he is the father of vs all: as it was imputed unto him, euen so shall it be imputed unto vs.**

12 But now let vs come to the 7. chapter. There againe Paule plainlie expresseth, in what case men are before they be regenerate: that he saith; For Christ; when we were yet weak,

according to the time required, died for the godlie. And straightwaies; But God fetched out his love towards vs, in that when we were yet sinners, Christ died for vs. And he death, For it when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his sonne, much more being now reconciled, shall we be saved by his life. **Whereby we gather, that before regeneration men are weak, sinners, vngodlie, and the enemies of God.** Who then can ascribe unto such men, power to obtaine righteousness after their pleasure, when they list to do good works? Others make beleue it, but the godlie will neuer be so persuaded. This moreover is another proofe, in that he setteth forth the cause of so great an euill, when he saith; Therefore, euen as if by one man sinne entered into the world, and by sinne, death: euen so death went over all men, forasmuch as all men haue sinned. As if he should haue said; There haue bene men from the beginning, by the first man, lost and condemned. And least thou shouldst thinke, that infants are to be excepted, he saith; Yea death hath reigned from Adam euen to Moses, over them also, which haue not sinned, after the similitude of the transgression of Adam. The same lump of perdition, comprehendeth all those that are borne; from which corruption the holie scriptures teach that it is not possible for men to escape by their works, and to challenge iustification unto themselves. **Afterward in the 6. chapter, thus speaketh our apostle;** What fruit had ye then in those things, whereye we are now ashamed? For the end of them is death, but now being deliuered from sinne, and made the seruants of God, ye haue your fruit to sanctification, and the end euerslasting life. **What other thing meane these words, than that all things, which men do, before they beleue in Christ, be serue nothing else but ignominie & shame?** And there is no fruit there, of sanctification, which it followeth regeneration it selfe. And who will say, that we are iustified by those things, which are full of ignominie and shame? **But now let us heare what is said in the beginning of the 7. cap.** Knowe ye not brethren (for I speake to them that knowe the lawe) how that the lawe hath power ouer man, as long as he lieth? For the woman, which is in subiection to a man, is bound by the lawe to the man, as long as he lieth: but if the man be dead, she is loosed from the lawe of the man. Wherefore, if whilst the man lieth, the couple her selfe with another man, she shall commit a wedlocke-breaker: but if the man be dead, she is free from the lawe of the husband, so that she is no wedlocke-breaker, though the couple her selfe with another man. Euen so ye also, my brethren, are dead unto the lawe, by the bodie of Christ, that ye should

should be coupled to another; namely to him, which is risen againe from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit vnto God. Paule would by this reason declare, that before our faith in Christ, we as it were to husbands, were coupled to the lawe, and to the flesh; of which copulation could come no fruits, but such as are pericious and deadly: but now being deliuered by the grace of God, we are coupled vnto Christ by the spirit, vnto Christ (I say) being raised from the dead: by which copulation, we shall now bring forth fruit vnto God, and not anie more to death and damnation.

And the selfe-same thing he affirmeth, & rather expoundeth, when he addeth; For when we were in the flesh, the lusts of finnes, which are by the lawe, tooke effect in our members, to bring forth fruit vnto death. Here let vs note, that so long as we were in the flesh, we were subiect vnto wicked affections, which by the lawe were of force in our members; how then could we be iustified by our works? Further, in the same chapter it is written; For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate, that do I. I know I do that, which I would not, then is not I that do it, but sinne that dwelleth in me. For I knowe that in me (that is in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing. Here (as it manifestlie appereth) he doth interpret of the works of men. And although that in interpreting of these words, I haue effectually proued, that they are to be vnderstood of those works, which are done of the godlie, which haue already obtained iustification: yet now I leave it free vnto the aduersaries, to take whether they will. And if they grant, that these things ought to be vnderstood of works done before iustification; then, so much as they are neither allowed, nor good, how shall they be seruice righteousness? For they are called vniuall, and no man is iustified by an euill action. But if we vnderstand works, which are here declared, to be the works of those that are iustified; then will I make my argument *A maior*; that is, from the greater. If those works, which would seeme most acceptable & iust, and holie to God, are called vniuall, & by the ingement of reason now reuiewed are not allowed; how can we affirme then, that those works, which are of sinners are such as they be able to iustifie?

13 And least anie man should say, that we take our argument onlie of that, which happeneth through the foolishness of men; when as the designation is of that which may be done, if men would put to their good will; for that we are not iustified by their good works, when as they would be iustified by them if they would. Here vnto we answer with the apostle in the right chapter, who saith; For that which the lawe could not performe, inasmuch as it was weak, because of the flesh, that performed God by his owne Rom.8.3. sonne, being sent vnder the similitude of flesh subiect vnto sinne, and for sinne condemned sinne through the flesh. This place admonisheth vs, that the righteousness, which God commanded in the commandments, could not be performed by the helpe of the lawe; by reason of the corruption and infirmities of the flesh: and so; that cause was Christ sent by the father, to performe that which could not be accomplished by vs. The same thing also teacheth he a little after: for when he has said, that The lust of the flesh is death; he addeth moreover, that it is enemie against God: for it is not subiect to the Bidan.6. lawe of God, neither indeed can be. **Wherefore, therefore we be of our owne naturall strength and power (which is called flesh) the same reiecteth God: for our corrupted nature cannot be subued under the lawe of God.** And so much as it is so, then can we not be iustified by the deeds thereof. In the same chapter also we read; Vnto those that loue God, all things we worke to good, vnto that, which are called of his purpose. In which words the apostle toucheth the beginning and chiefe point of all our goodnes, namely, the purpose of God; which is the cause of our saluation, that all our goodnes deperideth thereon, but it is not moued by anie of our goodnes.

But the verie causes of mans felicitie are afterward aduerted and distinctlie declared; among which there is no mention at all of our good works. Those which he knew before, he also predestinated; and whom he hath predestinated, those hath he also called; and whom he hath called, them also hath he iustified; and whom he hath iustified, them also will he glorifie. This doctrine is linked together with all the means and helps, whereby God bringeth vs vnto saluation. But seeing there is no mention made of the works of the lawe, and of merites; it is manifestly appereth, that by them we are not iustified. Further, when it is said; Who shall accuse the elect of God? It is God which iustified, who shall condemne? It is Christ which died, yet which also is risen againe, which also sitteth at the right hand of God, which also maketh intercession for vs. If by the iudgement of God we should be iustified by works, it had bene sufficient to haue said; The elect shall be accused in vaine, so much as they haue good merites; and seeing by their vniuall and holie works they shall obtaine absolution. The faith not so. But (saith he) it is God which iustifieth. And it might haue bene answered; so man shall condemne the elect, seeing that their works be such, as they deserve both absolution, and a reward. But he maketh no such answer, but

saith; It is Christ that died, &c. **Text** then should we take upon vs to mingle our works therein shall, seeing the scripture willeth vs in no case to do so?

14. Now come we to the ninth chapter, wherein is treated of the prebundance of God, which directeth and aduoceth all things; not for any other cause vnderstandible, but that we should thinke, that the nature of it, and of iustification is all one: for either of them is giuen freely, and not of works. For the apostle willeth, that Of two brethren, which were not yet borne, and when they had done neither good nor euill, (to the end the election of God should abide according to his purpose, not of works, but of him that callen) it is said; The elder shall serue the younger, w<sup>ch</sup> is written; Iacob haue I loued, and Esau haue I hated. Here, as we see, are works most manifestly excluded. Also vnto Moyses it was answered; I will shew mercie to whom I ouercome their mercie, and will haue compassion on whom I haue compassion. These words also declare, that the forgiveness of sins, and the mercie whereby men are recruited into fauour, depend on of their works, but of the mercie and mercifull beneuolence of God. And we likewise do the words following declare; It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercie. Again; He hath mercie on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. But if iustification might be gotten by our will, or by works; then should it be both of him that willeth, and of him that runneth. Neither should they be conuerted, on whom God hath compassion; but they, which should haue most compassion vpon themselves: neither also should God harden any man, seeing all men might promptly, easily, and at their pleasure, by good works be recruited into God, and also be iustified. But it is farre otherwise; for they which put their confidence in works, do too farre erre from the true righteousness, wherof we now speake. Toward the end of the ninth chapter, the apostle saith; Israel which followed the lawe of righteousness, attained not to the lawe of righteousness. And why? I haue bewailed they fought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the lawe. And if the works of the lawe were a let vnto the Jewes, for the obtaining of iustification; what should we then hope to haue thereby?

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

owne righteousness; namely, to works. And there is to great a contrarietie and repugnancie betwene grace and works, that the effect, which proceedeth from the one, cannot proceed from the other. For Paule saith; There is remnant left, according to the election of grace, If it be of grace, then it is not now of works; for else should grace be no more grace: & if it be of works, then it is not of grace. For this is the property of grace, to be giuen freely, of more liberality; but the property of works is, that the reward should be giuen of dutie, & even of being right. I aske, what shall we saie, seeing the apostle crieth out; Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom of God! Undoubtedly Paule by this affection declareth, that it is a thing most hard to be knowen; whether God dole iustitie, which predestineth whom he will, & iustifieth whom he will, hauing no respect to condition & merits. Where humane reason is verie much offended, there our flesh crieth not to crie against; but if either of them; namely, iustification and election, should happen by works and merits, there should be no trouble, no offense, no stumbling block laid against vs. But forsomuch as it is farre otherwise, and that by vs cannot be rendered a reason of the will of God; therefore Paule iustifie and bewillie crieth out; and by his opinion must all men that be wise agree. In the 14. chapter it is written; Blessed is he whom iudgeeth not himselfe, in that thing which he alloweth. But he which iudgeeth, is condemned of the iudge, because he catcheth not of faith. For whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. Whereby we are taught, that they which want a true faith, can do or performe nothing which is not sinne.

I knowe indeed, that the aduersaries interpret these words of the confidence; but they are neuer able to proue, that faith signifieth confidence. And although peraduenture Paule teacheth this at the beginning; namely, that was ought not to doe any thing against our confidence; yet in a manner afterward by bringing in a general sentence, when he willeth, that Whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. As though he should haue said; This is a general rule, when men should haue to doe any thing, they ought to be persuaded by the spirit and word of God, that that which they haue in hand to doe, is acceptable vnto God, and please him; which persuasion if they haue not, then undoubtedly they sinne in doing that which they do. And if I should grant, that in this place, faith signifieth the confidence; I would thinke it should be added also, that the confidence ought not to be believed, but lesse it be instructed by the word of God: forsomuch as there be many indeed with so superstitious a confidence, that whether they obey it, or not obey it, they sinne most grievously. But

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

Chet. 22. reason. Rom. 9. 11.

I will not stand long at this time about the expounding of this place, & therefore let vs heare what is said in the 4. chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, where it is thus written; I knowe nothing by my selfe, yet am I not thereby iustified. These words Paule spake of his wife, being now conuerted vnto Christ, being now an apostle, and whome, as touching his function, no man was able to accuse. And if so great a friend of God, personally this of him selfe, and of his works; what meane we to attribute iustification to the works of them that are not yet regenerate? The works of the godlie, and of the true apostle of Christ, could not deserue it; how then can it be granted vnto those, which are yet strangers from Christ?

15. To the Galatians, the second chapter, Paule repeateth that sentence, which he had written in the 3. chapter to the Romans; namely, that, No flesh shall be iustified by the works of the lawe. Which sentence forsomuch as it is plaine enough, and hath bene already before recited, needeth now no further declaration. But in the same chapter it is written; If righteousness come by the lawe, then Christ died gratis. In which place, gratis, signifieth nothing else, but in vaine, and to no purpose; which then undoubtedly should be most true. For if true righteousness before God, could by any other means haue bene attained vnto by men, while then died he: And why was he crucified? And againe; This one thing I desire to learne of you; Received ye the spirit by the works of the lawe, or by the preaching of faith? And straight waie; He therefore that ministrunt you the spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth hee that through the deeds of the lawe, or by the preaching of faith? They which are iustified, receive the holie Spirit; without it, it is utterly impossible to be iustified: and if he be not giuen through works, neither can iustification then come through works. Further there is no doubt, but that iustification cometh of the good will and fauour of God; seeing by it men are recruited into grace, adopted to be his children, and made heires of eternall life. But such as before iustification, are occupied in the works of the lawe, are bound vnder the curse; so farre is it off, that they should haue the fruition of the fauour of God. For the apostle addeth; As many as are vnder the lawe, are vnder the curse. But to the end we should not thinke this to be his owne inuention, he saith; As it is written, Cursed be he, which abideth not in all the things that are written in the booke of the lawe. After this way argueth from the time; I speake after the manner of men: though it be but a mans testament, yet if it be allowed, no man receiuet it, or addeth

ver. 4.

Chet. 22. reason.

ver. 16.

Gal. 3. 11.

Chet. 22. reason.

ver. 16.

Chet. 22. reason.

Gal. 3. 2.

ver. 16.

Chet. 22. reason.

ver. 16.

Chet. 22. reason.

ver. 16.

and thing thereto. Moreover, vnto Abraham we the promises made, and vnto his seed: he said, vnto his seedes, as speaking of man; but to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ. This I do saie, that the lawe, which began afterward, beyond 430. yeeres, dooth not dilute the testament, that was before confirmed of God vnto Christ-wad, to make the promises of none effect. First, saith he; The testament of God, and the first promise, offereth iustification vnto our works; therefore the testament confirmed, received, and allowed, is not reuersed by the lawe, which was so long time afterward giuen.

If there had bene a lawe giuen, which could haue giuen life, then should righteousness haue bene of the lawe. The reason of the apostle is not full; for there must be added the denial of the antecedent; namely, That the lawe can not giue life. For as it is declared vnto the Romans; It was weakened through the flesh, although as touching it selfe, it contained no imperfections, which perturbed vnto life. Therefore further it is to be certaine, that the lawe can not giue life; no more can it helpe vnto life. But before that faith came, we were kept vnder the lawe, and were thus vpon that faith, which afterward should be recalled. Wherefore the lawe was our scholemaster vnto Christ, that we should be iustified by faith. If the lawe be as it were a scholemaster, then should we do great inuencie vnto God, and to Christ, which are vnto vs in stead of parents, if we should ascribe vnto the scholemaster, that which is proper vnto them. It is not the scholemaster, which maketh vs heires, which adopteth vs, which giueth vs all things; but it is the father; therefore let vs ascribe our iustification vnto God, and vnto Christ; and not vnto the lawe, nor vnto works, nor to our merits.

Tell me, ye that would loeaine beunder the lawe, doo ye not heare what the lawe saith? For it is written, that Abraham had two fones, one of an handmaiden, an other of a freewoman; and he which came of the handmaiden, was borne according to the flesh; but he which came of the freewoman, was borne according to promise; which things are spoken by an allegorie. For these are two testaments, the one from the mount Sina, which ingendeth vnto bondage, the which is Agar; for Agar is mount Sina in Arabia, and is ioined vnto the cite, which is now called Ierusalem, and it is in bondage with her children; but Ierusalem, which is about, is free, which is the mother of vs all. In these words, this thing is chiefly to be noted; that the lawe ingendeth not, but vnto bondage, as Agar did. But if by the words thereof it could iustifie, it should ingendeth to libertie; for what thing else

Chet. 22. reason.

ver. 16.

Chet. 22. reason.

ver. 16.

Chet. 22. reason.

Gal. 4. 11.

Chet. 22. reason.

Chet. 22. reason.

verse. 1.  
Eph. 3.  
Gal. 3.

cille is iustification than a certaine libertie fr  
sunt : But forasmuch as it is both called a fr  
and, and grandly to bondage; we ought not  
then by it to looke for iustification. In the first  
chapter it is written; If ye be circumcised,  
Christ shall nothing profit you. And he brings  
a reason of the said sentence, For that man (saith  
he) which is circumcised, is debert to keepe the  
whole lawe. So much doth Paule take iustifi  
cation from circumcision and woorks, as he  
saith, that Christ nothing profiteth them in case  
they will be circumcised, after they beleue. And  
will be more stronglie confirmed that which  
was said, Christ is come in vaine vnto you, for  
if ye haue iustification, as the fruit of your  
woorks, then the conuincing, death, and blood  
shedding of Christ should not haue beene ne  
cessarie. And if ye preach circumcision, why  
do I suffer persecution? Then is the offence of  
the crosse abolished. The offence and danger of  
the crosse is, that men being wicked, and o  
therwise sinners, are by Gods chosen iust,  
through Christ crucified, and by faith in him,  
where the flesh is offered, here both reason and  
the flesh resist; which thing happeneth not, when i  
ustification is preached to come of woorks, whe  
ther they be ceremoniall or morall. But Gods  
would haue this offence to remaine, because  
it pleaseth him, by the foolishnes of preaching, to  
saue them that beleue.

verse. 1.  
Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

16 Unto the Corinthians the 2. chapter it is  
written; And ye, when ye were dead in trespas  
ses and finnes, in which in time past ye walked  
according to the course of this world, euen after  
the gouernour that ruled in the aire, and the spirit  
that now worketh in the children of vnbelleue, a  
mong whom we also had our conuersion in  
time past, in the lust of the flesh, and fulfilled the  
will of the flesh, and of the mind, and as it is in  
the Greekes *ἐν ἀποστάσει* of our thoughts, &c. were  
by nature the children of wrath, euen as others  
are. Let vs note in these woordes, that men at the  
beginning, before they come to Christ, are dead  
in sinne; and therefore are not able to helpe them  
selves to liue, and to be iustified. Wherefore saue  
thou a dead man could helpe himselfe: further,  
by those woordes is shewed, that they were in the  
power of the prince of darkenes, which woorth  
and is present in the children of vnbelleue. See  
ing therefore they were gouerned by him, how  
could they by their woorks tend to iustification?  
And because we should not thinke that he spake  
onlie of some other certaine vngodlike persons,  
he addeth; All we (comprehending also the apo  
stles in the number) Among them (saith he) we  
were. And what did we then? We were conuer  
sant in the lusts of our flesh. And to the end we  
might vnderstand, that these lusts were not on  
lie the wicked affections of the greater part of the

foule, it followeth; We doing the will of the flesh  
and of the meane, or of reason, did followe also  
the thoughts or inventions of human reason. Al  
tho we had such, from thence then woordes  
saluation, and iustification? But God, which is  
rich in mercie, for his exceeding love sake, where  
with he loued vs, yea euen when we were dead  
in sinnes, had quickened vs together with  
Christ.

But what instrument used he to giue vnto vs  
our saluation? For by grace (saith he) were ye  
iustified through faith, and that not of your felicitie;  
it is the gift of God: not of woorks; lest any man  
should boast. Could woordes be more manifestly  
excluded? In what place then shall we put them?  
Certainlie they followe iustification. For the apo  
stle addeth; For we are his workmanship, crea  
ted in Christ Iesus vnto good woorks, which  
God hath prepared, that we should walke in  
them. But they could not be in vs before, which  
thing is here well thus described; Ye were at  
that time without Christ, being alienated from  
the common wealth of Israel, strangers from the  
testaments of promise, hauing no hope, and be  
ing without God in this world. Being in this  
state, who can saue vnto himselfe good woorks,  
whereby men may merit iustification? And man  
the Philippians the 3. chapter; If anie other man  
may seeme that he hath whereof he might trust  
in the flesh, I haue more, being circumcised  
the eighth day, of the kindred of Israel, of the tribe  
of Benjamin, an Hebrue, borne of the Hebrues;  
as concerning the lawe, a Pharisee; as touching  
seruences, I persecuted the church of God; as  
touching the righteousness which is of the lawe, I  
was vnequellable. Seeing that Paule had so  
manie, and to great things before his conuer  
sion, and that he had wherewith to trust and boast  
in the strength of all these things; These things (saith  
he) if they be compared vnto the true righteous  
ness, which is through the faith of Christ, I count  
losse, ylle, and dung. If we should thereby ob  
taine righteousnes, should so profitable things  
be counted for; losse; so precious; & holie things,  
for vile; and things acceptable and pleasant un  
to Gods being? Let Paule take heed what he  
saith here; nare rather let the readers take heed  
that they beleue not Sophisters more than Paule.

Now to the Colossians the first chapter; And  
ye, which were sometimes far off, and through  
euill woorks, enemies in your hartes; yet hath he  
now reconciled in the bodie of his flesh, through  
death. Were ought euerie woord diligentlie to be  
noted, so as we may perceiue, that in them  
which he alienates from God, we are not to looke  
for such things; whereby they may returne into  
grace & fauour; & that the y which be enemies in  
mind, cannot obtaine that peace which is joined  
with

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.  
Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

Phil. 3.  
Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

with iustification: that it is impossible that god  
woorks should be done of them, before they be  
changed, which are said to sticke in euill woorks.  
But that manner of woorks those were, it appea  
reth in the 2. chapter, seeing it is thus written;  
And ye, when ye were dead through finnes, and  
through the vnicircumcision of your flesh, hath  
he quickened together with him, forgiving all  
our finnes, & hath put out the hand-writing that  
was against vs. In the 2. to Timothie, the 1. cha  
pter; Who hath called vs with an holie calling,  
not according to our woorks, but according to his  
purpose and grace, which is giuen vs through  
Christ Iesus. Here he speaketh of the effectuall  
calling, whereby we are iustified, and not of the  
common calling, which is by the preaching of the  
woord of God, that is laie open to all men. And  
forasmuch as this consisteth not (as Paule saith)  
of merits or woorks; neither can iustification ab  
solute come of them. Cito Titus it is written; The  
goodnes and loue of God our saviour towards  
vs, hath appeared: not by the woorks of righte  
ousnes, which we had done, but according to his  
mercie hath he saued vs. Also vnto the Hebrewes,  
there is but one onlie sacrifice, and one oblation  
affirmed to be; namely, the death of Christ, by  
which finnes are wiped awaie, and satisfaction  
made for men. Wherefore iustification is not to  
be looked for of woorks; and it ought to suffice vs,  
that the god woorks which we do after iustifica  
tion, are sacrifices of thanksgiving; but let vs not  
make them sacrifices propitiatorie; for then we  
should do great iniurie vnto Christ.

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

17 But letting aside the epistles of Paule;  
let vs seeke testimonies also out of other places  
of the holie scriptures. Christ in the feuenth  
of Matthew saith; Euerie good tree bringeth forth  
good fruits, but an ill tree bringeth forth euill  
fruits. And to the end the nature of those which  
are not regenerate, might be the better decla  
red, he addeth; A good tree cannot bring forth  
euill fruits, neither can an euill tree bring forth  
good fruits. Wherefore seeing Christ saith, that  
this cannot so be, how dare these men affirme  
that it may be; and saie, that by woorks men  
may be iustified? Christ vnto the selfe same  
matter in the twelfe chapter of Matthew; Either  
make the tree good, and his fruit good; or make  
the tree euill, and his fruit euill: for by the fruit  
the tree is knowne. O ye generation of vipers!  
How can ye speake good things, when as ye  
your felicitie are euill? For of the abundance of  
the hart the mouth speaketh. A good man out  
of the good treasure of the hart bringeth forth  
good things; and an euill man out of an euill  
treasure bringeth forth euill things. These  
woordes of Christ do declare, that men, which are  
not yet regenerate, are euill trees, which nei  
ther do nor can bring forth good fruit: and they

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

testifie, that the wicked cannot speake good  
things, much lesse than that they woorks god  
things; and that out of an euill treasure of the  
hart, are euill things to be looked for. And see  
ing the matter is so, consider 3. pte. pte. pte.  
where they, which are alienated from Christ,  
ought to be called euill. 2. 10. vnbelleue  
vnto Christ can be good.

Also in Luke the 17. chapter; But which of  
you that hath a seruant that goeth to plough, or  
feedeth your cattell, will straight waie saie vnto  
him, when he cometh from the field; Go thy  
waie and sit downe? And saidst thou rather vnto  
him; Prepare that I may sup, giue yd thy selfe,  
and serue me, till I haue eaten and drunken, and  
afterward eate thou, and drinke thou? Dost  
he thanke this seruant, because he hath done  
those things which he hath commanded him? I  
trowe not. So likewise ye, when ye haue done  
all those things that are commanded you, saie,  
We are vnpromisable seruants, we haue done  
that which we ought to haue done. These  
woordes saith Christ to his disciples, to his apo  
stles 3. meane, & to them which were now con  
uerted to saluation; who if they woordes vnprom  
isable woorks, what shall we then imagine of those,  
which haue not yet receiued the faith of Christ?  
But the Sophisters haue made the woordes full  
foles, that they saie, that woorks before iustifi  
cation do after a sort deserve it; and those woorks  
which followe, they call most profitable of all.  
Wherefore no man would in a manner make  
account vnto God, and vnto his seruants  
holo manie penites they haue said: for what o  
ther thing merit by them, than that they  
should by a certaine number recte to manie  
Pater noster, or so many Ave Marias; thinking  
by that recital to haue Gods most assured  
bound to them?

In the 15. of Iohn, Christ is compared vnto  
a vine tree; and we vnto the branches thereof:  
wherefore he saith; Euen as the branch cannot  
bring forth fruit, if it lelle, ylesse it abide in  
the vine; no more also can ye, ylesse ye abide  
in me. I am the vine, and ye be the branches;  
he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same  
shall bring forth much fruit. And wholesoe  
r shall not abide in me, they are cast out of the  
doores, euen as the branches or cuttings off from  
the vine, and they shall gather them, and call  
them into the fire. Now that we haue rected  
these woordes of the Lord, how agreeth it, that  
men being strangers from Christ, and yet not  
regenerate, can woorks god woorks, whereby  
they may be iustified; seeing they are called v  
ie branches which shall be cut into the fire: And  
it branches which they onlie can bring forth fruit,  
is said, that they onlie can bring forth fruit,  
which cleaue vnto Christ, as branches cleaue  
to the vine.

Eph. 4.  
Gal. 4.

verſe.6.  
The 11.  
traſon.

to the time. And that we ſhould the better underſtand the will of Chriſt, there is added; With-  
out mee you can do nothing. Which ſentence ſome go about to make obſcure; and ſay, that nothing can be done without Chriſt, in reſpect that he is God, ſo ſomuch as he is the firſt cauſe of all things: as though the Lord diſputed then of the generall conſideration of natural things, and of that power, whereby God bringeth forth all things uniuersallie. Chriſt came not into the world to teach this philoſophie, he vniu-  
erſally intreated of the fruit of ſalutation, and of eternall life; and ſpake of thoſe, which ſhould cleane unto his doctrine, or elſe ſhould be ſtrangers from it.

The 11.  
traſon.  
Mat. 23.12.

18. Moreover, the forme of God commanded that the faithfull ſhould in their praices ſaie; Forgive vs our treſpaſes: ſignifying thereby, that the faithfull alſo haue need of forgiveness, in thoſe things which they do, for our weakes are diuerſen neither are they able to ſatiſfie. Wherefore, if our weakes, which we do after our regeneration, lack purging by the merit of Chriſt; and we praie, they may be to: how can they be propitiatory? A great deale leſſe can we thinke of thoſe weakes, which are done before regeneration, that they ſhould be acceptable and pleaſant unto God. And farther, no man can ſuffice ſaie, that he is not one of this number, ſeeing God hath commanded all men to praie in that manner: and his will is not, that any man ſhould make a lie in his praier. Peter and Iohn alſo witteſſe; If we ſhall ſaie, that we haue no ſinne, we deceive our ſelves, and there is no truth in vs. And I ſuppoſe there is none, that will ſudge it a thing meet, that there ſhould be many mediators brought in, when as There is but one onlie mediator betweene God and man; namely, the man Chriſt Ieſus. But if beſides him, and his merits, our weakes ſhould alſo be uſed vs; then ſhould they be ſet betweene God and vs: neither ſhould Chriſt be the onlie mediator. Over this, the prophets doe curie: where Peter, and David alſo, that God would waſh, cleane, purſe, and purge their finnes; namely, in forgetting and remitting them: but if they could haue attained unto that thing by their weakes, then ſhould they not to haue requieſted it by praier, or at the leaſt waie not with ſo great fervencie.

The 11.  
traſon.  
Mat. 23.12.  
Eſai. 59.1.The 11.  
traſon.  
Mat. 23.12.  
Eſai. 59.1.

And in Iob the 15. chapter, it is written, that The verie heauens are not pure before God: and in the fourth chapter, he pronounceth the angels not to be pure. In what caſe then ſhall men be, beſoze they obtayne iuſtification: David alſo in his Pſalmes crieth; If thou Lord Iordke ſtrictlie vpon our iniquities, Lord, who ſhall be able to abide it? Eue calleth the thirde vs to the waters, and boddey them buie without

ſiluer. But our men (ſoſtly) will merit, and be iuſtified both by merits, and by weakes, and alſo by ſiluer. Moreover, in the ſecond chapter the ſame prophet (when he heard a voice, wherein it was ſaid, Crie out, and ſay, What ſhall I crie? And it ſhould be ſaid unto him that he ſhould crie; All he is graſſe; and Chafed, that is his piete, or religion, or merite, whereby he ſuccurreth his neighbour, as is the flower of the field; that is, a thing vaniſhing, which ſtraite waie ſhould away, neither can it continue. The ſame thing alſo ſhould be in the 64. chapter, where he ſaith; that All our righteouſnes is as filthy rags. Which ſentence, whether a man applie it unto paſſe not much; for either waie will make us our ſide. And in the ſelfe ſame chapter he ſaith; O our God, we are clauie, and thou art our creator, and we are the worke of thy hands. And the ſame ſimilitude of the clauie and potters vbiſ Paule to the Romans, in the ninth chapter, wherein is notable declared, that ſo much are we ſubiect to do towards our iuſtification, as can the clauie towards the potters, to cauſe him to make it after this manner, or that manner. We might alſo recite testimonies, which are written of the malignities of our hearts, both in Genesis, and in Ieremie: but I ſuppoſe I haue already brought testimonies enow for the confirmation of our propoſition.

And this now onlie will I ſaie, that there haue bene men ſo ſilly, that they haue not onlie attributed ſome merit of iuſtification unto bonck weakes, and which are (as they terme them) moſſallie good; but alſo unto ſuperſtitious weakes, which they themſelves haue imagined and invented. For who is ignorant of the times commonlie ſaid alſo of holie water: *Aqua benedicta, delictorum tua delicta, ſi tibi laus et vita;* that is, By holie water let thy finnes be blotted out, and let it be vnto thee praife and life. They alſo alie ſoſtignes of finnes unto Spontaneous, to candles, and the ashes of the bouges of the olue tree, and the palme tree, and unto pilgrimages. Wherefore they proceeded into ſuch fond and vngodlike trilles, by means of thoſe things which they ſo peruerſelie interpreted in the holie ſcriptures concerning merits. Vniuersallie, none vnderſtand, but they which haue experience, how hard a thing it is; that a hart beſied, overthowne, and laden with the burthen of finnes, ſhould when it is greiued and oppreſſed, quiet it ſelfe in the free promiſes of God through Chriſt: ſo ſuch a hart earnestlie laboureth, that once at the length it map with ſome ſaie be eſtabliſhed. If we ſhould, with the Sophiſters, will a man to haue a reſpect vnto his weakes; then ſhould he neuer be in quiet, but ſhould alwaies be torred, and alwaies doubt of

Iudith, 8.  
Gen. 22.  
The 11.  
traſon.Gen. 22.  
The 11.  
traſon.The fruit  
and end  
of this  
labour.

his ſalutation, and at the laſt he ſhall be ſaved by faith with deſperation. I would not that any man ſhould thinke, that when he ſaieſome thing, or a triſte word, he take in hand a vaine thing, or a triſte word to ſoſtigne himſelfe, and that which is proper unto himſelfe onlie; namely, to iuſtifie and to ſoſtigne himſelfe. We ſaie that the ſame ſhould in no caſe be attributed unto weakes, or to any other thing elſe of ours. We ſaie that the promiſes ſhould be firme, and that afflicted conſciences ſhould receive conſolation in the weakes and promiſes of God. Laſtly, we ſaie that the Goſpell ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the lawe, and the lawe from the Goſpell; but this cannot they be, which aſcribe iuſtification to weakes, and conſound, and perniciouſlie mingle them together. And by the confirmation of this propoſition, although I could bring a great many more reaſons, in a manner infinite; yet theſe which I haue already brought, ſhall ſuffice: and I will omit the reſt, for they which are not men with theſe reaſons, neither will they be tau-  
gthed with aſe other.

19. Holobert I thinke it not good to paſſe over with ſilence, the telling ſtories and ſilue decrees, whereby the Sophiſters ſe to auoid and obſcure this doctrine, which we haue now put forth. Firſt they ſaie, that the holie ſcriptures, as often as they take alſo the power of iuſtifying from weakes, do that onlie as touching the ceremonies of the old lawe, and not as touching iuſt and vpright weakes, which commonlie they do call moſall weakes. In which thing how much men are deceived, I ent the testimonies of the ſcriptures, and eſpecially of Paule, (whome they aſſume to be moſt of all on their ſide, as touching that matter) will moſt plainlie declare. For although this apoſtle ſpeaketh of many things, which ſeeme to pertaine both to the rites, and alſo to the ceremonies of the lawe; yet in his declaration he witteſſeth a great many mo other things: whereby he declarerh, that he ſpeaketh not onlie of ceremonies, but alſo enow of the other lawes of righteouſneſſe and godneſſe: yea rather altogether of thoſe, which pertaine to maners, and enow vnto the table of the ten commandements. And in the 1. chapter, when he reſpondeſſeth the Gentiles, that without the faith of Chriſt, they could not be iuſtified, he ſetteth before their eyes, their weakes; namely, idolatrie and thankfull ſilue. And toward the end of the chapter, he reſeaſeth a verie long catalog of vices, whereinto they were inticed; neither ſpeaketh he aſe of the ceremonies of Moies. Wherefore, ſoſomuch as thoſe vices, which he there mentioneth, are againſt the ten commandements, and the moſall lawe, we can not thinke, but of

whether iu-  
ſtification  
be made  
by merite  
or by the  
ceremo-  
nies.Testimo-  
nies of  
Paule, by  
the power  
of the  
lawe, and  
by the  
power of  
the  
gospel.It is a  
verie  
difficult  
thing to  
ſaie  
in the  
pre-  
ſent  
of  
God.

that alſo he vnderſtandeth thoſe things, which he witteſſeth. And in the ſecond chapter he reſpondeſſeth the Gentiles ſay the like kind of reaſons; he ſaith; Thou which readiſt an other, doſt thou not teach thy ſelſe? Thou which teachiſt that a man ſhould not ſteale, doſt thou ſteale? That a man ſhould not commit adulterie, aſt a fornicator? Yea, and thou which deſteſt idols, doſt rob God of his honour? Who ſeeth not, that theſe things are contained in the lawe of the ten commandements?

And in the third chapter, he pet more mani-  
feſtly intreateth of the ſame, when he witteſſeth, There is none iuſt, there is none that vnderſtandeth, or inquireth after God. All haue declined, and are together made vnprofitable, there is none that doth good, no not one. Theſe things we ſaie of the ſame kind, and pertaine vnto maners. If the apoſtle would haue ſpoken onlie of ceremoniall lawes, he would neuer haue made mention of theſe things. And this is alſo moze euidentlie gathered, that when he had ſaid; No fleſh is iuſtified by the works of the lawe: he addeth; For by the lawe commeth the knowledge of ſinne. Wherefore that lawe, whereby we knowe ſinne, iuſtifieth not. According to which meaning, he ſaith alſo in the fourth chapter; The lawe worketh wrath: ſo ſaie it is off, that it ſhould iuſtifie. But it is verie manifeſt vnto all men, that finnes are better pre-  
ceded, and the lawe of God againſt tranſgreſſours moze promoued, by reaſon of the ten commandements, than through the precepts of ceremonies. It will not ſealie alſo of that generall ſentence, wherein it is ſaid in the fourth chapter, that, Vnto him which worketh, a reward is imputed according vnto grace, but according to debt: and alſo; That God would haue the inheritance to conſiſt of grace, that the promiſe ſhould abide firme, and not be changed, that our glorying might be excluded; which glorying commeth no leſſe of god weakes moſall, than of ceremonies. It is written alſo in the ſiſt chapter, that, Thelave encreaſeth, in that ſinne man ſhould abound; and where finne hath abounded, there alſo hath grace more abounded. Theſe things alſo can not be ſaid without ceremonies onlie. Moreover, in the ſiſt chapter, when it was obiected vnto him, that by lo-  
preſſing the lawe and the lawe, he did ſeeme to open a gate vnto life ſilue, and vnto thankfull-  
neſſe, and vnto finnes; as now battle they ob-  
iect vnto by, he answered, that We ought not to abide in ſinne, for ſomuch as we are now dead vnto ſinne. By baptiſme (ſaith he) we are buried with Chriſt, that euen as he died, and roſe a-  
gaine, ſo like wiſe ſhould we walke in newneſſe of life. And he admoniſheth vs, that euen as Chriſt died once, and died no moze; ſo alſo we

verſe.11.

verſe.11.

Rom. 3.20.

Rom. 4.15.

verſe.4.

Rom. 5.20.

Rom. 6.1.





In what  
these things  
there have  
attributed  
so much un-  
to power,  
fastings,  
and tears.

unto superstition. But I will declare what hath deceived these men. They read peradventure in the fathers, that they attributed much unto tears, fastings, almes, and other good works of the penitent. But these men understand not what the fathers meant in those places: for they intreated of ecclesiastical satisfactions, and not of our works, whereby God should be pacified, or the forgiveness of sinnes deferred. For the church, so far as it is flesh, not the inward faith of them that live, for there are many, which not abiding the flame of eremication, do sometimes counterfeit some shew of contrition and repentance, thereby the rather to be reconciled, and received unto the communion of the other brethren; the church (I say) to the end that this should not happen, would have a purge of their faith, and conversion to God: neither would it admit him to the fellowship of the faithful, such as were fallen; before they had done fastings, confessions, and almes, as witnesses of a true and perfect changing. And because these men marke not this, they confound all things, and build thereupon most detestable hypocrisie.

An other  
shift,  
whereby the  
works of  
injustice be  
blamed.

23 But they have yet another shift: for they say, that the works of Iustices, are not finnes, although they be done without the faith of Christ. For they imagine, that there is a certaine general confused faith towards God, which faith, they which have, although they be true in Christ; yet that they maye worke many excellent works, which curen for that selfe same faiths sake, maye please God, and after a sort defende iustificati. They give (say they) large almes, they honour their parents, they beare credence lowe to their countrie; if they have committed any thing that is euill, they are sorie for it; they live moderately, and do a great many other such like things, & that not unprofitable. But because they beleeue that there is a God, which delighteth in such duties, therefore they bend their endeavour to those things, to make themselves acceptable unto him. Further, they point out & colour their good deuote, with a trim similitude. A flake (say they) of a poise, being put into the earth, although oftentimes it take not roote, & life; yet dauideth it some tuice out of the earth, and to bringeth forth some leaues, and budbuds, as if it liued in vertue: likewise, men (say they) that are strange from Christ, although they liue not by the celestial spirit; yet by some inspiration of the spirit, they worke those excellent works, which we haue described. But we that are instructed by the holie scriptures, do acknowledge no other faith, whereby we can please God; but one, that which is in Christ Iesus. For, There is none other name vnder heaven giuen vnto

A similitude.

We are  
pleased, God  
with no  
faith, except  
that which is  
in Christ  
Iesus.  
Act. 4. 12.

men, whereby we can be saved, but onelie the name of Christ our saviour. And Paule, as often as he maketh mention of faith, which iustifieth, alwaies declareth it to be that faith, whereby we are godlie affected towards Christ, and his Gospel.

But least that Paule of himselfe, and alone should come to teach this; I will a little more deeply repeat the whole matter. Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted vnto him for righteousnesse. But what beleeued he? For I will say this, that he should haue God giuen him, namely, that onelie God (as Paule interpreteth it) wherein all nations should be blessed, which is Christ Iesus. This testament was confirmed of God vnto him in Christ; yea, the Lord himselfe, when he spake of him, said: He saw my daie, and reioiced. Job also in the 9. chapter; I knowe (saith he) that my redeemer liueth, which shall alloue me in dauid daie, over them which do lie in the dust. And after the wormes haue destroyed this bodie, I shall see the Lord in my flesh; whome I my selfe shall see, and mine owne eyes shall behold, and none other for me. This faith, expressed in those words, is in no wise general or confused: for in it are plainelie described the principal points, which pertaine vnto Christ. For first he is called a redeemer, wherein is published the forgiveness of sinnes. Further, his coming to iudgement is set forth, and also the resurrection of the dead; wherein, not other bodies, but euen the selfe same, which they had before, shall be restored vnto men. There is also added the humane nature of Christ, which maie be sent with corporal ties. Further, what manner of faith; I beleeue that is that, which these men ascribe Iustices to haue: For a true and firme persuasion, and a constant and an assured assent vnto the promise of God, dauidly with it (as I said at the beginning) all good motions of the mind. Wherthen can they say, that these men haue faith, which lie still weltering in idolatrie, and in most shameful and grosse finnes?

They may indeed haue a certaine erebilitie, either by education, or by human persuasion, or by an opinion after a sort rooted in them: but to haue a true faith, so long as they lead such a kind of life, it is not by any means possible; unless they will grant, that the Turks haue also faith: for they assent vnto manie things, which they profess and beleeue. But that place of Paule in the first epistle to the Corinthians, wherein it is said; If I haue all faith, so that I can remove mountains, and haue not charitie, I am nothing; they will haue it to be vnderstood, not onelie of the true faith; but they also say, that the same faith may be separated from charitie. Wherby they grant, that if it is come to pass,

Rom. 4. 24.  
Gal. 3. 12.  
Eph. 2. 8.  
Col. 2. 14.

Gen. 22. 18.

Abraham was iustified by faith

in Christ.

Gal. 3. 14.

John 8. 12.

Job 19. 25.

Job 19. 25.

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Job 19. 25.

Job 19. 25.

the same faith will not profit any thing at all. Seeing therefore they expound that place after this manner, how agree they with Paule, seeing they say that a general and confused faith, whereby men be indeed that are set strange from Christ, can bring forth good works, which of congruence may merit iustificati, a pleate God; when as Paule saith, that euen the true faith also (as they interpret it) doeth nothing profit without charitie? But that similitude, which they bring of a flake or a poise fastened in to the earth, vtterlie overthroweth their owne opinion. For although being dead it seemeth to liue; yet in time dead it lieth not; and a wise husbandman seeth that the budding forth is unprofitable; and therefore such leaues be callest away and destroyed, as vaine and nothing worthy. And of the same estimation with God are those works, which they men to colour and set forth to the shew.

24 They inuent also another fond colour, not much unlike vnto the former: for they say, that those works of the infidels are not done without grace. For there is (say they) a certaine general grace laid forth vnto all men, and common euen vnto men not regenerate; whereby with they being after a sort holpen, may merit iustificati, and do works which please God. But in so saying, they fall into the heretic of Pelagius: for he also taught, that men without the grace of Christ, might euen by the vertue and strength of nature, and by the doctrine of the lawe worke good works, whereby they might be iustified. Further both this one thing helpe their cause, in that they say, that they respect not these things vnto nature, but vnto grace; which the Pelagians vtterlie denied. For in works they will seeme to differ from them, when as in true deede they were much agree with them: for in that they ascribe a grace, whereby they can entice vnto righteousness without Christ, they are both against Christ, and the Milenian Council, and the holie scriptures. Further, in that they make grace common vnto all men, they turne it into nature; and they say that some will use it, some will not use it. And this grace they call a preuening grace; but that other, which is more absolute, they call an after following grace. Which diuision we denie not, so that it be rightlie vnderstood: for we grant there is one grace which preuently, and another which followeth after; howbeit, the fauour of God through Christ, wherewith we are both presented to will well, and wherewith we are both presented being regenerate, are holpen and directed to liue well, is one and the same. For who euer doubted, but that we are presented of God, to the intent we may be changed and renewed in Christ? We were worse than mad, which

would say, that we in our contrition and turning vnto God, do prevent the aid and helpe of God. We first leaue us, before we can begin to loue him; he first thrusteth vs up by his fauour and spirit, before we can either will, or thinke any thing that is good.

But herein is an error, if we thinke that men are induced vnto the grace of Christ, when they are not yet regenerate, nor renewed in Christ. Indeed there be illuminations sometimes giuen vnto them; but if those be not so vehement, and so effectual as they change their minds, then serue they vnto their iudgement and condemnation, and not vnto their saluation; which thing we must thinke, that euen the finnes of them which are so illuminated do beferue. And least that any man should be ignorant, what these men meaning is; it must be vnderstood, that they ascribe that Paule enuied from iustificati first was orele, as he was borne of them by first birth alone, & as the hope of the laue. But I would faine knowe of these men, what manner of works these be, which are so borne of men. In true deede they are not grosse and shameful finnes, such as are numbers, fornications, adulteries, thefts, and such other like; for these are not done by the helpe of the laue, but rather by the impulsio of the flesh, and of the diuell. Neither are they natural lawes; as to plaie or pastime, to plough, to reape, and to sowe: for as touching these things, there is nothing common to the laue. When there remaineth onelie bond, either, or morall lawes; as, to honour the parents, to helpe the poore, to be true, to be wicked acts committed: for these things are both commanded in the laue, and may (as they men thinke) be performed by free will: from all these (say they) Paule taketh away the power of iustificati.

But what other good works there are three remaining? Thou shalt see I see none, unless peradventure they vnderstand those, which are done of men already iustified: for before iustificati, other works haue no vnto, before those which we men rehearse. Seeing therefore these men exclude both finnes, and also works natural, and these morall works, which the laue commandeth; undoubtedly they exclude all works. Let them then thinke that by what works they would haue men to be iustified, if they had aue consideration, they would haue this saying alwaies before their eyes; If of grace, then not of Rom. 11. 6. works; if of works, then not of grace. Further, would they die to this fond fallacy, a vaine callation; to say, that Paule must be vnderstood as touching those works onelie, which are a substitute of any faith or grace, whatsoever they be. How dare these men speake thus, seeing they cannot abide,

Certaine illuminati-  
ons giuen  
vnto the  
infidels.

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abide, that anie man should faile, that men are  
iustified by faith onlie: & he adde (saie they) that  
saie thus: Onlie of your owne head: it is not  
saie in the holie scriptures: & if they laie this  
iustice: & rightlie against vs, why do they them-  
selves commit the same fault? & why will they  
allow that in themselves, which they will  
admit in others: Seeing therefore Paule taketh  
abate the power of iustifying from works, not  
adding thereto this word, Onlie; by what au-  
thoritie might they then adde that word unto them?

But for the adding of the word (Onlie) unto  
Faith, he haue most firme arguments out of the  
holie scriptures: and two vice that hind of speech,  
which (as we shall declare) is received and bled  
of all the fathers. But let vs heare what they  
hable as touching this matter, Paule (saie they)  
had most adu with the Jewes, which thought  
they might so be iustified by works, (and espe-  
cially by the works of the lawe) that they had no  
need of Christ: wherefore the apostle bendeth  
himselfe to that onlie. But I am of that mind,  
that whatsoever things he wrote, he wrote them  
unto the church, which did consist both of the  
Jewes, and also of the Gentiles; which with one  
assent confessed Christ. Do they thinke, that  
there were anie among all these, which promised  
unto themselves saluation without Christ? &  
Cinobondie, if there had bene anie such, the  
church would not haue suffered them. But yet  
there were some, which thought with Christ,  
would haue retained ceremonies, unto which  
they attributed ouer much: but that there were  
anie which excluded Christ, it is not to be thought.  
Further, Paule, when he teacheth these things,  
instructed not onlie the Jewes, but also the Gen-  
tiles: as it most manifestly appereth by the epi-  
stle unto the Ephesians, where he saith; that a  
man is iustified by faith, and that (saith he) not of  
your felices, least anie man should boast. And in  
that place he telleth those Gentiles by name,  
unto whom he writeth, and especially in the se-  
cond chapter. Wherefore this fond inuention of  
theirs is vaine and ridiculous.

2. But now let vs come to their sacred and  
strong anchor: hold. There are two kinds of me-  
rits (saie they), one of congruence, the other of  
worthines. And they confesse, that the works  
which go before iustification, merit not iustifica-  
tion of worthines, but onlie of congruence. If  
thou demand of them, what they meane, when  
they haue merit of congruence: they will answer,  
that they ascribe it unto those works, which in ve-  
rie dees of their owne nature deserue not salua-  
tion; but so farre forth, as promise of God: and  
then through a certaine goodness of God: and  
finly (saie they) are those moral acts, which are  
done by manne before iustification. But the me-  
rit of worthines, they call that, for whose sake al

together the reward is due. And this do they a-  
scribe vnto those works, which are done of the  
goodie after regeneration. And by this distinc-  
tion they thinke, that they haue gotten the vna-  
rie. For so much as they haue it not out of the  
holie scriptures, there is no cause why they should  
so much delight themselves therein. What if it  
on the contrary side teach, that the same iustifi-  
cation is manifest and directlie repugnant vnto  
the word of God. Will they not grant, that they  
find these their notorious inuention was by them  
found out, and deuided onlie to shift abate our  
arguments? Paule, when he speake of men iusti-  
fied, yea even of the martyrs of Christ, which at  
that time suffered persecutions, and most grie-  
uous calamities, for their consolation wrote  
these words: The sufferings of this time are not  
worthy of the glorie to come, which shall be re-  
uealed in vs. These men saie, that such sufferings  
are worthy: but Paule denieth them to be worth  
it. How agree these things together? & re-  
suer how manifestly are they repugnant one to  
another? And because they saie, that in the mer-  
it of congruence are regarded onlie the promi-  
ses of God, and not the dignity or nature of the  
action; let them say what cause God promised  
vnto those works, which are done without faith  
and the religion of Christ. Further, who sayeth not  
how iustify this kind of speech is Cinobondie,  
they which are worthy of anie thing, the same is  
of congruence due vnto them: and such, vnto  
whom by an iudgement and sound iudgement anie  
thing is of congruence due, ought to be iudged  
worthy of it. Wherefore it manifestly appereth,  
that this distinction was both ill framed, and also  
of malice devised to aduance our reasons.

3. And yet these men accuse vs, as though  
we neglie; and rather bitterlie censure those works,  
which they call works of preparation. Which  
thing Cinobondie, we do not: for although we  
admit not the preparations of their merit, yet  
some preparations we both grant, and also al-  
low. For God, the author of our saluation, tho-  
rough Christ, by his manie and sundrie means,  
and degrees, and waies, whereby he may lead vs  
to saluation: which, by reason of his prouidence,  
and wonderful power, and incredible love to-  
ward vs, may be called preparations. Although, if  
a man weigh the nature of things themselves  
and consider also our mind and will in doing of  
them, they haue in them nothing, why our salua-  
tion ought to be ascribed to them: naie rather  
they are repugnant vnto our saluation. For  
these goodly actions, which they call moral, do  
murther matter vnto the wicked, to puffe vp  
themselves, and are occasions to make them de-  
light in themselves, and not to seeke ane salua-  
tion either of Christ, or of sincere goodnes. But  
contrariwise we see it happen oftentimes, that  
they

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they which haue fallen into grosse and heinous  
finances, are sooner touched with an healthfull re-  
pentance, and do more readie come to Christ.  
Wherefore Chail said vnto the Scribes & Phar-  
sies; Harlots and Publicans shall go before  
you in the kingdom of God. Neither also will  
anie good man saie, that men are either restrai-  
ned from iustification by the fault of twi-  
fold ad; or els holpen thereto by the strength of  
cruell vertues. But herein consisteth all, that  
they meane sometimes are belittled of the  
grace of God; and sometimes they are by him  
converted vnto our saluation: so that, although,  
as touching vs, they are sinners, and of their owne  
nature do helpe nothing; yet by the govern-  
ment of God, they are alwaies brought vnto a  
god end. A man shall see sometimes some men  
lue by rightie and honestie, as touching the  
iudgement of men; which yet so much as in-  
wardly they dwell in pride and disainefulnes,  
are forsaken of God, so that they turne heeding  
into most shameful falles, and most heinous  
sinnings; and yet by that meane it cometh to  
passe, that they more easilie acknowledge their  
felices, and are amended, & do returne againe  
vnto the shepfold of Christ.

This is plainlie set forth vnto vs in the go-  
spell. The prodigall sonne leaving his father, and  
hauing spent and wasted his patrimonie, was  
at the last bruen to this point, that he became a  
boor-man, and also a swine-herd; which thing  
vnbondie he could not do without great  
shame. For by being borne of no noble a blood, he  
should neuer haue embraced himselfe vnto such  
vile things: but he being in this state, began to  
thinke with himselfe that he should be hapie, if  
that he might but eate eeds with the swine: of  
which eeds, yet he had not his bellic full. All these  
things vnbondie were to be counted a re-  
proch vnto him; and yet thereby it came to passe,  
that he began to thinke and faie with himselfe;  
Ah how manie hired seruants are in my fathers  
house, which haue plenty of bread & good meat,  
but I perish here for hunger? And by this means  
there was stirred vp in him a iust repentance:  
therefore he twiold and goodlie went againe to  
his father, from whom he had rashly departed.

For who knoweth the secret counsels of God,  
and the most deepe bottomies put of his prou-  
dence? He oftentimes prepareth men vnto sal-  
uation by those things, which of their owne na-  
ture would be hurtfull and deadlie; but that he  
of his goodness turneth them to an other end. This  
will I declare by a similitude so plain and ma-  
nifest, that there is no man but may vnderstand  
the same.

A physician sometimes cometh to a man  
that hath a putrefied leg, which can by no means  
be cured, unless it be cut and lanced. He cutteth

it, afterward he applyeth plaisters and medecines  
thereto; and at the length healeth the man.  
Here I demand, whether that cutting may  
seeme to be a preparation to recouer health: or  
no? I shew wilt faie that it may; but whether hath  
it that of his owne nature, or els by some be-  
nevolence and condition of the sick person? It hath  
not that vnbondie of his owne nature; for if  
the sick person being so cut, had bene giuen o-  
uer and left of the physician, without doubt he  
had perished: for he in verie deed that were left  
in that paine and anguish, should neuer be able  
by his owne wilt, or by his owne strength to re-  
couer health: naie rather for verie paine and an-  
guish he would die. Wherefore in that cut-  
ting and lancing was a preparation to health,  
the same is to be ascribed to the physician, and  
to his art. Euen so, if God should leaue a man  
in those waies and degrees, by which some are  
brought vnto saluation, he should miserablie per-  
ish in them: but so much as he doth by his most  
healthfull art and wisdom vnto them, they are  
made preparations vnto iustification, although  
of their owne nature they nothing helpe vs; but  
through our naughtines and corrupt nature,  
do exceeding hurt vs, vntill the grace of God be  
ioined vnto them. But this similitude in this  
part faileth, for that the physician cannot per-  
adventure heale the sick person without that cut-  
ting; but God can by infinite other waies and  
means bring vs to saluation: which thing I  
will now by examples declare. Iudas, when he  
had betrayed Christ, acknowledged his sinne,  
and confessed it openly: for he said openly, that  
He had sinned, and betrayed the ill blood. This  
acknowledging and confessing should vnbondie  
tole him bene preparations vnto iustification;  
as if God would haue vnto them, but so much as  
on Christ vnto them not, what other thing shal  
we thinke Iudas therein deserue, but only dam-  
nation? For certeine it is, that after much he  
hanged himselfe, and perished for euer. Thus fol-  
lowe some things we heeppen in Caine: for he al-  
so confessed his sinne, and yet was he swallowed  
up with desperation. This is the strength and  
nature of these things, if they be not govern-  
ed and ordered by God.

27. Further, our aduersaries accuse vs, that  
we make Iudas slander the laue of God, I make  
it vnbondie; when we affirme, that it cannot  
be observed of men by natural strength, and a  
benelice. But these men do right well declare  
that they neuer exaltie comforted in the scrip-  
tures, what are the offices of the laue: for if  
men, which they pondered then, they would reue-  
ludge it vnbondie, although it cannot fully  
be observed of vs. The first part of office there  
(as Paule teacheth) is to them first: for, by the  
laue is the knowledge of inme. Again, it pro-  
uoketh

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104d. 4. 13. uolunt the wrath of God : for, The lawe worketh wrath. *Sparguer.* It augmenteth the painfulness of sinne : for, The lawe entered in, that sinne should abound. It bringeth also a curse : for, As manie as vnder the lawe, are vnder the curse. But to what end are these things? That it might be as it were our schoolmaster vnto Christ. For they which acknowledge their sinnes, knowe that the wrath of God hangeth ouer them ; and feele that their sinnes doe daily increase ; and that they continually more and more are vnder the curse : at the length, when the spirit of God shall breake vpon them, they begin to long for Christ, that they might by him be deliuered from so great euils. And this is the schoolmaster ship of the lawe vnto Christ. Now, seeing it is so ; how can the lawe seeme vnto anie man vnpoissable? Further, who will care, that Aristotle laboureth vpon his table, when with so great running he doeth forth in his books, called *Analytica posteriora*, the nature of a syllogisme demonstrative : when as yet not withstanding, there are franticke founde anie reasons framed with so great cunning, in anie facultie or sciences of the last men? For, seeing we are ignorant of the last perfection differences of things, we cannot either perfectly define, or make a perfect demonstration.

But yet notwithstanding Aristotle bestowed good and diligent labour : for by those his most excellent rules, he thereby whereunto at the least we should leuell, if anie man will successe and firme vnto anie thing. Cicero also, when he descended vnto vs vnto *Quintor*, as there needs hath bene, or shalbe ; yet lately not he his labour : for this at the least wile he sheweth, what pattern he sought to let before him, which desired to excell in that art. And hath God let forth his lawes, that men should alwaynes haue an example before their eyes, whereby they should frame their life. Besides this, vnto men that are regenerate in Christ, the lawes of God are not utterly impossible to be observed : for seeing that they by the spirit of God haue their strength after a sort renewed, and the rage of the flesh somewhat respected, they may acceptly manie things which are gratefull and acceptable vnto God. Further also, men not yet regenerate may neuertheless, as touching outward discipline, after a sort applye themselves vnto the lawes of God. Which thing where it is exercised, publickly we call flourish, and the wrath of God is not so much kindled against men ; and the punishment, which God vseth frequently, to pouerly open sinners, are for a time auoided.

And these are no small or vulgar titles of the lawe, which they seeme to be ignorant of, which make those objections vnto vs. But

they, not being content with these, saie further, that the lawe may be kept, euen of men not yet regenerate. And if a man obiekt the excellencie and difficultie thereof ; they answer, that our righteouines, if it be compared with the righteouines of God, which is on euery side absolute and perfect ; or if it be applied vnto the lawe, as the lawe by it selfe is considered ; it is no righteouines. But if our righteouines be so compared with the lawe, as God of his goodnes condescendeth vnto our infirmities ; after that manner we maye observe it, and be iustified by god woe. But this you must knowe is a sophistical distinction of Pighius, whereby he taketh vpon him the authoritie to moderate the lawe of God ; which authoritie doubtlesse can pertaine vnto no mortal men. And this maye we proue both by the lawe of man, and also by the lawe of God ; for it is written in the *Dilectis*, *De legibus et senatus consultis* ; As touching those things, which are first in a common weale, they are ought to be made certaine, either by interpretation, or by the constitution of a good prince : namely, that it be not in the hand of anie man, or Judge, to mitigate the lawes at his pleasure, or to transgreffe them vnder the name of anie equitie. For in deed lawes should be made, *Leuius regula* ; that is, a rule of lead, and all things should be conformed at euery mans pleasure.

But yet this rule is therefore given, that if the extremities of the lawe be let ; for in anie decrease, and the equitie and moderation of that extreme lawe be no where expessed ; the iudge ought to followe the extreme lawe, and ought not to vset equitie ; which equitie yet he maye then followe, if he be expessed in anie lawe. As for example ; All lawes agree, that if a debtor paie not his monie at his due, and the creditor by that means susteineth losse, the debtor is bound to beare the losse. And thus they call to paye the interest, or (as other speake) to paye the damage. But because we find in the *Dilectis*, *De regulis iuris* ; In all causes, that thing is taken for a fact, wherein it cometh to passe, that by another mans meanes, there is a fauie while it is not done : therefore, if the debtor can pprove, that the fault was not in him, yet the monie was not paid, for that he had the monie, and offered the same, and that the creditor was in fault of non payment ; although the creditor susteine neuer so much losse by following his monie, yet is not the debtor bound in equitie to make recompence. For by written equitie it is counted for a deed, when the let came by reason of another. Wherefore it manifestly appereth, that it is not in the power of a iudge, or of anie other man, to moderate lawes as he list himselfe.

And if the case be so in the Moine lawes, intended & let forth by men, what shall we thinke of the lawe of God? For it ought infinitely to be more firme than the lawe of man : neither is it lawful for vs, to faime anie equitie therein, vntiles when we let it expressely written. As for example, The lawe is, He which shall shed mans blood, his blood also shalbe shed. Here haue we the extreme of the lawe, which vnderstande we ought alwaynes to followe ; vntiles in some other extreme equitie had taught, that the same extreme ought to be mitigated. But in another place it is thus written ; If two go forth together into the wood to cut downe wood, and the axe by chance falleth out of the hand of the one, and killeth him that standeth by him ; let there be some cities of refuge, whereto this manqueller maye flee, and in which he maye lue safelye, till such time as the matter be tried : so that, if he can proue his innocence, then let him be let goe free at the death of the high priest. This equitie might the iudges vse, because it was written in the lawes of God ; yea, and it was their part also to vset it, so often as they sawe that the matter, which they had in hand, did so require. But that it was lawful for them, by their authoritie, to bend the lawes of God ; or to mitigate them ; it cannot be proued by anie testimony of the holie scriptures : naye, on the contrarie part, they were commanded that they should not decline either to the left hand, or to the right hand ; and that they should neither ad anie thing vnto the lawe of God, nor yet take awaye anie thing from it. And we need no long discourse to teach, that the lawe is vnpoissible to be observed, as touching our abilitie and strength ; and especially before we are regenerate : for this the scripture plainly testifieth. For Paul writeth thus in the 8. chapter vnto the Romans ; That which was impossible vnto the lawe, in as much as it was weakened by the flesh, &c. Also in the same chapter ; The wisdom of the flesh is enemie against God ; for it is not subiect vnto the lawe of God, naye true, nor yet can it be. And in the 1. to the Colossians ; The carnall man vnderstandeth not the things, which are of the spirit of God, neither yet can he : for vnto him they are foolishnes. Christ also, An euill tree (saith he) cannot bring forth good fruites. Also ; How can ye speake good things, when ye your selues are euill? For these things do manifestly teach, that it is vnpoissible that the lawe of God should be observed by humane strength, being so defiled and corrupted as it is. But as touching these exhortations, and subtil shifts of the papists, let their wrongs suffice.

Now let vs come to certaine particular objections of vs, whereby they labour both

to trouble vs, and also to establish their owne fond lies. They saie that Adah, the vngodlike king, did rent his garments at the threatening of Elias, that he put on sackcloth, and so laie on the graine and sack, and weat sackcloth : and so that cause the 2. ad vnto the prophet ; Hatt thou not seene Adah humble himselfe before me? In his daies I had not brought the euill, but in the daies of his sonne. 25. Iohn. I saye they, the works of an vngodlike king, and one not yet iustified, do so please God, that they pacifie God towards him. But we saie on the contrarie side, that Adah, by these facts was not iustified : for he had had that true faith, which doth iustifie men ; he would not haue bidden still in idolatrie, and other most detestable sinnes. Inad he was somewhat moued at the threatenings of the prophet ; but yet that which he did, pertained onlie vnto a certieue outward ciuill discipline, rather than to true repentance. But God saith, that he was humbled before me. I answer, that that was before me, maye be referred either vnto the words of God, which were spoken vnto Adah, by the prophet ; so that the meaning is, Before me, it is to saie, Ar my words : or else, Before me, that is to saie, In the durh of the flames. And by that fact, Adah testified, that he repented of the wicked part, which he had done ; and that was a good and profitable example before the multitude. But God, which beelde the inward parts of his hart, sawe that that repentance was feined and vniuall ; and so that cause he promised that he would onie the better the punishment, so that that punishment, which otherwise should haue happened in his daies, should happen in the daies of his sonne.

Further is this strange, neither ought we to be ignorant thereof, that for the keeping of outward discipline, plagues are appointed, and most grievous punishments of this present life are appointed. For we teach not, that all sinnes are equal ; God would also respect all the sinnes of the Amorites were fall. And then at the length his wrath is turned to be poured out upon false liars, and wicked aces, impudent and vniuall out of the bonds of the Gentiles, they saie that Roboam the sonne of Salomon did call, in that time he had prepared his hart to enquire of the Lord, and was ready, that this truth they might easily haue seene ; that this truth nothing to this present purpose, vntiles they be

I may so ferme them table-dozens, which have more skill in the tables, than in the bibles. For so oft as they find in the table of the holie bookes, this word, To prepare; or, Preparations, that straightwaite, whatsoever it be, they straightwaite thinke that it maketh for their purpose, and pertaineth vnto their preparatorie bookes. But the holie scripture, when it hath declared, that the king beleeueth himselfe wickedlie; adueth by expostion (as it oftentimes doth) that He had not an vpright heart, and readie to seeke the Lord.

Neither both this anie what more helpe their cause, which is written in the 16. chapter of the Psalteries. It pertaineth to a man to prepare the hart, but the answer of the tongue is the Lord. For we ought by those wordes to vnderstand nothing els, than that men in deed are not to purpose with themselves manie things, whoteuer the count a successe is not in their power, but dependeth of God. Men do oftentimes argue with themselves that they will faile in the fenat house, in the iudgement place, before the king, vnto the iudges, and vnto the people, but what shall come to passe, that lieth in the pleasure of God. They in deed prepare the hart, but God adueth the answer of the tongue according to his prouidence. Such another twelue reason they cite out of the 10. psalme: The Lord hath heard the desire of the poore, & thine eare hath heard the preparation of their hart. But in this place these god maisters make two flat errors; for first they vnderstand not that which they speake; for secondly, they cite not the place according to the truth of the hebrew. For the sense is, that God bestirreth not the paucers of the poore, but according to his great goodness accompliseth those things for them, which they had determined in their mind to befall of him: and this is the preparation of the hart. For none that is godlie deserveth anie thing of God, but first he wellicorath in his hart, that the same thing he be before, otherwise he should come thither vnto God, & should waile foolishlie.

But these men, whosoever they find in the holie scriptures, this word, To prepare; straightwaite snatch it up, euen against the nature thereof. As to establish wordes preparatorie.

But now let vs see what the sentence is after the hebrew veritie: *Thasut anamin schamata Iehoua takul libben tsachib esnecha*, that is, Thou Lord hast heard the desire of the poore, thou hast prepared; or that prepare their hart; thine eare shall heare. Here we see David both affirme, that God heareth the desires of the faints, whom he calleth poore. And he adueth a cause; namely, because God prepareth their harts, to require those things, which may serue for their saluation, and which please God. But by whom God wooldeth such a preparation in the harts of the

faints? Paul teacheth in his epistle to the 330. mans, and thus he writeth; What we should aske, as we ought, we know not; but the spirit searcheth for vs with vnspokeable sighes. But God, who searcheth the harts, saith that the spirit will aske for the faints. We see therefore both by David, and also by Paul, that God heareth those prayers, which are by the impulsio of his spirit stirred vp in them that praise vnto him. We learne also of the Chynike philosophers, and that in no place than one; that those are respected, which without consecration, and rashly, do require anie thing of God. But they which profess Christ, euen as they beleeue that he is the author of their prayers: so also do they close by their prayers in this sentence; Thy will must be done.

30. (saie they) Ezechiel saith in his 18. chapter; Waile in my waies, and make ye a new hart. And Ieremie; Beye conuerted vnto me saith the Lord. Wherefore a man (saie they) may of himselfe prepare himselfe to the obtaining of righteousness. But these men shoulde remember, that it is no vpright dealing, to cite some places of the holie scriptures, and to ouer-ship and leaue other some vnspoken. Let them go therefore, and see what Ezechiel writeth in the 36. chapter; I (saith the Lord) will bring to passe, that ye shall walke in my waies; And I will giue vnto you a fleshe hart, and will take awaie from you your stonie hart. Ieremie also in the 31. chapter; Conuert me o Lord, and I shall be conuerted. Wherefore Augustine here well saith; Cite what thou commandest, a command that thou wilt. They abuse also an other place out of the prophet Ionas, to confirme their error; for therein it is written, that God regarded the works of the Ninuities. Behold (saie they) the afflictions of the Ninuities, whereby they afflicted themselves with fastings, and cried vnto the Lord: the Lord prepared their minis, and made them apt to obtaine pardon. As though it bechoud not the Ninuities first to beleeue the word of God, before they could either pray effectually, or else repent them. Seeing therefore they beleeue, before they did anie workes; they were iustified by faith, and not by works, which followed afterwards. And God is saie to haue regarded their workes, because they pleased him.

Neither did we euer denie, that the workes of men, being now iustified, are acceptable vnto God. So often as we find in the scriptures such places, which seeme to attribute righteousness vnto our workes; we must (according to the doctrine of Augustine) haue a consideration, out of what foundation those workes proceed. And when we perceiue, that they spring out of faith, we are to attribute vnto that root, that which afterwards is added as touching righteousness. And how

how foolish these men erre in their reasoning, hereby we may perceiue; for that they take vp on them to transerre those things, which are proper to one kind of men, vnto another. Which thing humane intes will not suffer to be done; for, as we find in the Code, as touching testaments of last willes; If rusticall & vnlearned men, which dwell out of cities, and haue not dose of wile and learned men, do make their last willes without a solemnitie required therein, and without a sufficient number of witnesse preferred, which yet otherwise should be necessary; such testaments ought to be allowed. Now if a man would transerre this prerogative vnto citizens, who, for that they haue their abiding in cities, haue dose of men of vnderstanding; he should erre double erre; for if their testaments be so made, they are refused; neither are they counted firme. So we saie, that the workes of men iustified may please God; but this notwithstanding neither can no; ought to be granted vnto them, which are without faith, and without Christ.

31. Further, let vs marke the accustomed philosophical and deceitfull kind of reasoning of the aduersaries; which the Logicians do terme, *A non causa est causa*; to wit, From that which is not the cause, as though it were the cause. For they alwayes appoint god workes to be the causes of righteousness; when as in veriedee, they are effects of righteousness, and not causes. For it is as though a man should saie; The fire is therefore hot, because it maketh hot; but it is cleane contrarie; for therefore it maketh hot, because it is hot. So also we, because we are iustified, therefore we do iust things; and not because we do iust things, therefore we are iustified. Some times also they object, that God will render vnto euery man according to his works; wherefore workes (saie they) are the causes of our felicitie. But here also, as their twined manner is, they are verie much deceived; for, vnles they deuide men into Grammar vnto themselves; vnderstand this word According, signifieth not the cause. But Christ (saie they) in his last iudgement, seemeth to expresse thete to be as it were causes, for the which the kingdome of heauen is giuen vnto them; for thus will he saie; I was hungrie, and ye fed me; I was thirstie, and ye gaue me drinke.

But Christ both not in verie bad recheate these things, as causes; but rather those things which went before; Come ye blessed of my father, possesse the kingdome which was prepared for you, from the beginning of the world. For the true cause of our felicitie, is because we are cleaue to the ongeddofirme of God to the eternall impetritance; for they which are in this number, are in their time adorne with faith, whereby they

being iustified, haue right vnto eternal life. But because this faith is hidden, neither can it be fane; and that Christ will haue all men to vnderstand, that none but the iust are rectified into the kingdome of heauen, therefore he perfectly be these outward workes, that by them it might plainly be perceiued, that righteousness is giuen vnto men by faith. For there is no man which can be ignorant, but that he knoweth that there are two foundations and principles of things; the one whereby they are; the other whereby they are knowne.

Again, they object out of the first of Samuel; Those that honour me, I honour; and those that loue me, I loue. Here (saie they) the promise is made vnto the workes; But if they would make a distinction betwene the promise of the gospell, and the promises of the laie; they should callie vnderstand, that that place is nothing repugnant vnto our saying. For if we could of our felices satisfie the commandments of the laie, then might it be the cause; why the promise should be giuen vnto vs; but forsomuch as no man is able to performe it, all men lie vnto Christ, and are through faith in him iustified. Then by a certaine obedience begun, we begin to worke; which although it be not exatle done, according vnto the rule of the commandment; yet it pleaseh God; and he of his mere liberallite performeth the promise which was aduined vnto that worke. And so those conditions, which are aduined vnto the precepts, are not vnpmissible; for they that are iustified attaine vnto them.

Neither are these men ashamed to cite these wordes out of the 25. psalme; Look vpon my humilitie & my labour, and forgie me all my sins: as though our labours and afflictions are the causes of the remission of finnes. But in this place David, being in most grieuous calamities, desirous of God to forgive him all his sins; that if he were angrie for his finnes, the cause of punishments might be taken alone. For here is not intended of labours, which a man taketh vpon him of his owne voluntarie will; but of punishments laid vpon men by God. We see also, that children, when they are beaten of their fathers, do first forgive them, and pardon. If thou giue an almes vnto one that is leproous, the leprosie cannot properly be called the cause of the compassion of God; neither, for otherwise all that passed by the lepro, should do the same; but the true cause thereof, is the loving affection in thy mind.

32. But yet take moreover, that in the holie scriptures, much is attributed vnto repentance; which thing we denie not. But we, on the other hand, would haue them to vnderstand, that repentance is the fruit of faith; and that no man can profitably repent him of his finnes, vnlesse

A simil.  
not.

A simile.

1 Cor. 5. 10.  
Dicitur in eo  
ad aduer-  
sarios: sed  
conuenit  
tunc acco-  
ding to his  
workes.

Mat. 23. 35.

Why Christ  
in the  
last iudg-  
ment will  
make cause  
of our  
workes.

Prova. 16. 5.  
nec by it  
is said that it  
belongeth  
to man to  
prepare his  
hart.

verbe. 17.  
The prepa-  
ration  
of the hart  
of the poore.

What is  
the prepara-  
tion  
of the hart.

sed prepa-  
ret  
hanc  
causam.

There be  
two man-  
ners of  
things.  
1 Sam. 2. 30.

verbe. 18.

A simile  
not.

bour, he is straitwaie convicted, to be guiltie of the violating of lawe. Wherefore, seeing it is not necessarie, that he, which is burthensd with one sinne, should be iudged to be guiltie of all, the words of Paule (in the first to the Corinthians, the first chapter, verse the ninth) must not as he said be understood, as though the sinnes, which he reckoned, do not exclude us from the kingdome of heauen, butlike that all the sinnes be ioined together in one man at once. One onelie sinne is sufficient unto destruction. And those things, which are spoken by the apostle, do represse them, which flatter themselves in the profession of their faith, and make no reckoning to liue iustlie and auoide.

Auguſtine.  
 Therefore and all  
 chriſtians  
 are by in one  
 ſtate of  
 perfection.

Therewithall Auguſtine, in his fourth booke of  
 baptiſme againſt the Donatiſts, ſayeth, that An  
 infidel liueth againſt the faith, but an ill  
 chriſtian liueth againſt the faith. Seeing there  
 fore either of them is againſt faith, neither of  
 them can be ſaued by faith. Againſt the infidels,  
 Chriſt ſaith, Vnleſſe a man be borne anew of wa  
 ter and the holie Ghoſt, he cannot enter into  
 the kingdome of heauen.And on the other part,  
 againſt the vngodlike chriſtians this is to be al  
 leged; that Vnleſſe your righteousneſſe exceede  
 the righteousneſſe of the Scribes and Phariſees,  
 ye ſhall not enter into the kingdome of heauen.

Therefore, even as the infidels have not vertu-  
tily to delite themselves in morall betterness: no  
more can those, that be baptised (if they live ill)  
promise unto themselves everlasting felicity:  
especially, if they be infected with those heinous  
crimes, which the apostle reckoneth by: seeing  
how can they with these crimes be in the king-  
dome of God? For God governeth his king-  
dome by the word and the spirit: but these men  
doe these things, neither by the word, nor yet by  
the spirit: but rather by the flesh and suggestions  
of the devil.

¶ Our Saviour, in the 22. of Matthew, Mark the tynfelte, and Luke the tenth chapters, rehearseth the sum of the commandments on this wise; Louche Lord thy God, with all thy hart, with all thy fowle, with all thy mynd, and with all thy strength. And whereas he namede the mynd among the rest (which word is not in the hebreue) that he did in his owne right. For seeing he was the lawe-maker, it was lawfull for hym to expound the same. Augustine, in his fourth booke, and first chapter. De origine animæ, thus sayeth; that [here] the hart ought not to be taken for; that little member of the body, which lieth hidden under the ribs: but he will haue it understood to be that power of the mynd, out of which the cogitations doe arise. And in verie deed; euen as the hart is neuer at rest: so the mynd doth neuer cease from cogitations. Whereouer there be others, that erroun the hart to be

the defining power of the soule : and therefore  
thrice said, that Christ added The mind. It lieth  
others to faith, that the hart containeth the whole  
desire : the soule, the angrie part : the mind, the  
knowing part : and finallye, that under the  
name of powers or strengths, it comprehendeth  
all the other faculties of the mind. Whilste it  
is added for the more vehement expelling of all  
those things, which were mentioned before ;  
namelye, that God must not be loved for a  
carnall fashion sake, but with the whole indour.  
Barnard.

Wherefore, Barnard saith, that The manner how  
to love God, is to love him without measure.  
And Augustine in his first booke, chapter 22. *De  
doctrina christiana*, sayeth : Tell us to faith : With  
all the hart, there is now no part left unto vs,  
whiche may attend or give place to other desires.  
In these things, which we desire, we have  
must of necessity have relation to that, wherein  
the force of our love consisteth : that is, in  
God. If the words of the lawe, and of David  
were examined with a right iudgement, the  
moyses of supererogation would give be over-  
thelme ; and the reasons, alleged for our me-  
rites, convinced : seeing, that is there remaining  
unto vs, that is not bound unto God : For if we  
do well, we do but that which we ought to do.

9 Paule disputing of brotherlie charitie; Be; <sup>3m</sup> 130m.  
 you (saith he) affectioned to loue one another 12, vtrio.  
 with brotherlie loue, **In Craike** it is τῆ φιλο-  
 δελφικῆ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλότητος; in which word  
 is declared, what maner of affect loue is; names  
 lie, a brotherlie affect. And it is called *φιλότης*, which word  
 signifieth an affect not comming of electi-  
 on: (such as are friendship, which men enter in, signifieth,

Of Love.

children and brethren, of our owne accord; although they haue not bound vs vnto them by anie benefit of theirs towards vs. And forasmuch as these things ought to be obserued in christian loue, therefore Paule calleth it *seeyn*; although it come not of nature, but of the spirit of God, and of grace.

And how much the consideration of brotherhood is of force to stir up love between Christians, men, we are taught by the example of Moses. For the next day after he had slain the Egyptian, when he went to visit the Hebrews, a false accuser came doing injury to another Hebrew, as Saint Stephen reciteth the history (Acts 6. 25) saying, Ye are brethren, why do ye thus visit unto them? Ye are brethren, why do ye thus injure one another? The strength also of this affect, Joseph declarerth. For he, when he went upon the sudden to reconcile himselfe unto his brethren, of whom he had bene ill to be a bond-man, said unto them? I am your brother, as ye have said, and he had known that, but

10 But as touching charitie, we haue be-  
 11 eered, that the same is a bountifull gift of the  
 12 goodnesse of God, and is euermore joined vnto  
 13 true faith; whereby we are iustified. Wherefore,  
 14 none that is a Christian indub, is utterly defi-  
 15 tute thereof. But to increase and giue it aug-  
 16 mentation in vs, if perhaps it become weakhe  
 17 and faint, and out of courage; these helpes we  
 18 may vse. First, let vs diligently consider with  
 19 our selues, and iueiue the benefites that we haue

regained of God by Christ. He gave his onlie begotten sonne for vs; he deliuered vs from sinne, from death, from hell, and from the diuell; he adopted vs for his children, and appointed vs heires of euerming life: and he now feedeth vs, nourisheth vs, and (as a most mercifull father) becometh all care and good will vpon vs. These things if we oftentimes repeat in our memoie, they may effectually binde our mind to loue Christ, and God our creator. Also let us rewarde the bigmire of our neighbor, who looke towarde fouler by his sinne to be free, yet is he bounden to him, and subiect to him, who is the benefactor, with many benefites. Ye denie him not the heritage of the sunne, he sendeth his gracious raine vpon him, he giueth him health and the riches of this world: neither taketh he his image from him, as he deserveth. What cause therefore may there be, why thou canst not abide him? Peraduenture thou wilt saie, that he is a wicked man.

I will hate it that, whether thou do more de-  
fect and abhorre finne, than God doth? Where  
unprofitable thou canst not answer otherwise  
than it is; to wit, that God doth farre go be-  
yond thee, in detesting of finne and wickednes.  
And yet neuertheless, seeing thou hast that he  
doth not immediate reuerge, but doth pro-  
long the time of repentance, and defer the pu-  
nishment; wile dost thou that thou imitate him, and  
amend thy neighbour with patience, as much  
as in the lieth? But if peradventure he shall  
seeme to be increable, thou must take heed (as  
much as in the lieth) that thou takee not the retri-  
bution of his naughtinesse. For hee come not much  
harme. Wile is that the most foolish men, bring  
otherwise foule and euill bealls, are kept in  
iron chains, and close places, least they should  
do hurt; and that at the pleasure of their mai-  
sters; and were to behold in them both the  
weaknes of nature, and the strength of  
this kind of bealls. But wilt thou also to do  
God seruice? keep the neighbour in good  
and custodie, though he be euill, least he should hurt  
others; that the patience of God toward them  
may be seene and perceiued? a small  
note.

But if thou wilt faile, that he is become so  
twicke, as he cannot be fild from doing much  
harmes; and that he muſt in anie wiſe be cut  
off; then let publick authorities (I meane the  
magiſtrates) execute their office. For ſeeing he  
is ſtirred up of our owne ill, deſire to re-  
venge; we our ſelves muſt ſhall make it cuſt.  
And if thou take in good part the injuries and  
wrongs done unto thee, and therefore thinke  
that thou art moved upon ſuch cauſe: put the  
perſon of another man upon thy ſelfe, and ima-  
gine, that thoſe things, which be committed  
againſt thee, be done againſt other men; then

...is  
...to b  
....

We must regard the dignity of our neighbours.

The chief  
of profits  
much.

thou shalt see, that the deliquiteneſſe of thy mind will be leſſe, & by this alteration of perſons, thou ſhalt perceiue how greatlye thou art infected with the loue of thy ſelfe. Alſo, for the retaining of charitie, it furthereth, to call vertue often to mind, that the whole laſe is fulfilled thereby. It helpeth forward alſo to reſpecte in our memories, how manye and how great debtes we owe our ſelues are bounde to performe. And hercoflet vs not be forgetfull, that in departing from charitie, we ſhall loſe nothing.

1. 29. theſe, and ſuch other like meanes, there is a great helpe for the keeping and preſeruing of charitie towards our neighbours; although the ſame proceed from the more liberallitie of God. In this charitie ſpake Paule in the twelfth chapter of the firſt to the Corinthians; And I will yett ſhew you a more excellent waie.

It is all one, as if he had ſaid: if ye ſhou be poſſeſſed with a certaine deſire to excell other, now ſhall I ſhew you the waie; the ſame is charitie, which (as concerning the word) hath affinitie with honour and with loue. From the which neceſſarilye it is to diſſect, as honour is the meane and letter affect, and loue is the more beheminent affect. But charitie is appointed to be, where a certaine knitting together, and nere friendſhip haue betwixt the parties. So as we ſee call that charitie, which is towards parents, towards the countrie, and towards kindred; which ſelfe thing is verie correſpondent to chriſtian loue. For all we, which are beleeuers, haue one father, which is God; and one brother, the firſt begotten, which is Chriſt; therefore we be knit together with a moſt nere friendſhip. Now that we knowe what the word meaneth, reſecth, that we declare ſomewhat, although rudelye, of the nature thereof. Antioche, in his Chriſtians, taught manie things concerning friendſhip; and in his biſhoplikes he intreated at large concerning the ſame. And in effect his iudgement is, that to loue a man, conſiſteth in this, namelye, that when we wiſh well vnto him, then we do well vnto him; and that for himſelfe, not for our owne ſake. Here doth humane wiſe ſome ſaie, but chriſtian goodnelle is liſted higher. For ſuch a one both wiſheth well, a doth well vnto his neighbour; and not for his owne proper commoditie, but for God and Chriſt his father; becauſe he knoweth that his neighbour is created by God the father, and is redeemed by the blood of Chriſt. Let charitie then be thus defined; that it is a power inſpired into our minds by the heauenlie ſpirit, whereby we wiſh well vnto our neighbours, and do good vnto them, according to our power; and that for God and Chriſt his ſake.

Antioche.

wherein loue conſiſteth.

the definition of charitie.

Augustine.

12. Augustine, in his 29. Epiſtles vnto Ierom, ſaith; that this knowledge be hath of ver-

tie, that it is charitie, to loue thoſe things that ought to be beloved. And the ſame be ſaith is greater in ſome, but leſſe in other ſome, and in ſome none at all. But the moſt perfect charitie, whereunto nothing can be added, muſt not be a ſeruo vnto anye, which we loue in this world. And be addeth, that there may be ſome what added thereto which we loue here, becauſe ſome what is lacking thereunto, which both teſtifie both the fault and imperfection thereof; and thereby it cometh to paſſe (as he ſaith) that There is not perfect, a man that doth good, and ſinned not. And if ſuch a one, we ſhall ſaie that we haue no ſinne, we deceiue our ſelues, and the truth is not in vs. And it is written of Dauid; Enter not into iudgement with thy ſeruant. And we ſaie all in the 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Forgiue vs our treſpaſſes. It appeareth therefore, that this man of God aſcribeth perfect charitie to no man in this liſe; nay rather, there is ſome what cuer to be added thereto, ſo long as we liue, which declareth both the corruption and imperfection thereof. The verie ſame we may aſſure our ſelues to be in all the good woorkes that we do. But it muſt be conſidered, that thoſe things, which be ſpoken of Paule concerning charitie, and the definition which we haue brought, do pertaine vnto that charitie, which we haue towards our neighbour. And when be commendeth that loue, he be an Antichriſt condemneth hatred, factions, diſagreements, and ſinfull all ſinnes, which are contrarye vnto the ſame. Upon good conſideration be ſaith the waie thereof excellent; he ſaith that we ought to do well vnto him, which be wicked, though they be vngatefull and vnſent; in the amending of whom, good men, for reward and good will, do ſuffer hatred and perſecutions.

13. Now, as touching the beggers in charity, ſometimes the kindred of the fleſh is the cauſe of louing our neighbour, and that according to the nature of the fleſh. Paule ſaith vnto Timothy; He that hath not a care of his owne, and ſpeciallye of his familie, renounceth his faith, and is worſe than an infidel; becauſe, vnder pretence of religion, he liueth wiſe than his infidels, who by the onlie giue of nature ſhew beneuolence towards their owne kindred; and prouide neceſſarye things for them. So then, we muſt iudge that the loining of fleſh and kindred is giuen vnto vs by God, ſo to ſir vs by vnto charitie; not to haue reſpect vnto thoſe things as our owne, but as loined vnto vs by God. For otherwiſe, there is none that ſhall make a dole vnto himſelfe of parents, brothers, or countrye. We ought therefore to care for thoſe things, which be giuen vnto vs by God; and not to ſpend our labour after our owne pleaſure, with out making of choiſe. Not but that we ought to extend

in some 10. uerſes.

in some 10. uerſes.

we take pleasure in sinners by choice.

Special good works do delight us through their being sinnes.

in some 10. uerſes.

extend our good will and charitie vpon all men, whatſoeuer they be; but not we onely ſpeake of the degrees, and ſhew of the ordinarie and vniuersall charitie, where we ought to beginne; but ſeek ſome other occaſion to aſſure vs to that, which is more neceſſary.

14. Wherebeit, ſiſing Paule ſaith to be moved with a deſire and good will towards the Ietters, for the zeale that they had without knowledge; there ariſeth a queſtion, whether a liſe may ſo pleaſe vs, as of them we ſhould take a delight; or that therefore ſhould be inuencured aſide good will; We muſt put a difference betwixt ſinnes. For there are certaine groſſe and vnumerable ſinnes, which all men underſtand to be ſinnes. And there be other ſinnes, which although they be condemned before God, and are ſinnes in verie deed, for that they be committed by men not regenerate, who be as yet cuill trees, neither direct their workes vnto God, as they ought to do; yet are they morall good. Wherefore, if we inuene of groſſe ſinnes, and ſpeake of ſinnes properlie and truelie, as they are of their owne nature; then none that is goodlie will delight in this kind of ſinne. For if a man loue God with all his heart, it is neceſſarye that he reſtaine and deſect all ſinnes, which are manifeſtly repugnant vnto the will of God, and vnto his lawe. But accidentally, or indirecally, it is poſſible that ſome pleaſure may be taken in them.

As if we be not ſet at libertie, the moſt and more gracious aſides they be, which we haue committed, the moſt that we reſiſt. And if a man haue bene before time proud, and arrogant, and after ſome fall, being repentant, do becauſe himſelfe moze modeſtly; he will ſome what reſiſt, by reaſon of his ſinne. Which alſo happeneth, if after fault be committed, ſuch faults be made, and an order appointed, for to reſiſt, that ſuch afterward committed. For to reſiſt, that ſuch an occaſion was offered. And becauſe that (as Paule ſaith) Where ſinne hath abounded, grace alſo hath more abounded, and vnto them that loſe GOD, althings worke to god: we will grant, that by a ſhafe of ſpeech, (although not proper, but by accidents) the goodlie may ſometimes take pleaſure of ſinnes. But in ſpeaking of morall woorkes, which are done by them that are not regenerate; if we looke perſectly into them, we cannot but reſiſt in them. For euery as it is a pleaſure, and that not ſmall, to behold the vertues of herbes, the properties of liuing creatures, of precious ſtones, and of the ſtars; ſo alſo it is a delight to ſee the acts of notable men, which aſide God would haue to be in the nature of man, for the preſeruacion of Commonwealthes, and of ciuill diſcipline.

Who taketh not pleaſure, when he readeth the honeſt liſe and vertuous acts of Socrates? Or when he weigheth with himſelfe the notable acts done by Scipio Aſtricanus? And alſo when he ſeeth the things that be done in our time of notable men, that are enen bates of Chriſtian religion; yet, ſo much as they haue a certaine ſhew and countenance of ſound vertues, the goodlie are ſo much delighted with them, as they are often times thruſt up to praie earneſtly for the ſaluation of theſe men: thus thinking with themſelves; If God would ſaue to change theſe men, and to draw them vnto Chriſt, they would be a great ornament and helpe vnto the church; neither do they caſtly deſpaire of their ſaluation. Cuen as a ſkilfull husbandman, if perhaps he ſee a ground verie ranke with briars and weeds, deſireth to buy the ſame; thinking with himſelfe, that if the naughtie herbes were removed out, and the briars with a plough ratted by, fruits would plentifully growe thereon. And ſo alſo will he do, if he ſee ſome briars, or ſome other liſe trees ſpring in anye place of their owne accord; ſo he will thereby iudge the ground to be meet both for vine trees, and for ſilue trees; if it might be well husbanded.

Alſo Chriſt our ſauour, when a pong man had aſked him what he ſhould do to attaine to eternall liſe; and he had answered him; Keepe the commandments: and then the pong man has replied, that he inuencured himſelfe thereunto enen from his youth, (which neuertheleſſe was not true) Ieſus for that that he lighted in that inuencure of his, whatſoeuer it was, touching the inquirie of ſaluation, and of obeying the commandments of God, as much as in him liue. For this is the meaning of that, which Marke twelfth in the tenth chapter, that Chriſt loued him; to wit, that conſidering his preſent calamitie, he was moued with mercie: for that he, labouring and going about to attaine vnto the righteousneſſe of woorkes, fell awaie from it. The ſame Marke alſo ſaith (when he had made answer that the greateſt commandment is To loue God with all our heart, with all our ſoule, and with all our ſtrength; and that the next commandment is, To loue our neighbour as our ſelues: and that a certaine ſcribe had commended the answer of the Lord ſaid; Thou art not far from the kingdom of heauen, although he ſet beſeuer not, neither was he iuſtified by Chriſt. But the Lord would declare, that this his will to the truth, reſembled ſome ſheaf of ſonnet and godlikeſſe.

Wherefore, in ſuch woorkes, as morallie be called good, the mind of the goodlie ſet is delighted; although it is alſo grieved, that thoſe woorkes be not done as they ought to be. And as touching the ſaueing of the ſoule, we muſt not gather, that

in some 10. uerſes.

Mat. 12. 36.

Mark. 12. 34.

Rom. 19. 2.

that he of himne, that is, of scale, without true knowledge conceived a love and good will towarde the Jewes. For he reasoneth not from the cause; naie rather, by the effect he declarth his love towards them; namelie, in that he not onelie praie for the saluation of them, but also so; that he aggravateth not the crime, which they were guilty of, but rather excuseth it, so far as the matter will permit. It should be a false argument. *A non causa vix causa*; (that is, taking that for the cause, which is not the cause) if a man would hereby praie, that Paule was delited in the finnes of the Jewes. But if a man will needs contend, that this argument is taken from the cause; we will saie, that *delitatio*, which in English is hartis desire, is in this place an affect, which pertaineth unto mercie. And so Paule had compassion of the Jewes, because he sawe them so miserable deccied.

Of Salutations.

In 1. king. 15 That, which in the scriptures is commanded of forbidding salutations one towarde another, seeme to be a verie hard & unchristian thing; so much as a salutation is nothing else, but a love and happy praieing, and it is not the least worke of charity towarde our neighbours. Among the Hebrewes it is expresse in the word *Berach*, which is as gladness praieing; and of the Grekes it is called *chelyas*. Further, to salute againe, cometh of a grateful mind and belongeth unto exchangyng or recompensing justice. For it is meet and good right, that we should in like manner wish good things to them, which have first wished well to vs. And there is no doubt, but that mutuall salutations do verie much further unto the joining together of minde. Which conjunctions, how necessarie and profitable they be in a christian Common-weale, and in the church of Christ, all men do knowe.

Augustine. Augustine, in his 23. sermon *De sanctis*; If I can not salute a man, which he meritteth, or vice not salutations againe unto him that hath saluted him, he shall not be taken of the traveller for a man, but for a floake, a faine, or for Mercurie, who standing by the waie, directeth the tourney, and speakech not a word.

Neither can mutuall salutation be suffice for;bidden; seeing we are bound therunto by commandement. For it is commanded, that we should praie, not onelie for our friends, but also for those, which be adversaries unto vs: so as we must wish god and prosperous things unto them also. Whereupon Christ, in the fifth of Matthew, saith; If you will onelie salute those, which salute you; what reward shall ye have? Do not the Publicans and sinners the same? Yet

there are these kinds of salutations unprofitable; but if they be done by faith, they be acceptable unto God, and are by him gratefully and gently heard. The old fathers, when they were departing out of this life, spake salutations or comfortable words unto their friends, to the great benefit of them: as Moses did unto the Israelites, Iacob unto his children, and Isaac unto his. And in that kind of salutations, manie mysteries are open'd by the holie Ghost. Christ also commanded his apostles, that they should salute the houshold, wherunto they did come: as it is written in the tenth of Matthew. The manner of the salutation is set forth; namelie, that they should saie; Peace be unto this house. And that, which Christ gave in commandement, he expresse by example: for he saluted the apostles, saying; Peace be with you. And when he was risen from the dead, he said unto the women, which returned from the sepulchre; All haile.

It seemeth also, that among the apostles, there was a custome, that at their meeting and departing they saluted one another, and their manner also. Wherefore, Iudas that betrayed Christ, when he came unto him, he said; Haile master, and gave him a kisse, which was a signe of a love like praier. Peter moreover, Paule, in the twelfth of his epistles, doth put salutations, as well to the beginning as ending of them: and he commanded the Corinthians, that they should salute one another with an holie kisse. And in the Church the manner was, that when the holie supper was ministr'd, the brethren should one kisse another. The which custome is defoimed in Poperie; and in the use of that kisse, they carrie about signes and little images to be kised. The angels likewise have sometimes saluted godlie men: as Gabriel did Marie, saying; *Χαίρεσαι χαίρεσαι*, that is, All haile thou free lie beloved. And the angel wished health unto Geddon, saying; The Lord be with thee. And the mother of Samson gave a salutation that came from the angel. Howbeit, we read not, that God did salute any man; seeing it is the propriety of him to give helth, and not to praie for the same: because, in that he is the highest nature, to make praiers do not belong unto him.

And salutations were common, and in estimation not onelie among the Hebrewes, but also among the Ethniks. For the Romans counted it a great honour to be saluted: and salutations were numbered among the principall duties. Wherefore, so such as were to salute, there was a certaine dailie almes distributed, either of monie, or else of meat. And the noble personages of that Common-weale, builded porches before their gates, where the salutes should remaine, and after a sort be harbored; in

the morning, before they were licenced to come unto them. The formes of saluting were of divers sorts. [Among the Grecians] *χαίρειν*, *ἀσπάζεσθαι*, and such like. And among the Hebrewes, *Shalom* and such like. And the men in old time, did saie *halouie*, that their gods ought to be saluted. Wherefore one saith in a Contreite of Terence; From thence I will depart home to salute the gods. And there be some, which thinke, that in the same, and such like formes of speech, to salute, is to worship. Which me thinketh is not rightlie said, seeing the verie proper significati- on therein may be retreived; for so much as it is latsofall to wish well unto God; not so though he hath need of any thing, but we may praie that his glorie, maiestie, name, and dominion, may alwaies be famous and spred abroad: as Christ taught in the former petitions of his praier.

Emperours also, and kings, are said to be saluted; so some as these honours and dignities be giuen unto them. For armies were wont to salute their capitaine by the name of Empe- rour, when he had well performed his affairs. And even in this point they depart not from the proper signification of the word; because, in the promoting of men unto high dignities, they praied that God would prosper them well. Besides this, there be salutations of reioicing; either for the victorie gotten, or at the returne of a man home into his countrie; or else for the at- tainment of goods or riches: wherein also no- thing else is done, but a praieing unto God, that these goods may have good successe with them, to come to their fauour. So as the salutations, that be of these kinds, may not be condemned, but ought to be verie well allowed: were it not, that superstition, which corrupteth all things, had not manie times bene mingled therewith. For the old Ethniks in their funerals, did salute the soules of them that were dead, speaking unto their last farewell. And as they visited the ashes of dead men, their sepulchres, reliqs, and spoiles, praieing for the happiness of them that were dead. Whereupon Aeneas in Virgil saith; *All hail thy father mine, yet once a- gaine*. And from the Ethniks, these cu- stomes descended unto the christians: for in the houses church, they salute the soules of them that be departed, while they praie for their rest, and for deliuering them from the paines of purga- torie. They make viages also to salute saints; namelie, Antonie, Iames, Peter, Paule, and Marie.

Wherefore, let these superstitions be re- ceived; but in the meane time, let profitable and honest salutations continue, the which Elizaus by his commandement did not take away. For that, which he commanded unto his servant

Geheri, must not be understood, as the words signify at the first view; seeing it is a figurative speech; even as all other speeches be, that seeme to be against charity, as Augustine hath declar- ed unto vs. Surely, the mind of the prophet is more to be weighed than his words; for his meaning was nothing else, as D. Kimhi hath verie well expresse; but that they should make haile, and find no delaires by the waie; and that he should bend his mind and cogitation onlie to that thing, wherunto he was sent, setting his hart upon nothing else, whether he were speak- ing or praying. In the selfe same sense Christ, (as we have in the tenth of Luke) commanded his apostles, when he sent them about to preach, that they should salute none by the waie; for he would not, that by their finding of talke and communication with other, their minis should have bene drawne aside from preaching of the Gospell. Afflictive, the duell is not more busie occupied about any thing, than in bringing in offences and delaires, when we are in hand with our vocation.

But we, on the contrarye part, must set all things aside, to performe the vocation that is laid upon vs. Which was not vniuoluntie unto the old Ethniks, who were to salute unto the priest, while he was occupied about his service; As he this thing. And Augustine, in the place aboue al- leged, do declare the force of this speech, saying; that in these words was meant a strict charge to make haile, the aduerty men to be true to their expiation, but fast, as was said, not to make service by the highway: *Ecce* (saith he with the people) speake salutations unto you, when we are pas- sing by the Gospell; because you can be saved by nothing else, but by the Gospell of the sonne of God. So that we must be saluted with this kind of salutation, but not in the waie, that is to saie, incontinently or indrectly. Which thing they do, that praiey not the truth from their heart; but for late face, for honour, or else to bring some man into enuie and hatred, not to win the hearers unto the Gospell; as they did, of whom Paule admonished the philippians. For they, that salute a tranciler by the waie, go not purposeful to him; they goe not home to his house to wish him well, but they goe incontinently and in the waie. And so these words be true that Augustine declareth; but they belong not to the meaning, either of the prophet, or of Christ. Soth the one and the other of them would have our mind to be whole imployd upon our vocation, not to be carried here and there with fustian cares; not to make any delaires, and that the function committed unto vs, should be perform- ed with most fervent desire.

And if anie be not satisfied with the figurative speech, there will be no discommoditie, as he saith, *Ecce*.

the state of the church was thus.

In 1. king. 15 what he is a salutation.

Augustine.

Matth. 5. 44

verfic. 47.

possible salutations

Deut. 33. Gen. 48. Gen. 27.

verfic. 12. Luke 10. 5.

John 20. 19

Salutate one by the name of Christ and his apostles. Mat. 23. 49.

Co. 13. 12

Salutate one of another. Luke 1. 28. Iudg. 6. 11.

Salutate one among the Ethniks. Mat. 23. 49.

what ment by saluting of God.

Mat. 9. 38.

the papists followe the Ethniks in saluting of dead.

verfic. 4.

Phil. 1. 15.



if he expound it according to the littell sense. for affirmative precepts, although they asper-  
teine unto chastite, yet did they bind men to  
performe them: holubett, in certeine times and  
places, and with circumstances. For it is com-  
manded vs, that we should receive the sacra-  
ments: yet this must not be done alwayes, and  
in euery place, but at such time onely, as we  
meet together in the holie assemblie; and the  
same is to be distributed in such place, and after  
such sort, as Christ hath commanded. Also, there  
is a commandment for the distributing of al-  
mes, but yet not to be done towards all per-  
sons: sith, who is he that will bestowe almes  
vpon them that be rich and wealthie? Neither  
must we giue at all times: for sarelle, they that  
want themselves, cannot giue vnto others. E-  
uen so likewise, the precept of saluting may be  
deferred and suspended, when other twigh-  
turies are to be taken in hand. Neither also  
must salutations be vsed vnto them, which be ex-  
communicated: vnto those, which come vnto  
vs with infected and corrupted doctrine. E-  
uen vnto them (as Iohn hath commanded) we may  
not sit, God speed. And thus much of salu-  
tations.

The xv. Chapter.

VWhether the commandment of God be  
to set fourth, that it may be kept in this  
life: moreover, of the vice and abrogat-  
ing of the lawe.

In 1. Min. 2.  
note the  
beginning.  
2. Tim. 1.3.  
to place  
to prove that  
perfect obe-  
dience may  
be done  
vnto gods.

Phil. 9. 2.

1. King. 15. 3.  
8. 14. 8. 2.  
King. 3.

**T**hey, which ascribe this  
position, are wont to  
vouch the place of Paule,  
in his second epistle  
to Timothy, where he saith,  
that he giueth thanks  
vnto God D.D. because he  
had formed him from his  
fathers with a pure conscience. Wherefore  
it seemeth, that there was nothing that lacked  
vnto his obedience and seruice. Moreover, Da-  
uid piousoureth, that he did confesse God with  
his whole heart. Further, the diuine hidiose  
doth giue a certeine testimonie to diuers of the  
hings, that they taught the Lord with their  
whole heart. But on the other side, we must be-  
derstand, that God is not iouled with all the  
heart, and with all the soule, unless the heart be  
altogether cleansed of all naughty cogitations.  
Then, let vs consider in our selues, whether our  
hearts be purged from naughty motions; and  
whether we haue pure cogitations, vnto the true  
here in the flesh. Wherefore, so long as we be in  
this life, we must be fully persuaded, that we be

not able to satisfie this commandment. For in  
the right chapter to the Romans, it is written;  
That which was vnpoffible to the lawe, is in ver-  
3.  
as much as it was weakke by reason of the flesh, God  
sending his owne sonne, in the similitude of sin-  
full flesh, &c. So as, if we, being now regenerate  
and carrie the flesh still with vs, the lawe is  
weakke, we fulfill it not; and yet the righteous-  
ness thereof is said to be fulfilled in vs: because  
Christ hath bought to passe, that that which  
was his, should be communicated with vs. Also  
it was written to the Galatians, That the flesh  
lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit a-  
gainst the flesh, so as ye doo not that which ye  
would.

But some canill, saying: that The confes-  
sation is farre otherwise, when we speake of the  
state of man in general, than it is when we in-  
treate of one particular action onely. There-  
fore they demand, whether we be able to per-  
forme arie one act, as the lawe requireth? To  
these men I can answer, that we must not onely  
denie that fullnes of iudice vniuersallie to be  
in man, as touching all things, according to the  
state of this present life; but also, that their  
works are rebellious against the lawe, even in  
respect of priuate actions. Holubett, I grant  
them to be good, so farre forth as they haue a cer-  
teine obedience begun in them that be regene-  
rate, whereas they be euill neuertheless; both in  
respect that they shewne from the rule of Gods  
commandments, as also that they be proceed  
from the flesh. Neither is it absurd, that one and  
the same worke is called both good and euill; sith  
contradieties haue no place, where there is a  
respect to diuers originals. But we piousoure,  
that the works of godlie men be good, as they  
haue their springing from the spirit of God: yet  
as they are deriued from our felmes, we saie,  
that they be euill. Whereupon Eiaie, in this  
64. chapter, saith; that All our righteousnes is  
like vnto vile rags. Neither would he inter-  
tecte, of groste and manifest times; but of those  
actions, which haue the semblance of righteous-  
nesse. And Iern, treating of this place, saith;  
Which things haue I that seeme to be righteousnes  
in vs, are compared vnto the cloy of a polluted  
vessel. And this he speaketh better well, not  
withstanding that he misse afterward in other  
matters. Moreover, there it is said; Enter not  
into iudgement with thy seruant, according to  
thy righteousnes: Again, Forgive vs our tres-  
passes, and loch other like sayings, I vnderstand  
to be spoken generally, and not particularlie  
of those things onely, which be manifest times;  
but euen of those actions, which be honest and  
good in appearance. For these, if they be examined  
by the rule of the lawe, will alwayes be found  
thort of the same.

Whetherfore

In what  
degree  
between  
police and  
vile.  
Mat. 5. 3.  
Eiaie. 44. 6.

We must  
delinquish  
between  
police and  
vile.  
Mat. 5. 3.

Rever. 7. 3. c.

By place  
of Paule  
is pioused.

Wherefore Augustine, in his tenth booke of  
confessions, and 1.3. chapter; doo (saith) he be  
to maine life, though it seeme laudable, if it should  
be iudged when merite were absent. Also *De  
sermone & littera*, the last chapter, he wrote; that  
those things cannot be beloued of vs, which we  
knowe not. And againe, that those things, which  
we loue, are loued by vs; but yet according to  
a measure of knowledges. So then it followeth,  
that seeing the knowledges of God D.D. which we  
haue in this life, is imperfect; he saith, that our  
loue also towards him cannot be perfect. Ne-  
uertheless, when we shall behold him, as he is,  
in the euershalting habitation; there we shall  
perfectly loue him. And (3. pauc) saith Augu-  
stine, what shall we then do more, but loue  
him with all our hart, and with all our soule:  
But now, seeing our knowledges is dull, our  
loue also is the more imperfect: wherefore, while  
we liue here, we do not loue God so much as the  
lawe requireth. And they, which haue profited in  
louing of God aboue others, do acknowledge  
how far they be from the waie of true loue.  
Holubett, there is a certeine measure of the  
loue of God agreeable to this life; the which con-  
sisteth in the not following of our lusts, but that  
we should continuallie lyffelle against them.  
The addey moreover, that it cannot be denied,  
but that (if God will) he can bring this to passe;  
and that we may giue such plentie of his grace  
spirit, as all vice may be remoued. But this be  
neuer did, nay yet promitteth that he would do it:  
because, if it be lawfull for him to giue this vnto  
the saints, in the euershalting habitation; he  
might also (if it pleased him) haue granted it in  
this life. And they seeme not to reach aright,  
which in God denie his power to be distinguish-  
ing from his will; for; What saith; Could not I  
require my father, and he would giue me more  
than twelve legions of angels?

2. This reason of Augustine might in verie  
deed suffice; but I haue yet more force and more  
perfect confutations. For Paule, in the se-  
uenth chapter to the Romans, doth plainlie de-  
clare, that was in him selfe, as well touching  
the flesh as the spirit. Albeit, I knowe there be  
some, which iudge, that the apostle spake not  
there of himselfe, nor yet of them which be rege-  
nerate; but that in his owne person he suffer-  
eth the paynes of the vngodlie. Whiche word  
Chrysostome haues. Also Augustine, in his booke  
of 83. questions, in the 66. question, was of the  
same mind, while he was yet somewhat young.  
But in his first booke against Iulian the Pelagi-  
an, the cleuenth chapter, hauing weighed the  
thing better, he affirmed, that Paule spake of  
them which be regenerate. And in his booke of  
retractions, the 23. chapter, he corrected his  
first opinion. Ambrose, in his booke *De paradiso*,

and also in his booke *De seruientia*, as it is cited  
by Augustine, referred those sayings of Paule  
vnto the godlie, and to them that be able re-  
generate. The which also, Iulian, and Gregori-  
us Nazianzen do. And vnboscible, the place  
being so vnderstood, doth bring great comfort  
vnto the godlie. For, although they belong  
to Chast; yet they find themselves to be ex-  
ceeding troubled with ill motions and affec-  
tions: with the which temptations they being ex-  
cited, might easilie thinke, that they persone  
not to the clea. For further proofe also, the same  
apostle writeth vnto the Galatians; that The  
spirit fighteth against the flesh, and the flesh a-  
gainst the spirit, that ye cannot do those things,  
which ye would doo. In which place, without  
question, he speaketh of the regenerate.

That those things also, which in the place now  
alleged; namely, in the seventh chapter to the  
Romans, are to be referred vnto the godlie, it is  
hereby pioused; in that he saith, his mind is de-  
lied in the lawe of God. Which is not agreeable  
with them that be not regenerate, who account  
not the lawe of God any more pleasant thing  
than they; whereas vnto the godlie it is more  
pleasant than heuie, and more better than gold  
and pretious stones. And he addeth these words;  
namely, Of the inward man. And no man is ig-  
norant; but that the inward man is afflicted  
vnto the godlie, so far forth as they be regene-  
rate. Not in them which be not regenerate, there  
is no menton at all, either of the new or inward  
man. Wherefore, Paule crieth out in that place;  
O vngodlike man that I am! The which cannot be  
ascribed vnto them, that be not borne againe:  
for they do not therefore thinke themselves vn-  
happy, because they be become badde from the  
lawe of God. He addeth also; Who shall deliuer  
me? Where the piousure of the first person hath  
an effectuall emphasis, and piouseth not a little,  
that the wretched of his owne selfe. And in the  
same chapter, he saith; To will is rediue with me,  
but I find no means to performe that which I  
would. Here would I haue if answered, how  
vnto those that are not regenerate, a will to no  
good can be present: There is no doubt, but that  
God doth grant vnto the lustfull to will well.  
Afterward be saith; I do the euill, which I hate,  
and not the good, which I would. But, to hate  
euill, and to will good, be longed to none other,  
but to the regenerate. We adde also; I serue  
the lawe of GOD in my mind. Euen must it  
needs be, that he speaketh of himselfe regene-  
rate; otherwise it had not bene lawfull for him  
to haue pronounced these things of himselfe. In  
the end he saith; It was he drawne captive  
into the laue of none: When as the vngodlike,  
and those that be frangers from Christ, go  
linglie, and without resistance vnto euils, from  
h. h. h. which

Gal. 5. 17.

verse. 15.

Rom. 7. 14.

1. Ibidem. 18.

1. Ibidem. 25.

1. Ibidem. 23.

which they are not plucked a waile.

1. But it seemeth to be a let unto the oppositi-  
on, which we have brought, when he saith; that  
Ibidem. 14. He is carnall. Unto this we answer, that al-  
though we be borne anew, yet is there berie  
much of the flesh remaining in vs. Therefore

1. Cor. 3. 3. the same apostle saith unto the Corinthians; I  
could not speake vnto you, as vnto spiritual, but  
as vnto carnall. And he sometimes calleth  
them in a manner beaſtie, when neuertheless  
they were now regenerate. Where were some,  
which iudged, that the apostle spake there by  
a philosophical reason, wherein our mind is limbe-  
red into the power reasonable, and into the gro-  
sser powers; namely, into the power of concu-  
piscence, and the power of anger; so as the apo-  
stle would place some brightness, even in them  
not yet regenerate, as touching their mind, but  
to which the bright desires be aduersarie and re-  
pugnant. And they inuolunt to vnto this opi-  
on out of those words, wherein he saith, I serue  
the lawe in my mind; and he distinguishing the  
lawe of the members, from the lawe of the mind.

But certainly, Paule in that place dealeth not  
in philosophical reasons, neither doth he twer-  
s and the mind absolute; but he is joined regene-  
ration vnto the same. For the regeneration  
of the beleeuing man hath his first originall  
from the mind, from whence it is vnto vnto  
all the parts of man. So as, if the greater pow-  
ers of the mind be not altogether regenerate,  
and be somewhat less renewed than the mind;  
yet are they somewhat mastered, and tamed by  
the spirit of Christ.

Wherfore, to make the matter more plaine, let  
vs respect the whole man, and let vs admit him  
in his first to be reduced as touching all  
regeneration in this parts; and in his last not: because our regene-  
ration in this is not absolute. Neither doo I  
thus speake of these things, as though a man  
there to be diuised in tunder; as though in the  
one part he may be renewed, and in the other  
not (as Pighius hath fondly and impudently  
obied against vs;) but I affirme, that the  
whole man, as touching all his parts, hath some  
that is new, and somewhat that is not new.

In like manner, as when wine is mingled with  
water, there is in energie part thereof both wine,  
and also water: even so, in the renewed man,  
there be found conditions and properties both  
of the new and old man. Aristotle, in his Ethics,  
taught, that the mind doth continually be-  
come better things; but that the inferior powers,  
which men communice call sensitiuall, do per-  
petually strive against the same. Wee easily  
grant, that the mind of them, which be not yet  
regenerate, is not so greatly corrupted; but that  
it retaineth still much all and ciuill knowledges,  
and certaine desires that be honest in them.

Wherfore, Paule speaketh not of this matter, but  
vnto the lawe, which he calleth spiritual,  
good, and holie. The which in verie deed was un-  
knowne vnto the Philosophers: for Carnall  
men cannot attaine thereto.

Wherfore, let Aristotle speake that he list of  
ciuill matters, his disposition belongeth no-  
thing vnto Paule; in saying, that the mind desi-  
reth the best things. God pronounceth a sentence  
face offering from him, and testifieth, that  
the imagination of mans heart is wicked, even  
from his childhood. In which place, the Latine in-  
terpreter would somewhat mollifie the propo-  
sition uttered by God, saying, that Mans imagi-  
nation is prone vnto euill. For rather, it is to  
be panned, that the verie mind and reason it  
selfe is corrupted, where there is no regenerati-  
on. In the second chapter to the Ephesians,  
the apostle writeth, that We also had our conuerſati-  
on in times past in the lusts of our flesh, in fulfil-  
ling the will of the flesh, and of the reason. So be  
aſured, that not onely the flesh, but also the  
reason was corrupted. And in the fourth chapter  
of the same epistle, he saith, that The wicked do  
in times past in the vanities of their mind. And  
the Colossians; Ye were sometimes aliens from  
God, and as touching the mind, enemies vnto  
him. And in the eight to the Romans; The wil-  
dome of the flesh is enemie against God. In the  
which words, *scilicet*, that is, *scilicet*, must be  
referred to the mind, which is not renewed. The  
apostle therefore speaketh not philosophical, as  
manie do cauil.

4. But let vs returne vnto that seventh  
chapter of the epistle to the Romans. Where he  
saith, We knowe that the lawe is spiritual, where  
as I am carnall. The lawe is called spiritual, where  
as well because it is come from the spirit of lawe  
is God, as for that it desireth belongeth vnto  
the spirit; seeing it is not satisfied with the outward  
actions. But he calleth himselfe carnall; be-  
cause, though he were borne anew, yet being  
compared with the lawe of God, he was in part  
found to be carnall. Whereby we may gather,  
that the condition of carnall men is of two sorts.  
For some, of whose estimation so ener they be,  
are nothing else but flesh, as being altogether  
vnto of Christ. And there be others, that not  
withstanding they be renewed; yet for all that  
they have still berie much of the flesh; and so as  
yet the Corinthians were by Paule called car-  
nall. Albeit some man will saie, that the Co-  
rinthians were not borne anew; because, they  
were both flesh and gressious sins among them.  
But we must answer, that, even regenerate  
persons beome not themselves all after a sort.  
For some of them vnderstandable are stirred  
up by naughty desires, the which they do man-  
dull resist; so as they fall not into foule offenses.

verse. 1. 2. 3.

verse. 17.

Col. 3. 11.

verse. 7.

1. Tim. 2. 6.

Rom. 7. 15.

1. Cor. 1. 1.

And there be others, which indeed fall misera-  
ble vnto sine; but yet, after a sort, they wrestle  
against them, although they yeld to temptati-  
on. For the apostles were regenerate, and yet  
neerly: these ambitiousie iared among them-  
selves, who should be the greatest in the king-  
dome of Christ; inasmuch as two of them fo-  
lously contended to sit in the kingdom of the Lord  
the one at the right hand and the other at the  
left. And it is well knowne, that Peter denied  
Christ; and David became an adulterer. These  
men were regenerate, when they committed  
these greuous finnes; but seeing they pertained  
to the elect, they were released by repentance.

Furthermore, whereas Paule saith, that he  
was sold vnder sine; he declareth, that he had  
the old man still in him. Where we must knowe  
that as well those, which be renewed; as those  
which be not renewed, are sold vnder sine: al-  
though there be a great difference in the maner  
thereof. Inasmuch as they that be not renewed,  
do euill willingly and of their owne accord, he  
doe vnto sine. But the renewed, so long as  
they live here, do sometimes likewise; but being  
overcome, they commit greuous finnes: nei-  
ther is the same of corruption (which is naughty  
lust) taken from them, but doth greaue trouble  
and molest them. Also there is a verie great dif-  
ference betwixt seruing of sinne in such sort  
that they suffer the same to reigne in vs; and on the o-  
ther side, to be forced to inuade some bondage  
thereof, when as we can neither will nor chuse,  
but have the same in the secret places of our  
foule. Wherfore Paule in his latter epistle to Ti-  
mothee, writing of the wicked, saith, that Satan  
holdeth them captive at his owne pleasure, which  
cannot be free will for the elect. Wherefore the  
iust persons may wrestle against sine, but  
they cannot utterly be rid of the same.

8. That which I doo (saith he) I knowe not,  
This doubtles he saith, not as though he were  
algebra ignorant that he should do, but he is  
be knowing in deed of allowing. So the sense  
is; Those things, which be done by me, in that I  
am not yet regenerate, I do not allow. And  
thereby we gather, that by reason of the rem-  
nant of corruption, so sinne original, we be not  
masters of our owne actions, affections, and  
inclinations. Wherfore Ambrose, vpon the  
Gospel of Luke, layeth traile; that Our part  
is not in our owne power. For oftentimes,  
when we praye, we are desirous to be attentive,  
but (sundie and manifold cogitations enter in-  
to our mind,) drawing it to and fro, do violent-  
ly pluche the same awaie, whether we will or  
no. And he saith, that It is hard to abide such  
motions; but to take them awaie, it is a thing  
vnpowable. This saying of Ambrose, Augustine  
vpon a time recited. But I returne to Paule,

which addeth, that he doth not the good which he  
would, but the euill which he hateth. Whereby  
we may perceiue, that the forces of the mind,  
which stir vs up against the commandments  
of God, can of themselves be called neither good  
nor euill, but so farre forth as they be compared  
to the lawe of God. So then, being repugnant  
vnto the same, they be euill; but agreeing there-  
vnto, they be called good.

Neither must they be hardened vnto, which the first  
neglect the first motions of the mind; and thinke  
that there must no had be giuen vnto them.  
But against these men we must reason on this  
wise; The motions, which be of this kind, we  
will appoint either to be good, or euill, or nei-  
ther of both. God they cannot be, seeing they  
are commanded by the scriptures to be mortified  
and kept vnder; which for things that be good  
is not conuenient. For good things must nei-  
ther be kept vnder, nor mortified; but rather  
quickened and stirred up. And againe, we must  
not asseme them to be neuter; because the  
lawe of God doth not suffer that. For so part  
of the mind, neither action nor motion, is left  
as neuter of free vnto vs: seeing we be com-  
manded to loue God with all our hart, with all  
our mind, and with all our strength; so then they  
shall be reckoned among finnes and euill  
things. Seeing therefore Paule saith, that he  
doth that, which he would not; it is gathered,  
that he inuad did not satisfie euill himselfe:  
much lesse then the lawe of God.

And euerie man easily ingeth of his owne  
fesse, that he performeth a great deale lesse than  
he ought to do; and that, if he do aie good at  
any time, he doth not the same without striving  
and wrestling. Whereby it is declared, that as  
yet there remaine faculties in vs, which be re-  
pugnant vnto God. Whereupon he inferreth;  
Now is it not that I work that, but sinne which  
dwelleth in me. And he saith that he doth not  
woulde; namely, in that he is new borne. Who  
then wouldest thou? Euen sinne it selfe, that is,  
the euill root and naughtiness of corrupted na-  
ture. So as we will proue, that Paule doth not  
commit the same, as touching all the parts of  
his mind: neither doth he woulde consent to  
that euill, which he committeth. And that which  
is concluded touching sinne, must be affirmed  
of the obedience and loue of God. For in  
Paule, a other regenerate persons, there be yet  
some parts remaining, which do not loue God.  
Wee loue, & wish all our strength, with  
all our soule, & wish all our strength. And when  
he saith, that Sinne dwelleth in him: he te-  
stifieth, that men, although they be good, do wish  
their corrupt mansion, omit manie things which  
the lawe commandeth, and admit things which  
be contrarie to the lawe.

1. 2. 3.

6 31

6 It followeth; To will is ready with me, but I find no means to performe: that is; By regeneration I have a good will not into me, the which of my selfe I had not. Here the Pelagians did exceedinglie erre. Who taught, that we our selves ought to beginne, yet that it is Gods part to prosper our determinations. But Paule, on the other side, sheweth, that we of our selves are not apt once to thinke any good thing. And while he saith thus; I find no means to performe, he agreeth verie well to himselfe, that teacheth in his epistle unto the Philippians, that it is God which worketh in vs, as well to will as to performe.

Neither are the things, which he now teacheth, against those words. For, to performe perfectly that, which the lawe commandeth, we find not in vs: but after a sort we may performe it, and that of our selves, but we have it of God. And whereas to vs that be regenerate, that cometh likewise of God. Also, both good and evil are ready with vs: and in that place, we live like against sinne; but in that which is also therein, we be hindered from our right purpose. Such is our condition, while we are in this life. Therefore Augustine, *De naturis & concupiscentia*, the first booke, and 9. chapter, saith; that C. one is then performed, when the impetiments be absent. For, when we are left, it can be no perfect thing, but a certaine mixture contrived of contraries.

Moreover, he noted the apostles tooke, who saith (I find no means to performe) it not simple. So do it. For it is granted (as we have said) that we may do well in some respect. Augustine further addeth, that The commandment; Thou shalt not be angry, cannot be fulfilled in this life. But hereof I have noted else where. Holobert, some man will demand; if the lawe cannot absolutely be performed, wherefore is it set forth unto vs? Hereunto I answer, that we must not gather by the lawe, how much we be able to do, but how much we ought to do. Besides, there is no doubt, but that the lawe hath many ends. First, it sheweth sinne; for it is written; By the lawe cometh the knowledge of sinne. And unto the Christians it is written; The lawe entered in, because of transgressions, to manifest, to make them manifest. And to the Romans; It entered in, that sinne might be more abound. What this; It is our foolemeane vnto Christ. And it is a preacher that sheweth right conscience unto vs, and exhorteth to thereunto; and also it sheweth vs most euidentlie, unto what marke we must liue. So that it is not impossible, although it cannot be performed to the full.

Also there be some, which aske; Whether God haue commanded things impossible to be done?

Unto whom we must answer, that as touching them, which be not borne anie, the commandments are impossible. But as the question be of persons regenerate, then, either we must understand a full obseruation of the lawe, the which we have said; none can performe; or else we must vnderstand an obedience onlie; in respect whereof we asseme, that the precepts of the lawe are possible to be kept. But I will returne to Paule, who further sayeth, in the place now aforesaid; I see another law in my members. Whereby it is gathered, that if the lawe of the members straine against the lawe of the mind, Paule Rom. 7.3. lonch not it with all his hart, with all his soule, and with all his strength. Whereupon he crieth out; O vnhappie man that I am, &c. As I bidem, &c. I see through strange motions he was not onely shaken, but in a manner ouerwhelmed by the lawe. And he concludeth; I see the lawe, according to the inward man. And he sheweth himselfe to be after a sort diuided, as he that parteth hath the spirit of God, and serueth him; and partlie is carnall, and obedieth the flesh. By these things that I haue abraide spoken, I thinke it noto apererth, that they, which be borne anie, do not fulfill that great commandment.

Whereas this, there is none of vs, vntill he will to most rather himselfe, which faileth not some defect in his actions, though they do seeme good. Which might not be, if we loved God with all our hart. When we shall come to the celestiall habitation, then shall our works be actually perfect; because we shall loue God with all our hart; vntill, not so much as he looeth to be loved (for, seeing he is incomprehensible, our desires, which are within him, are not capable of an infinite loue); but it shall be sufficient, if we will loue him with all our hart, with all our soule, and with all our strength.

While we are in this life, we cannot go beyond the condition of the apostle, who in the third chapter to the Philippians, saith; Not as though I had already attained vnto it, or were already perfect. Neither is there anie doubt, but the ipeake of himselfe being already regenerate. And seeing he denieth himselfe to be perfect, and saith, that he hath perpetuallye his himselfe towards the marke; which of vs can attribute vnto himselfe a perfect obseruation of the commandments of God? But I will followe (saith the apostle) if I may comprehend that, for whose sake I am comprehended of Christ Iesus. And to this hath Christ comprehended me, that I should run in his waie, and euermore be going forward. And there is no cause for anie man to cawill, that he talketh here of the resurrection. For; that must be considered, which is added to wit, that I might knowe Christ, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his affections,

epistola  
ad rom.  
cap. 7.

Phil. 3.13.  
Rom. 7.3.

not.  
ibidem.

etiam in  
the godly  
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within the  
four of  
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2. Cor. 4.  
ver. 16.

2. Tim. 2.22.  
et in  
pauore  
ver. 10.

sitions, while I am made conformable vnto his death. Neither did anie man doubt, that he was not yet risen, seeing he was not dead: so as he spacieth there of the spirituall resurrection, which accompanieth the mortification of naughty affections and motions.

This if the godlie had alreadie attained vnto vpon the earth, surely they would not saie; Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant: And? Who knoweth how often he sinneth? Cleme me from my secret faults. If thou wilt marke what is done amiss, who shall abide it? And? No flesh shall be iustificed in this sight. Appear, it will be vnto agreeable vnto godliness, that both in all our actions and motions, we haue need of the mediators, by whom all our defects, wherein we be defiled, shall be forgotten. I do not allow of their interpretation, which saie; that C. loue of God with all the hart, with all the soule, &c. Is nothing else, but we preferre neither our selves, in duty first, nor we preferre neither our selves, nor anie thing else about him. For I weigh the words of C. D. with deape consideration, wherein it is not said; About all things: but, With all the hart, with all the soule, and with all the strength. For it may be, that some man loath C. D. about all things, and yet loath him not altogether: but that in louing him he is broken asunder by many impediments, and is compelled to loath him with his owne flesh.

7 But wherein the loue of God chiefe consisteth, we may by this means knowe; because as (men commonlie saie) he is said to be beloved, towards whom we both will well, and do well; and that verily, not for our owne sakes, but for his sake. Vnto which, we cannot do good to God; seeing he is most perfect, and hath no need of other mens goodnesse. But then we loue him, when we both desire & inuente that his glorie may be rotallie advanced. And this is it, that by his precept we ought to do, with all our hart, with all our soule, & with all our strength. And yet in this we neuer stop to much, but it becometh us still to possit much more. Wherefore Paule sayeth, That our inward man is renewed daily. Where he plainlie teacheth, that the relike of God in all things remaine abiding in vs, the which ought to be cleued, that we may haue that likeness of Peter; I might also adde that likeness of Peter;

Why doe ye tempt God, by laying a yoke vpon the necks of the disciples, which neither we, nor our forefathers were able to beare? Allured, he taught by these words, that the latine can not be borne, nor fulfilled, without transgressions. Neither must we allow of that, which some asseme; namely, that he thent this touching ceremonies. For although this be true, yet there followeth thereof a firme conclusion; that no more can the table of the tenne commande-

ments be abidden, and fulfilled without transgressions; but it is much easier to performe outward rites and ceremonies, than to fulfill the precepts of the tenne commandments. But before the reasons now alleged, there resteth for vs to consider, after what sort Paule to the Corinthians describeth charitie. Where he teacheth on this wise; Charitie is not puffed vp, it is not prouoked to anger, it seeketh not his owne, it suffereth all things, it beleeueth all things, it endureth all things, &c. And so it that perfecteth all these: Greater no man. But familiarity as I perceive, that these things, which I haue spoken, are sufficient enough, to promise that which I purposed at the beginning: to name there remaineth, that we answer those things which are obeyed by our aduersaries.

8 They saie, that Paule, in the latter epistle to Timothee, greatly thanketh vnto God; for because he hath feared him from his forefathers, and that with a pure conscience. Vnto which, these two be trouble vs not; seeing they were spoken by the apostle to the end he might purge and defend himselfe. For other aduersaries said to his charge, that he had departed from the lawe; and had alienated himselfe from the God of his fathers; and that therefore men should beate of the Jewes, as of deicides. But he made answer, that he worshipped the living God; and that C. men him, whom his forefathers had worshipped; and that in preasing of the forme of God, as he did, he did not himselfe, as by brand; but with a pure and faultles conscience. Neither can it be gathered here, that he boasted of a full and perfect obseruation of the commandments of the lawe. Furthermore, it was objected; that Dauid as himselfe testified, confessed C. D. with all his heart, and that he searched out the commandments of God, with his whole heart. At which perfection also there was a testimonie given to some things in the holie scripture; namely, that they taught God with their whole heart.

1. We answer, that our works, if they be regarded as they be in their owne nature, and of themselves, are of no such vertue, as they answer unto the lawe of God in all points. But if they be considered, as they be accepted of the heauenlie father through his diuine merrie, and by the means of Christ; it may be said that they are done with all the hart, with all the soule, and with all the strength. But thou wilt saie; How D. God is a perfect iudgement, so as he accepteth things otherwise than they be made? I asseme that iniquitie is altogether remoued from God: for our works, when we be once renewed, are not offered to God barelie, as they were in their owne nature; but immitte, together with the Christ. Wherefore, with them is ioyne the loue and obedience of Christ, which was some

1. Cor. 13.4.  
2. Cor. 13.4.  
et of C. D. still.

1. Tim. 1.

2. Cor. 13.4.  
et of C. D. still.

1. Cor. 13.4.  
et of C. D. still.

with

with all the heart, with all the soule, and with all the strength. **G D** esteemeth not things that be offered, better than they be indeed: and therefore, by the mediator he forgives and answers his worshiper hath wanted in our actions. Neither is that feared, which is alleged by us, seeing the scripture testifieth the same. For in the first epistle to the Corinthians, it is written of Christ, that He became our wilcome, our righteousness, our holiness, and redemption.

Whereas this love is said to love **G D** with all our heart, with all our soule, and with all our strength, because we bend our selves thereto, and stand in hope that once it shall be so. And it cometh not seldom to passe, that a motion taketh name of that time, or end, whereunto it tendeth. Neither doth the scripture disagree with this manner of speaking. For it is said unto the Romans, that We are saved by hope; when nevertheless, we be as yet conuerter in miseries and finnes; and do hold saluation it selfe, not in deed, but in hope. It is written also unto the Ephesians, that God hath already quickened vs together with Christ, and hath made vs sit together with him on the right hand, in the celestiall places: when as notwithstanding, we be here upon the earth: yet we are declared to haue this already, because by faith and hope we intiole the same, as if we presentlie held it. Also Christ said; He that beleeueth in me, hath euersliding life: whereas yet his faithfull people are both troubled with diseases, and they also die, as concerning their bodye. But they are truly said to haue obtained euersliding life; because the same is already begonne in them.

In like manner, the forme of **G D** said; Blest are they that suffer persecution: and what blessedness is this? Certainlie none other, but a beginning of the diuine felicity. For the Romans also it is written; that We are buried together with Christ in baptisme: albeit, that our corrupt affections, and old man, be not removed from be as yet, much lesse buried or dead. Unto the Galatians the apostle saith; We are buried with Christ, haue crucified their flesh, with the desires of the same. And unto the Romans; Our old man is crucified, that the bodie of sinne might be abolished. All these things be true are said, although that the remainnes [of sinne], naughty lulls, and sinne it selfe are not as yet utterly extinguisht; because we possesse these things as begonne, though not brought to perfection. And things, which haue their beginning, are described, as though they were already finished. Wherby Augustine also himselfe perceiuet, who in his second booke *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*, the 15. chapter, saith; that Some man is at some time counted to be per-

fect, because he hath profited in a great part. For the purpose, it is argued, that **G D** testifieth by the prophete of Ezechiel, that he would giue vs a part of flesh, and a spirit, in such sort as his would write his lawe in our hearts, whereby he would write in his commandements. Also in the 3. chapter of Deuteronomie; I will circumscribe (saith he) the fore-skin of thy hart, that thou maist knowe me, with all thy hart, with all thy soule, &c. I grant that these promises of **G D** are certain, but those must be vnderstood after such a manner, as I haue before declared; namely, that our love is accepted by **G D**, through Christ; that it is repaired and fulfilled by the perfection and obedience of Christ himselfe. Therefore, that which the Lord promised vnto his, that hath beguene them, partlie in this life, and partlie he will fulfill and performe the same in the life to come. Which is confirmed by another saying of Christ; for he pronounced them blessed, which be cleane of hart; say they shall see **G D**. Doth he whole performe this promise in this life? so verily, for now we onely knowe in part, by a glasse, and in a darke lating; but in the euersliding habitation we shall see him at the full, and as he is. While we be in this life, we hunger and thirst after righteousness; seeing we cannot as yet haue the same perfect and absolute.

Also they saie, that it maketh against vs, which is written by Paule, that Loue is the fulfilling of the lawe: And againe; he that loueth his neighbour, hath fulfilled the lawe. Certainlie these things be true; and there is no doubt, but that euery faithful person faithfully the lawe, according to the measure of charitie, which he hath. But yet we must remember in the meane time, that there is none in this life, that hath perfect and absolute charitie. For if anye man could attaine thereto, he could not possit anye further. Wherby it, that this matter may the more euidentlie appere, let vs consider the words of Iohn; Herein (saith he) we knowe his loue, for that he gaue his life for vs, and we ought to give our life for our brethren, euen as he gaue his. These words sufficientlie declare, that no onelye kind of loue is required of vs; but euen the same, which belongeth the life for other men; and the same not after anye sort, but in such sort as Christ himselfe gaue it. But there be none, which attaine vnto the charitie of Christ, though the same (as the apostle saith) be required, and that by vertue of the lawe. For the bond both ariseth through no other means, but by the lawe.

Neither is that place to the Galatians anye other waie to be expounded; namely, Beare you one an others burden, and so ye shall fulfill in the lawe of Christ. For it is necessarie to beare those

Ezech. 36, 16

John 1, 34 and 5.

Math. 5, 8.

1. Cor. 13, 19.

Rom. 13, 10 and 8.

1. Iohn 3, 16

Gal. 6, 2.

lane in this life.

those things, euen as we would ours to be borne, as that as Christ hath thought to be borne; but this none do performe. Whereunto also might that be said, which is brought before, touching Christes loue; the which may be loith to our love, and accepted by **G D**, as though it had been fulfilled. It is also objected, that the same Iohn sayeth; that He which loeth **G D**, keepeth his commandments. But we must adde, that so much shall the keeping of Gods commandments be, as the loue of **G D** hath bene; but seeing we haue not that loue perfect; therefore we hope not the commandments fullie and perfectly. Wherby, after these things they adde, that the same apostle affirmeth The commandments of **G D** to be easie. But to this I answer;

If they be set forth vnto them, which be not yet borne anew, they be impossible to be kept, much lesse easie. Againie, if they be offered vnto persons regenerate, they be not easie kept, excepting as they be set forth in the lawe: but they may be called easie, seeing the spirit of Christ is present with such, and with communicate his righteousness with them. For by the same, the wants of our works are supplied: and while we be inuolued with the spirit, we obeye willingly, and with a good conuence. And by this means, the commandments of **G D** be made both desirable, and easie to be kept: I meane, according to the call of grace, which **G D** doth bestow. In the same sense must the words of Christ be vnderstood, wherein he saith; My yoke is pleasant, and my burden is light. But the commandments (as they be expressed in the lawe) be, though our weakness, rather bring imobilation than pleasantie; but if they be performed of vs, in such sort as they be described.

Furthermore, that is brought against vs, which Christ saith vnto his apostles; When ye haue done all these things, saie with your felues, that ye be vnprofitable seruants. But that must be vnderstood of obedience begonne: as I haue said before. Wherfore Augustine, in his third booke against the two epistles of the Pelagians, the eight chapter wrote; that the perfection of saints must alwayes be vnderstood, according to the measure and capacitie that they haue in this life. This moreover they saye, that the scriptures diuers times do call some men perfect, for; Paule saith; We speake wilcome among them that be perfect. And to the Thymothee we read; So manie of you as be perfect, iudge all one thing. Wherunto I meane, that there is a certaine measure of perfection, whereby the goodlie men do acknowledge their imperfection, & be not deceiued therein. Which no lesse rightly than prudentie Augustine taught in his third booke against the two epistles of Pelagians; and in his first booke, 7. chap. *De peccatorum meritis &*

*remissione*. Also they after a sort be called perfect, which do imitate the perfection of the Heauenlie father, who sendeth raine vpon the iust and vniust, and maketh his sunne to shine as well vpon the good as the bad.

Others vnbelieuible be called iust, which apostle giue eare vnto spiritual things; of which sort the Christians are; say I will not. The Pelagians indeed were such, as it is written in the first chapter. And this kind of imperfection it be shewed the saints, not onely to acknowledge and know, but also to confesse the same. But Ieron in his first dialog against the Pelagians, saith; that We be then full, when in the conflicts our felices to be sinners. And vnto Ctesiphon he also wrote; This onely is a perfection in men, if they acknowledge themselves to be sinners. Bernard, in his 50. and 1. sermons vpon the Canticles, wrote verie elegantly of this matter; and so Iohn Augustine, in his epistle vnto Xylus, and in manye other places. But the Pelagians, when they with Iohn Augustine (as we read in his booke against their epistle the first chapter) said, that We did not put any difference betwixen most wicked men and saints, but by comparison: because he affirmed, that iust men be therefore saints, because they sinne lesse than iust men. Wherby it that goodlie man answereth, that Wicked men and saints do differ one from another by faith, and not by works. For so much as the goodlie do beleeue in Christ, by whom, if they fall, they receive forgiveness of their finnes, and are alightenied by his spirit and grace. But the wicked, beleeuing not in Christ, do altogether let in their finnes: wherof they neither repent, nor yet receive forgiveness of the same.

The same father also, in his second booke *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*, the seventh chapter, objecteth against himselfe, that which is written in the 14. chapter of the Apocalypse; namely, that The 144000. faints, which followe the lambe, were virgines, and defiled not themselves with women, & that in their mouths there was found no guile. Ye answereth to himselfe, that such were therefore blameable, because they iustly reuened those blameable; and in their mouth there was no guile, because they did not professe themselves to be without sin. For if they had said that they had bene without sinne, they had bene found in a lie. The same father goeth further, & found in the 12. chapter of the same booke, whereby it is written, that Zacharie and Elizabeth were iust before **G D**, walking without reprove before him, in all the precepts and indicacions of the lawe. By which words (he saith) there might appear to be a full observation of the lawe. But he answereth, that they had no more in them, than Paule hath, who denied himselfe to be perfect. And

Heb. 6, 18

7

Wicked men and saints do differ one from another by faith but not by works.

8

verse 3, 4.

Lukes 8, 4.

ded they were lost before God, even as he said that he had served God from his youth, and with a pure conscience; that is, with an unfeigned and unblemished heart.

But it is one thing, to do from the heart; and another thing, to do with all the heart. And they were said to walk in all the precepts of God, because they, being justified by faith, thence the fruit of faith, by living according to the law: which fruit newness of life, while they lived in the flesh, they differed not perfectly and absolutely. And whereas it is added, that they were without reproach, the same father (in his first book, and 48. chapter *De gratia Christi*, against Pelagius and Celestius) expounded the same to be meant, as touching their honest and laudable conversation among men; the which no man could inflict quarrel at as a crime, for there be some very heinous crimes, whereof the apostle saith; that They which commit such things, shall not possess the kingdom of heaven. And as for the persons regenerate may be aware of their finnes. And it is said, that they were without reproach before God; because God allowed them to be such, as those men they were accounted. Doubtless, the praise of their conversation (man and wife) was very great, because they did not create the traditions of men, but the works which were prescribed in the law.

They being first therefore justified by faith, did then add honest and godlike life, to be joined with the righteousness of Christ. Wherefore God vouchsafed to recall their works with these praises and commendations. And yet for all that, it cannot be proved, that they perfectly fulfilled the law of God.

Augustine also expounded that saying, which Paul speaketh of himself; namely, I have fought a good fight, I have run my course, I have kept the faith, &c. The last fight (saith he) remained, for when he did write these words, he was not yet dead; but because he remained in hope of steadfast living in the faith, therefore he wrote so boldly. He finished his course, howbeit not fully; perfectible, but in an obediency that was more than began. Neither doth he write, that he sinned not; but if he had so written, yet would he have said, that the same had been done in respect of his hope. For that, which is certainly looked for, is reckoned as if it were done. And it is no doubt, but at that time he had died, as well as the rest of the apostles, to praise; according to the commendation of Christ; Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

11 Our adversaries also teach, that those imperfections, which we have rehearsed; namely, corrupt affections, and naughty motions within, are no finnes; unless there be added a con-

sent thereto: which opinion of theirs must be utterly rejected. True indeed it is, that Augustine, in defining of sinne, declared the law to be a thing spoken, done, or lust against the law of God: albeit, that is a doubtful definition. For if lust be meant according to the consent of the will, onely actual finnes (as they terme them) are comprehended therein; but original corruption, and naughty motions of the mind, are excluded from thence. Wherefore Peter Lombard, in his second book, distinction the 25. bringing in this definition, what time as he stepped from the treating of original sin, to treat of actual finnes. Nevertheless, if by the word lust, he comprehend both original sin, and all naughty motions; the definition will be general. As Ambrose saith; that sinne is a transgression of the law, or a disobedience of the heavenly commandments. Whosoever, letting these things go, we must give ear unto the holy scriptures. It is written in the first epistle of John, the third chapter; *qui legem non dereliquit, qui est, sine lege*, that is, sinne is the transgression of the law.

The word *dereliquit* (as all men knowe) is compounded of the primitive particle *re*, that hath a where strength of departing; and of *dereliquit*, that signifies a law; whereupon it followeth, that to be deprived of that righteousness, which the law doth require, is sinne. But shall we stand in contention, whether our corrupt motions, and naughty passions do impugn the law of God? Certainlie, Paul affirmeth, that they do strive against it, when he writeth; that He feedeth another law in the members, striving against the law of the mind: whereunto is it repugnant, it is *dereliquit*, that is, transgression of the law. Neither doth he other wise say, when he saith; I see not I that worke that, but it is sinne, which dwelleth in me. And we do not onely deale now, as concerning those first motions of the lust and insatiable facultie; but also of those motions of reason, which provoke unto sinne. For it is said, that *dereliquit*, that is, The wisdom of the flesh is enmity against God. Doubtless, all these things be sin, and deface the image of God. Span is not made, to the intent he should be against the law of God; but that all the motions of his mind should be a power to provoke him to goodlines. Tertullian saith, that therein consisteth Gods image, even to have the motions of our minds and our wills all one with Gods. And Paul himself taught this, in his epistle to the Philippians; Let the same Phil. 2. mind be even in you, that was in Christ Jesus, and i-

Wherefore, seeing these evils deface and corrupt this state and condition of our mind, they cannot be otherwise called than finnes.

12 But perhaps some will say, that seeing Adam, at his creation, had no corrupt motions

having not  
the naughty  
motions  
in the mind.

and affections; how it came to passe, that he so grievously fell. This is demanded, as though time might not be committed by his own will. Aforewhile, the angels did fall, who were truly out of any such perturbations. And it is, that we are compelled more often and more vehemently unto sinne, than Adam was: we having many naughty persuasions and provocations unto sinne, the which he had not, till such time as he transgressed. But if it be so, that some of the fathers now and then do denie, that those motions (whereof we treat) be finnes, because they have no bond joined with them unto everlasting punishment, seeing Christ hath cancelled the same: yet can it not be denied by any man, but that the desolateness, which was brought by them, remained in the mind. Further it is to be written of them by waie of comparison. For if so be that these evils be compared with actual finnes, they do not to be meritorie and so manifestly contend against the law of God. And those fathers teach us, that these do not called finnes; saying for that they be the causes and effects of finnes: as when a man fall of his owne twisting; This is my hand; meaning that it was written with his owne hand. And men call the cold weather dull; because it maketh us dull. Such similitudes as these, Augustine was wont to use: but then he compared this kind of sinne with actual finnes.

Doubtless, it is better to heare the same father, when he examineth these times by themselves. In the first book against Julian, the 8. chapter: It is not (saith he) no iniquity, when the superior parts do shamefully give place unto the inferior; and the inferior do shamefully wrestle against the superior. And in the first book, and third chapter, he saith; The concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good spirit doth strive; is sinne, because therein is a disobedience against the dominion of reason. And it is the punishment of sinne, because it is given as a reward to the doers of our disobedience. All so it is the cause of sinne, by reason of the fall of him that consenteth thereto. Wherefore his consenteth to this concupiscence, according to these degrees. First, by the nature thereof, and that he assenteth to be sinne, because it impairing the sovereignty of the mind. Secondly, as an effect and punishment laid upon sinne. And lastly, as being the cause of sinne. Besides, in his third book *De libero arbitrio*, the 18. chapter he writeth on this wise; These things be therefore reckoned among finnes, because through them we depart from the justice, wherein man was made at the beginning.

13 And to declare further, that these desolations are not unto sinne; these alledge

Concupiscence  
consisteth  
in the  
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to these  
things.

for themselves the infirmity of our flesh; Christ, whereof Luke doth write in the 2. chapter of his Gospel; And Jesus increased & grew in yeeres, in wisdom, and in favour with God and men. And a little before; And the child grew & waxed strong in spirit, and was filled with wisdom, and the grace of God was with him. It be proved blameless (saith he) it followeth that first there were faults in him; and that he was not so wise at the first, as he showed afterward. Some have expounded these things to be meant as concerning the spirit, which appeared blameless more and more, whom they think to be most perfect at the first: yet that the scripture hath bene accustomed to say, that a new thing is then done, when it first appeareth. Doubtless, it can readily confound, and so be, that I ought to be so; namely, that Christ took upon him mans infirmities for our sakes. Neither do I say, but that his mind had access of wisdom, according to the proportion of age. And the degrees in his infirmity were not like unto ours; for, as touching ignorance, we must not ascribe any ignorance to be sinne; for when the angels are ignorant of some manie things, especially of the time when the latter day shall be. But shall we say, that this is a fault in them? Further, shall we think, that Adam did fractionally know all things? No certainly.

Wherefore we call blindness of the mind, the ignorance that belongeth unto sinne; though the which blindness, those things be blindness which ought to be knowne; and whereof things contrary unto the truth are perceived. Aristotle in *Politico* *libro 2. ad 2. c.* distinguishing between ignorance, calling one an ignorance of doing, an other of contrarie disposition. An example of the first is a craftie and handiworkman, who is utterly ignorant of the mathematical sciences; because he never learned them. The other ignorance is ascribed unto him, which sometime applied his invention to the mathematical, but perceived all those things that were taught him: so as those things, which be true in them, he is taught to be put contrarie; and thinketh the line to be crooked, which is straight. Wherefore it might be lawful to say, that ignorance of being to no sinne; because it is as touching men of ripe yeeres, seeing they be ignorant of things which be necessary for obtaining of salvation. Wherefore Christ, in taking on our infirmities, did not receive sinne into himself. By reason whereof, at his death, he felt natural motions, though which he trembled at death; yet those perturbations proceeded of flesh and perfect nature, not of evil and corrupt relics of nature. And then the infirmities of Christ were farre differing from our infirmities. And therefore it is written in the fourth chapter to the Hebrewes,

Hebrewes  
was not  
sinne.

Ignorance  
of two  
kinds.

verse 15.  
Hebrewes,

Debynes; that The Lord was tempted in all things as we be. **But the exception is added; Ye without sinne. And whereas Paule saith; When I was a child, I spake as a dild: it is ment, that one daie, shall be voided all that, which before was imperfect, and we shall at the last come to immortall life, where all things shall be absolute.**

external life, where all things may be account-  
ed. Therefore, it must be considered, that our nau-  
ghy motions, though they be the first of all, are  
not onely rude and imperfect things; but that  
they be also repugnant unto the lawe of God, as  
it is declared in the tenth chapter to the Ro-  
mans. Where we must not hearken unto these  
men, which thinke such a thing to be there de-  
scribed by the apostle, as the Poets described of Me-  
dea, who said, I see the better, & I allow the bet-  
ter, but I followe the worse. For as I taught  
a little before, the apostle did not there dispute of  
civill honesty, but of the lawe of God, the which  
he called holie, iust, and honest, whose equitie  
the naturall iust hath not vertue.

12 Also there is much to be made against  
Mat. 5, 48, vs. because Christ said: Be ye perfect, as the hea-  
venly father is perfect. Where hereafter he  
saith abund, that Gods goodness is infinite, being un-  
limited, should be command to be so, & not to  
3 unfold, that Gods love is so full, as a familiar  
much as in vs. 48, the thing we ought to follow as  
much as in vs. 48. And thine not, that of him,  
and of the heavenly father, all one conformation  
on must be had thought in all respects: for  
the soul of Christ, being a part of his humani-  
ty, was not immutable; seeing it was a crea-  
ture: so as the love that came from thence, was  
limited, and not infinite. And therefore, in the  
loving of G D, we are bound to imitate him.  
Certainlie, the heavenly father, although in his  
owne nature be so infinite; yet, being the father  
of Christ (I mean the good things, which be his  
charity upon vs) is so measured, because they  
that he not exceed the other of things created.  
Furthermore, 3 diftinct not this abundance  
that is, 3d; where it expresse an equality  
in quantitie, or a likeness in quantitie. This 3  
leave for other men to consider of.

13 e yet further they presse vs, as if there might  
some worke of man be found, that should please  
God thoughtlie, seeing it is written in the se-  
cond booke of the kings : God pronounceth o  
Iehoyah when he had casted out the familie of A-

God seeing he was already beloved in Christ, and that was reputed to him unto righteousness. Therefore, God would atone him with such excellent promises. But in bad, concerning Iehu, it is not to cause a thing to answer; because (to speak truth) he was not perfectible good. After that I think, that he was moved by a zeal to extinguish the house of Ahab, and to destroy the worshippers of Baal. And, the sincerity of faith can abide no idolatry to it. And there is no doubt of him, but that he kept still the service of Ierobam, being one that worshipped the golden calves with Israel. But even as it was said unto Ahab, that by reason of his outward submission, and shew of repentance, punishment should be mitigated; even so it is verie likele, that those things, which were brought concerning Iehu, were pronounced to the same purpose also.

faith; for certain things there be, that God voucheth  
 safely to grant, and by a certaine testimonie  
 commended; not as though they could be good,  
 in as much as they proceed of euill men; but  
 that the knitting together of things, which be  
 themselves both euillnes, as touching a euill will  
 and naturall conuulsion, might be performed. But  
 if any mane shall saye those words, wherein it  
 is said, that Iehu bode all things which God had  
 in his heart, we will saye, that the same might be  
 referred vnto the determination and decree of  
 God, wherein he mercifullly minded to destroye  
 the house of Ahab. Wherefore Iehu did that which  
 was Gods will to be done. Euen as Nabu-  
 denezar, in destroyinge the children of Israel,  
 fulfilled that which God had in his heart; al-  
 though he were prouoked to that destruction,  
 through crueltie and ambition. Perhaps thou  
 wilt saye, I do not weigh the words alone, but  
 I am a speciallie monee, for that there was a re-  
 ward giuen vnto Iehu, as for a thing well done.  
 Certainlie, I will bring an example not unlike  
 vnto this, out of the prophet Ezechiel; who in the  
 19. chapter twelfth of Nabudanezar's Lord  
 the Lord saith, He with his host hath ferued me  
 against the men of Tyre. Wherefore I will giue  
 him the land of Egypt for a reward, either to  
 there arise doubt, but that thing fought against  
 the people of Tyre, through ambition and gre-  
 uous desire of enlarging his kingdome: yet mer-  
 cyfullesse, God gaue him the gouernement of  
 Egypt, which he had for his reward.

15 The things, which hitherto we have reasoned of, because they shall not seeme to be scattered and diuided, we will comprehend in foure principall points. Whereof the first is that the pcept of louing God with all the hart with all the soule, and with all the strength, is not kept so long as we liue here. A second that we must not denie, but that God can inuolue

lawe in this life.

anie man truly so much grace and strength, as he may be able to fulfill the commandments. As for, facing he cannot fulfill the same unto the Father in the world to come; and should let him, but that he may grant it unto strangers in this life; yet he hath not done this hitherto, neither appears it that he will do it. So as we are to talke and becoming of this matter, according to common sense and reason. The third is, that, if we be borne alive, may be assumed to fulfill after the sort that commandment. In the fourth, is let out the waie to interpret the promises, which we read to be sometimes made concerning this matter. In the fifth and last is declared, that the first motions, which pouer are to offend, are finnes.

Whether we ought by rewards, to  
be moved to the obedience  
of God.

16 The must vnderstand, that god and he  
neff actions are of themselves sufficientie to be  
sought for: sozomuch as in this world nothing  
can happen more pleasant, than to obcie God  
and by a god conscience to be ioined to him,  
lining vprightly, according to his command-  
ments. Wherefore, about we should obtaine

white gold would let forth rewards and gifts.

**P**romises and threatenings are added in the law to the commandments.

A mother desireth not to be inticed with wards, to give luche, to feed, and to care for one childe, that it perily not. So as the promises of God are therefore necessarie unto man because they, by reason of finne, have been cold from a vehement affection and zeale towards godlike and holie woys. We be altered by thull & fluggish vnto the duties of goodline and righte conuersion: wherefore God, for his mercie sake, would be the founnes of promises which appereth most manifestly in the law.

added both threatnings, and also promises. Seeing then holie men haue oftentimes done this seeing also the lawe of God hath done so, and that the same is found in the new testament; we may conclude without doubt, that it is lawfull. For then is that, which we doe, to be allowable; when it agreeth with the example of GOD himselfe, and with the rule of the scriptures; especially with the excellent acts of holie men.

2nd. I must wait, whether he, whid  
day long works, and performeth that, which he  
is bound to do by the lawe of God, ought to be  
moued with hope of the reward; or whether he  
should rather haue a regard onlie to goodwille,  
righteousnes, and Gods pleasure. To answere  
to this question, I thinke that this must be the  
first ground; to wit, that a man is not onlie  
appointed to some certaine end, when as GOD  
both nothing rathle; or by chance; but also he is  
appointed to manie ends; which neuertheles  
are so ioined together, that they do mutually  
serue and helpe one another by a certaine order.

First, we are created to let forth the glorie of  
GOD; then, that by the sight and perfect know-  
ledge of GOD, we should come to be happy; and  
thirdly, that we should live together in  
that which we call love, in an acceptable fellowship;  
to wit, in holiness; be therefore heare lawes to  
maintaine and make laws, to defend honest and iust cau-  
ses; after the same manner doubletlike, by which  
GOD hath commanded them to be defended by  
his lawes; who moreover ought so to be incou-  
raged to performe this thing, as although they  
should haue no other reward; gift to come un-  
to them, yet ought they to take the enterprise in  
hand.

For furthermore, men live to fight for the defence of their country, wives, children, kindfols, and friends. And if so be that they, besides these things, loke for lust dispenses, whereby they may honestly nourish both themselves, and their families, no man will count that for a vice in them. For the apostle hath said in the first epistle to the Corinthians ; Who goeth on warfare at his own cost ? But nota, to come more particularly to things ; when ante man tempereth himselfe to ante graveous a watche, he is thought to do that, to the intent he may obey the commandments of God, as it is met ; then, thereby he may escape either eternal or cruell punishment ; moreover, that he may not sate the minds of the bytters, and plucke the seede from an holie conversation, and purge by his watche example ; and finally, that by his watchword he may note the wrath of God either against himselfe or his familie, or against the people. Wherefore, it is manifest, that the end of our actions is not simple, but sundrie and manifold.

8 And

0' 1. Cor. 2, 7.

The intent  
that man  
ought to  
have in for-  
bearing of  
wicked  
acts.

Who that  
is appoin-  
ted to an  
end.

whether it  
be lawfull  
to doe good  
for rewardes  
sake,

YcrfC.14

I  
Matt. 5

2.Kin.10,35

14  
Of the ex-  
ample of  
Abraham.

7. **Excc.39.1**

18 And this being thus finished and concluded, we must diligentlie take heed, that when manie ends are set before vs, we may prefer the better of the rest, which by god might excell the rest. For if it should be otherwise done, and that those things, which be hindermost, and of smaller importance, should be preferred before the better; we might iustlie be condemned for perverting the order of things. So as we must take heed, that we direct not God himselfe, of the worshiping of him, according unto our owne commoditie, or else unto any other ends. For then should that surely happen unto vs, which

Augustine.

the chief perverters of mens actions.

Augustine doth so sore detest; to wit, that we should entole those things, which we ought to vse; and on the other side, we should vse those things, which we ought to entole: than which peruerfences in humane actions, no worse thing can be thought. Wherefore, when it is demanded, whether it be lawfull in well doing to haue respect vnto the gaine or reward; we cannot well denie, but that it is lawfull: forasmuch as God himselfe hath promised a reward to them, which looe godlie. Neither do we say for any other cause, than by his gifts and allotments to fit by men to iust, good, and holie works.

But although we do not vniuillie in hauing a regard to the reward offered vs by God, when we are occupied in god works; yet this is diligentlie to be taken heed of, that we be not mowed onelie because of the reward which is offered vs. Neither is this sufficient: for if a man would faie, that he would in doing god, both obtaine the reward let forth, and by the same worke oblie God; he must take heed, that he attribute not the chiefest parts to the gift or reward; but cause allwaies among the ends (as I haue already said) as euerie one of them is more excellent by nature, so it ought to be preferred in the first place. And in this there needeth an excellent diligence, since it oftentimes happeneth, that we deuide our felues; iustlie supposing, that nothing is more excellent or deere vnto our minds than God; from whom neuertheless we are by little and little withdrawne and plucked backe, by reason of too much desire and delite of reward or gift. Wherefore, it afterward happeneth, that we come to great miseries thereby. For when God perceiveth, that we most esteem those things, which ought to be of least estimation to vs; he withdraweth them about, leaſt they should more and more plucke vs from him. And this happened manie times to the Israelites, from whom God sometimes tooke about riches, libertie, and the promised land; to call them againe to himselfe, idiom they little esteemed, than their riches, possessions, yea than their liues. Wherefore, those things being marked and observed, which I haue rehearsed; I do not, but that it

is lawfull for goodlie men, after a sincere and earnest indouor towards God, to do god for reward and gift.

19 Neither am I ignorant, that Barnard Barnard, together in his little booke of louing God, that charitie by it selfe cannot be empty, although it beholo no reward, &c. By which words he putteth vs in mind of two things; both, that the works of charitie, in themselves, haue so much delectation, pleasure, and commoditie, as may be sufficient for them which looe well; although, for that they well doing, they should haue no other reward given them of God. And that in, in louing of God, should looe for no other reward but this; that he, according to his goodnesse, will beneuolentlie giue those things, which are to be giuen. And therefore, no man ought to be moued, cherlie with a desire of the reward. And he adueth, that he would prefer the loue of the wife, towards his husband, before the loue and obediſſance, wherewith the children looe the father. Forasmuch as the lonnes do so loue the father, because they hope they shall be inheritors of him by his inheritance. Wherefore, their loue (as he thinkeſt) is not to pure. What the wife, if she be but a one, as the ought to be, with god to his husband for his owne sake, and for his owne cause, although the hope of loberth to obtaine no god at his hands.

Gratie haue thought, that the opinion of this father ought to be allowed, and haue gone about to make the same plaine by a certaine diuision, not to so circumspectie inuented by them, in my opinion. For they affirme, that we may measure God, or his nature, according to his worketh; and that we may behold him, according to our owne perfection and vspightnesse. Spokeouer, they saie, that whatsoeuer we do, we must do it for his sake, in the first consideration; and not in respect that he is our cheefe goodnesse and felicitie. And this they thinke that Barnard meant, by the words now recited. For they alledge him, who after this manner witheth in another place; namely, that he suspecteth all that looe, wherewith we looe any thing besides God. Whereby, these men do not marke, that by this diuision, which is found out, rather by the indgement of men, than by the verities of the scriptures, they are against the meaning of God. As he said vnto Abraham, as it is written in Genesis; I am thine exceeding great reward, walke therefore before me, and be perfect. Whereby, by these words God offereth himselfe vnto vs, not imagined by himselfe, or plucked abate from our commodites; but in respect that he is our reward.

Spokeouer, as I already said at the first, God would not aduine promises, gifts, or rewards to his commandments in vaine, or without effect; but

we must do it for his sake, in the first consideration; and not in respect that he is our cheefe goodnesse and felicitie. And this they thinke that Barnard meant, by the words now recited.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Gen. 22.

Augustine.

Mat. 6.33.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

1. Cor. 10.31.

but most prudentlie and with consideration: do he this (I praye the) that our eyes being that, we should ouerſlip them: I thinke not. Neither canſt thou saie, that they serue for the ruler fort, and such as be not yet singular and perfect. For I will demand straightway of thee, whether Abraham, Moſes, Dauid, the prophets, and apostles, were not so perfect, as either the nature of men in this life can be; or is required of vs: If thou wilt saie, they were imperfect; then can I not tell what excellencie or perfection of men thou faimest to thy selfe. Vnboubteſſe, Paule testeth forth himselfe vnto others, as a perfect man, in such sort as a man in this life may be perfect, when he wote; Be ye perfect, as I am perfect. I speake not hoto the scripture, yea God himselfe pronounceth Moſes to be most mecke. He commendeth Dauid also, that he was made according to his will and heart. Wherefore, if thou wilt grant, that these men were notable, excellent, and perfect men (as men may be in this world); neither canſt thou denie the promises and rewards offered to them of God. This without doubt followeth, that men of the more excellent sort may in well lining and doing lift vnto their eyes to the reward.

20 Wolbeitt, I thinke that Augustine hath verie well opened all this matter, when he saith in his booke of Confessions; We loueth they not (speaking to God) which loueth any thing besides thee that he loueth not for thy sake. By these words is gathered, that we may looe gaine and rewards for Gods sake: seeing it is lawfull to imbrace the meane ends for the last and cheefe goodnesse sake. Neither are we forbidden, but that we may sometimes with for meate, drinke and cloth, and such things as are needfull for this life. Yea and Christ hath commanded by expreſſe words, that we should alſe them: and he hath promised them to those which saie for the kingdome of God, when he hath said; First seeke the kingdome of God, and all things shall be ministred vnto you. Wherefore it is true, that these things may be so hoped for, regarded, and received of God, as gifts and rewards; and not as the principall things. For they are also to be referred to a further end, according to Paules most hollesome admonition, that we shall withſtand; Whether we eate, or whether we drinke, or whether we do any other thing, lets do it to the glorie of God. And finally, seeing God himselfe, his glorie, god will, and fauour, be the rote and foundation of other promises, and of euerie reward; so often as we that beholde these other things, seeing they are comprehended in these former things, we must take heed, that we neuer separate them one from an other; but in the latter, continually looke vpon those that are first. Whereby (as Au-

gustine hath counſelled), we shall looe nothing besides God, but that we looe it for his sake, And this much of this question.

### Of the vse and abrogating of the lawe.

21 The mind of God must be rechecked in the beginning of all lawes; for whatsoever is not counted iust and honest in aue lawes, that hath generallie flowed from thence. So as we may saie, that all lawes are interpretations of the mind of God; which inteth it cometh to passe, that the lawes, which be not iust, ought not to be accounted lawes. The knowledge, which we haue by the lawe, as touching sinne, is of two sorts. One is altogether vaine, and without effect: wherby our minds be not terrified, nay yet our consciences deſected. As when we see diabolicalis otherwhile, which in the midst of their cups condemn the vice of diabolicalis. Also the poets, in their verses and miterles, cunninglie described vices; but yet they themselves did not refrain from them any whit more than others. And certeinlie, that knowledge of sinne, which terrified, both not allwaies bring saluation. If it be without hope of remedie; it is pernicious. As it came to passe in Iudas, Elau, and Caine; who hauing knowledge of their wickednesse, fell into despair. But as touching the elect, there is a hope of obtaining saluation by Christ; the which hope, like a perpetuall companion, is ioined with the knowledge of sinnes.

If we shall by particulars reckon by the sinnes, which are kinde by the lawe; the first we account to be that, which is ingendered by vs by nature, which is called originall sinne, and it is the filth; a corruption of all our whole nature. Of the which we are taught in the psalme; I was Paule 5.7. shapen in wickednesse, and in sinnes my mother hath conceived me. Accordie, from the same do perpetuallie flow the motions and aduſſes, which the Gentians call *concupiscentie*, and they resist the lawe of God. Concerning the which, Paule saith, that he felt another lawe in his members, Rom 7.31. resisting the lawe of the mind, and leading him awaie captiue vnto the lawe of sin. When this lawe, cometh the content of the will, and then this lawe is more grievous. And as touching this, we do read; Let not sinne reigne in your mortall bodie. Spokeouer, there also followeth a custome, and by the bonds thereof we are more stricken helde vnder the power of sinne: so as it is in a manner impossible to put away the vice, which hath now bene brought in, seeing Ieremie saith; An Aethiopian cannot Iere 13.23. change his kinne. A ſcitic, the which are sometimes thus bound to faule, as they sinne A. 11. g. against



against the holie Church, the forgiveness of which crime is vilerie denied, as Christ in the Gospel hath taught; and it was commanded unto Ieremie, that he should not praise anie longer for the people.

Alto time might be distinguished, into those things, which be denied, spoken, and done against the laue of God. And of all these things the laue hath instructed vs. But sinne in general, is to forsake from the obedience of the laue. Cuen as archers, when they go from their marks, on which part to euer it happen; they forsake and do amillie. Wherefore, seeing man is made according to the image of God, to the intent he should in life and manners expresse his nature and proprietie; what fouler swearing there be from this it is true. But this benefit, to be accused and warned as touching our faults, hath no absolute commoditie: seeing we be not able of our selues to flume the things, whereof we be accused; so to performe those things, whereof we be warned. Therefore, we must be sure to haue an eue into Christ, into whom we are led by the laue.

And it is to be marked, that these things are chieflye written of the laue by an antithesis, or contrarie positiō vnto faith: for being taken by it selfe, it is as farre from giuing righteousness and honour vnto vs, as it is dishonour and makeeth manifest what to euer we haue shamefully committed. So as we haue from thence nothing but confusion: which happeneth notwithstanding default of the laue, but through the corruption of our owne mind; becaue the laue lighteth vpon it being conuict and bent vnto euill things. Inconform as the laue of God. For the laue commandeth vs to put our confidence in God; but we trust in our owne felicitie. The laue commandeth vs to do seruice vnto our neighbour; but we conuict to haue all men serue vs. And seeing we run with a full swinge, into such like things as these be; therefore doth the laue of God set it selfe as a stop against a mightie frame, which by meeting therewith, swell-eth and rageth the more. For as the sailing is, the sicke to that we are forbidden, and desire that which we be denied. Notwithstanding which things, it is an excellent benefit of God, that is giuen vnto vs by the laue) not to be ignorant of our selues.

22 And it must not be thought, that we be not bound of that benefit, becaue we are said in the scriptures, to be deliuered from the laue by Christ: for that must not altogether be so taken. For there is two kinds of abrogating of the laue. One, whereby we are not bound to per-  
forme those things that be commanded: as we see fit it come to passe as touching the iudiciall pro-

cepts and ceremonies. Which must not be understood as concerning the moxall laues. Christ saith, that He came not to breake the laue, but rather to fulfill the same. And Paule faith: What then? Do we abolish the laue by faith? God forbid. Na rather, we establish the laue. And other abrogating there is, whereby the laue is binded from accusing of vs to condemnation: and after that for the moxall laue also is ment to be abolished. But it you shall speake more by rectie, it is not the laue that is abrogated, but the domination; or power which followeth it: so that we may rather understand, that the thing is plucked out, than that the laue it selfe is taken away. For indeed it is, which is written vnto Timothee, that The laue is not made against the righteous. For as Augustine writeth De spiritu et littera: ¶ Who can imagine a laue vpon him, that of his owne accord both, and willingly excecute that which be longeth vnto righteousness? Wherefore he thinketh, that iust men do vse a laue towards others, whom they instruct; while they often repeat the same, and set it forth diligetlye for to moue them to repentance.

And whereas the apostle might seeme to haue spoken things repugnant one to an other (for contrarie part he affirmeth, that the laue is not set downe against the righteous man; and on the other part he saith, that the same is good, so a man be it laboulous; both which, none wisely it laboulous, but he that is iust) Augustine remembereth those things after this manner; namely, that he may haue a good vie of the laue, who is not yet iustified, but directly himselfe to iustification by the helpe thereof. And he inobediently to make the thing culbert by two similitudes. It happeneth (saith he) that a man, setting forth vnto anie place, is carried in a charriot; to which place he being come, forasmuch that where in he was carried. Again, we appoint a schole-master for children which be ignorant; but when they shall well instructed, we take them from their teacher. ¶ Cuen so (saith he) while a man is called from his finnes, and goeth forward vnto righteousness, the laue is profitable vnto him: but after he hath obtained righteousness, he is loosed from the laue.

Whobey, we must not denie, but that they also, which be converted vnto Christ, are continuallye more and more instructed by the laue. Besides this, much of the flesh remaineth, and a great deale of hardenelle is cast into our mind and senses, while we are here in this life. Wherefore the vie of the laue is not superfluous, no less as touching them that be iustified, And seeing we be not wholly renewed, in that there remaineth some part of the old man, and offences do crape vpon vs, both by nature, and against our

our toils: the laue fineth matter as well to re-  
proue vs, as to accuse vs; although, touching the  
benefit of Christ, it cannot proceed to condem-  
nation. Which certeintie it would be, as much  
as theen faith; unless we were alreadye iustified  
by faith.

¶ Therefore in verie good time doth Paule, in the 3 chapter to the Romanes, demand: Do we therefore through faith, make the laue of none effect? God forbid. Yea rather we establish the laue, there he useth the figure: ¶ Occur-  
rentia. For a man might haue said: If the laue  
being not righteousness, why then did God giue  
it? Why may we not then like Iohanne, and follow  
our lusts? For to be without faith (saith Paule),  
seeing the laue is not abolished by faith, but rather  
confirmed. These men thought, that Paule had  
made void the laue, seeing he abrogated the ce-  
remonies. But in abrogating them, he vseth the  
libertie, which was granted him in the Gospel;  
and vnto the laue he did no inturie. ¶ For God  
in verie deed would not, that the old ceremonies  
should continue anie longer. And yet notwith-  
standing, Paule lieth not, when he saith, that he  
in no case, by faith, maketh the laue void. And  
then, which reason, that it is abolished, becaue  
ceremonies are made of none effect, do make a  
false argument of the accident. For, though the  
accidents of anie thing be taken away, yet it  
followeth not, that the thing it selfe is thereby  
abolished. But that is counted an accident  
vnto the laue, which hath not his force as tou-  
ching all places; and all times, and all men.

And, that ceremonies are so, it is not to be  
doubted. For when the people were in captivi-  
tie, the ceremonies were not observed. Where-  
fore the Israelites, being among the Chalde-  
ans, said, that They could not sing a song in a  
strange land. And Daniel complained, that in  
that captiuitie, the people wanted both captaine  
and sacrifice. Circumcision, all the while they  
were in the desert, was not observed. And they  
thought on the Sabbath daie, as we read in the  
booke of the Quaregabs; which booke if a man  
relect, we haue againe in the booke of Iosias,  
that God commanded the Israelites to go  
about the citie of Iericho, by the space of seven  
daies; and to carrie the Arche about with them,  
and to sound with trumpets. Which things  
could not be done [seven daies together] save  
that the Sabbath daie must needs be one. But if  
a man demand, If these be accidents of the laue,  
what was then the principall, firme, and perfect  
thing in these ceremonies, that should alwaies  
abide? So much to enquire particular thing,  
would not require to long a time. Briefelye,  
this I saie; God would that men should not  
forget him; and therefore, by certaine outward  
figures he provided, that he might alwaies be set

before their eyes, and come into their thoughts; that  
by such meanes they might continuallye  
both worship him, and eue upon him.

¶ If they had looked upon their bodies, circum-  
cision was before their eyes; if they beheld their  
garments, they had their thinges to consider; if  
they came to the table, then they took to consider  
of the choise of meats; if they entered into the  
houses, their thresholds and posts had the com-  
mandements of God written on them; if they  
had brought forth children, they were to remem-  
ber, that the first borne should be redeemed; and  
that the first borne was long time to be borne; and  
if they had married themselves to their flockes or  
cattell, then they were the first borne to be offered  
vnto God; if they had gone into the fields, the  
first fruits and tenths should be gathered and  
offered; if their fruits gathered should be laid  
up, then had they to celebrat the feast of the  
tabernacles. The remissions of euill works, of  
euill men, of euill cities, as fouen parts, of  
euill pieces, had certaine rites appointed, and  
to them, wherefore, that which bene the chiefest  
principall thing in the laue, was confirmed  
by faith: it is vnto all remissions of euill men;  
namely, in euill to be redeemed; in euill men  
to be borne vnto him. Which note ought to be ob-  
served, without outward figures, neither is that  
not abolished, either by Paule or by faith.

¶ But that God would no longer haue these  
outward ceremonies observed, may thereby be  
gathered, in that he hath ouerthrowne the pub-  
licke temple of the Iewes, which caused the eue-  
of Ierusalem cleane to be defaced: so that now,  
there is neither temple nor tabernacle standing, anie longer  
observed. ¶ Neither is the propitiatorie of merite feare to be  
found, from whence the voice of God was wont  
to giue oracles. And the high place is lost, wherein  
were the precious stones, out of which answer  
was giuen of things to come. The anointment  
also is cleane gone, whereby he sometimes chaun-  
ged men, when they were consecrated to ere-  
cute anie functions. For Paule prophesied, when  
he was not anointed. ¶ Neither is fire now  
sent down from heauen, wherewith the sacrifices were  
consumed; and prophesies are now cleane out of  
use, which God would haue permitted, if  
his will had bene, that the ceremonies of Mo-  
ses should haue continued anie longer. And this  
chiefelye is a let to the continuing of them; that  
it was lawfull to exercise them no there, but  
onely in the land promised to the fathers. And  
when the apostle affirmeth, that by faith he esta-  
blished the laue: this is chieflye to be under-  
stood, no concerning the morall parts of the  
laue; for faith bringeth with it the obedience  
of the laue. Wherefore this we ought to fir in our  
minds, that without faith, the laue cannot be  
observed. And contrariwise, that by faith, obser-  
ued. ¶ I. Iij. diuine

Mat. 23. 13  
Ierem. 7. 16  
Ierem. 17. 14  
Ierem. 17. 14

So from the  
image of  
God in sin.

What be-  
neit vs by  
the laue.

Two kinds  
of abrogat-  
ing of the  
laue.

1. Tim. 1. 9.

So him  
fille, not  
pau, also  
the  
ceremonies

A false ar-  
gument of the  
accident.

A recte-  
clement of  
place.

A simili-  
tude.

1. Mach. 3. 4.

1. Sam. 1. 9.

Rom. 3. 31.

denier begun, may be accomplished. Which also may by reasons be confirmed.

Deu. 6, 5. *The lawe commandeth, that We should loue God, and that with all our hart, with all our soule, and with all our strength. But who is able to performe this, vnles he knowe God thoroughly, the which cannot be done without faith? And if a man should see God before him, as a father-giuer, as a most seuerer iudge, and as a reuenger; he wuld rather abhor him, and lie from him of hatred, as a most cruell manifiester, than that his mind can thereby be induc'd to loue him. But who can without faith in Christ perswade himselfe, that God is vnto him as a father, either mercifull, or louing? Further, the lawe commandeth, that we should call vpon him. Which without faith we can neuer performe: for it is said; How shall they call vpon him, in whom they have not beleuecd? Therefore, we are commanded To loue our neighbors as our selues. Which, so far as it is most difficult to be done, we neuer accomplish the same: nor rather, we saile oftentimes therein. Whereby then shall we haue forgiveness of finnes, that of Christs righteousness there may be imputed vnto vs, to supplie the want of our righteousness, vnlesse we vfe the benefit of faith?*

Augustine iudgeth, that the lawe is too manner of waies confirmed by faith. First, because we thereby obtaine the holie Ghost, by means whereof is ministered vnto vs strength to obey the lawe. Vnto which, perhaps a man may doubt how this can be, that by faith we haue the holie Ghost: when as of necessity, he alwaies goeth before faith. For faith both is his gift, and also cometh from him vnto vs. But we answer, that betwixt the causes and the effects, some may be to certaine circuits; as it is manifest by clouds and showres. From clouds descend raines, and out of waters, which are in the inferior places, are taken by vapours by the heate of the heauens, which are thickened into clouds; which againe descend showres vnto the earth. Vnto in this circuit we must alwaies haue a recourse to the first, according to the order of nature; which is, when we asseme, that there is an humor, whereof clouds may increase: so likewise must we do here. We wll grant, that faith, by the benefit of the holie Ghost, springeth in vs: by which faith is increased the abundance of the selfe-same spirit, whose increase the former faith hath presented: and of a greater faith is still made a greater increase of the spirit. But yet neuertheless, we constantly asseme, that there is but one thing chiefe, from whence all these good things flowe; to wit, the holie Ghost.

Secundly (saith Augustine) the lawe by the helpe of faith is otherwise confirmed: because by faith we ppaie; and calling vpon God with

prayers, we do not onely obtaine remission of finnes, but also a great portion of the spirit and of grace, so that we haue strength to obey the lawe. Doubtlesse, the lawe, if it be taken by it selfe, maketh vs both vncertaine of the good will of God, and after a sort bringeth desperation: vnles faith come and helpe: which both maketh vs assured, that God is pacified and mercifull towards vs, and also by grace obtaineth the reuoluing of strength. And the apostles phrase, whereby he saith, that by faith he established the lawe, is to be noted. For thereby he signifyeth, that the lawe, if it be left vnto it selfe, and vnto out faith, is weak: so that it cannot firme stand. And therefore, vnles it be upheld by faith, it will certifie fail. And this is the point of a singular excellent, not onely to repel from him that which is obtained; but also to declare, that the selfe-loue maketh most of all for his purpose. As the lawe and faith helpe one another, and (as the common lawe is) give hands each to other. For the lawe (saith) as a cholemaier, by bringing men vnto the faith of Christ. And on the other side, faith bringeth this to passe, that it may bestowe, after a sort, able to accomplish the lawe. For, fraitvntie, so lone as a man beleuech in Christ, he obtaineth iustificatiō, and is liberally indow'd with abundance of the spirit, which grace. As he intent and purpose of the lawe was, that man should both be made good, and also saved. But this, it was not able to performe. Then succeeded faith, and did helpe it: so though it a man is reuerber; so that he is able to obey God and his commandments. Chyrolome saith, that Paule proudly here three things; first, that a man may be iustified without out the lawe; secondly, that the lawe cannot iustifie; thirdly, that faith and the lawe are not repugnant one to the other.

25 Ambrose teacheth, that therefore by faith is the lawe stablished; because that those things, which by the lawe are commanded to be done, are by faith declared to be done. And we knowe that this righteously, which Paule here commandeth, hath testimonies both of the lawe and of the prophets. And if a man may object, that therefore the lawe is made void by faith; because though it ceremonies are abolished; he answereth, that this therefore is hapeneth, because the lawe it selfe would haue it so; and foretold, that it would so come to passe. In Daniel we read, that after the coming of Christ, and after the slaing of him, the ballie sacrifices should be taken away, and so also should be the holie anointing, a such like kind of ceremonies. Wherefore Christ did not without cause saie; The lawe and the prophets endured vnto the time of Iohn Baptist. Ieremie also manifestly saith, that after their covenant should be made, far differing from that

that which was made in old time. The epistle to the Hebrews thereby concludeth, that that which was the old covenant, and so was called, should one day be abolished. Zacharie the prophet, in his second chapter, saith; That the citie of Ierusalem should be inhabited without walls. Which signifyeth, that the church of the beleuers should be so spread abroad, and dispersed through the whole world, that it should not be closed in by any bounds and limits.

Which selfe-lame thing Elsie seemeth to testify, when he saith; that Mount Sion, and the house of the Lord, should be on the top of the hills, so that the Gentiles should come vnto it out of all places. And Malachie the prophet pronounceth, that The name of God should be called vpon from the rising of the Sunne, to the going downe of the same; so that to God euerie where should be offered Mincha, which manie haue transferred vnto the Eucharist; as though it were a sacrifice: when as yet the prophet thereby vnderstandeth priuers, and the offering by euen of our selues, as Terullian testifieth in his booke against the Iewes; and also Ierom, when he interpreteth that place. Therefore, when the prophets seeme to asseme, that ceremonies should be transferred vnto the Chyniks, they are to be vnderstood, as though by the signes, they meant the things themselves. The Chyniks, being converted vnto Christ, received that which was reprobated by the ceremonies of the Hebrews. But they relected the outward signe, and this was by faith to confirme the lawe. And so far as the prophets foretold, that ceremonies should be abolished; the same is to be taken, as if it had bene spoken of the lawe: first, that the prophets were interpreters of the lawe.

And that Christ, when he should come, should change the ceremonies, the Iewes themselves doubted not. Which is manifest, by the history of Iohn Baptist, which we read in the Gospell. For when he would purge men, being converted vnto God, he sent them not vnto sacrifices, and vnto the ceremonies of Moyses, whereby finnes were said to be purged; but baptised them into repentance, to the forgiveness of finnes, aduising doctrine thereto, wherein was made mention of the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost. Which doctrine vnto doubtlesse the high priests, scribes, & Pharisees could in no case abide, that he relecting the ceremonies, which were receiued, should put in their stead another kind of waie. Therefore, they sent a messenger to him, to aske him, whether he were the Messiah, or Elias; or the prophet: as if it were confessing, that vnder the prophet it would come to pass, that the ceremonies of the lawe should be altered, which should not be lawful for others to do.

Mat. 3, 1. & 2. John Baptist thus sheweth the ceremonies to be abrogated.

monies, which should be afterward abolished: Chyrolome hath thereto a proper similitude. If a man haue a house prior to lasciuiousnesse, he shall be shortly byr in certaine places (I meane in chambers so parlous) so that the man will not loauer abroad at his pleasure. The meezerer appointeth for him, Camuhs, waiting maids, and handmaids, to haue a most diligent eye to him. So velt God with the Iewes, he took them to him at the beginning as a spouse: as it is said by the prophet; I haue wedded thee into me with merice and with loue. And by this nation, his will was to instruct the whole world, at the time appointed. Which was done by the apostles, when Christ was departed from the earth.

But that people was weak and feeble, and a bone measure people to adulterie and idolatrie. Wherefore God separated them from other nations, and would haue them to dwell in the land of Chanaan after by themselves; and to be kept in an euerie wise with ceremonies, as it were by schools-masters, until his people was so strengthened and confirmed, that his faith was no more had in suspicion. Which then husbands precise to be in their waies, they suffer them to go at their pleasure: whether they will, and to be conuersant with men, neither do they any longer let hapens to watch them: so God, when he had vnto by Christ giuen the holie Ghost vnto the church, he removed from it the customs of ceremonies, and sent forth his faith full to preach aro all the world. The selfe-same father promised in another place, that the ceremonies and rites of the Iewes were not instituted by God of set purpose and counsel. For God would haue a people, that should worship him in spirit and in truth. But the Iheralites, which had bene conuersant in Aegypt, and had desiled themselves with idolatrie, would needs in aile this haue sacrifices and ceremonies: so as if the things had not bene permitted them, they were ready to turne to idolatrie.

Wherefore God so dealt with them, as the similitude manner is of a wise physician to do; who happeneth to come vnto one sicke of a burning fever, which by extreme heate requireth in any wise to haue some cold water giuen him; and except it be giuen him, he is ready to run and hang himselfe, or by some other means to destrict himselfe. In this ille case, the physician compelled by necessity, commandeth a biall of water to be brought, which he himselfe bath prepared, and giueth the sicke man to drinke: but yet, with such a charge, that he drinke no other else, but out of that biall. So God granted vnto the Hebrews, sacrifices and ceremonies: but yet so, as they should not exercise them other wise than he himselfe had commanded them. And that this is true, be proueth; inasmuch as God

The holie Ghost is in vs by faith.

As humilitie.

The holie Ghost as well goeth before as after faith.

Dani. 9, 27.

Mat. 11, 13.

1er. 33, 13.

that

also will  
such time  
as the Jew  
either made  
the golden  
calf.

Math. 1, 17

3 In 1. Co.  
verse 6.

God prescribed not ceremonies, untill such time as he made manifest his wrath against the Israelites; when they, bawling in their psalteries, earings, and rings, caused a golden calf to be made for themselves, which they worshipped. And seeing it is so, we must grant that both Paule, when he saith, that the law is not by faith abolished, although those ceremonies be taken away. Unto which doctrine Christ also agreeth, when he saith, that He came not to take away the law, but to fulfill it. The sense of which words may easilie be gathered out of those things, which we have before spoken.

27 Moreover, let us consider, that in every ceremony of the old law, there were three things; the first, a commendation of some benefit received; secondly, a token and shadow of Christ; and lastlie, a lesson of holiness; and of framing a goodlie life. As touching the past call solemnitie, these things are most manifest. First, therein was a remembrance of the deliverance out of Egypt, a shadowe of Christ his death, whereby we, through grace, be delivered from eternal damnation. Secondly, by the waite bread, a pureness of life was laid before our eyes. And when the waite bread may be produced in the rite of the first fruits, thereunto is a gift unto of thanks for receiving new fruits; and Christ was there figured to be the first fruits of the dead, and the first begotten among many brethren. And they were admonished, that the first fruits of their actions were to due unto God, as for his sake they should order all their affaires. And in evrie solemnitie, through the death of the beast offered in sacrifice, by faith was apprehended the sacrifice of Christ: whereby they, believing in him, were justified. There was also in them a celebration of divine praises, an holie congregation, the administration of the words of God, the communion of the faithful, and the confession of finnes. Such exercises as these, are required to be in the whole life of Christians.

In Rom. 10.  
verse 4.

7 In 1. Co.  
verse 13.  
significat  
ons.

28 Therefore Christ is the end of the law: unto righteousness, unto evrie one, that beleeveth. And Christ is said to be the end of the law, because he bringeth the perfection and absoluti- on thereof. But we must note the propriete of this word τέλος, for it significth two things; namely, the extreme, or uttermost part of all things. And by this means death is said to be the end of living creatures; not because we live, to the end we should die, for that cause is the waite, cannot be the cause of the better. Moreover, it significth the perfection and absoluti- on of any thing, which is brought to the uttermost of his motion and bringing forth. Now, although as touching the first significati- on, Christ by his coming made an

end of the law: (for he took away the ceremonies and the curse thereof: yet in that place Paule meaneth not, that Christ is in such manner the end of the law. But he hath a respect unto the other significati- on of this word; namely, lie, unto perfection and absoluti- on: forasmuch as Christ finished and perfected that the law could not performe. Which the better to understand, the scope and end of lawes must be considered. A lawe was made to make men good and just: for they set forth things that are right and honest; for no other cause, but that they should be put in practice. But among other lawes, that God made, thesle requireth of menvergiugoodness and holiness. And this it cannot bring to passe: certainlie, not by the fault of selfe, but by reason of our corruption. Therefore, that which it can be, it doth; namely, it teacheth us, it accuseth us, and it constraineth us to great a burden, may thinke up- on our deliverance, and by that means be converted unto Christ, by whom, as well we may be absolved from sinnes, as also by his spirit and grace be thoughtlie able (as much as the condition of this life will give leave) to observe his lawe given unto us. Which two things Christ most liberallie giveth unto them that be- lieve in him. And so he is called the end, that is, the consummation and perfection of the lawe. As both Paule in plaine words expresse, when he said; That which was vnpollible by the lawe, in as much as it was made weake through the flesh, God sending his owne sonne in the similitude of the flesh of sinne, by sinne condemn- ed sinne, that the righteousness of the lawe might be fulfilled in vs.

Herunto also had Ambrose a respect, who thus interpreteth this place: that Christ is cal- led the end of the lawe, because of 2 D by him bringing things to passe, which he had promised, and commanded. These words of the apostle teach, that the principall office of the lawe is, to direct vs unto Christ: and therefore unto the Galatians is called a school-maister. So then, they are worthy to be reprimand, which of a school-maister make it a father; seeking the righteousness at the lawe, which ought onlie to be looked for, at the hands of Christ. Let us therefore learne hereby, to consider two things in evrie precept of the lawe: namely, our sinne, and Christ our redeemer, whom all the com- mandments made us fast find; for otherwise we shall vnpollible consider of the lawe. And the Jewes, for that they excluded Christ, boasted of the lawe in vain: as they which had not the lawe, but a shadowe of the same.

29 But now let us see what testimonies there be out of the lawe and the prophets, of this

the scope  
and end of  
lawes.

Rom. 8, 3.

Gal. 3, 24.

John. 5, 39.

Luke 4, 17.

Gen. 3, 15.

Gen. 3, 18.

Gen. 15, 6.

Deut. 3, 12.

Rom. 10, 6.

Gen. 49, 10.

Jer. 31, 6.

Jer. 31, 33.

Abac. 4.

Esa. 61, 1.

Ps. 131, 1.

2 In the  
kind of  
testimonies  
are the Acts  
of the  
lawe  
these.

Act. 3, 24.

Mat. 23, 39.

righteousnes, which Paule affirmeth was made manifest in Christ. And although Christ hath spoken generallie, that Moles had written of him, and that it is thence by Luke, that in the habit of a stranger, while he was by the waite, he talked with two disciples, beginning to teach them at Moles, and after, by the prophet and plaines: yet is there no certaine place brought forth, in the which is expresse mention of spemmas. Nevertheless, it will shall speake particullarie of Christ, we read in Genesis, that the seed of the woman should bruse in funder the serpent's head. And to Abraham it is said; In thy seed shall all nations be blessed. And of the same man it is written; Abraham beleev- ed, and that was imputed unto him vnto righte- ousnes. Herunto is added that, which Paule recoun- teth; Saie not in thy hart, Who ascendeth into heaven, or who shall descend into the depth? The word is neere, even in thy mouth, and in Rom. 10, 6. thy heart: Paule addeth; And this is the word of faith, which we preach; if thou wilt beleue with thy heart, and confesse with thy mouth. Again, The keeper shall not be taken awaie from the tribe of Iuda, neither a capraine out of his loins, till he be come, which shall be- come, and he shall be the expectation of the Gen- tiles.

Jeremie typeth of Christ, He shall be called God our righteousness. And in the same prophet we read, that God appointed to give a new tes- tament: not according to that, which he made with the fathers; but by writing his lawe in their hearts, and in their bowels. Abacuk saith; The iust man shall live by faith. Elsie saith; I am found of them that sought me not. Also, God hath laid upon him all our iniquities. David al- so saith; Blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose finnes are covered. Blessed is the man, unto whom the Lord hath not im- puted sinne. Also, another kind of testimonies is had out of the Acts of the old fathers; which were certaine foresethings, that Christ should come to redeeme mankind. For, as he is said to live in vs, for we be members of him: so also he hath lived, and was in the old fathers: wherefore they were no lesse his members, than we are. But how the head suffereth, and is recreated in his members, it is most manifestlie decla- red in Paule, when it was said; Saule, Saule, while persecutest thou me? And in the last iudge- ment, Christ will praiseth, that whosoever hath bene guilty unto the least of his, is given unto him.

Wherefore, so often as we read, that the out- cast fathers were overcome, brought into capi- tivitie, and oppressed with calamities; let us not wonder, that Christ in them suffered the selfe- same things. And againe, when we here that

they gat the victory, and were restored and de- livered; let us thinke, that Christ also was in like sort offered in them. And in the one we have a token of his death begonne; and in the other, a shadowe and beginning of his resurre- ction. And that this is so, we are taught by that which Christ said; that He should be in the heart of the three daier, and three nights, like as Ionas the prophet. He also liketh him- selfe unto the barren fig-tree, which Moles set up, whereupon Iudoeher Iacob, obtained health, being otherwise in danger to die of the vene- mous stinging. And in the prophet Iona we read; Out of Aegypt I have I called my people. Which Daniel the Deities labour to twist unto Pha- rao, which was destroyed; and unto the people of Israel delivered from his tyrannie. Which if we should in the meane time grant, then yet would I aske of them; of whence that nation had the yncrimination, to be called by the name of the children of God?

That vndiscoverible could not be pined to come by any other means, than by Christ, which is the sonne of God, being the first begot- ten among many brethren. By whom others also, as many as are numbered to be the chil- dren of God, have aspired to such a divine adop- tion. So as the apostle saith, that Christ was the first fruits; and pronounced, that he hath the principallitie over all things. Wherefore, not without cause hath our Evangelist cited this place of the prophet, touching the Lord; for- asmuch as he also toote by the admonition of the angel called backe out of Aegypt. A little, the sacrificers, oblations, and ceremonies of the fathers, beare witness of this kind of righteous- nesse; seeing in those beasts, which were slain, the death of Christ was manifest to the faith of the old fathers. For, even as the thing sacrificed, which otherwise had not offended at all, was slain for the sinne of another, which cleaved fire: so was thereby shewed, that Christ should be slain for vs, which were guilty of death; that by pacifying of the heauenlie father, we might escape the punishments, which we had deser- ved.

But some man will demand, by what reason Iudas was offered unto vs, that the death of Christ was shadowed in the sacrifices of the forefathers? I answer, that first God saith, that he should be slain unto the Jewes, to the intent they should live the same at the altar for pur- gings by sacrifice; but not to cate the same; and he added a reason; namely, because blood is the life. So he would signifie by that rite, that sinne might not be purged by sacrifice, unless it were by death. Seeing therefore that death was shew- ed to sinne, as Paule both verbe well declare, sai Rom. 6, 23. The reward of sinne is death: and that Christ

Mat. 11, 14.

John. 3, 16.

Ose. 1, 11.

1. Co. 15, 20  
and 13;  
Col. 1, 18.

In 1. Sam.  
3, verse 14.

Gen. 9, 4.

Rom. 6, 23.

God



Gen.15.6.

Iohn. 8. 26. veric.8.

veric.11. veric.8.

faith; that Euerie lawe dooth speake to those men which live vnder it. And it is not to be doubted, but that the fathers were iustified after the same sort that we are now at this present. For even they were no lesse iustified by faith onlie in Christ, than we are. Therefore it is written in the booke of Genesis, of Abraham, that he beleev- ed, and the same was counted vnto him for righteousnesse. Iohn also testified, that Christ said of Abraham; that He had seene his daie, and reioiced. The epistle vnto the Hebrewes, the 13. chapter, affirmeth; that Christ was yester- daie, and to daie, and remaineth for euer. There- fore, euen as we are said now to be saved, not by woorks, but by the mere mercie of God, through faith in Christ; so was it with the fa- thers at that time; so they were iustified by their merits, but onlie by faith in Christ. Further more, what obedience to euer the fathers had to- wards the commandements of God, and also faith in the promises: those things were not de- rived from their owne strength and power; but (euen as it is also promised) vnto vs, they came vnto vs by the grace of God and Christ.

5 It is true indeed, that Ieremie, in the 31. chapter, writeth (as it is also alleged in the eight chapter to the Hebrewes;) that There must be an other league made in the name of God, not as it was made in the old time with the fa- thers. And among other things he saith, that God would giue his lawes in the hearts and in- ward parts of men; so that none should need any more to teach his neighbour: because all, from the least to the greatest, should haue the knowledge of God. And further it is said, in the person of God, I will be mercifull vnto their iniquities, and will no more remember their iniquities, &c. As touching those two, both of Ie- remie, and also of the epistle to the Hebrewes, we must vnderstand; that they proue not that there is any difference betweene the testaments, as touching the substance and the thing it selfe; but touching the properties and qualities: as we haue before said. Neither must we thinke; that the old fathers (who in obeying the commande- ments of God, and in right faith, worshipped him purely) could performe those things of their owne strength or naturall power. For, wisse they had had the lawes & promises of God writ- ten in their hearts & minds, by the holie Ghost; and also a will, by the grace of God, ready to obeye his commandements: they had neuer bin able to performe such things.

They wanted not therefore the light of God, which shined before their eyes, to make them be- leue: yea and their finnes were forgotten them through Christ. So then they had also the fruits of those things, which God promised to giue in the new covenant. The onlie difference betw

in was touching the largenesse and perspicu- ity, so that at that time, those gifts were kept within the compasse of a few; but now they be euerie where communicated to the Gentils. In that age, they were somewhat obscure; but to vs they are made euident and clere, so that we haue no more need of the old discipline. Whereby it mani- festly appeareth, that the old league had promised onlie for possiding the land of Chanaan, and for togillie felicitie; and that the people of the Hebrewes were bound onlie to an outward ob- seruatiō of certaine rites and woorks, and not to serue faith god and perfect motions of the minde towards God. The prophets do not inter- prete the matter to be in such wise; naie rather, they denie, that God any thing edified them by hard woorks without inward godlinesse: and they pronounce in euerie place, that the cere- monies, which be void of faith, and of the feare of God, are a most grievous burden; and so trou- blesome, as he cannot abide them.

Yea, and the lawe it selfe maketh expresse mention of the circumcision of the heart; and God euerie where requirith, that we shuld heare his voice: which is nothing else, but to deale with him by faith. Therefore, the faith of the promises and commandements of God, ought to be counted as the rote and foundation, which al- waies abideth: when as outward sacraments, and visible rites, shoulde at the length be changed. So that it is verie manifest, that God would not haue them by their owne sales. Howbeit, they endured so long, as men were indued with a chylidish spirit; as Paule speaketh to the Galatians, whyles they lined as yet vnder tutors, and as yet differed verie little from seruants. But when they receiued a more full spirit, as Angustine the sacraments and chylidish rites (as Angustine we saith) taken away. It is manifest therefore, that the difference betweene the two covenants must not be taken of the thing or substance; but of the qualities and properties.

6 Let them therefore forsake this foule er- ror, which thinke, that God in the old lawe onlie promised easilie things, as though at that time he onlie promised for the bodies, and not for the soules: as doo hyperboas, ploughmen, and bog- herders; which onlie haue a care of the bodies and cares of their thepe, soine, and orient; neither indour they anye thing else, but to make those beasts strong and fat. Wille must so imagine of God, who in such sort made a league with the fathers, as he promised them the chiefe felicitie, which is perialtie apertelye binden to the soule. Also it is written in the 144. psalme; Blessed are the people, which haue the Lord for their God. In Deuter. also, God saith vnto him to bring to passe, that they shoulde walke in his

Deuter.16

1.Sa.15.11.

Gal.4.3.

Ma.23.1.

Gen.15.6.

the end of euill coun- silitation.

Esai.31.1. Amos.1.2.

Plautus.

Plato.

The fathers entred into covenants with God by the pocterie alle.

veric.15.

Deut.30.6.

his commandements. But what more? Our shoulde, out of the woords of the old league hath it most aptly taught the reuerfation of the head. For: when the Lord said that he would be God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (and they were then dead); Christ suffered, that they were not ston dead; but that they shuld live, and that their bodies shoulde be recelied; namely, in the life for reuerfation. And vnto perterith that, which God assured to Abraham; to wit, that he him- selfe would be his reuolue. Which woords plain- ly teach vs; that in that covenant there was not promise carnall and easilie good things alone.

It is notable; that there a great name is given for kings and princes, which being compared vnto God, are but flesh and blood; they shoulde be counted to gouerne the publike weales, in re- spect onlie of the bodies of subiects; seeing they profess, that they prouide for the outward com- modities, quietnes, and peace of their citizens; because they may liue happlie, and according to vertue.

So then, if earthly princes promise goods of the mind for their subiects; is it not fit, that God himselfe shoulde promise far more ex- cellent things for the publike weale of the Israe- lites, whom he faithfullie gouerned? further more, it saie not how foolish it is to beleeue, that the fathers by the league, bound themselves onlie to outward rites, and visible cere- monies, whereby they would worship God; seeing the verie Christians were not ignorant; but ra- ther, they haue most plainlie testified, that the worshipping of God consisteth not in those things. For Plautus in *Rudene* writeth thus; They thinke that they please God with gifts and sacrifices, but they lose both their labour and cost. It will not beclere those things, which Plato in his *Alcedader* writeth, concerning this matter. Yea, and (as I haue before taught) the lawe it selfe and the prophets declare, that the thing was far otherwise.

7 Wille will note also, that the fathers made a league with God; not onlie for themselves, but also for their posteritie: as God againe, for his part, promised them, that he would be to God, not onlie of them, but also of their sad and posteritie. Therefore, it was lawfull for them to circumscribe their children being yet in- fants. And in the like manner it is lawfull for vs also to baptise our little children, when they are yet infants; forasmuch as they also are compe- heted in the league. For they, which already haue the thing it selfe, there is nothing that may lett, but that they shoulde recieve the signe. It is plainlie written in the 29. chapter of Deu- teronomie; that The league was made, not onlie with them, which were present, but also with them, which were absent, and not yet borne. But some doubt, whether the posteritie

may be bound by their forefathers. Wille doo an- swer: he must looke whether the things, which the posteritie may be bound by their forefathers, be iust and honest; then must we consider, whether these promises pertained vnto euill things, or vnto goodnes. When they are made for euill things, the bond is herie; because it is vnlawfull for the posteritie, to vntwine the contract of their forefathers; such as are bawenges, sellings, bar- gaines; and such like. Howbeit, that they con- taine nothing that is vnchastell, dishonest, and vnjust. But if the bonds and covenants be long to goodnes, as to a right faith; then they oblige to be of full strength: because we are all bound to true goodnes, and to a found faith; although there were no covenant to bind vs. But if the forefathers haue bound themselves, and their posteritie, vnto dishonest and wicked things, it is no bond at all. But whereas God so humbled himselfe, as to enter in league with men; that cunneth of his owne mere mercie and good will, to stir vs by thereby more and more, to do those things, which otherwise is our dutie to do.

8 But some affirme, that Paule teacheth from the old testament; when, in the se- concephille to the Corinthians, he calleth the same The ministration of death. And vnto the Co- rinthians he writeth; Ye haue begun in the spirit, Gal.3.3. take ye heed that ye doo not end in the flesh. In which place he calleth the old lawe, flesh. And in the same epistle he sheweth, that those, which be vnder the lawe, doo persecute them which belong to the Gospel. But in such places as these be, Paule speaketh of the old testament, according as it was thrust vpon them by false apostles, as without chylde, and without faith. Then is it euen as if thou shouldest take about the verte life from it, and leaue nothing remaining but death and offensens of conscience. But when the apo- stle speaketh of the lawe by it selfe, he writeth far otherwise. Vnto the Romans it is writtē; The lawe indeed is spiritual, a carnall coman- dement, iust and good; but I am carnall, &c. And vnto Timothy; For we knowe, that the lawe is a good, yet it is manie the same lawfullie. Therefore, when as it seemeth that the lawe is by Paule; nei- ther bminishing, or reuocand; that is not in re- spect of it selfe, but for our fault sake. For it ma- keth vs to see, as he belied, and induceth them- selves to resist it; and therefore it becometh those incommodities. Myselfe (as I haue said) be- speake thereof, so far forth as the false apostles feigned Christ from the same. Perhaps thou wilt affirme, that the false apostles did not take away Christ; but rather preached the lawe to- gether with him. But yet neuertheless, seeing they taught, that he was not sufficient vnto sal- uation; no doubt but they toke him away. For he that hath need of the lawe, to saue men; is

the true Christ that was promised.  
 9 But because Paul said, out of the testimony  
 of Elias, that This is a testament; and that  
 we read the same in the 7. chapter of Ieremie;  
 that The new covenant herein consisted, that  
 the delinquent should come, and be merciful  
 to iniquities: there ariseth doubt, whether the  
 new testament and the old be diuers or no. Of  
 the which matter I haue somewhat spoken be-  
 fore, but now I intend more at large to intreat  
 thereof. At the first sight they seeme altogether  
 diuers: so that the one is altogether distinguish-  
 ed from the other. For in Ieremie it is said;  
 that There should be a new covenant, and not  
 according to that which hee made with the fa-  
 thers. And the epistle to the Hebrewes adueth;  
 When it was said, A new, then is that abolished,  
 which was old. But who saith not, that one  
 thing, if it abolish and make void another thing,  
 differeth altogether from the same: There is al-  
 so another argument, for that (as they saie) in  
 the old testament, was no forgiveness of sin-  
 nes; for the epistle to the Hebrewes, in the tenth  
 chapter saith; that The blood of goates, and of  
 oxen, and of calves, could not take away finnes.  
 But in the new testament, no man doubteth,  
 but that there is remission of finnes: so as no  
 man will saie, but that the things, which in  
 great a matter differ, are diuerse.  
 Yet this on the other side is to be considered;  
 that that faith, whereof iustificatiō consisteth,  
 is in either testament all one. For where, the  
 mediator is one, and the same; namely,  
 Christ Jesus, and the promise of remission of  
 finnes, and of eternal life through him, all one.  
 The commandments (those at least) which  
 be morally all one, the signification of sacra-  
 ments all one; the rites and plant, out of which  
 some of the Jewes were cut off, and we in their  
 place grafted in, is all one. All which things  
 plainly declare, that either testament, as touch-  
 ing the substance or essence of it map so call  
 it is all one thing. Although there must be  
 granted some differences, by reason of the ac-  
 cidents, which are, that; Jesus Christ was there  
 before, as he that was to come; but both was  
 he is knowne, as he which is already come.  
 Also, their signes were diuers from vs in  
 some, but of like strength in signification: as  
 Anguline faith. For where they had a certaine  
 and assured publick wealth; for the preservation  
 whereof, they had ciuill precepts deliuered vnto  
 them, which we haue not. And finally, vnto the  
 promise of the remission of finnes, by the spiritus  
 sanctus, were in the old time added a great manie  
 other promises: as of the increase and preser-  
 uation of their posteritie, and of the possession  
 of the land of Chanaan; which promises we haue  
 not. And besides all this, our sacraments are

more easie, and fewer in number, and also more  
 manifest, and extend much further, seeing they  
 are not shut up in corners, as theirs were in  
 Iewrie; but are spread abroad throughout the  
 whole world. Therefore we may affirme, that  
 the new testament and the old are in wiew  
 all one; as touching the substance; and differ  
 onlie in certaine accidental things, which we  
 haue not mentioned.  
 10 But now I returne to answer, vnto the  
 two arguments, which were before brought  
 touching remission of finnes. The first is not,  
 but that the same was in the old testament; for  
 if we consider the promise, which there also  
 was of forgiveness, the old fathers were iustified  
 by the same. For it was said of Abraham; He  
 believed God, and it was imputed vnto him to  
 righteousness: as the apostle hath declared.  
 And David saith; Blessed are they, whose im-  
 quities are forgiven, and whose finnes are coue-  
 red. Yet if we looke vpon the sacraments of ce-  
 remonies, they did not pardon finnes: as touch-  
 ing the waite; neither yet haue our sacra-  
 ments strength to do so. But whereas Paul  
 faith vnto the Hebrewes, That the blood of goates,  
 oxen, and calves, could not take away finnes:  
 we vnderstand this to be true; but yet in the  
 meane time, neither doth Paul denie, but that  
 the faith of the old fathers (whereby they had a  
 respect vnto Christ, and imputed him in the  
 signification of those sacrifices) did iustifie and ob-  
 taine remission of finnes. Doubtles the blood  
 of those sacrifices waite not away the finnes  
 of the world, but onlie the blood of Christ, as  
 he himselfe saith; This cup is the new testament  
 in my blood, which shalbe shed for you, and  
 for manie for the remission of finnes.  
 But whereas we are said to be baptised into  
 the remission of finnes: the meaning thereof is,  
 that by that sacrament is sealed and signified  
 vnto vs the remission of finnes, which by the  
 blood of Christ we haue already obtained.  
 Which selfe thing is also borne in the Church of  
 Antioch. And faith ought alwaies to go before the recei-  
 uing of the sacraments, if we receive them  
 rightlie, and the order be not inverted. For as  
 without faith men eate and drinke the unworthily  
 so without faith baptism is unworthily recei-  
 ued: which yet must be understood as touching  
 them, that are of full age. For touching in-  
 fants, how it is with them, we will eell there  
 declare. Then, if faith go before, it is manifest,  
 that finnes be forgiven; because the sacraments  
 that followe, do seal, and also confirme vs, as  
 concerning the will of God: and when they be  
 set forth vnto them, they offendentes sit by faith;  
 no otherwise than both the word of God, when  
 it is heard.

So that it is not possible, but that faith, be-  
 ing

In the old  
 testament  
 was iustifi-  
 cation, that  
 is, remissi-  
 on of finnes.

Gen. 15, 6.

Pal. 3, 7.

Hebr. 10, 4.

Luk. 22, 20.

faith  
 ought to go  
 before the  
 receiuing of  
 the sacra-  
 ments.

Look for  
 the place in  
 Chrysostom

Hebr. 13, 13.

Epistle of  
 Ieremie  
 p. 100.

Leu. 13, 33.

ing iustitie stirred up; iustificatiō is apprehen-  
 ded more and more, and new strength of res-  
 toring is laid hold vpon. And therefore whereas  
 Chrysostome (interpreting these wordes; When  
 I shall take away their finnes) faith vpon the  
 same: When they were yet vncircumcised, when  
 they did not yet offer, and when they did not yet  
 other things pertaining to the lawe, their finnes  
 were taken away. Certainly he must not be  
 understood, as though the fathers, in the old  
 time, when they did these things, and by them  
 exercised their faith: because they saue Christ to  
 be signified in them; had not thereby fruit as we  
 haue: but he meant, that these things now after  
 Christ hath suffered, are vnpoissable, and that  
 in the old time they did not by the work of selfe,  
 but by grace as the Jewes dreamed. Wherein  
 also in our daies the sophistical Jewes are de-  
 ceived, as touching our sacraments.  
 11 But as touching the other argument,  
 that in the epistle to the Hebrewes it is said, that  
 The old testament is abolished, and made void,  
 the new taking place: And whereas Ieremie  
 saith; that God would make a new league, not  
 according to dealeague, which he made with  
 the fathers, when he brought them out of the  
 land of Aegypt: We answer, that there the  
 league is taken for the lawe, and is distinguish-  
 ed from the Gospell. Which is manifest, in  
 that he saith he will write his lawes in their  
 hearts, and graue them in their inward parts.  
 But that thing is not agreeable vnto the lawe,  
 which onlie toucheth finnes, condemneth and  
 accuseth: neither doth it giue strength; yea  
 rather, it after a sort continually infirmeth  
 finnes, and lastly such a burden vpon vs, as we are  
 not able to beare. And therefore the prophet there  
 saith, that They did not abide in his covenant.  
 So as this word league, or testament, is not  
 there to intreat, as we here must take it: for as  
 we here intreat of it, it comprehendeth both the  
 lawe and the Gospell. And in this respect there  
 is no difference betwene the old testament and  
 the new; but onlie as vs we haue declared.  
 And if thus we take it, that the prophet there  
 also toucheth this word testament, in such  
 sort as we now speake of it: we map then  
 grant, that by the coming of Christ, is made  
 some abrogation; seeing those accidents, condi-  
 tions, & qualities, which we haue shewed in the  
 old testament, are now abrogated. Therefore  
 therein is used the figure Synecdoche; whereby a  
 thing is perfitic or absolutelie said to be aboli-  
 shed, or made void, when it is onlie taken away  
 as touching some part thereof. The Jewes are  
 unworthilie troubled with this sentence of the  
 prophet, and can scarcely tell what to saie. For  
 while they seeke to defend the old league, & to  
 defend it, as they saie nothing thereof to be chan-

ged; and repaue vs, because we haue changed  
 circumcision into baptism, and the date of the  
 sabbath, into the lordes daie; and haue created  
 manie other things: how can they affirme, that  
 a new league shall be made, and not according  
 to that which was made, when they were brought  
 out of Aegypt?  
 Here they can scarce tell which way to turne  
 themselves. Doubt it, least they should seeme  
 to giue place, they saie, that onlie the manner  
 shall be altered; and thinke, that the league, as  
 touching the thing, shall be all one: but that  
 order shall be altered, it shall more kinelie and more  
 surelie be established. But we may more tru-  
 lie saie, that this was done at the beginning of  
 the church, when in great abundance of the  
 holie Ghost was poynted into the believers; that  
 not onlie they spread abroad the Gospell, though  
 out the whole world, but also no toiments, no  
 persecutions, were they neuer to horrible, no  
 death, though it were most thicke, could cause  
 them to depart from the league, which they had  
 now through Christ made with God. And as  
 manie as are faithful indeed, do willingly and  
 of their owne accord cleaue vnto the truth, and  
 vnto holines. And forasmuch as here is men-  
 tion made of the league, let this be vnderstand-  
 ed that it is for the most part the Jewes called  
 Testamentum; of the Grecians, Diabolum; of the  
 Hebrewes, Berith, all which wordes do little ex-  
 press it.  
 12 But here againe riseth a doubt, because if  
 the thing be all one as well on the one part, as  
 the other, in the sacraments of both testaments;  
 how may ours be said to be greater in power  
 and vertue? Further, how could it be, that they  
 did eate the flesh of the Lord; eating the sonne of  
 God had not yet taken the same vpon him: And  
 the latter question 3. is in the Apocalypse it  
 is written, that the lambe was slain from the  
 beginning of the world. For to the foreknow-  
 ledge of God all things are present, though they  
 be neuer to come off. Therefore Christ, seeing  
 he was to come, and was to be offered for vs  
 vpon the crosse; in this respect was comprehen-  
 ded of the fathers by faith, and was too for their  
 soules vnto eternal life. For those things, which  
 be farthest off from vs, the same doth faith make  
 present; so that they take hold of the same Christ  
 which we at this time do intue. But the diffe-  
 rence standeth in the time: for they beleue,  
 that he should be borne; and we that he is already  
 borne: they affirme that he should be, and  
 we affirme that he hath bene.  
 Therefore Augustine, in this 16. booke against  
 Faustus, saith; that he vehemently reioys,  
 that both thinke the sacraments of the Jewes  
 ought to be retained in Christian religion: for  
 being God hath now finished that he would haue  
 to

as touching  
 the date of  
 the sabbath

we haue  
 named the  
 league with  
 God

in 1. sam. 10.  
 2. cor. 10.

Apoc. 13, 8.  
 2. cor. 10, 1.  
 2. cor. 10, 1.  
 2. cor. 10, 1.  
 2. cor. 10, 1.

to

to be done. And it was necessary, that other figures should be opened. Neither ought this to seeme absurd. For when we signifie any thing that is done, as that is to be done; we use diuers and fantastic manner of speech. The verbe faue he wryteth vnto Iamarius, to Optatus, and also vnto Peter. Neither is that ante let, which the same father, vpon the 73. psalme, speaketh on this wise; *their sacraments promised saluati- on, ours declare a Saviour.* And these words the Apostles do wondrously boast, and cry out; that our sacraments do give grace, which the sacraments of the heynes could not give. *Whotbeit, what Augustine munt was in that place, they cannot tell. He ment nothing else, but that, which he taught against Faustus; name- ly, that our sacraments do give and exhibite Christ: that is, they testifie and beare recorde, that he is giuen and exhibited. For he adoth; I saie not, that it hath now saluation, but because Christ is now come.* And if Augustine at any time saie, that the thing, which is now vnto vs, and that was in times past promised vnto the Iewes, is not all one; undoubtedly he dealeth concerning other things, and not touching that, which was principal in the promises of God. For in them, besides Christ, there was promised an earthly kingdome. Also the countrie of Chanaan, being a land flowing with milke and honie; and such other like things were promised: which be strange and differing from the promises of the Gospell. But Christ is common, both to vs, and to them; and is to vs no other thing than he was vnto them.

13. Now come I vnto the former demand, wherein was also; *whot our sacraments can be of more vertue, if the thing be one on both parts.* Ver vnto 3 answer: when the selfe same thing is set before vs, of the which one man taketh more than another, there is no difference in the thing it selfe, but in the instrument, wherewith it is taken. As if so be that a heape of monie be set before any man, from whence it may be lawfull for euery one to take so much, as he is able to hold in his hand; the larger and more strong hand euerie one hath, so much the more may he take of the monie set before him: euen so, seeing our faith, wherewith we comprehend Christ, is greater, and more strong than was that of the Iewes; we take more of Christ than they in the old time did. But thou wilt saie; *Whot can our faith be greater than was the faith of the Iewes?* Here it becometh to answer war- rille. For there were some among the heynes, inuado with excellent faith; name- ly, the prophets and patriarchs, of the which diuers spelt euen their life for religion sake. Neither is there any more beleued of vs, than was of them; seeing their Church and ours is all one, a Christ

is ours alike; but the difference is in the partici- pation of the things beleued. For; to vs in these daies, all things are more cleere and manifest, than they were to them. Vnto vs Christ is borne, is dead, is risen out of the graue, and is taken vp into heauen: all which things they also had, but more obfcuritie, and as it were in a shadowe.

Saieing therefore these things are more bright and manifest vnto vs, our faith also may be cal- led greater, and more pure; because it is more stirred by things that be manifest, than it is by obfcuritie things. For; which cause in times past, the faith in Christ was verie small; ad- uanced beyond the borders of Iewrie; whereas at this daie it is spread ouer all the world. And when 3 saie, that our faith is greater than the faith of the Iewes; I meane of the vniuersall state of them, and as it happened for the most part, and in most places generallie; and not of particular persons. For 3 care not ascribe, that the faith of any man was more steadfast than the faith of Abraham, of Dauid, of Elsie, and such like. For Christ testifies of Abraham, that He saue his daie, and was glad. Elsie also, in the 55. chapter, so expresse the whole king- dome of Christ, and his death, as Ierom vpon diuers, nought him rather to be an Euangelist than a prophet. And Dauid, in his psalmes most plain- ly proferreth many things of Christ.

14. But there seemeth to be no small contro- uersie, betweene these words in the tenth chap- ter of the first to the Corinthians, and that which Christ taught in the first of Iohn: where he saie, that the meate which he opened, was a great deale better than that, which the fathers had by Moles in the wilderness; who he saith were dead, although they tooke that meate. And he declared, that they, which did eat him, being the true bread, should not die. Moreover, he adoth, that Moles did not giue them bread from hea- uen; and that he is the bread, the which God the father sent from heauen. These things do they, that Christ put no small difference betweene our sacraments, and the sacraments of the old fathers; whereas Paule indouerously to make them all one. Whotbeit, in the holie scriptures, things be sometimes intreated of according to that that men (with whom they haue to do) esteem of them. Paule so wryteth of the sacra- ment of the old fathers, as the nature thereof was; and as it was granted by God.

But Christ hath a respect vnto the indgement and disposition of those men, which came vnto him; who repared to him for no other cause, but to be satisfied with the bread. For they saie, that a few daies before he had satisfied a verie great number with a few loaves; for; which cause they

saie vnto him; What signe dost thou, that we may beleue thee? For Moles gaue Manna vnto the fathers in the wildernesse. As if they had saie; 3 reboweth this also, if thou wilt haue the multitude to obede thee, to indue them no lesse than Moles did. Saieing therefore Christ percei- ued before hand, that these men eadimes of him had nothing in this meate (which the fathers receiued in the wilderness) save onely the out- ward substance, which filled the bellie; he tempo- red his doctrine to reprove this baie and vilo vnderstanding of theis, and speaketh of the out- ward substance of that meate, and not of the spi- ritual thing, which was represented thereby; and (as he might) called their minds from that earthly meate, vnto the spiritual food; and de- nied, that Anna, as concerning corporall sub- stance, was from heauen. For (as it was in- derstood by them,) the diuine and heauenlie nature of Christ was reclined there from. And so he concluded, that they which were like vnto these, might not be quickened with that meate; they be dead (saith he); which should not haue happened, if they had together with the signe re- ceined me by faith, which am the true bread sent downe from heauen.

In whete  
spet Christ  
denies that  
anna came  
from heauen.

Rom. 4. 11.

15. Paule, after the same manner, when he hath occasion to intreat of circumcision, speaketh honourable thereof, according to the nature of it. Vnto the Romans, he calleth it The scale of the righteousnesse of faith. And we our selues that be the faithful of Christ (saith he) are cir- cumcised in bapisme, with a circumcision not made with hands. And on the other side, when he wryteth thereof, as it was obtruded by the false apostles (saith he) to the Galatians; I ye be cir- cumcised, Christ profiteth you nothing. Ye are fallen awaie from grace, and ye are become debtors of keeping the whole lawe. And vnto the Philippians he speaketh so contemptuously thereof, as he calleth it a censation. The same word he when he wryteth of the old testament: of the which he speaketh diuersly according to the di- uinitie that is brought. So otherwise saith Christ vnto the Iewes; Ye onely haue respect vnto carnall meate, yea haue onely a care for the bellie; ye speciallie followe idleness; and there- fore aboute me ye prefer Moles, of whom the fa- thers, like vnto your selues, had no other but earthly food; but I am to giue you heauenlie food, if ye be ye applye your faith thereto.

Augustine,

16. And that the thing map the more appeare, we learne of Augustine, in the 26. treatise vpon Iohn; that the sacraments of the old fathers, as touching the signes, were differing fro ours; but as concerning the things signified; they were all one. By these things it is perceived; that as manie of the fathers as were godlie, natu- rally standing that they receiued other signes than

we do; yet they had all one thing both vs, and were partakers of Christ, in like manner as we be; but they abily were killed, and drinke of faith, which ledde the outward thing; but they were interior detritute of the spiritual gift and grace. As if they Christ (saith he) because they might be compared to the swelcheling multi- tude, which tyme he had then dealing; when will- tide, that the verie same happeneth in the Caba- risti. For the yordic, committing themselves, they indeed receiue the bread and wine; whotbeit, they haue not fruit thereof, but do eate and drinke vnto their damnation: whereas the godlie and faithful; perone life not the simple and bare signes; but through beleefe are therewithall partakers of the bodie and blood of Christ. Wher- fore, that which he saith, that Christ did with these men; the same also cometh to passe with vs, and our sacrament. For; which cause there ought no such difference to be put by him, seeing the selfe same thing cometh to passe, as well in the one, as in the other. But this is inkeet to be con- sidered; that Christ, when he spake these things in the first of Iohn, ment onely of spiritual eat- ing, which is performed by faith. For thereof Augustine saith; *Whot dost thou prepare thy teeth and bellie? Beleue and thou shalt eate.*

The institution of the signes was long time afterwards diuersed in the last supper, which he had with his apostles; where he adde no new thing vnto those things which were spoken in the first of Iohn, except it were the outward signes offered and taue. Thus euen as Christ spake ouer the spiritual eating, which was then at that time; so the Iewes, against whom he wryteth, had onely an vnderstanding of the outward eating. Therefore Christ called them from that grosse and earthly feeding, vnto that which is more spiritual, of the which he then sa- ueth his talke, and saith; that the fathers, which were like vnto them, died in the desert, and were not holpen by the meate offered vnto them by Moles; that they should not be, which receiued that spiritual feeding, which he then intreated of. And the death, which there mentioned, is not this temporal death; but everlasting death. Whotbeit; our death of bodie (so we be faithful) cannot trauke be called death; seeing thereby the soare is open to life; as that to the blessed life. So then, Spanna in the old testament, as touch- ing the institution thereof, was heauenlie spi- ritual meate; but all that did eate, receiued not the same spiritualitie, onely those that fed it so, which did eate it by faith. Neither doth Christ in the mean time denie, but that there were manie of the fathers (as Moles, Aaron, Iosus, Caleb, and others) who faithfully ate to life receiued that meate. But this is denied; name- ly, that the outward meate of signe, being taken alone and

our death  
if we be  
faithfull  
cannot be  
called death

Ep m. 14.

whot our  
sacraments  
are said to  
giue salua-  
tion.

whot our  
sacraments  
first gra-  
te more  
vertue.

3. similis  
tude.

whete  
our faith  
be greater  
than  
the faith of  
the Iewes.



as they with whom he spake regard  
ne) had any vertue or vilitie, as con  
the spirit. And so we must take heed, that  
ute not severallie vnto the signe, that  
ingeth vnto the thing.

and, in the 78. psalme, maketh evident  
of the good given to the fathers in the  
times of old; And God commanded the  
and opened the doores of heaven, &c.  
You hearken the prophet here, that the  
not thus given from heaven. Which say  
must as well refer unto the outward  
unto the spirittuall thing, unto Christ  
who is thereby represented. For, the fath-  
er selfe being *paterna*, was given out of  
the clouds; and that region is verie of  
in the scripture called heaven. In the

heard; Behold the birds of heaven :  
 creatures speaketh of raining from heav-  
 en, other like speeches . . . Doubtless it  
 is the state of Christ, that he came down; for  
 his divine nature out of the heavens,  
 and also is by Paule called heavenly.  
 And now, Dauid in the same place  
 saith, I will be the bread of Gihonim: which  
 is interpreted, Of princes, or noble  
 persons. The 70. Interpreters have trans-  
 lated Of angels; who interpreting the Chaldee  
 word first to expound , as though  
 there were food from the place of an  
 angels. Others think it was therefore  
 angels food, in respect of being brought  
 down from the clouds by their ministris. And here  
 the same acknowledge a figure to be : as  
 he saith, The Shepherds will be  
 as the flock, and the flock will be as the  
 flock. As the common people speak  
 it, This is the meate of lords and

And thus was by Paul, this meane is called spiritual; it is signified, that sacraments are no common figures, as though none of those things, which they signified, were there received: for they should consist to be exterie & earthly meane and not spiritual. Furthermore, God mocketh not, neither would he deceave, that he would promise any thing in the sacraments, which he will not performe by any meanes. Better for all this is there any meane, whither there should be a meane, to morphee (which they call transubstantiation) to the intent that the sacrament should become spirituall food. They ought not to confound the nature of the figures together with the things signified. Let vs follow the meane and founde base; and let vs beigne honourable of the sacraments: not thinking them to be things all together void of spirituall goodnesse. Neither let vs foine the figures with the things, as they doe altogether, as they use them. It sufficeth there

to appoint a profitable and most excellent signification, whereby the faithfull mind, through beleaving, may be made partaker of the things signified.

18. This *ḥayy* spamma is an *ḥayy* wood, and it may signify a gift, of *el*, a parent, and a parent; *ḥayy* is so much as that thing was all *ḥayy* given by God unto the Israelites. By *el* it signifies some thing prepared, not attire into birds, but attire; but such a thing as too may be without any endermost of four clout. But (letting the words pass) we say that as touching the nature, it was not the same, which of Galen and Dioscorides is called *spamm*; because they do call certain small peeces and fragments of frankincense. By the Arabian philosophers, none of the attire is called by this name, the which the Grecians call *ἀσπερς*. And I doubt not, but that the Arabians best the wood *Man*, by imitating of *ḥayy* scriptures. For their language is somewhat more unto the *ḥayy*. *Aben-azar*, in the 16. chapter of *Erubus*, researcheth manifest miracles of properties of this holie (*ḥayy*) *Man* *spamm*, far differing from the nature of *spamm* among the Arabian philosophers. For naturally *spamm* is not to be found upon mount *Sin*, and about the wilderness. Further, it attaineth not alnates, but in the fusing of *air* and *water*. But that, which was holie, was given for *pecc* peccos continuall. The date before the *ḥayy*, it fell more plentifully; to the intent a double quantity might be gathered for that date, and for the *ḥayy*; for upon the Sabbath day it was not to be found.

The flame melts with the flame in the name time: the which happened not in our natural Spain. That was grown with a mill, or as it might be held in the form of a cage; here, as ours is soft enough. That was a nourishing food, but of ours is taken for a medicine, and purgeth almost cholera and deame. That, being referred unto the morozole, had two manners whereas ours is kept, and that about a part. Also this of ours had certaine places, in the which it falleth; but that of the Incques followed the Incques wheresoever they went. Wurs had one certaine taste thereunto, which is not declared to be in the other, but rather (as is written in the booke of *Calisotome*) had in it self all manner of delight. These things being said, I thus caule, recited; to the end it may be understood, that this flame had manie properties, the which it might as well expresse that which it signifies.

For as those words, which be made, shew the signification of things, partlie are naturall, and partlie are giuen after the mind of them which first named them: so they prouide that when as they might not expresse the whole naturall

what Pan-  
na signifies  
in the Xpe-  
bue.

Of Balm  
and Dio-  
scorides.

### Aben-czre

The difference between Hanna called house of the air from Man in the scriptures.

fe Wild. 16,

fe Wild. 16,

*Compared.*

nature of the thing, and all the properties thereof, yet that they should be able at the least, lo to form some one property more notable and knowne: whereupon they did not much vary from naming of things after their clime nature. Likewise also it was freest them, among many properties, to chuse that which they were most desirous to signifie: therefore names are said to appeare, according to the will and pleasure of men. Whereunto also that which Plato in Cratylus hath testifie; (to wit) that the first inuentors of names were so prudent, as they chuse the qualities of syllables and letters to be agreeable to the qualities of things, which they would name: as into mulo things, they made apt those that were mulo; and to triplicants things, they applied barly and triplicant syllables; and such like.

10 In this wife **Chōd** hath done in the face  
 11 ornaments, the which be names and visible words, wherby  
 12 whereby he effectually expecteth his promises.  
 13 For he proueth, that the properties of the signa-  
 14 might excellentlie well agree with the things  
 15 whiche were to be assigned: which we perceiue  
 16 not to day happen in **Spanna**. **Cher**, in so much as **Cher**  
 17 the same line giueth without anie trauell of the  
 18 **Israellites**, it signified, that **Christ** was to be gi-  
 19 uen unto men; not through their owne woeles, as  
 20 as merits, but free, and of the mere goodnesse  
 21 of **God**. **Spanna** raiede downe from heauen,  
 22 which was not without miracle: in like man-  
 23 ner **Christ** had the diuine nature, and the bodie, whiche  
 24 he applied to himselfe, he toke of the virgine his  
 25 mother, without the helpe of mans feare. **Spanna**  
 26 was equalled distributed to all; neither had anie  
 27 anie more of the father than an other: is **Chōd**  
 28 imparted continueth to the faithful, he is com-  
 29 mon to all, without acceptance of persons, and  
 30 is neither man nor woman, neither man nor  
 31 feare. **Spanna** at the beginning, neither was no-  
 32 thing, for whiche he was false if, they said one  
 33 thing, and another, which signified; what is this  
 34 For he saue no interpret it, as if it had bene  
 35 said **Abū** and the letter **Non** is set betwixt  
 36 to thynke the ill pronunciation of the word, I  
 37 two aspirations should meet together. **Chōd**  
 38 this wife was vnhinke to the earth. For if they  
 39 had knowne him, they would neuer (as **Paul**)  
 40 haue crucified the Lord of glorie.

Spanna made nourish, and it was given abundantly; Christ also is our meate, and is sufficient to nourish manie, yea euen all. Spanna has a pleasant, yea a marvellous taste; Christ also said that His yoke is pleasant, and his burden easie. And of him it is aptly written; Taft and fee, for the Lord is sweet. Spanna was pure and white; Christ neither committed sin, neither yet was there any guile found in his mouth. Spanna was beaten in a mill and a moster; Christ, to become our

meat, was knocked upon the cross of life. Spinnia was given by the main in the wilderness; and to him the word of Christ is given in the Church, while he waits our pergrination in the world: which agreeeth with the example of the desert. Spinnia ceased, when they came to the land of promise; and we in heaven shall have no need of sacraments, for Christ shall be before us, and we shall behold God in itself, as he is. All these things declare unto us, how aptly this figure is applied unto the thing signified. In the desert, God moueth his heart to be given unto the Hebrews; first, to declare his power; so that Man lieth not by bread alone, but is nourished by eating this which God hath commanded man to eat. **30** *And now, the mind goes to* **31** *unto the Hebrews;* first, to declare his power; so that Man lieth not by bread alone, but is nourished by eating this which God hath commanded man to eat. **32** *And now, the mind goes to* **33** *unto the Hebrews;* first, to declare his power; so that Man lieth not by bread alone, but is nourished by eating this which God hath commanded man to eat. **34** *And now, the mind goes to* **35** *unto the Hebrews;* first, to declare his power; so that Man lieth not by bread alone, but is nourished by eating this which God hath commanded man to eat.

But meat being given in fact but, it cannot be the promise and will of G<sup>o</sup>D to be believed. Therefore Moses and Aaron were no more feared of the people. Therefore, God therefore himself made ready of performing his covenant, wherein he promised to be their G<sup>o</sup>; that is, to help them to offer as they thought have need. And he would teach all, that believe in him, that he shall not be foyahen of him, where he is called to follow his vocation. By this means there is promise of Christ is performed; First hee kee ye the kingdom of God, and these things shall be given unto you. They followeth G<sup>o</sup>D, where he is called: and he foyahse them not. And so be tolloweth in like manner not foyahse us. Shout must be added out of the feating of Paul, that God promise to be not onelie that he will give us meat, but also that he will be our G<sup>o</sup>, a living G<sup>o</sup>, in this place, namely, that Sp<sup>irit</sup>anna had a figure of this myserie, which we receive in remembrance of the L<sup>o</sup>ds death. Where he receiveth well answere, that as we have no more in the Eucharist bread in remembrance of the L<sup>o</sup>ds death that is past; so in Sp<sup>irit</sup>anna, and in other sacrifices of the old fathers, the same death was shadowed to come. Therefore hee saith, that this Sp<sup>irit</sup>anna was given on the L<sup>o</sup>ds death, and that it sheweth not how he can promise to be true. Which I knowe not how he can promise to be true.

20 But when as Paule saith; These things were our figures or examples: manie do inferre upon these wordes, that the sacraments of our fathers were shadowes of our sacraments: yet not all one thing them. Although someth might not be, that they were both figures of our sacraments, and had also all one thing with them. Assuredlie both the one and the other may be: for there can be no other matter of the sacraments appointed than Christ himselfe, whom Paule in expresse wordes affirmeth, that the forefathers had. But they might be called shadowes of our sacraments; because they did not in maner

Deut. 8, 3.

Matt.6,33,

In 1 Col. 10  
6. and 11.

6. and 11.

Col. 3, 17.

niffitie and diuerſe expreſſe the myſteries of man's ſaluation in our ſoules. Againe, there is obiected againſt vs a place out of the epiſtle to the Colofians, where after Paule had reckoned by thoſe things, which pertained vnto the old teſtament, he addeth; Which are ſhadowes of things to come, but the bodie is of Chriſt. here vnto 3 anſwer, that the ſacraments of the ſoules fathers of right may be called ſhadowes and figures, if thou reſpect thoſe things, which were performed at their time appointed; I mean the death of Chriſt: All which things were there reſpected to be exhibited. Yet neuertheleſſe, they offered in the meane time vnto the fathers theſe things to be receiued by faith, ſo far forth as was ſufficient for their ſaluation.

Thou maiſt adde moreover, that thoſe ſacraments were ſometime to be abrogated; altho that ours ſhall not giue place vnto latter ſacraments. Further, that the ſame, which is abrogated and made void, may haue the effect of a ſhadow which is paſt; but thoſe things that be firme and durable, ſeing they be found, are compared to the bodie. I ſheweth, thou oughteſt to vnderſtand, that the abrogating of the ſacraments of the ſoules fathers, is onely touching the figures. I ſheweth, when thou ſhalt read among the fathers, that the ſacraments of the fathers are to be compared with ours, that they are ſaid to be belieued out of Aegypte; and we from our ſinne, that they obtained of heauen; they temporaryl kinde, and low grace and the holie ſpirit; and ſuch like things: thou muſt vnderſtand, that thoſe men of God ment the things, which the old Iewes had outward and viſible; and that our men do compare them to ſpiritualle & heavenly gifts. For as though theſe things were not among the Iewes, in times paſt; but becauſe in the old teſtament, thoſe ſpirituall gifts were ſoken by in theſe externe and temporaryl things. Neither yet do they ſpeake on this wiſe, as though no temporaryl and viſible things were extant among vs; but becauſe we haue thoſe ſpirituall things more expreſſed, and larger intreated of in the new teſtament: the outward things doubtleſſe, as concerning the figures, far fewer; and as touching the promiſes, verie much increaſed.

Chryſoſtome.

Chryſoſtome, in an Epistle, which he wrote particularlye of theſe wordes of Paule, which we haue now in hand, compareth the old ſacraments with the new, by a certaine ſimilitude after this manner. A painter that is to expreſſe a thing, with his picture, and his eniuiſes overcome in triumph, while the woyle is yet rude or vnpoliſhed; he draweth his lines but ſlight and obſcure. The which neuertheleſſe do conſtitute the whole that was deſired to be done, and

A ſimilitude of a painter.

yet the ſame things to painted, are not different but of them that be verie ſkilfull. But afterwards, when he hath laid it ouer with ſtroyting and goodlie colours, all things are manifeſt, and are more evident and eaſie to be knowne, of all them, that haue acceſſe thereto. Therefore be compared the ſacraments of the old fathers vnto the firſt portraiture, and our ſacraments vnto the latter: ſo that, as in each ſimilitude one thing is contained, although there happen ſome difference as touching the apparant ſhew or obſcureſſe; even ſo in each kind of ſacraments there is an equalitie with ſome difference.

21 But againe, becauſe here ſeemeth to be ſignified a difference of the old and new teſtament, in theſe wordes; For yee haue not receiued the ſpirit of bondage to feare, but yee haue receiued the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we are, Abba, Father: It ſhall not be amiffe to ſay, with that ſpirit we are now led in the Goſpell. This doubtleſſe, Chryſoſtome ſayeth upon this place ſpiritually diuerſe things as touching that matter, whereunto I cannot aſſent. For firſt he doth affirme, that the Iewiſh people in old time had not the holie Chriſt. But ſeing he ſaith, that the apoſtle in this place maketh expreſſe mention of the ſpirit; he ſaith, that he doth this, becauſe the latine of the ſoules fathers being giuen by the ſpirit of God, was therefore called ſpirituall; and ſometimes thoſe men were inſtrued by that latine, therefore mention is here made of the ſpirit. And although in the tenth chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, thoſe fathers are ſaid to haue eaten one and the ſelfe ſame ſpirituall meat; and to haue drinke one and the ſelfe ſame drinke of the ſpirituall rocke; yet will not Chryſoſtome grant, that they were partakers of the ſpirit; but he ſaith, that thoſe things were called ſpirituall; becauſe they were giuen neither by the ſtrength of man, nor of nature, but by the power of God. And it is to be ſignified, that this father ſhould deeme, that the people of the old time were excluded from the ſpirit of God, ſeing we read in the 1. chapter of Exodus, that Bezeeleel and Aholiab were replenished with the holie Chriſt, and alio with wiſedome and vnderſtanding, to make all ſuch things, as God had commanded to be made, in the woyle of the tabernacle.

And we read, that the ſeniorer elders, which were giuen to be helpers vnto Moſes, were in ſuch ſort made partakers of his ſpirit, that they alio propheted; and that Iſos was imbued with the holie Chriſt; and that Gedeon had giuen vnto him the ſame ſpirit; and that the ſame he ſpirit departed from Saul: which might not haue bene, unleſſe he had had the ſame before. And what meaneth this, that Dauid ſaith in the pſalme; Take not away thy ſpirit from mee? Again;

In Rom. 8, verſe 15.

verſe 13.

Num. 11, verſe 24.

Iſos. 4, 8. Iud. 6, 34. 1 Sam. 14.

Pſ. 51, 10.

Against. Thy ſpirit ſhall lead me. Again; Confinme me with a principall ſpirit. Neither can we denie, but that Elias and Elizeus had the ſpirit of God, when the one deſired to haue the ſpirit of the other giuen double vnto him. We read alio, that Daniel had the ſpirit of the ſaints. But vnto thoſe ſo manie oacles, we will alio adde a firme reaſon. That the fathers were iuſtified, we haue no doubt; and they could not be iuſtified without faith in Chriſt; but faith can neither be had, nor reſtrained without the holie Chriſt. And whereas Chryſoſtome ſaith, that the apoſtle maketh mention of the ſpirit, becauſe thoſe men were governed by the lawe, which was giuen by the ſpirit; that is ſingular; ſeing the lawe cannot do the office pertaining thereto, to bring men vnto Chriſt, which be now made afraid by the lawe; unleſſe the power thereof be holpen by the ſpirit. For how manie figures and goodlie men be there, who hearing the lawe, are neither brought vnto Chriſt, nor yet appalled at the horribleſſes of their ſinnes committed?

22 And that place, in the tenth chapter of the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, muſt not ſo be vnderſtood as he thinketh: ſeing Paule ſaith, that the ſacraments of the old fathers were the ſelfe ſame with ours. For unleſſe it were ſo, the reaſon of Paule (as hath bene ſaid) might eaſily haue bene made feeble. For the Corinthians might haue thought, that the Iewes had bene afflicted with ſo manie puniſhments; becauſe they had no ſacraments like vnto ours; and contrariwiſe, that they themſelves, although they ſinned, ſhould not be chaſtiſhed; for that their ſacraments were more perfect: the which might be able to pacifie God, although he were angry, and diue alwaie all aduerſities which hang ouer their heads. But ſeing Paule ſaith, that their ſacraments were all one with ours, this place of refuge is utterly taken from them. And that Paule had reſpect vnto this, we may therefore believe it vnboutable; becauſe he maketh mention onely of thoſe ſacraments of the old teſtament, which anſwer vnto our ſacraments, omitting all the reſt, which were innumerable. For he affirmeth, that they were baptiſed as we are baptiſed; and ſaith moreover, that they receiued one and the ſelfe ſame ſpirituall meat and drinke, which we at this time receiue: to ſignifie thereby our eucharist; or ſupper of the Lord. If thou take away this cauſe, thou ſhalt find no other cauſe, why he made onely mention of theſe two ſacraments. Further ſhalt thou ſee in our ſacraments, which we receiue as the ſpecific and principall thing; 'tis not Chriſt. But the apoſtle ſtandeth, that the old fathers receiued him in their ſacraments. For he ſaith, that They drinke of the

Ibidem.

ſpirituall rocke which followed them, and that rocke was Chriſt. But we can in no wiſe drinke Chriſt, unleſſe together therewith we be partakers of his ſpirit alio. Therefore we ought not to thinke, that the old fathers had not the ſpirit of God.

But thou ſhalt ſay peraduenture; They had rewards and puniſhments. As though he haue not ſo likewiſe. For what? Doth not Paule grauouſly threaten the Corinthians, if they followe the finnes, which their forefathers committed in the vnderſervice? Doth not he ſaie, that Manie are awake, and manie fall aſleepe, for that they had after a ſhamefull manner abuſed the eucharist? And doth not he ſaie; When we are iudged, we are corrected of the Lord, leaſt we ſhould be condemned with this world? And what? Will you ſaie that in the new teſtament alio, there wanteth reward promiſed to the goodly? Will you ſaie that in the new teſtament alio, there wanteth reward promiſed to the prophets? In the name of a prophete, we doe receiue a prophets reward. And he that forſaketh his owne, for Chriſt his ſake, ſhall receiue an hundred fold, even in this world alio. But Chryſoſtome addeth, that vnto them was promiſed a land flowing with milke and hony; but vnto vs is promiſed the kingdome of heauen. I grant indeed, that the old fathers had manie tempoall promiſes; but yet not in ſuch ſort, vnto them was made no promiſe of eternall life. For Chriſt bringeth a teſtimonie of the reſurrection out of the laue; I am the God of Abraham, the God of Iſaac, and the God of Iacob. And God ſaith vnto Abraham; I am thy protector and thy exceeding great reward. And Daniel ſaith; That They ſhall liue againe, which haue ſlept in the duſt of the earth, now to eternall life, and ſome to euerting damnation. And Eſaie ſaith of the damned; Their fire ſhall not be quenched, and their worme ſhall not die. And to omit all other teſtimonies, which are infinite; Chriſt himſelfe is promiſed in the laue. For he ſaith; that Moſes wrote of him. And Paule ſaith; that he was the end of the lawe. Wherefore, be manie ſuch other teſtimonies, both in the Goſpels, and in the epiſtles of Paule, which are all taken out of the old teſtament.

23 Chryſoſtome addeth moreover, that the forefathers tried outward purifications. Neither there was do we denie, but that they were bound to a great manie more and more grauouſe ceremonies than we are; and yet are not yet altogether without outward figures. For he alio haue bread, wine, and water, as elements of our ſacraments; but one and the ſelfe ſame Chriſt was common, both vnto our ſacraments and vnto theirs. So that no man can denie, but that circumciſion was the ſacrament of regenera-

1 Cor. 10, 39.

Ibidem. 31.

Mat. 10, 41.

Mat. 19, 19.

Mat. 22, 32.

Exod. 6, 8.

Gen. 15, 1.

Dan. 12, 2.

Eſa. 66, 24.

Eſa. 66, 24.

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Eſa. 66, 24.

Eſa. 66, 24.

Eſa. 66, 24.

circum-  
cision was the sacra-  
ment of re-  
generation,  
as baptism is.

tion; even as our baptism is also. And the  
enjoyment themselves confesse, that original  
sinne was forgiven unto the forefathers in cir-  
cumcision. Wherefore judgement ought not to  
be lightie to haue bene giuen, that they had on-  
lie outward purifications. But this is a great  
deale surer, when he addeth; that they restrai-  
ned their hands from euill works, but we re-  
strain both the mind and conscience. Chryso-  
stome seemeth alwaies to be of this mind, that  
the lawe forbiddeth onelie the outward worke;  
and that the Gospell afterward forbiddeth an-  
ger, hatred, and lust of the mind; and considereth  
not that the old fathers had also this comma-  
ndment;

Exo. 10, 17.

Deut. 10, 16  
Ierem. 4-4.

dement; Thou shalt not haue it; and that the pro-  
phets exhort where require circumcision of the  
hart, and that in the first commandment is  
comprehended faith, hope, charity, and whatso-  
uer pertaineth to the spiritual motions of the  
mind. But whereas he saith, that they were di-  
uened by feare, and we by loue; that inuention is  
after a sort; howbeit, not so, as they were better  
without loue, and we altogether without  
feare. And that is most untrue of all, when he  
saith, that they performed the lawe; but we far  
passe those things, which are commanded in the  
lawe. For as we haue alie where power, they  
themselves that be regenerate, cannot so frame  
their works, that they can in all points satisfie  
the lawe of God.

He addeth moreover, that they could not be  
corrected and amended, otherwise than by sto-  
ving, maiming, burning, and other such like  
kind of punishments; but we are onlie excom-  
municated, when we deserve to suffer the eter-  
nell punishment that the church can laye by  
words. Wholbeit, he should haue remembered,  
that these punishments, which be maketh mention  
of, were ciuill punishments; which our christian  
magistrates also doe laie vpon such as be male-  
factors. But they (saith he) had onelie in name  
the honour of adoption, and of children; but we  
haue it in verie deed. Certainlie, it cannot be de-  
nied, but that God was in the old testament  
called the father of his people. For of him he  
saith; that He had called his first begotten sonne  
out of Aegypt. And Moses saith in Deuterono-  
mie; Thou hast forsaken God, which begat thee.  
And Malachie, in his second chapter; There is  
one God, and father of vs all. And Elsie; I haue  
nourished and brought vp children, and they  
haue despised me. And both not Paule saith; Vin-  
to whom appertene the couenant and adoption:  
speaking then of the fathers of the 3 Itrae-  
lites, of whom was Christ according to the  
flesch. I said ye are gods, and children of the most  
high. They also called our father, when  
they said in Elsie; Thou art our father, for Abra-  
ham knew vs not, and Israel had no knowledge

of vs. And of great an affection did God the fa-  
ther beare towards them, as he saith; Can a mo-  
ther forget her child, but although she can, yet  
will not I forget thee. And as Chrylostome  
hath thus twiuen in this place; so hath he in  
other places also manie things like vnto the  
same, which (as I haue said) must be read warie-  
lie, and with iudgement.

24 Augustine, in the handling of that place,  
saith; that there is put a difference betwene the  
old and new testament: of which the one con-  
sisteth in feare, and the other in loue. He addeth  
moreouer, that it is without controuersie, that  
the spirit of adoption is the holie Ghost: but the  
spirit of bondage, he thinketh to be that, which  
hath the power of death, that is, satan; seeing he  
manie be holden vnder the euill spirit, as are ve-  
nitians of grace; and being not regenerate, live  
vnder the lawe. For they are addicted vnto tem-  
porall things, and obiect their obiects lust: not  
they themselves are strangers from Christ, and  
from God: so they cannot obserue the lawe of  
God, and therefore they are both wapped in  
sinne, and also disquised with continual fa-  
ces. He also signifieth, that of this place, there  
is another interpretation; as though the spirit  
should here signifie our mind, which is sometime  
the seruant of lusts, and sometime liueth vnder  
the libertie of the finnes of God.

But this opinion (saith he) cannot stand; be-  
cause the spirit of adoption is a little afterward  
said to be eternall, and received from without;  
namelie, being inspired from aboue. For thus  
Paule writeth; It is the spirit that beareth wit-  
nesse with our spirit, that we are the finnes of God.  
Which words plainlie declare, that there  
is a difference put betwene the spirit that per-  
suadeth, and that spirit, which is perswaded. And  
if this (saith he) be true, concerning the spirit of  
adoption; the same opinion also must we haue  
of the spirit of bondage. So that Augustine here  
in agreeth with Chrylostome; that they, whom  
he thinketh to be vnder the spirit of bondage,  
are quite void of the spirit of God. For those  
kind of men be asfirmeth not to be regenerate,  
and that they be also strangers from God: yea  
rather addicted vnto the spirit of satan, of whom  
we cannot understand Chrylostome to speake.  
For out of the lawe and the sacraments he  
bringeth a reason, why the forefathers wanted  
the spirit. But Augustine bringeth that which came

what the  
spirit of  
bondage  
is.

to passe through the default of the lawe; where-  
by his saing is more probable than Chrylo-  
stomes. Wholbeit, herein I agree not with Augu-  
stine; to thinke, that by the spirit of bondage we  
be to understand satan; for here, as I haue said  
to be understood (two effects of the holie Ghost.

The first is, when we are touched with the  
honor

Two steps  
of conuer-  
sion.

In what  
state the  
old fathers  
were by the  
spirit of  
Christ.

knowledge of the lawe, and remission of our finnes;  
we startle with despairing of saluation, perceiving  
that we be vtterlie vnder, vntill we reuince  
vnto Christ. So that the holie flame spirit be-  
ing our guide, we come vnto Christ, and by  
faith laie hold vpon him, and the promise of  
the mercie of God: by which means our  
finnes be forgiven vs, and we are received into  
the adoption of the finnes of God. Wherefore  
Paules meaning was, to declare vnto the Itrae-  
mites; that they being vnder that first step,  
and being regenerate in Christ, haue obtained  
adoption; and therefore it behooved them, not  
onlie to loue godlie, but also to be willing and  
of their owne accord to be made by the light, vnto  
this interpretation of ours. Ambrose sub-  
joineth; he saith, that the apostle here teacheth  
the Romans; that they be no longer vnder the  
lawe, but doe liue vnder faith. I Iudge  
therefore with him, that in their works is  
fastly two degrees of conuersion.

25 And if a mandau demand as touching the  
people in the old lawe, in what case they stand,  
concerning the spirit of Christ: that I thinke  
may be thus answered; to wit, if we diuide the  
Iraites into three sundrie parts. For some of  
them were vtterlie wicked, and goddellie; which  
breides name, habitation, and outward cir-  
cumcision, had nothing common with the people of  
God. These men I grant be vtterlie void of  
the spirit of Christ; yea rather they liued vnder  
the spirit of satan. On the other side, there  
were some excellent and holie men; as Dauid,  
Ezechias, Iosias, Elias, Daniel, and manie such  
other like; whom we can by no means denie,  
but that they had the spirit of the Gospell; al-  
though (as the time required) they were com-  
pelled to obserue manie ceremonies, and rites  
pertaining vnto the lawe. Again, there be  
some others, which were weak, who, although  
they cannot be compared with those, whom we  
haue mentioned; yet, notwithstanding they, being  
godlie, beleued in the promise to come, I Iudge  
by that faith iustified; we ought not to thinke,  
that they were strangers fro the spirit of Christ;  
although, by reason of their imperfection, and  
the lawe challenged great power ouer them.  
And they were with others, as those times required,  
compelled to be subject vnto infinite cere-  
monies. And this is the reason, why the old fathers  
are said to haue liued vnder the lawe, and vnder  
the spirit of bondage.

They had not the sacraments of their sal-  
uation to manifest and cleare, as ours now are;  
neither had they the mysteries of Christ for com-  
monlie reuealed, as we now haue in the Gos-  
pell. Wherefore, although among vs are ma-  
nie wicked men, and a great number of weak  
ones; yet are we said to be deliuered from cer-

monies; both because we be deliuered from cer-  
monies, and so; that we haue the sacraments  
and mysteries of saluation obtained through  
Christ, I Iudge more cleare, and more manifest  
than theirs; because we liue. Paule also callith  
the old fathers, little ones; for that they liued vnder  
the lawe, and gouernours, and were in sub-  
jection of the lawe, as of a scholemaster. And when  
they are called seruants, we ought to vnder-  
stand, that they were profitable seruants. For  
high seruants beare great goodwill and laue to  
their maistors; and are perswaded, that that  
which is to the honour of their maister, shall also  
turne to their owne honour. But little seruants  
never relesse from vice, neither do they anie  
thing well, vntill they be by stripes compelled.  
These their two titles, which I haue mentioned,  
Paule joyneth together in the epistle to the Gala-  
thians. For thus he saith; The heire, so long  
as he is a little one, liueth vnder tutors and go-  
uernours, and differeth nothing from a seruant,  
when as yet he is lord of all. By which words  
be declared, that the elect of God, amongst the  
old fathers, were in verie deed heires; although,  
considering the time, they were as little ones,  
vnder the forme of seruants, kept vnder the  
schooling of the lawe and elements of this world.  
Thus I thinke is to be thought of the old fa-  
thers.

26 But now let vs diligentlie examine  
those things, which we touched a little before;  
namelie, that our minds must be liued by from  
temporall things, vnto eternall and heauenlie  
things; that in this mortall life we be sometimes  
deliuered from afflictions, yet imperfection. For  
by Christ we be allotted vnto righteousness;  
but we haue not the gift of God; but yet, we  
possesse all those gifts of God, imperfection. But  
when the house of Christ shall be reared (as I haue  
said) when shall all these things at length  
be fullie perfect in vs: and that shall then be,  
when the 3<sup>rd</sup> shall Iudge all the ends of the  
earth; and then, as Paule saith, he shall driue  
the kingdome vnto God and the father. But this  
kind of exposition (will some say) is not proper;  
seeing it fauoureth an allegorie, and that it  
ought not to be the verie due meaning of the  
scriptures. But we must asseure our selues, that  
those things, that were written in the old tes-  
tament, concerning temporall things, doe be-  
long vnto eternall things. In the old time God  
promised vnto the patriarchs, that he would  
give the kingdome vnto Dauid and his posterity.  
And this is to be understood, not onlie of  
Salomon; but also of Christ.

Wherefore the angel speaking of him said;  
God will giue vnto him the kingdome of his fa-  
ther; and he shall reigne in the house of  
Jacob for euer. Also in Deuteronomie, God  
commu-

Gala. 3, 24.  
and 4, 1.

3<sup>rd</sup> Cor. 13.  
and 10.

Luce. 1, 69.

1 Cor. 15.

2<sup>nd</sup> rule.

Psalm 130, 30.

Luce. 1, 33.

Deut. 18, 10.

Act. 13, 22.

Gen. 22, 18.

Gal. 3, 16.

Rom. 8, 13.

Phil. 3, 7, 8.

One and the same league is of the old and new testament.

commanded his people, that they should not take counsell of witchers or forerers; For God (saith he) will raise vp a prophet among you. The which, although it may be vnderstood of the prophets, which neuer should be wanting, of whom the people might take counsell; yet both Peter, in the Acts of the apostles, translate the same vnto the Church, and affirmeth, that the kingdome promised to David, was made perfect in Christ. For euen to the promise of sayd made vnto Abraham, in the booke of Genesis; although it may be referred vnto Isaac, yet by Paule it is applied vnto Christ. For he saith; It is said, Not in dry fields, as in manie, but in one, which is Christ. So that, when he refer the song of Anna vnto higher matters, we offend not against the doctrine of the apostles. And why it is thus done, the reason is easilie thewed. In weighing of all the benefits of God, it is met to retorne to the fountaine and head it selfe, from whence all those things do flowe. And surely, the highest benefit of God towards mankinde is Christ; therefore all other things must be referred vnto this root. Whereupon Paule vnto the Romans reasoneth after this manner;

If God gaue his owne sonne vnto vs, how shall he not wold him giue vs all things also? 27 But thou wilt saie, that manie benefites are bestowed vpon the wicked, who neuerthelesse haue not Christ for their head; neither do they acknowledge him. I grant it; but that those gifts without gift, as the poet saith, and make not vnto their saluation, but vnto their destruction. Euen so Paule vnto the Ephelians, although he had manie gifts before he came vnto Christ, and euen such as were not to be despised: yet he saith, that He accounted them for losses and dooing. For the wicked, when they flourish in all wealth and abundance, as like vnto the beasts appointed for sacrifices, which being found most fat, are slaine in the shambles. But to the intent that thus we conclude the reason; God vnderstood, let vs thus conclude the reason; God either angrie or well pleased, bestoweth his benefits vpon men. He being angrie, no man would receive of him, because such things should be no benefites, seeing they would worke to destruction, not to saluation. So as it is to be wished, that he would giue those things, when he is well pleased and mercifull; but he is not well pleased, unless it be for Christ his sake; for which cause there is no perfect benefite of God bestowed vpon vs, that hath not his rooting in Christ.

To conclude, we must vholie affirme, that one and the same covenant, betwene God and man, is both of the old and new testament: in the which God promised, that he would be their God, and they would be his people. As his cou-

nant they in the old testament, so lesse had, than he in the new testament haue. And Paule, in the cleventh chapter to the Romans, describeth that covenant to be as a plant or tree, whereof as well the Jewes as the Christians be branches and boughes. And therefore he saith; If some of the branches were broken off, and thus being but a wild oliue tree wast grafted in their place, and made partaker of the root and fat of the oliue tree, &c. Wherefore, the tree is all one, the stocke alone, the plant all one that beareth vs and them. But herein is the difference; that he be branches grafted in, whereas they are natural. Wherfore, what difference focusse is betwene each testament, that doth euerie whit consist, not in the substance of the covenant, but in the accidents. For the principall point of the old covenant was, that the true God would be indeed our God.

Afterward, there were other promises bestowed; namely, of the kingdome in the stocke of David, of the possession of the land of Chanaan, of the outward priesthoode: also commandedments touching ceremonies and iudgements. But those leakes of ceremonies, the flowers of the kingdome, and the barbe of the priesthoode are now taken away by Christ, who was expressed in them: as in the ninth chapter to the Hebrewes it is diligently considered, where it is declared, that it was requisite for the high priest, euerie yere once, to enter by blood into the holiest place. In the which came the death of Christ was shadowed, who by himselfe, and not by the blood of another, entered into the true and proper holiest places: So as the apostle calleth all them that haue ceremonies and sacrifices, the posterie of Christ; because (according as the time required) they shewed vnto Christ to the Jewes. After the same manner be speake in that epistle of the land of promise; This daie (saith he) if I bidem, ye shall heare his voice, harden not your hartes, as ye haue in the time of bitterness, in the daie of repentance in the wilderness.

28 Of this matter, the old prophets, being not ignorant, do so intreat of things in their time, as they applie the greatest part of their doctrine vnto Christ; and therefore do some times to write more magnificallie, than the things which they treat of do require. And a man might easilie iudge, that the euent of things, otherwise answered not to their sayings. In the prophet Zacharie, God doth promise, that he would be a fire wall vnto the citie of Ierusalem: which thing neuer came to passe after the restitution of the temple. But a little after, the Jewes were so in a manner destroyed by the Macedonians, as they were carelesse euer in memorable case. In the 72. psalme is contained this prophecie of the kingdome of Salomon; all kings

kings

kings shall fall downe before him, and all nations shall do him seruice, and in the name of him all people shall be blessed. These things neuer happened vnto Salomon, neither can they be any other wise vnderstood, but of Christ. Also Eusebius saith; that So great should the peace bee, that men would conuert speares into speades, and that the wolfe and lambe should couch together, which sayings being referred vnto those times, be altogether excellent speeches; but they do verie well and properly agree vnto Christ.

Wherefore, none may iustlie complaine, if these and such like things be iustified by vs vnto Christ; seeing this is the iust and true interpretation of the scriptures. Neither are these kind of oracles lesse agreeable vnto Christ, than vnto those times, of which they seemed to be written. And least that any man should thinke, that onlie the apostles or euangelists dare make this exposition; let him ponder, that the Chaldean interpreter doth the verie same thing, who theweth, that by the wordes of the prophetesse; (The home of his Christ shall be exalted) is meant speakes. The other Rabbinis of the Hebrewes also doe applie not onlie to that place, but also manie other vnto Christ; especially those that were more ancient than the apostles and euangelists: vnto whom it was sufficient to their owne cōtention, how that manie name and sayings in the old testament were referred vnto Christ; thincking it needlesse to go through with euerie thing.

Zacharie also, the father of John Baptist, testified false and testified, that this is the true and naturall exposition of the old testament, when in his long he saith; He hath raised vp an home of saluation in the house of his seruant David, as he saith by the mouth of this holie prophet, euen since the world began. Now at the length (saith he) God stirred vp the home so long looked for in the house of David; which he therefore saith; because Christ betwix his petegre from the familie of David. But when shall this home be raised vp? Certainlie it is euen now alreadie lifted vp, because Christ both presentlie and eternally at the right hand of his father. But he shall then at the length be euidentlie & magnificallie aduanced, when hee shall iudge the whole world, and shall deliuer the kingdome to God the father, when as all things shalbe purged from his seete. For (as faith the author of the epistle to the Hebrewes;) All things are not yet subdued vnto him, but they shall then be subdued, when as death the last enimie shalbe destroyed.

Wherefore, vnder temporall blessings was comprehended the summe of all felicitie, that goodlie men are to wait for by Christ; and it is after that sort described, because it must be

expressed, so far as it is promised vnto vs, But there lacke wordes; for that, seeing it cannot be perfected by mans vnderstanding, there is no word properly attributed to expresse the same. Neither is the power of mans wordes such, as it can be able to expresse those diuine and celestiall things. Yet, to the intent we might be stirred vp, to desire the same; the holie Church hath of his merrie poudre to haue it set forth vnto vs, by these wordes of terrestrial felicitie; which may well agree with the capacitie of man. Which thou must perceiue almost in all the prophets, when they treat in hand to describe the kingdome of Christ; for there they describe an abundance of all good things. As the dominion to rehearse some, they saie, that the dominion of his kingdome shall most ample be extended; there shall be no end of peace, nations and people shall no more fight one against another; for their weapons and speares they shall make shears, plough, sheares, and speares. Then they adde, that the wolfe and the lambe shall dwell in one place together. Also, that tearing and wasting shall be no longer; that the infant and old man shall fulfill their daies; that foxes shall take at ease; yea, that God shall wipe away all teares and weeping.

Which sayings of the prophets, when they be obeyed vnto vs by the Jewes, who, by the kind of arguments would proue that our saviour Jesus is not Christ; we must loe vnderstand them, as we acknowledge that there be two comings of Christ; the first (I meane) and the second. Further, that some things be had, either in their full and perfect possession; or else, onelie by participation, and a certaine tale feeling begun. So as that, as touching the first coming, we will answer, that these prophecies rones and begre blessings are not yet vnto vs; naie rather, it was forcible by otherwise by Christ himselfe, that his people should be deliuered into the bondage, that they should be brought to such things and rulers; and (as Paule saith) All that will laue godlie in Christ Iesu, shall suffer persecutions. But in the second coming of Christ, we haue a full and absolute felicitie; of which shall altogether heauenlie. For Christ testified, that We in the kingdome shall be like vnto angels, which neither marrie, nor be married. And yet is it described vnto vs, as if it were temporall and earthly; and that not alone in the old testament, but in the new; where Christ saith, that he would prouide for his elect, to sit downe, and that he passing by, will minister vnto them.

And in the 19. chapter of Luke, he saith; We shal be like men that expect their Lord, when he will returne from the marriage. Wherein Christ is described to haue gone vnto his father; as in the 1. of Iohn.

how



not of my selfe, must either be filled up, with ad-  
ding this one word, *Onlie*; as if he had said, I  
came not onlie of my selfe; *or* elſe it is to be  
underſtood touching his humane nature.

2 Paule, in the 9. to the Romans hath an ex-  
cellent commendation of Chriſt, wherein he ex-  
preſſeth conſeſſeth the two natures in Chriſt,  
joined together in one the ſelfe-ſame perſon;  
ſo that of both natures is made Chriſt; Of the  
which (ſaith he) is Chriſt, according to the fleſh,  
who is God our all things bleſſed for euer. *This*  
*humane nature is declared in theſe words;* In  
the Iewes, as touching the fleſh: for by the fleſh,  
in the Hebrew tongue, is underſtood the whole  
man. *This diuine nature is moſt manifeſtly*  
*declared in theſe words;* Who is God our all,  
bleſſed for euer. *The ſame allo is not obſcurely*  
*ſignified in that, which is added;* As touching  
the fleſh: for that particle *touching* not haue bene  
put, *unleſſe he had ſome thing more than the*  
*fleſh.* *This doctrine the Arians, Mahometites,*  
*and many others be that hold, that Chriſt is*  
*a mere man, moſt impugne, among the Iewes alſo*  
*are the Rabbinis of the Hebrews. For which alſo*  
*is by a corrupt interpretation he ſometimes*  
*in the late, as touching matter and life (which is*  
*manifeſtly by the interpretation, that Chriſt made*  
*of the late, and in that he reſponſed their baſe*  
*deſay of the ſpellias to come, fo that they thought*  
*he ſhould be a mere and ſimple man. For when*  
*Chriſt demanded of them, what they thought of*  
*the ſpellias; they made anſwer, that he ſhould*  
*be the ſonne of Dauid: neither had they any de-*  
*ſay; or higher conſideration of him.*

Wherefore Chriſt objected vnto them the 110.  
ſalm; where Dauid callen the ſpellias his  
Loe: which could not agree to a mere and  
ſimple man, borne of his Roche, as they ſomtime  
imagined. Ambroſe, expounding this place,  
affirmeth, that theſe words muſt needs be  
applied vnto Chriſt, ſith there is here no mention  
made of any other perſon, vnto whom they  
may aptly be applied. If they will not (ſaith  
he) haue theſe things to be vnderſtood con-  
cerning Chriſt, let them ſee ſome other perſon,  
mentioned by Paule, vnto whom they may be  
referred: and if, beſides Chriſt, they can find  
none other; then let them leaue vnto Chriſt, the  
glorie which is attributed vnto him by Paule.  
Ambroſe indeed confeſſeth, that when the father  
and the ſonne are joined together in the holic  
ſcriptures, the father is called *God*, and the  
ſonne *Loe*. And this he ſaith, for that in this  
conſideration; becauſe we pray, that we may  
ſhine one God onlie. And if we ſhould repeat  
the name of God, we might per adventure ſeeme  
to depart ſomewhat from that unitie: and there-  
fore are theſe names ſo varied. But if we that

Maric. *For they trifle with words, to saie, that*  
*Christ conuerted his bodye through hit, no other*  
*wise than water is conuerted through a conduit*  
*or pipe.* But Paule manifesteth faulth; that the  
 flesh of Christ was made, not by the yheueyns,  
 but by the yheueyns.  
 Arius. *also is by these wordes conuicted; who*  
 impudently saith afferme, that Christ was on-  
 ly a creature; and with blasphemous speech  
 durst denie the forme of God to be God. Among  
 these also is Nestorius, who confesteth both the  
 natures of Christ; but he is seuered the one from  
 the other, as he beile, that that conuention be-  
 twene them is onely by grace; and that of these  
 two natures is not made one person. Wherfore  
 he denieth, that the blessed virgin could be  
 cald *Sortis*; saye, that she was mother of God, but  
 that she ought to be cald the mother of man; so  
 for she could agree with the blaine nature, to be  
 borne againe. But he conforeth not, that Paule  
 haire faith, that Christ is of the Iewes, as  
 touching the flesh. We do grant indeed, that  
 the things, which were vniuersally spoken of  
 Christ, are sometimes to be vnderstood of the  
 one nature, and sometimes of the other: when  
 yet notwithstanding, Christ himselfe is onely  
 one person and substance. So we saie, that the  
 immortall God was borne, crucified, and died.  
 For there is a certaine communicating of the  
 properties, by the wonderful conuersion of the  
 two natures, whyn Nestorius went about to se-  
 parate and pull in sunder.  
 Hyldebric. *I am not ignorant, that Erasmus, in*  
 this place, maketh mention of two other read-  
 ings, before this, which he followe. One of *Erasmus*  
 them is, that we should thus read, *Of whom*  
 is Christ as touching the flesh; so that there should  
 be put a stop: then follovveth that which remaineth  
 as, an exclamation separated, wherein Paul  
 saith; that God, which is our all, is to be praised  
 for ever. So that, *God* signifieth either the fa-  
 ther, or else the whole trinitie. The other is to be  
 read after this manner; *Of whom* is Christ as  
 touching the flesh, which is our all: and there  
 make a point, and then adde as a member  
 by it selfe; *God blessed for ever.* These read-  
 ings I like no cause why they should admit; for,  
 seeing the common received reading is plain  
 and manifest, I thinke it rather most meet  
 to followe the same. For their readings put a new  
 apostrophe or turning of speech, either to God  
 the father, or to the holie trinitie; when as there  
 is no cause there. Further Paule saithmet to fol-  
 lowe the same manner, that is sometimes vsed  
 by the yheueyns, and also in the platins, that  
 the latter part of the period should repeat  
 that, which is contained in the former: which  
 he both here most plainelie, and with much ex-  
 pressitie.

facie. Because first he teacheth the divinitie of Christ, when he saith As touching the flesh. For that particle should not have bene necessarie, if there had bene in Christ nothing else, but his humane nature. And he addeth; Who is over all: which belongeth unto God onely. Wherefore, that which was in those clauses spoken somewhat obscurely, in the other part of the period he speaketh more expressely: say he saith; Who is over all, God blessed for ever, Amen.

Rom.9.5.

¶ Neither is the reason of Ambrose lightlie to be weighed, that there is no other thing or person in this place to be sought; seeing here the speech was purpose of the somme onely. Erasmus cruceth this his deute, that it nothing but directly the divine nature, which we affirme to be in Christ; especially, seeing the same may be abundantly proued by other places of the scripture. To answer, that we also know right well, that the divine nature in Christ is by manye other places of the scriptures insufficiently testified, but yet (we thinke) that is also together with the rest, to be retained: so as we see all the fathers have borne. Neither is it mist, that we should without cause deale the arguments of the church, which we ought rather boldly to fulfill and reuel. But peradventure he will say; They trust but a little to other places, which to earnestly contend for this one. Thereas we do not a little put confidence in other places, but sith this place is verie firme and cleare, we will not lose it. The Commentaries of Origin testify, that these things are spoken of Christ; as though Paule in these words would refer those, which at that time were not openlie call Christ, God, which is marvell to these Origin affirm, when as they otherwise did not thinke rightlie of the forme of God. But Erasmus thinke, that that part, in those Commentaries to the Romans, is none of his. For he saith, that Rufinus, or him whosoever he were, that translated Origin, amended certain things of set purpose; leaue the readers should be to much offend.

And Jerom against Rufinus testifieth; that Origin in his other books, neuer thought well of these things, touching which he had crept in his booke *de deo*. Which if it be true; then, for so much as in these books he had a much worship judgement of the forme of God, it may easilie be proued, that these things could not be written by him in his Commentaries to the Romans. But whosoever it be touching Origin, (for his Commentaries to the Romans are not erant in the Græke, whereby we should iudge ante a thing of this) is certain, that Cyprian, a most ancient writer, in his second booke against the Idoles, the first chapter, with this testimony to proue the divinitie of Christ: albeit that, when he citeth the words of Paule, he learneth out

this word, God. And so we perceive to be done by Hilarie, upon the 122. psalme. But that may seeme to have come through the negligence of the Writers, as Erasmus himselfe confesseth. Neither must we omit, that that particle, Over all, may be assigned to that particle, Blessed, which followeth: so that the sense is; God that is to be praised above all. ¶ Touching the joining of substance of the two natures into one person of Christ, look the dialog of Peter Martyr himselfe, set forth particularly concerning that matter.

¶ But in that sentence of Paule, which is 1<sup>st</sup> Cor. written in the first to the Corinthians, the 15. chapter, chapter. The first man is one of the earth, the second man is the Lord himselfe from heaven. That to this purpose the Antithesis might be perfect, manie have thought, it should be better said; that even as the first man had his body fashioned out of the earth, so the second man, namely Christ, brought his body out of heaven. Hereof it cometh, that Valentinus, Marcellin, and among the latter hereticks Swenckfeldius and his followers agree not, that Christ first came downe to the earth, and then ascended to heaven. But it is not necessary, that the comparison should be answerable in euery point. This rather is a certaine allusion of the apostle, wherein is not weighed the substance of things compared; but the qualities, conditions, and gifts of nature are compared together. Neither meaneth the apostle any other thing, but that Adam was the figure of this our life; and that the latter Adam (3<sup>rd</sup> means Christ) is the forme of the life to come, which we expect. Neither doth he here make mention of a body, male rather, when he addeth; The first man of the earth carnie: hee addeth; And the second is the Lord from heaven. It is not denied of the goble that Christ is from heaven; seeing they attribute unto him the diuine nature: but yet it cometh not to passe thereby, that whatsoeuer the 1<sup>st</sup> man, who came downe from heaven, had, is either of heauenly nature, or else brought from heauen. For if we list after that sort to reason of the first Adam, we shall not say that he is utterlie of the earth created; seeing (before the booke) he had also a soule, which is a diuine thing, and was not taken out of the lime of the earth.

So as (according to this reason) we may say; that as Adam had not onely a body fashioned out of the earth, but also a heauenly mind: so Christ comprehendeth not onely the diuine nature, which was out of heaven, but a natural body, which he take out of the earth in the virgin wombe. And Augustine, in the 13. daye of De ciuitate Dei, teacheth not whosoever to ascribe unto the man Christ a naturall body: or therwise, if we shall grant unto Christ a body brought

brought out of heauen, he shall not be a man; seeing heauenly things are furth of all suffering from earthly things. But that Christ was borne man, as well the scripture euery where testifieth, as also Paule in this place expressely calleth him a man. Albeit (as touching the humane nature) Christ may be said to haue come out of heauen, seeing his bodie had no original from the seed of man, but from the holie Ghost: as the angels hymned unto the virgine, when he said; The spirit of the highest shall ouer shadow thee. Whereafter, he might be said to come from heauen, in respect of affections and actions of his humane conueruation: when as in manners and holinesse of life, he altogether bearded himselfe heauenly and diuinitie. Furthermore, the apostle speaketh of Christ, hauing respect unto the state of the resurrection, whereunto we also shall be brought. And it is not to be doubted, but that he challenged unto himselfe the condition of resurrection; not naturallie, but by his diuine power.

¶ But not seeing the exposition of this place is manifest, there resteth yet to reprove them, which haue otherwise iudged, saying; that Christ took not his bodie of the virgine, but brought the same forth with him out of heauen: and that he passed through the virgine Marie as through a conduit. But specially let us consider, what reasons they rest upon. First they say, that if the bodie of Christ be not diuine and heauenly, but a creature taken of the virgins wombe; as when Paule saith; that Christ dwelleth in our hearts (as we read unto the Ephesians) we shall haue no more but halfe of him. For it shall be no otherwise than according to his diuine nature. But we answer them, that in what sort Christ dwelleth in our hearts, the same apostle both plainlie declare: for he addeth; by faith. Which faith doth not apprehend Christ in part, but whole; as well in the sacrament of the Eucharist, as also in the word of God, which is set forth unto be for our saluation. And that this faith be iudged after a spiritual sort, it appeareth, by comparing together the Romans it is said; if Christ do dwell in you, God, which raised him from the dead, shall also quicken your morall bodies, for his spirit sake, which dwelleth in you. Hereunto we plainlie beare, that Christ, by his spirit, dwelleth in vs. And in the third chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, we are by no other reason affirmed to be the temple of God; but because the holie Ghost dwelleth in vs. Neither is there required unto that consecration, which we haue with Christ; that his bodie should in verie deed penetrate our hearts or our minds. As saith, and by the spirit, Christ is all wher he appeareth of vs; as well touching

his diuine nature, as touching his humane nature. And when we affirme the diuine nature of Christ to be euery where, we do not loe to say of the humane. It must not be thought, that we make a distinction of Christ, as Nestorius did. For we grant, that whole Christ, (as if 3<sup>rd</sup> maye say; thou understand him personally, is in euery place: yet neuertheless, we will not grant that all that is in Christ is euery where.

For whosoever the forme of God is, he indubitable it is, that hath the humane nature joined with him; although not whosoever he be, he maketh the same to be present in verie deed, whosoever he himselfe is: seeing for the verie truth thereof it is necessary, that it be bounded within his owne limits, and be contained within a certaine place. Further, they argue, that in the last baie of iudgement, the bodie of Christ shall be seeme of all them, which shall be iudged. The which, forsooth may they shall be an exceeding great number, so as they will occupie a great part of the whole world; whilest we grant unto Christ a bodie of wonderful greatness, as the sunne, or lone notable star, he cannot be manifest unto all. Here we lose late, that all those which shall be iudged, shall be changed: so as they shall no longer haue a naturall body. And although the wicked shall not passe into the change of glorie, yet shall they haue a bodie so altered, as they shall haue no longer need of meat or drinke. So that they may be so indured with such a perfectness of sense, as they shall be able to behold their Judge, from the parts that be verie far distant.

¶ They say also, that according to our doctrine, Christ is not to be worshipped but by halfe, inasmuch it is manifest, that no creature must be worshipped. For if Christ had his bodie from the virgine, it was doubtlesse created: wherfore, in right it should not be worshipped. But hereto we haue already said, that we must not funder the natures of Christ, as Nestor did. We must consider, that they be united to the person, and whole Christ is worshipped by vs: that is to say, the same diuine person, which is to be worshipped, is also worshipped, it hath the humaneitie joined unto it, which cannot be fundered from the diuine nature. But if we would search the verie cause of worshipping, the same is not to be found in the humaneitie, but in the diuinitie. Also they say, that a humane bodie, seeing it is affirmed of vs to be a creature, is subject vnto the erric, and vnto time: and that therefore it is not meet that we should ioyne the same with the forme of God. Neuertheless, we confesse it to be true, which they men say concerning the flesh and a humane bodie, whilest it is generated and sanctified by the holie spirit.

But we denie that, which they take as grant;

Erasmus.

The Com-  
mentaries  
of Origin.Origins  
Comment-  
aries upon  
the Ro-  
mans.  
Cyprian.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15.



Luke 1, 35

Ch. 5. reason.

Matth. 1, 35

Rom. 1, 3

Terullian.

John. 1, 14

Ch. 6. reason.

John. 10, 13

Ch. 7. reason.

Ch. 8. reason.

Matth. 2, 48

ted; namely, that humane flesh cannot be so sanctified, as it may be void of spot and curse. Let these men tell vs, whether they thinke, that the body of the first man (when it was fashioned by God, and made perfect and sound in mind) laye under the curse and sinne. Detestable it were so to thinke. For those things, which God made, were verie good. Wherefore, seeing we read, that the holie Ghost did ouerwhelme Marie, before she conceived; while will we denie the flesh and matter which Christ took from thence to be sanctified? And they are wunt to allege diuers places of the scripture to confirme their deuile, as that of Matthew; namely, That which is borne in hir is of the holie Ghost. Whereby they are of the opinion, that Christ was borne in Marie, but not of Marie, as from thence taking substance. Whobest, this place doth speciallie confute them: for it is attributed vnto Christ, that he was borne in the virgine. But to be borne, is not to passe through by a pipe or conduit; but thence to take verie matter of the body wherby it is said to be borne. And where they saye, that it is written; In hir, that onlie they theu but once: whereas on the other side, we haue it in infinite places, that Christ is of the seed of Dauid. Which when these heretikes spied out, they became so impudent, that (as Terullian reporteth) where he once this proposition said, that is, *Christ is borne*, they blasted it out, and in stead thereof, for confirming their opinion, did put *For that is, Christ is borne*. Also they cite that place of Iohn. The word became flesh, as though the body of Christ consisted not of the matter gathered of the virgins wombe, but rather of the word of God. Whomlike, these men, which speake on this wise, should consider how absurd a thing it is, to sayeunt God to be changed and turned into an other kind. They further allege against vs, that which we read in Iohn; Yee be of the earth, I am from above. Which purpose of theirs, how small it pertaineth, the common and vulgar interpretation doth declare. Christ is from above, as touching his diuine nature: ouer this, his actions were giuen him, not by carnall affections, but by the heauenlie and diuine spirit. But in the *32* verses, whom he reprobated, it was otherwise; for, as they were mere and bare men, so were they also led by carnall and earthly desires.

8 Whereupon, they call to remembrance, that Christ denieth that he had a mother: whereupon when he taught in the synagog, and as a certaine man said; Thy mother and thy brethren inquire man said; Thy mother and thy brethren inquire for thee at the doore, he answered him; Who is my mother, and who be my brethren? But here they be farre deceived, as they be in other places. For, some haue expounded that place, as though that messenger, which laid these things, had mee-

ked his kinship, as if he should saye; This man possesseth himselfe to be God, and I cannot tell what diuinitie he bestoweth, seeing neuertheless, his brethren and mother oftentimes seke for him. Wherefore Christ repelling this temptation, as touching his diuine nature, answered; Who is my mother, and who be my brethren? As if he had said; So far forth as I am God, I haue neither mother nor brethren. But else we will expound the place more trulle and easilie; namely, that Christ then taught, that the function of teaching was committed to him of the father: and that therefore he ought not to be let from the same, either for his mother, or his brethren sake. For, in respect of such business, we must not knowe mother, brethren, and humane affections; for first of all the thinge of God must be sought. Wherefore Christ said in like manner vnto his parents, when he was found in the temple, propounding & answering among the doctors; Did ye not knowe, that I must be occupied about my fathers business? Again, they aunswered that sentence out of Luke; namely, that when a certaine woman had said; Blessed is the wombe that bare thee, and the paps that gave thee sucke; Christ answered; Yea rather, happier are they, which heare the word of God, & keepe the same. But Christ, by this answer, reuealed not the friendship of his mother: but he shewed which was to be counted the better degree of felicitie. Besides this, they allege, that the angels in the old testament could take humane flesh vpon them, and inbue themselves with our bodies; who, for all that, were not borne of women. And what shall let (saye they) but that we may saie the verie same of Christ, that he put on the forme of man; and yet take not the same of Marie? We answer, that (according to the power of God) it was no hard matter for Christ to be clad with an humane body, by anye other means than by the virgins wombe.

But the similitude of angels, appearing in humane forme, must not be compared with the incarnation of the Lord: for they took no bodies vpon them, but to crucifie, to die, and to reuenge mankind; but to execute the message that was committed vnto them. But Christ, to the intent he might redeeme men, would be in verie bad man. Which had not happened, if his body had beene brought out of heauen; seeing that celestiall and terrestriall natures, do differ more, than in kind. Also they thinke, that Hilarius saith, that Marie the virgine added nothing of hers vnto the flesh and body of Christ, besides the ministration of conceiuing, bearing, and bringing forth; when as this sentence neuertheless doth bantage them but little. For Hilarius most manifestlie teacheth contrarie, that the body

Luke 1, 49

Ch. 5. reason.

Luke 1, 17

Ch. 10. reason.

Ch. 10. reason.

Ch. 10. reason.

Hilary.

Hilary.

Ch. 10. reason.

Terullian.

Luke 1, 35

Ch. 5. reason.

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of Christ is a creature: but he saith that the virgine Marie added nothing of hers, as touching those things ministeries, which be mentioneth of conceiuing, bearing, & bringing forth. For the 4. ministerie had been to haue had the compaignie of man, to haue ioined with him, and to haue admitted his seed: which Marie did not of hir owne.

But on the other side, that he had a true humane body, it is proued manie waies: for by the euangelists, his genealogie is set forth, the which by Luke is finished in Adam. In Matthew it is begun at Abraham. Neither is it anye hinderance, that he nameth Ioseph as the father of Christ; because Ioseph and Marie were both of one kindred: wherefore both their petigrates be ioined together. Whiche whether it be done in the great grandfathers grandfather, or afterwards, it is no need at this present to inquire.

Further, Christ euertie where pronounceth himselfe to be the sonne of man. And vnto Eue was promised the seed, that should beate the serpent's head. And vnto Abraham was promised a seed, wherein all nations should be blessed. And Paule, in the first to the Rom. wrote of Christ; Who was made of the seed of Dauid, according to the flesh. And againe, in the ninth chapter to the Romane; Of whom are the fathers, & of whom, concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is God ouer all, blessed for euer. Whereupon, vnto the Galatians we read; When the fullness of time was come, God sent his owne sonne, in the similitude of sinful flesh, made of a woman, made vnder the laue.

And also in the same epistle is treated of the seed of Abraham, by which the blessing should aduward come. And the apostle togeth the word Seed, that it is not spoken in the plural number, Seeds (as though we should vnderstand the same of manie): but the scripture respecteth the singular number, that we should haue respect vnto one man Christ. Vnto Timothee it is written; Remember thou, that the Lord Iesus Christ, of the seed of Dauid, according to my Gospell, is risen from the dead. But most euidentlie of all doth the epistle to the Hebrews proue this doctrine, where it is said; that God took the seed of Abraham, not of angels: and affirmeth, that Christ is like vnto vs in all things, & was tempted in all things: and that, seeing his children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himselfe took part with them (I meane of flesh and blood). And he is declared to be of high priestly, which could suffer infirmities with vs, and was taken from among men. And againe; Ie that doth sanctifie, and they that are sanctified, be all of one. And we are called his brethren.

10 Terullian bringeth another argument, wherein he proueth, that Christ had a verie humane body; saying (saith he) is taken out of

anie matter, but it reteineth bones tokens and marks of the same. Because the body of the first man was wrought out of clode, therefore it reteineth the kind of the two elements: for flesh representeth the earth, and blood the water. And manie things declare vs to be earthie, in respect of our body. 3. In the earth both manie fleas; in the body manie mules: the earth hath stones; our body hath bones: in the earth there be fensie rivers, and fensie; ouer all our body be fensie beuies, which water all the members with blood: in the earth are spred the rats of plants and trees; in the body are placed si netues in all parts: in the earth are found pible stones; neither is our body destitute of gruel, stones, nailes, and such other like the earth, which his bones and secret places, hath metals; our bodies do hold maxowe in the hollownes of the bones: we see moles and herbs to spring out of the earth; also vpon our body there do growe haies, beards, and bush of haire. All which things, (seeing they take place in the body of Christ; there is no cause why the aduersaries should indurane to make Christ of heauenlie matter; seeing they be tokens of earthie nature. Their opinion might seeme to be probable, if they could thinke, that the body of Christ, anie token of the seven stars, of Orion, Lucifer, or Achurus: for then after a fast they might proue the matter thereof to be brought from heauen. 9. Of the personal union of the two natures into one person of Christ; heke the dialog of P. Martyr, beuies full forth touching that matter.

11. Iesus, in Latinus Struuar, a famous, is an interpretation derived from the Hebrew word Ieshua. For the word why he was called, the angel declared; For the word Iesus and Iehoua (saith he) shall saue his people from their sinnes. This word Christ is a Greeke word, in Hebrew it is called Ieshua; that is, annointe. In old time, among the people of God, many kings, prophets, & epistles were annointed: for verie hard conditons rest vpon them, which are appointed to these offices. Wherefore, further that taken they be annointed, that they should be come like vnto masters, if they will be according to their vocation. And no man is ignorant, but that the masters were accustomed to annointe the parts of their bodye before they buckled together. And yet which is a good beuie the more likely union was annointed, as is testified by the word of the spirit, with the which these things kind of men are inuaded. And prophets, kings, and priests, in the administration of their functions, haue vnder of an abundant spirit. And that the infuision of the spirit is in the holie scriptures called unction, we haue no need to doubt. Eia. 4. The spirit of the Lord vpon mee; therefore hath he annointed me. Whiche place Christ interpreteth to be witness of him selfe,

The body is declared to be earthie by many tokens.

unction was testified to be an abundance of the spirit.

Eia. 4. The spirit of the Lord vpon mee; therefore hath he annointed me. Whiche place Christ interpreteth to be witness of him selfe,

self, so as it needeth the lesse exposition of vs.

And in the psalm, by the testimony of the epistle to the hebrewes, it is spoken as touching our saviour; Therefore hath God by God appointed these with oile of gladness above thy fellows. And in the Acts of the apostles the 10. chapter, Peter preached unto Cornelius the Centurion, of Iesus of Nazareth, whom God annointed with spirit, and with power. And in the epistle of Iohn it is written; The vncion shall reach you in all things. Also in the 105. psalm, when there was mention made of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, &c. it is written; Touch not mine annointed. And he could not call them, annointed, (so farre as can be gathered of the holie scripture) by reason of ante external and symbolical vncion: wherefore it is wholie to be referred vnto the instant of the holie spirit.

Neither must it be passed ouer, that our Lord Iesus Christ attended to so abundant a plentiful vncion of the spirit, as the same by him sheweth also vnto vs, which belene in him: as according thereto it is written in the second epistle to the Corinthians, the first chapter, in these wordes; It is God surelie that confirmed vs, together with you, in Christ, and hath annointed vs, who also hath sealed vs, and haue giuen the earnest of the spirit in our hearts. Whereby it cometh to passe, that as manie as trauell desire, are not vnlike called both Christs disciples.

12 But this we must note, that their commendation of the laue did vnto by the coming of Christ. Wherefore the papists, and some of the others, there also were lead vnto a certaine false expectation, in that they returned to the their annointing. They thought haue that oile of theirs to be set forth so curiously, with such pompe and solemnitie, as no other sacrament is so highly commended vnto by Christ. This is the disposition of men, that they alwaies make those account of their owne intentions, than of the commendations of God. But their men, in their oile, doo bragge & cannot rest that more than a waile that cannot be blotted out; And yet, that the same is, they understand not; neither being asked, be able to teach others what it meaneth. But all these things, Christ, by his coming, did abrogate: wherefore there is no need of oile. It is sufficient if ministers be lawfully chosen, that they may with some authority teach the people. Neither is it neede need for kings and princes to be annointed. But if there be any that at this daie be annointed, the whole conuocation thereof, (in my iudgement) belongeth to civil obedience, & not to religion. Albeit therein also seemeth to be some false assertion of the Jewes; for now we be all annointed both, and christians; and it is sufficient to haue the thing it self. There is no need of a signe, at

ter that we haue dedicated our name vnto Christ. And we are said to be annointed, not because we be stroked with oile; but in respect that we haue attained vnto that, which the oile in old time signified. Whentimes the thing it self is put for the signe, and the signe also for the thing. Christ was neuer annointed with oile, so far as we read: and yet Iesus saith twiseth of him; The holie spirit beupon me, because he had annointed me. And in the 105. psalm, Dauid saith of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; When they were but a few in number, and God had led them about, defended them, and punished kings for their fakes: Touch not (saith he) mine annointed. We read not, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were annointed with oile; yet, because they were consecrated for to instruct the people of God, they be called Christs, and annointed. The thing it selfe is used for the signe.

13 Christ also is called Lord. Which name doth little agree with him: for all things are giuen vnto him by the father, and he hath power to call the prince for his saluation; wherefore he is called the father. And we may gather, that he is called Lord, by the obtained this name; because the hebrewes neuer pronounceth the holie name *Tetragrammaton*, vntion of foure letters, which is, *Iehovah*, but pronounced by other wordes, that is, *Elohim*, and *Adonai*; which signifyeth, might of dominion. Which thing framed to be the cause, that the 70. interpreting, when they read this name *Tetragrammaton*, translated it by this word *Uxor*, which is, Lord. As it appeareth in manie places, of the which we will alledge one; The Lord said vnto my Lord: where in the first place is written *Iehovah*, which they translate, Lord. So as when Christ is called Lord, it is as much as if he had beene called God. Although Tertullian, against Praxeas, saith; that Christ is called Lord, when he is ioined with the father: for then the father is called God. But and if the being ioined ioined vnto him, should also be called God; the Church might thinke, that we grant more gods than one. Wherefore, to withstand their insinuation, we make this word Lord an epitheton of the sonne. But if the name Iesus Christ by himselfe, and alone, he is plainly called God: as it appeareth in manie places of the scriptures. And be such a certaine similitude. As a braime is of the same, when we make mention of it by it selfe. As we call it the sunne, and we saye, that the sunne entereth in at our windowes: but when it is spoken, that the sunne is to be named together with the beame, we call not the beame by the name of the sunne, but saye it is the beame of the sunne. But the first reason is more firme.

14 As concerning the kingdom of Christ, which is to bring no small difficultie, when we see in the holie scriptures, there is often mention made

Christ was annointed with oile, as Ioh. 1. 21. Mat. 3. 16.

In Mat. 1. 7. the word *Uxor* is called Lord, 2. Cor. 12. 12.

Mat. 11. 27.

2. Tim. 2. 19.

1. Cor. 12. 13.

made

mate of the eternall kingdom of Christ; which, if it shall haue an end, as the wordes of Paule in the 15. chapter of the first to the Corinthians, seeme to signifie, some contrarie will appere to be thrust vp. Gabriel said vnto Marie; God shall giue vnto him the seate of his father Dauid, he shall reigne in the house of Iacob for ever, and there shall be no end of his kingdom. And Daniel, when he prophesied euertie of the apocryphes, he was not silent as touching the kingdom of Christ; but he prophesied, that that should be a kingdom of all tongues, and for ever. This knowe we Ambrose vnto, that we must not belene, that the sonne will be deliuerd vnto the father, as he shall cease to reigne: but because he will then declare vnto all persons, that that all his strengths and actions be of the father, from whom is all paternitie both in heauen & in earth. And after this sort he shall opene his glasse him. Which thing shall be, to deliuer the kingdom vnto God, to the father; that is, not to use the same vnto himselfe onlie. Augustine, wherefore he intreateth of this place, consenteth vnto Ambrose. But we may expound it otherwise, and (as I thinke) with a mete exposition, by these wordes that folloiw; as to saie, that to reigne, is sometime taken as it were to excell, to be above others, and to hold the highest place. And in this signification Christ shall reigne perpetuallie.

But if we saie, that to reigne, is in such sort as to exercise the office of a king, to fight, to defend, to overcome, and other such like: Christ shall not alwaies reigne. For when he shall be perfect and absolute, there will be no need of these helpes of Christ. When he came into the world, he preached, he taught, he died for our saluation: now also he must needs intercession for vs vnto the father, he defendeth vs from euilles that hang ouer our heads, neither doth he at a new time, cease from the office and actions of a mediator: but in the end, when all things be pacified, he shall reigne these offices to his father, when there is no longer place for them. Euen as when a most mightie king sendeth his onlie sonne into some prouince of his kingdom, that is disquieted with seditions, tumults, and rebellions; and his sonne going forward with empire, and with a strong host, when he hath rest at quiet, and hath reduced the rebellious into subiection, he returneth a conquerour vnto his father, triumphant, and deliuereth vnto him the prouince subdued, and vnto the empire of waer and legions no longer. So was it used at Rome: when the enemies were subdued, the Dictator renounced his authoritie; & being come a private person, returned to his accustomed business. But betwixen such like things,

the name of the sonne, was,

1. Cor. 12. 13.

and this that we haue now in hand, this is the difference; that the sonne of God will not renounce himselfe, as he can be renounced of his honour: but because (as I haue said) in the latter daies he shall rest from the office of reigning, and shall be said to deliuer vnto God the father, the kingdom being in peace and tranquillitie, and the enemies subdued.

15 Touching the death and reformation of the sonne, the apostle writeth, that he taught the Corinthians first of all. For these two be the two principall and chiefe points of our religion, vnto which (without controuersie) all the rest be referred. Further he saith, that he taught them, euen as he had received of God, and of Christ Iesus our Lord. As he testifieth vnto the Galatians, and as we read in the Acts. The authoritie of God, whose ordinance they resist, which command vs to be like vnto those things, which the Romane church belereth. These men doo give place, neither vnto God, nor yet vnto the scriptures; they account the hope to be one alone all. But the apostle, not onlie confesseth, that he receiued those things, which he taught; but he also those mentioned in the scriptures, which as he taught, that Christ died according to them, & that he rose againe according to them. And seeing by the scriptures he meant the old testament, we canlie gather thereby, by what cause, or to what purpose he ought to read the same; to wit, that we may confirme the new testament by fundie and manifold testimonies. We ought also to consider with our selves, when we heare that Christ died for our finnes, how outragiously and cruel our sinne is; seeing it, he bowed the forme of God to be therefor deliuered vnto the death of the crosse. Neither let any man tell me, that God might haue redeemed the world by some other means; and that it was not altogether necessary for the saluation of man, that the sonne of God should be suffered vnto the crosse. For if we once determine, that God is a most wise and iust considerer of things; we will acknowledge, that he shewing this meanes of our saluation, did exorcise the death the nature of sinne, when he decreed to giue his onlie sonne vnto death, and that vnto a shameful death; to the end he might rise his elcet from sinne. And yet will we iudge it to be done without cause, when we remember that sinne is the onlie thing, whereby we resist God. There is nothing

what we must call to minis in thinking of the death of Christ.

It is onlie for will we iudge it to be done without cause, when we remember that sinne is the onlie thing, whereby we resist God. There is nothing

the



the resurrection of Christ, for that he then desired to have become our heavenly and bodily life. Paule believ in a manner the selfe-fame hopes of two, when he saith; With the bare we beleeve unto righteousnesse; and with the mouth we confesse unto salvation. For the faith of the heart both willingly and willingly, and also willingly salvation. Whereby one desireth salvation and illumination are diverse declared in action; therefore he acknowledgeth it to confession. But whether of these expressions is the truer, neither do I contend, nor yet willinglie will I so note declare.

19 Rightlie therefore it is said, that C. D. commended his love towards vs; when he beluered his owne soule into the crosse for our sakes. For here is nothing, that men hold more deere, and let more close by, than their children. Therefore we read, that twiced mothers when they would testifie to their auerulous lovers, their most fervent love and faithfullnes of their continual companie, they their owne children; because they sawe they had no other argument more sure to testifie their good will towards them. So too, when for our sakes he beluered his soule into the death, and that unto a most shameful death, gave unto vs a most precious token of his exceeding good will towards us. In that he created the world for our sakes, it was indeed a great signe of his good will towards us: although therein rather shined forth his power, and divine might and wisdom. For it to the part of liberall and free bared loves, to give and bestowe manie things upon others. Whobeeit, love will never go so far, as they will endanger themselves for their servants sakes. Wherefore, when C. D. gave his owne soule unto the death for our sakes, there in (as Paule saith) the most of all let forth his love towards us: which thing he therefore did, to stir us up to love him againe.

God had commanded us in the law, that we should love him with all our hart, with all our soule, and with all our strength. And that we might the willinglier performe this, he would first declare his good will towards us, that it might appeare, that he loved and cared for us, more than for himselfe. For he would be, even for our sakes: which death yet we so little esteeme, that we will suffer nothing for it; nor restrain our selves from any commodities of the body, as belies of the flesh. His will was, that all men should be in good case, and in the meane tyme alone to suffer: but we desire to be in good case our selves alone, although all other in the meane time must perishe. But it is not possible, that there should be in us so great a contempt both of our owne salvation, and also of the salvation of others; but that either we believe not so great a benefit of God, or else we do not

caremelle enough weigh it. Therefore must lower, that which is great a drinke and fervent love married his soule, as Christ hath married unto himselfe his church. Neither hath any man, at any time, married a worse drinke and unworthy to him to match with, as Christ hath done the church. For in what state the church was, before Christ matched with it, Ezechiel in the 1. 6. chapter describeth, where he saith, that She laie upon the ground, and that his inward thing was not cut off, neither was she washed with water, nor powdered with f. and there was no one that had compassion on her.

Paule also, both to the Romans; and elsewhere, both oftentimes declare at large in that state we were before we came to Christ. Unto the Ephesians, he not onely saith, that we are by nature the children of wrath, but also he addeth; Ye were once darknesse, but now ye are light in the Lord. Unto Titus he saith; We were as soles, not obedient, but wandering out in the waie, giuing our selves to fandrill lues, living in malice and enie, hatefull, and hating one another.

In the first to the Corinthians, when he hath recomed a deapoll of most belious sins, he saith; These things vnderstande we ye sometimes, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified. Wherefore, we have the former of God given unto us, as a pledge of the love of God. He playes not in his deas an angel; or an archangel; although he might so have done. He was bound to come himselfe, and to suffer a most bitter death upon the crosse. It becometh, that for our redemption there should be some such good thing offered unto C. D., which might either be equalitie, or else more please God, than all the finnes of the world had displeased him. And this both Christ offered for us. And if a man demand, why the death of Christ was so acceptable unto C. D.; there can no other reason be given, but his inimitable charitable and love.

God indeed might have bene contented with any other thing; but his will was rather to have this thing; not because he would feed his eyes and mind with the affliction and punishment of Christ (for that had bene the part of a cruel father) neither yet that he would feed the great love and modestie in his owne (although these things were in Christ most singular) and of verie great force with the father: but (as a beelie image) because that by this onely meane, he might be his love towards us to be most perfectly declared; and also an example of most holie life to be set forth for men to followe. For if thou demand, whether it were of necessity, that the soune of God should in such sort be C. D. and that there must be put no necessity of compassion; seeing there is nothing in God, that is by violence; neither also there are any necessity

necessitie of nature. For although there be in the divine nature, many things of necessity; namely, that it be one, that it be this, and that it be that a soule, and such other; yet were it a worse kindnesse to thinke, that any outward effect proceedeth from the same, through naturall necessity, seeing that former God death, he doth it freely. Neither do we here put any necessity by supposition of the end. For the salvation of man might have bene wrought by manie other waies and meanes, if Godes will had bene so. But it was of necessity, that Christ should be by supposition of the divine providence; a counsell, because God had decreed it should be so. And thus he doth therefore to declare his infinite love.

20 Now therefore to say, what this so great love of C. D. towards us requirith againe at our hands: and those things are manie. For first, as Christ applied all his will and intention to redeem vs, so is it our part on the other side, to be able and all thelie to adiuu our selves unto him. And as he, setting aside all things, had a care onely of our salvation; so also ought we to care onely of our mind from all things, and not to feare our owne any more, but that which belongeth unto Christ. They, which have returned againe into fauour with their enemies, may be an example unto us. For they, least they should have seemed to do it counterfeite, or false, leave no dutie undone, but that they shew unto their new reconciled friends: yea and take speciall heed, that they be not thought to retene still any remnants of enmitie, or dissimulation closed by in their mind; as we read that Cicero, Crassus, Pompeius, and manie other did.

Further also, seeing by the mercede of God, through the death of Christ, we are so freestlie placed; we must take heed, that though we be free and shamefull acts, we shew not our selves belowe headlong from thence. For they, which after they have bene once reconciled, perishe in selling themselves with bribes, do not onely fall headlong from their most excellent state and condition, but also (as it is written unto the Hebrewes) do tread under foot the soune of C. D., and pollute his blood, which was shed for them. By this place also we are taught to love our enemies, not after that ordinary manner; as when men are wont to say, that it is enough to wish well unto their enimie, if they hate him not: but yet in the meane time, they put not no endeavour, either to amend him, or to bring him to salvation. And that, which is more graueous, they are not onely not benefitt all towards their enemies; but also through their foolishnesse, they suffer the weakie brethren to perishe. They winke at their faults, neither do they use their admonitions and reprobations

to amend them. There are besides, infinite other instructions, which the love of God teacheth vs. The love of God haue no doubt furnished with more abundant doctrine, than is the death of Christ: the which if thou diligent examine, we shall be throughlie taught almost in all the duties, which be necessary unto saluation.

21 Furthermore, those things that be said, touching the death and resurrection of Christ, are the most manifest. But what it is to sit at the right hand of C. D., it doth not so plainlie appeare. The speech is metaphorical, verbius from pictures and things, the place at their right hand such as they hold in greatest honour and estimation. In the 1. 0. place it is written; Sit at my verbe, 1. right hand, vntill I make thine enemies thy footstool. And Salomon, when he was named to shew great honour unto his mother Berisba, he commanded that the should have a throne set for hir vnder his right hand. Also the sonnes of Ze. Matt. 10. 11 be desired of Christ, that they might sit, the one at his right hand, and the other at his left hand. Touching this high honour granted to him of his father, Christ himselfe saith; All things Mat. 11, 27 are giuen vnto me of my father, and there is gi. and 28, 18, uen vnto me all power, both in heauen & earth. And Iohn the Euangelist saith; Iesus knowing Iohn. 13, 3, that all things should be delivered vnto him. And Paule, unto the Ephesians, saith; He is set above all principallitie, power, vertue, dominion, and above euerie name that is named, be it in this world, or in the world to come.

And unto the Philippians; He gaue him a name that is above euerie name, that in the name of Iesus euery knee should bow; of things in heauen, of things in earth, or of things vnder the earth. And unto the Colossians; He is the beginning and first begotten of the dead, that in all things he might have the preeminence. For if it pleased the father, that in him all fleshly should dwell. And although the right hand of God (as we have said) signifyeth honour and high dignitie; yet must we not thinke, that the booke of Christ is spied out so farre, as his Godhead and right hand is extended. For that booke (as the state of humane nature requirith) is comprehended in a certaine and definite place, the which is heauen; as Peter in the Acts of the apostles doth testify; as the article of his ascension doth teach vs to beleeue, and as Augustine and manie of the fathers have instructed vs.

4 Looks the dialog of both natures in Christ. Of Christ's person, death, and resurrection, looking 3. persons, and the epistle unto the brethren of Poland.

When as I was come thus far forward, where happened into my hands (which I had in vaine sought long before) our authors exposition vpon the apostolical Creed, written in his owne

Admille  
rude.

natural language. The which D. Peter Martyr, disourning himselfe from the dregs of poperie, set forth, when he departed out of Italie: as Malter *Iohannes Simlerus* understandeth it was fame, for so much as (to my knowledge) it was not yet extant in Latine, set forth in this manner, I thought it would be both pleasant and profitable to the readers, that it might come to light: a few things being cut off, because they were both larger, and more exaltie treated of in another place. Further, as touching the causes of departing from poperie, looke the second epistle.

### The xviij. Chapter.

A plaine exposition of Peter Martyr, vpon the twelue articles of the Christian faith.



**T**he articles of our faith, set forth nothing vnto vs but the knowledge of God. And as we be not able thoughtlike to comprehend him, he being perfect and incorrupt in nature: so is there particularitie giuen vs, sometime some one small taste and feeling of him, and sometime another. And seeing in the diuine nature, there be thre persons (as we beleue) of one essence, namely, the ffather, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost, that whole essence pertaineth to ch one of them. But now this first article, which properlie concerneth the ffather, ypposeth thre things to be obserued: first, that he, in whom we beleue, is the true God; secondly, that the same is the ffather; thirde, that he is omnipotent; and lastlie, that he is the author and first vsurper of all things created. Now go to: let vs first particularlie, what the proper meaning is of these wordes; I beleue in God. A furdrie, we can not otherwise explaine this sentence, than to saie, that he is to be acknowledged as God.

The whole  
essence be-  
longeth to  
ch one of  
the persons.so beleue  
in God re-  
poundeth.Iooke in 1.  
60.10.

So as if a man demand of vs, what is God: (refusing all humane subtiltie, and lateng aside the difficultie that he be vnsearchable) thou must boldlie & absolutelie answer without fitching, that God is the eternal god, of whom euery other god hath come. Wherevpon it appeareth, that he, which esteemeth anie thing as much, or more than God, cannot trulie saie; I beleue in God. For so if he be thou acknowledge him to be the chiefe god, thou wilt neuer preferre anie thing before him. Neither yet can he rightlie beleue this, that at anie time fecteth his hope

anie other waie; seeing hope is not but of some god thing. If then, God (as I haue said) be the god, from whence euery god hath dothe; yf thou, vnderstandest anie god else where, beleue not trulie in him. Furthermore, they which attribute the god things, which they possesse, vnto their owne righteousness, vnderuowings, and finalitie to themselves, haue not the sense and (as I may saie) the true taste of this first article of our faith. What then wilt thou saie of them, which haue appointed to themselves certaine ends of god things, out of the vanitie of their owne deuse, and out of the decays of philosophers and politike men; yea, and out of the sense of brute beasts, in the which they in deie did repose themselves, whatsoever euill they bring: Such kind of men doubtlesse properlie worship not God, but in the place of God, do worship the phantasies & inuencions of their owne braine. The thing (beleue me) is of greatest importance, for a man to haue the true God to be his God. The prophet David pronounced that people blessed, whose God is the true God.

Psa.144.17.

But now it doth appere, what it is to be leue in God: to witte, we haue not yet declared, that the father is called by the name of father. That name is attributed vnto him for the causes ffolowinge. The one is, for that he is the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, which is the sonne of our Lord in diuine nature. The other, because it pleased him to be our father. And he is therefore called father, because he distributeth his inheritance to vs; and to communicate his nature with vs, as Paul to the Romans calleth vs. The fathers of God: and Peter faith, that we participate of the diuine nature. For these two things speciallie, the parents are wont to giue vnto their children. For first, they inuowen (as much as they can) to make them like vnto themselves, as concerning nature and state of liuing. Then, when they haue made them their beires, they desire to enrich them with all their substance. The similitude vnquestionable, which the regenerate haue with God, their father, consisteth in wisdom, iudice, simplicitie of mind, magnanimitie, charitie, and in other like heauenlie and diuine affections of the mind: whereby they iudge themselves to be made according to the image of God, as they were created at the beginning. And the inheritance, which they expect of so excellent a father, is eternal and most blessed life.

wherin our  
similitude  
with God  
standeth.

And (I pray you) how much doth this generation differ from that, wherein we are begotten according to flesh and bones? And how great a diuinitie is there betwene the same inheritance of eternal life, and the free gifts among them that be alive, or that are to be borne by testaments, concerning felis, viueyardes, houses,

Math.5.48

Matt.19.29.

of the  
omnipotence  
of God.

Rom.8.17.

Petr.4.

Rom.4.20.

houses, cattell, iudice, or anie other thing: For albeit we haue not so much as these things vnto our way than of him, and by him now presentlie; yet we speake onlie of that, by reason whereof, God is properlie called The father of them that be regenerate in Christ. If to be that men should inuade this thing (as much it were) with faith and readinesse of mind, they should not so erre from the properties and similitudes of God our father: neither yet could they then the blespation of false begotten children, by their vaine and wicked doos; as at this daie many are accursed to do.

This is that fatherlie image and shape, offered vnto Christ inuited vs in these wordes; Be ye perfect, as your heauenlie father is perfect. Yet did he neuertheless not hope in silence that godlie and rich inheritance, when he said vnto Peter; Who soeuer shall leaue that that is his, for my names sake; he shall not onlie receiue an hundred fold for me, but besides this, shall haue eternall life also. Wherefore, therefore expected to great an inheritance by faith, when also he is not putted by by poperie, is neither to be foolishly about me measure in aduersitie, but to be hathimines his mind bent vnto greater matters: neither will he ever perishe himselfe, that the labours and vncertainties, which be salutary vnto in this life, are not equiuallent to the reward which he looketh for.

But now let vs come to the third point, wherein we beleue him to be omnipotent. And this doth first signifie, that he, of his owne onlie power, was able to bring forth (as afterward shall be said) whatsoever is contained both in heauen and earth. Further, when he will protect me from all euilles, and heape euery god thing vnto me, (I being his owne workemanship) he can spend the same by manie meanes, and be being omnipotent (as we beleue him to be) can easilie remoune all lets and impediments. Herof dependeth, as of a most sure foundation, all the honour and worthinesse of our faith: For how much further the wisdom of man, the world, the flesh, our owne heere sense, temptation of the diuell, is able to withstand the promises contained in the holie scriptures, by this article is beaten downe. Herof it cometh, that Paul saith vnto the Romans; Abraham gaue the glorie vnto God, when he beleued perfectlie, that he was able to performe that, which he promised: although the same might not be granted by humane reason and power. Wherefore, thou must not make anie account of that, which impotente men shall object: neither yet of that, which troublesome cogitations entering into thy mind, and withstanding those things which be contained in the holie scriptures & diuine promises, shall moue;

thy to the is manifest both the infinite power of God, and also his fatherlie will, in whom thou profectest the selfe to belesse. Thou must also remember, that neither miracles are wrought, nor prayers are heard; vnto those that faith be fullie giuen vnto this omnipotence of God, and vnto the ioue, which he looketh vs. For this cause Christ said; that All things are possible vnto him that beleueeth.

Mark.9.22.

Now remaineth to expound the last part of this article; namely, The maker of heauen and earth. This which saying is belied the error, which the scholes of philosophers inuagor to perswade, that the world in verie deed was without beginning; and that it cannot by anie possible meanes be, that the same should be made of nothing: seeing here all we, that be inured with faith, do see much more perfitable than they haue fauour. For it shall be an absurd thing, to measure the works of God omnipotent, with a reuerie measure of natural things. Further, we also belesse hereby, that God is the perpetuall preserver of the things which he hath made. For vnto he should giue all things by the ffolowinge decree, whereunto he made them; without doubt, all things would be reuered to naught; to haue their being, were at the first brought forth by him of nothing. Wherevpon also it is latwall to conclude another thing; namely, that if all things be created by God; as we haue before declared; and that he be verie a father vnto vs, and so mercifull a father; what sooner is made by him, cometh to the life.

Vnto Adam, the parent of all mankind, all things in a manner became subiect: but being he was ungratefull of mind, he (by his granteous offence) spoiled both himselfe, and all vs of so precious and ample inheritance: the which inheritance Paul doth manifestlie shew, and that with verie great & most forceable arguments, to be rediged to vs againe by Christ; teaching, that the benefit of Christ is mightier, and of more efficacie, than the malice and wickednesse of Adam. Therefore he also teacheth vnto them, that All things happen well vnto them which trulie loue God. It is therefore our part, rightlie and iustlie to applie vnto our life and comfort those things that he createth, that for the life of them, and for the delitable fruit, which we receiue by them. The good life at God is to be praised, and thanks giuen vnto him. For as the same apostle, teaching vnto Timothy faith; All things created by God are good; that the faithful may vse them, and giue thanks to God, for as none of them be damned at all, and although the same haue by nature anie euill vnto it, yet, by the good and by prayer it is made good. And all things created do no lesse serue for the satisfaction of mans life, than do giue us

soo the  
creation of  
heauen and  
earth.

Rom.2.17.

Rom.8.27.

1.Tim.4.4



Gal.4,6. *thians it is said; Because ye be the sonnes of God; he hath sent into your hearts the spirit of his sonne. For this cause, all we that believe be made brethren; because of that divine adoption; as that among all, Christ is the full begotten, we as we read unto the Romans, being made to be the image of his sonne, that he might be the full begotten among manie brethren.*

1 Cor.1,3. *and will neede in us.*

Rom.8,9. *It is not marvell therefore, if Paule in his epistles, for the most part, calleth God Father; and further, comming unto Christ, calleth him Lord. Which manner also the church hath retained, when as in our prayers we ascribe all unto God & God Christ our Lord; as well that, which we do desire, as that which we have obtained. But seeing now, that after the declaration of those things, which were proposed, the principalitie of Jesus Christ is so manifest: which of vs can abide himselfe to be brought into the power of anie tyrant from such a Lord, who also is our brother? Which I take of vs, refusing this our notable a captivie, will betake himselfe to his enemies already conquered and put to flight by him, when as they be mortall enemies to our selves: Shall there be found anie, that will shake off the yoke of so boundfull a Lord, to submit himselfe unto him that witheth nothing more to him to deffend both bodie and soule? For my part, I thinke there can be none found among them, which have tasted the sweetnesse of so acceptable a Lordship, whereof Christ makes mention, when he saith, My yoke is ease, and my burden is light. As his subjection is voluntarie, as the prophet (if we have a consideration unto the heavenly truth) declarerh in the 110. psalme, wherein it is said unto Spettas; Thy people dooth worship thee of their owne accord.*

Mat.11,30. *And the apostle also saith; Ye be no more vnder the lawe, but vnder grace. Wherefore, all the charge and burthen of this principalitie, was laid upon the shoulders, not of vs, but of Jesus Christ; as it was foretold of him by Eliae the prophet; Vpon his shoulders shall he beare the foulerie or rule. Note, that the prophet saith not that his foulerie shall be laid vpon the shoulders of poore miserable libertines, but vpon his owne shoulders. If therefore christian princes would be perswaded in mind, not to oppress with such tyrannie the people of God committed unto them; they ought to take example of their gouernement from so mild and easie a gouernement of Christ. But passing over them, let vs reioice among our selves; that it is brought to passe by the goodnesse of God, that we be reconciled in so happy a societie, vnder the banner of so noble a prince and valiant brother; vnto whom shall neuer want, either will or power to helpe vs. Let vs tobole with confidence to take our selues into him; seeing we cannot op-*

*plie our trauell better. Let vs serue him with gentlie, and with all our hart; let vs worship and reuerence him from the hart. For both this is our dutie, and he is worthy of these things.*

*Concerned of the holie Ghost, borne of the virgine Marie.*

10 *This blessed God and man Jesus Christ, who as we heard before out of the holie scriptures is our lawfull Lord, although as concerning his will he was perfectioate, to date, and that he for euer (as it is written in the 13. chapter to the Hebrews) yet, in respect of his humane nature he was not without beginning: as by reason hereof, we saie, that he was made. Seeing Paule saith vnto the Galatians, that He was sent from God, and was made of a woman, and vnder the lawe. Vnto the Romans also; Who was made of the seede of David, according to the flesh. And least he should either stand in doubt touching this generation, or else iudge otherwise of it than becometh vs, saith both direct vs vnto these two things, and bindeth vs vnto them. The one is, that he was conceived by the holie Ghost; and the other, that he was borne; and that both of the virgine Marie. Which also the specialle confesse. And this is written distinctly by the Evangelists, to let vs vnderstand, that he (even according to the flesh) was free from the curse, and from sinne. Whereby it also appereth most plainlie, that the posteritie of Adam were so subiect to the curse and sinne, as there was no place for anie to be exempted.*

*Wherefore, to exempt Christ, according to the flesh, from the common fall of all mankind, so as he might euer reioice his owne nature, and the wisdome of God decreed by a wonderful counsell, that man, which was to be assumed in the vntie of person, should haue a beginning, both diuine and humane. For this cause, as it had bene foretold by the angell vnto Marie, so the holie Ghost came downe vnto her, and by the principall power thereof, the blood being now purified by his grace, did create a singular and perfect man, which the mercurall God, euen God, which was the word from euertlasting, did miraculouly take vpon him. Insumme as the wombe of the virgine Marie, and holie mother was the diuine furnace, where by the holie Ghost, of a matter well purified, builded this one onelie bodie, which was a most obedient instrument of a noble soule. And by this means, all the old blemishes of Adam were alienated from Christ, albeit that his bodie, as concerning the nature and forme of creation, was not much disgracefull from the booke of Adam.*

Heb.1,3.

Gal.4,4.

Rom.1,3.

4th Christ was conceived by the holie Ghost.

Math.1,2.

Luke,1,3.

Ephes.1,3.

Luke,1,3.

Adam. For our first parent Adam also was maruclouly, and by diuine power created out of the earth, without accustomed seed. And certeinly, there is no need of anie longer talke, to shew how much Christ, in respect of his nature, excelled Adam in all excellent gifts of nature: seeing the order and circumstance of his natiuitie is described, to wit, his humble and base state of poertie, which neuertheless had a glorious and renouelment testimonie from the miracle of God, and from the myrricall nature.

11 *Wherefore, passing over these things, we will occupy our whole speech in this profitable consideration; namely, that who is regenerated by Christ, must call to remembrance, what and how great hath bene the loue of God towards vs, who disdained not our foule and vncleane nature; but cleansing the same, did cloth himselfe therewith, to make vs partakers of his diuine nature. True indeed it is, that the truth, by his lieng spirit, sained; and that idolaters inuolued to perswade, that the gods, which they worshipped, were sometimes humane forme borne; not to be the intent they might sanctifie our nature, but to contaminate the same with infinite and heathen filthinesse. So that none of such like appearances, as are read in the writings of the poets do bring anie other thing vnto them; seeing they both shamefully pollute the bodie, and that minis by such infamous examples are allured vnto euill. For if they would order their life after the example of those things, they were also to let loose the bydes of liues vnto adulterie, fornication, and other horrible offences. But on the contrarie part, the diuine word hath cleansed our nature, by beaping of diuine gifts vpon the same. And this is not onlie to be understood, touching that man, which it assumed; but of all them, which with him in true faith be ioined together as members of him. And this beauteous word (which is Christ) being secretlie hidden vnder that nature, is so covered with iustice, patience, temperance, pudencie, wisdom, and sublimity of the mind, shewed forth by such perfect examples of singular iustice, as that his life onelie, if it be due considered, is a mirrour fit enough to liue in.*

12 *Wherefore, let dissolute and wanton Christians go; let them count it but a small matter to liue vnpurcellie, let them make but small account of the nature and members, which Christ by putting on hath sanctified; let them despise that noble example of holinesse and righteousness, which Christ shewed, while he liued in the flesh; let them cease also to expresse in their deedes, what participation of diuine nature they haue obtained in Christ. Vnconuertible, this is*

*no part of the end, which God purposed to himselfe, when he became man: neither certeinly did he, vpon this consideration, liue among vs by the space of 33. yeares. Wherefore, it should be met for the children of God, to liue a diuine life; seeing their nature is made diuine. But the life of those beastes and of men should be left vnto those, which in their incredulitie, either haue remained more men; or else, which haue degenerated through their wicked aas, and be changed as it were into brute beasts. Wherefore we haue to take heed, if we be by nature we haue to take heed, if we be by nature at anie time by the sense of the flesh, to take it grieuouly, and complain that we are subiect to humane infirmitie; namely, if we do beleeue indeed, that Christ suffered those infirmities for vs; for by this means they will come to them daily pernit. Forouer, if so humbled himselfe for our sakes, that when he was Lord, yet he appeared in the forme of a seruant; it ought not to seeme so hard a thing vnto vs, sometime to shake the same, and to submit the loinesse of mind for the sake of our weak and poore bodies. Therefore, not without iust cause Paule exhorted the Philippians, that amongst them should be The verie fame affection that was in Christ Iesus, when he was in the forme of God, yet did decline not to put vpon him the forme of a seruant. And thus far touching the original conception and natiuitie of Christ, according to the humane nature. Now let vs go forward.*

*He suffered vnder Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, buried, descended into hell.*

13 *The order, which he before appointed, required, that first he should speake of the death of Christ; according to that state, wherein he was after his death, as well touching the bodie, as touching the soule. First therefore, this death of Christ, the which can neuer be sufficientlie praised or considered by vs, had two things; one, that it was verie inglorious; the other, that it was glorious as our measure. The rebukes that Christ suffered, although they were verie manie, and verie hard to be abidant; yet let vs consider, that they depend vpon two principall points. The one is, that infamous quality and nature of times, which were laid vpon him; but the other is the perfect innocencie and pure righteousness of his life. For euen as, when anie vncleane and vnpure thing, if it be seene in the common street, is not so ill agreeing; and it leste offensively, than if through the crime and ill dealing of some man it be shewed vnto*

Phil.1,3.

Two things to be noted in Christ.

Three rebukes of Christ.

21



on a certeine noble and pretious painted table:  
so is it much lesse decent for a man that far ex-  
celleth all other creatures, to be stained with in-  
fanie and dishonour. And as concerning Chail,  
which was the head of men, the prince of angels,  
and the onelie sonne of God (he being not onlie  
just and innocent, but also verie innocencie and  
justice it selfe) certeinlie it was to to shamefull  
and ignominious, that he should be thured  
with so greivous crimes: and that in iudge-  
ment, not before the citizens of one citie onlie,  
but before all the people of the whole kingdome  
of Iewrie, who at that time, by a vniuersall com-  
mune, was compelled to celebrate Easter at Jeru-  
salem.

Neither did it satisfy him, that they had before-  
times defamed him with railings, calling him a possessor of evil spirits, a forcerer, a fa-  
miliar of devils, by whose helpe he did worke  
miracles; and that they called him a glutti-  
nous fellow, a drunkard, from whence no sound  
doctrine could proceed; likewise a companion of  
publicans & sinners, and finally of infamous  
and wicked men; that from him proceeded no-  
thing but offences, a cruel examples. They cal-  
led him a Samaritan, a stranger from the true  
worshipping of God, from whence, as from  
some prophane person that was economica-  
led from the church, all men were to shun. They  
(3<sup>ia</sup>) being not content with these repro-  
chings, to the intent they might pursue him un-  
to death, they laid this thing against him, that  
Pilate and Herod; namely, that he had uttered  
intolerable blasphemie against the lawe of  
God, arrogating unto himselfe the name of the  
lawe of God; that he was a wicked man, not  
onlie against their owne lawes, but also a-  
gainst the common state of the Roman empire,  
by persuading of the people to denie tribute un-  
to Caesar: and that he earnestly perswaded this  
one thing; to wit, that contrarie unto order,  
and without consent of the Romans, he challen-  
ged the dignitie of a king.

14. And by this means be come into such shame and contempt, as Barrabas, though he were a wicked and notable thief, was judged to be more worthy than he; so that such a man as I have said, shall be thought more worthy quit, our Christ was condemned. And in token of his just condemnation, and to haue it manifest, that he (above all other which commonly are judged) was worthy of the croc- ket; he by the decree of the Iudge was hanged betwixt two thieves, as though he had bene the chief of among those that were most wicked and malicious persons. But then was Iudas filled that prophetic, which is written in Elsie, *Woe faith;* that Christ should be condemned and nothing regarded among men: from whose sight curing one thought to hate himselfe, and

that at the length he should be reckoned among the wicked. And certeinlie, his sentence dooth not disgrace w<sup>th</sup> that, which Paule writeth in his epistle to the Galatians, where he saith, That he became a curse for vs, to deliuer vs from the curse of the lawe: for because it is written, Cursed is euery one that hangeth vpon a tree. And here cometh to remembrance, to speake a few wordes of the iustice of God, who heere creatinge vs, is neuer the same w<sup>re</sup>. But thet we (I say) the if same and confision be of god righte due unto finnes; that greater and mo: heaped measure of shame might there be found, than that, which Christ suffered for our sakes:

Where not the offences of man sufficient  
and above measure derided upon Chyff, & the  
same punished in him both all shame and disho-  
nour? Some man perhaps will say, that the re-  
bukes were of little hurt; because of his proud  
deed Innocence. And in verie deed this was  
the cause some reafement might have bene brought  
to those reproches, if that Innocence had bene  
most manifest to the sight of all men. But as  
rebellie, upon that badge, wherein Chyff was li-  
ved upon the croffe, he was so opposed to the  
great hope of despitifull railings, and false ac-  
cusations of euill, as the people mislerable be-  
held him nailed vpon the croffe, & tugging the  
head at him; not as though they were trouble  
by perceiving his afflictions, but that they  
might pursue him being tattered with  
nominies and flanders, as though they allowed  
that his innocencie was not sufficient to ex-  
cuse, which imurement all those words of  
reproches, which inuenged him on euill face. Further  
therefore may we reioyce, that he by this fall  
was a farther way to go great a benefit, & seeing  
the rebukes and ignominies, which were done  
vpon his finnes. Chyff our head toke vpon him, an  
utterable abhorred. *peca inuolubilis*, in this  
place of this shame a ignominie, in that by mar-  
tyr of Chyff poffesse in hope both glorie and vi-  
boure in the fight of *Q D D*, as a thing due  
to vs.

15 Whē being left onedme shame and igno-  
minie by the left judgement of GODD hee  
sinneth, but also punishments, which are laid upon  
sinneth, according to the manner and measure of the  
sinneth: for this cause Chyrl departed this life not  
without laden with railings and contumelies,  
but also tawne as it were plucked from the fame  
life by the violence of most greivous paines,  
and most cruel punishments. The which being  
the evangelists boe plentifullie recite, it is not  
our meaning to spend any longer time in par-  
ticuliar describing of the same. Unthouth it is  
worthy that all those punishments of the  
sinneth are innumerable, may be Christianly  
usefull unto those which are true. Amongst  
which, the first agree to be sundrie toies of  
sinneth.

upon the Creed.

Part.2

of Peter Martyr, i. v. Cap. 18, v.

## Chapter 8

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scornings, wherewith he was diuers times often  
failed: such were the putting in his face, the se-  
lating, and insulting him by the name of king;  
the putting off of his stoune garments, and cloth-  
ing him with other garments vnbecomming  
the reputation of him conuerter to be a king, and  
sometime a prince: by blinding his eyes  
with a cloth, and by putting the scepter of a king  
into his hand (the same were a rod) into his hands:  
also, being so exalted, the bidding him to pay  
taxe by such as mocken him; also to be set na-  
ked in the sight of all the people: finally, to his  
garments diuided to most wicked knaues,  
and lots to be cast vpon them. I passe ouer, that  
he was accounted of Herod as it were a com-  
mon tole, & an infinite number of other mockes,  
with the which he was dignified; as the wise  
reuerend shall easily vnderstand out of the fol-  
lowing scriptures. But if one demand, wherein the  
rebukes and Inimities laid vpon Christ, wherof  
they haue spoken before, doe differ from those la-  
tine; I answer, that those belong to vnfaithful-  
tie, to seculacion, and vnfaith condemnation;  
but these were added for the punishment of  
those faults, which haue and will be laid vpon  
him.

the bloods  
of wounds.

16 Wellfare these reproaches, the multitudes  
the drips and bloodie wounds, which he suffered  
in his whole bodie, the bloodes, the scour-  
gings, the strikings with the reed, the prickings  
with thornes, and an infinite number of other  
things more, which he suffered at the sessions of  
the priests and elders in the iudgement hall, in  
thestrate, and elsewhere in diuers other pla-  
ces. These horrible afflictions received he vnder  
the crosse, the which he bare on his shoulders &  
great travail, before it held him stretched out  
vpon it with his whole bodie. But he was cruci-  
fied being not tied with anie bands, as perhap-  
the rest were; yet pailed out the sweat through  
hands and feet, euen as he himselfe hereof gaue  
a sure testimonie after his resurrection, when he

was cruci.

er, and that saue all things to be fulfilled that were foretold of him by the prophets, touching the former matter, he of his owne accord, making a loud voyce preloed by his spirit.

17 But here, I being sure that this is most  
woful to be heeded, I find in some sort, that  
thing I may here for I feel me self to avarice.  
Wholy it, among many things, I will now in-  
treat (as ye have as I can) of this, which I next  
address. First, let me add you one question; whe-  
ther it seeme not strange unto you, that God  
(wholy another rather kind of Inequities might  
have recompensed mankind to himselfe); toke in  
hand the performance thereof by so manie and  
so greivous paines and labour of his, alone  
forme? For this is certeyne, that he might have  
taken any other way in hand to bring to com-  
plishment of his wofull hisse: why then did he make him  
subiect to so manie inturies and rebukes: here  
might I answer, that the iustice of God might  
by no other means be satisfied. Which answer;  
as it is true, so is it commonly expressed. There-  
fore I thinke it meet, to make here these things  
most profitable to be knowen. And first I shall be  
this: that he maye satisfie the iustice thereof, by  
that he wofull inturies, which God wofull his  
cursement of our falshood hath done a bond by  
the iust judgement of God was growne through  
our finnes, heio greivous was the burthen of  
them, both growne was the wrath, enmitie, and  
hated which God had conceived against vs, and  
both heio growne a sentence hang our our heads.  
And thus, if it be diligent enough confidered,  
it will be a most fit fable to reframe our  
lukes, and to this vs from falling into foule  
and shameful acts, and into the vnicene works  
of carnellie of this world, and of the flesh: Un-  
doubtful we, conforting with the eies of our  
faith, both Iusticie and Charitie God hath pu-  
nished them in Christ, euen as it is of usought to  
be careful in this world from them.

Another thing that is most here to be noted is this, namely, that the consciences of men, which though the infirmities of the flesh be oftentimes faint, could never accuse themselves from damnation, which by their continual, yea then as God doth most fully judge, who never loses our faith in the midst of sin, is always felt by our eyes, these sinners' *eyes* being living mirrors of the face of time, could never have taken any comfort to turneth; unless the severe sentence against them had gone before. But then we perceive, that the same God, by his fatherly and better government, above the punishment for all our sinfulness, that from hence he spareth us, and that he will not suffer us to be punished for a full thousandth to our sins, and that he never be satisfied in giving of thanks unto the mercy of God, so that he call all our iniquities.

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How these things may be noted in the resurrection of Christ, and the gloire of Christ.

Phil. 4. 7.

Christes vertue raised him to his throne.

As he wills.

Mat. 10. 18.

Ioh. 13. 5.

rose againe from death: wherein he expell'd forth a greater power, than if he had then descended from the crosse. He thence in such sort with death, as he mighte conquering and destroying the same, might not be retained thereby. For this cause doe we here confesse, that he was raised by the third day, according to the scriptures; and that by his fathers becke he ascended into heaven, and that he sitteth at the right hand of the father. By which article of our faith we now take out most sweet comfort: to wit, that Christ is exalted for our saluation. And here fall out two things most worthy to be noted; the first is, what manner of exaltation and new gloire of Christ the same was; the second, what profit may rebound to the faithful thereby.

22 Whosoever is desirous to perceive aright, unto what a heighly Christ is raised up; first it becometh him to weigh, unto howe base an estate he first of his owne accord humbled himselfe for our sakes. His bodye Paule in his epistle to the Philippians continue in flesh woordes; He (saith he) made himselfe of no reputation, and tooke on him the forme of a seruant, and was made like vnto men, and was found in shape as a man, hee humbled himselfe, and became obedient vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse. In like manner also, as we have moe at large before shewed, his bodie was clothed by the sepulchre, but his soule had yfote of that state, which the spirits of men enter into, when they be separated from their bodies by death. The viler therefore and more abject that these things were vnto the thew, to much the more honourable it was to dispatch himselfe from hence, and to mount up vnto things more contrarie. And seeing that mankind is subiect euery where to sundrie miseries; these doubtlesse are no small miseries, which euen they that communie suffer, who abounding in riches, seeme to have obtained the more happy state of life. Yet the miseries of the poore be more grieuous: but when they serue in bondage, they be much more extreme.

Wherfore, if so be that a man, which is of a courageous & noble mind, be deliuered into the bondage of such his enemies, as not onelie are of base calling among men, but also of naughty and wicked behauiour; his lamentable and miserable state seemeth then to be most intolerable. Yet verelie all these things happened vnto Christ, who as he vnbondobdly put on the true nature of man, so was he a seruant, not onelie vnto his disciples (unto whom he said: that He came into the world, not to be ministered vnto, but to minister vnto others, which the thing it selfe declare, when as he humbled himselfe euen vnto the ground to wash their feet: ) but that which is a great deale harder, he declared himselfe as a seruant, euen to his owne eni-

mies; namely, vnto the wicked, and vnto them which were vholie couered in the sinke of wickednes; to whom he so executed the parts of a seruant, as for the lastest of them he spent his owne life. And this is it, that Paule teacheth in his epistle to the Romans; When as (saith he) wee were yet but weak, sinners, enemies, and wicked men, Christ died for vs. He therefore being so humble and abased, as he is called by the prophet A worne and no man; being he mounted up from so base a seruitude, vnto so high and noble a degree of dignitie; from an earthly condition, vnto a celestiall glorie; out of a place subiect to manie infirmities and tribulations, vnto a state free and free from miseries; from mortall flesh, vnto an immortal bodie; finally, when as he being so humbled, ascended neuertheless vnto the highest state of the most excellent monarchie: doth it not appeare to you, that he hath bene verte honoreable lifted up on high?

23 And that he being raised up from the dead, hath attained chiefly principallitie; Paule doth aptly teach in his epistle to the Ephesians, saying; Whome God placed at his right hand in heaven, far above all principallitie, and power, and might, and domination, and above euerie name that is named, not onelie in this world, but also in the world to come. And he hath put all things in subiection vnder his feet, and hath appointed him ouer all things to be head to the Church. The verte fame things also doth the same apostle put in in mind of, in his epistle to the Philippians, where by Christs voluntarie submission of himselfe, euen to the time of his glorie, he gathereth profitable and excellent doctrine in the woordes, saying; For that he submitted himselfe, and became obedient vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse; therefore GOD hath highly exalted him, and given him a name that is above euerie name, that in the name of Iesus euerie knee should bow, both of things in heaven, and of things in earth, and things vnder the earth. Which later in verte god right is agreeable to him, according to the rule prescribed by himselfe in an other place; He that will humble himselfe shall be exalted. Wherby also it may be gathered, that the glorie must be high and magnificent, according as the submission is voluntee.

And seeing there neuer was, nor neuer shall be, any voluntarie submission to abiet as the same that appeared in Christ; it followeth thereby, that of a most deferred right, he is named above euerie creature that is most high. For by afflictions and miseries doth he suffer; while he liued here amongst men: not to be inuolued most blessed rest, and is safe, as well in bodie as in soule, from all trouble and disquietnesse. He is

passed

Rom. 6. 9.

I. Co. 15. 44.

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passed from the most shamefull and ignominious death, vnto the most excellent life, as he is now all vholie blessed and immortall. Wherfore the apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, saith; that Christ being raised vp from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more power ouer him. Now then, if he be altogether free from death, he must of necessitie also be rid from all infirmities and sufferings, which in like manner be the ministers and soldiers of death. There is none, but doth sufficientlie understand, howe far distant heauen is from earth. In like manner also I must we consider, that the same high state, vnto the which Christ is now carried, doth euen as much differ from that state, to the which he submitted himselfe, while he liued here among men.

24 And albeit that difference betwene the earthly and heauenlie state may seeme to be ample, this neuertheless is certaine, that I perceiue not so far in these woordes as Paule doth, who in the first epistle to the Corinthians, calleth that bodie, which shall be reformed to vs, in the last resurrection, not celestiall, but spiritual; Is sowne (saith he) a natural bodie, and shall be raised vp a spirituall bodie. He meaneth not, that Christ among the rest of the faints, which shall rise with him, shall not haue flesh, bones, bloud, distinct members, and finally a true bodie. For with out doubt, the truth and propriety of humane nature shall still remaine: but he calleth it a spirituall bodie, because that same noble nature and forme, vnto the which it shall be reformed, shall not flowe from an earthly original, such as humane flesh is; but from the power of Gods spirit. Furthermore, the bodie being raised vp, shall be adorned with new qualities, which shall by nature vnto the nature of the spirit, and not vnto the nature of the earth; and for that cause shall intill be called spirituall. Wherfore, he that rightlie shall weigh the woordes of the apostle, while he nameth it a spirituall bodie, will not alledge the same against a copozall bodie, but against an earthly, mortall, and corrupt bodie. Wherfore he addeth these woordes; It is sowne in an infamous bodie, it riseth a glorious bodie; it is sowne in weakenesse, it riseth in power; it is sowne a natural bodie, it riseth a spirituall bodie. In a bodie raised vp, be no infirmities or naturall motions to resist the spirit; & no heaues or grossefnesse so great, but that it shall easily & beeth the right attes of the spirit.

Whosoener it be, it is sufficientlie confirmed by those things, which haue bene spoken; that the name of spirituall body in verte god right agerietie vnto the bodie of Christ, being raised vp; because it is somewhat more, than if he should saie, Heauenlie; for so much as Christ, after his resurrection (as it is added in this Creed) not onelie ascended into heauen, but also

was carried about heauen, & there sitteth at the right hand of God the father almighty. Which right manner of speech, seeing it lately before our eyes a certaine humane forme, we must diligenter ponder from whence it is deriued, & say thereto; that no others are placed at the princes side, but those, vnto whom princes sauouring haue exalted to some high degree of dignitie. And among those, which be inuolued with this honour, no others are placed at the right hand, but those which are advanced to the highest room of honour, or power, meet the prince. And this which here is declared touching Christ, we must vnderstand to be altogether figuratiue speech of Christ, being God, without doubt, & thus, a flesh: neither hath the right hand or left. Vnto this manner of speech, we be giuen to understand, that Christ, in that he is man, is by God inuolued after the resurrection with such hono as dignitie, as there is nothing in this world empire, that not onelie cannot be preferred above him, but not compare with him.

25 But this being now declared; namely, the state vnto what high glorie Christ by his resurrection ascended, and the same being set forth as plain as the capacity of them, to whom these things be written, will beare, and as the occasion of mine owne leaseure would giue me leave; it shall be verte necessary to adde what profit the same may bring vnto vs; whereby also we shall understand, vnto what use we ought to referre the same. For, seeing there is no action of Christ, that is not of verte great importance, to the furtherance of our saluation; this we ought to account with our selues, that by this action, which easilie appeareth among others, the greatest and chiefest commodities do rebound vnto vs. Wherfore let this cogitation first enter into our mind, that seeing Christ could not be overcome of death; he is able now the better & great as to releaue our necessities, and that by the fauour and power of his father, vnto whom he hath all honours (as it hath bene said) to familia: access, and to whom he continually offering prayers of singular efficacy for vs, winneth vs his fauour, and presenteth vs such strength, as otherwise we could neuer obtaine to our selues. Wherfore, Christ being raised from death, who is our head, we also are raised in him. As I will me (I beseech you) will you not iudge him to haue escaped the danger of death, which falling into a fiery river, doth by all his head about those deepe and dangerous waters; notwithstanding that the rest of his members be as yet drowned in the same? Quen so we, which be one bodie in Christ; (seeing he, which is our head, hath escaped from the credding depth of death; while also of god right are not we said to be raised up from death, but onelie we as yet in this mortall state be couered with the same; For otherwise doubt,

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Col. 3.3.

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Ephes. 19.

Rom. 8.3.

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lelle we should denie him to be our head. And if we profess our selues to be the members of him, we must of necessitie also acknowledge, that our resurrection is after a sort begone in his resurrection.

¶ In the winter time we see a bare tree without leaves, flowers, and fruit, so that by the outward view it may be taken as withered, and yet so long as the root sticketh fast in the ground, it is alive, and is not counted dead. But if a man cannot persuade himself thereof, let him expect till the spring of the year, and then the truth of the matter will appear by the leaves and flowers which spring forth. For by evident effects it will be well knowne, that the life of that tree laie hidden before. Even so we, which here seeme to be as it were the botie of death, and in whom no tokens of found life do appear: if we be ingrafted in Christ, which is our root, who liueth, & for our fathers is raised by againe, wherefore we knowe our resurrection to come: And thus is it that Paule testifieth in the epistle to the Colos. We are dead (saith he) and your life is hidden in Christ with God: when Christ, which is your life, shall be made manifest, then also shall ye be made manifest with him in glorie. For Christ departing into heauen, gratified vs with that singular gift of the spirit: to whom, as the original life of our soules, and beginning of christian regeneration is due: so is it also of the resurrection of our bodies: as Paule testifieth in his epistle to the Ephesians, to wit, that we be led vnto faith through the effectual working of his strong power, which God shewed forth in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his right hand in heauenly places.

Seeing therefore we haue the first fruits of the spirit, by the vertue whereof Christ rose againe from the dead, who as we knowe hath attained vnto that glorious end, whereunto we are aduocated to come; we must be of a cheerful mind, and confirme our selues in that gift, which he hath granted vnto vs. For what so great disquietnesse of state shall happen vnto vs in this life, that can haue vs in sadnesse and heaviness of mind: For (as Paule saith in the epistle to the Romans;) We are now saved by hope. Alas! surely, it is not to be counted a small grace, that we by Christ are deliuered from death: so that we may now boldly triumph, not onely against it, but against all other miseries and misfortunes, which be as it were gardeners of the same. And we may comfort and cheere vs our minds against the violent motions of the flesh, the which being conuenced by such miseries, doeth continually murmur; seeing there is not onely a promise made vnto vs of a new life, but we haue also a certaine and sure pledge of the

same in Christ.

¶ Furthermore, that noble resurrection which is doth out of all doubt further gratifie our salvation. For, albeit that sinnes be forgiven by the death of Christ, and by that onely and most acceptable sacrifice; and that in his flesh fastened vpon the crosse all our faults haue bene purged: yet nevertheless, the forme of that spiritual life (wherein we must liue no longer vnto the flesh, but vnto the spirit; not vnto old Adam, but vnto Christ; not vnto our selues, but vnto God our father) is not perceived thereby. But this doth afterward appear in that life, which Christ receiued by his most mightie resurrection. And therefore Paule testifieth in his epistle to the Romans; that Christ died for our offences, Rom. 4.31, and was raised vp for our iustification. And by the death of Christ we were reconciled vnto God: but yet therein is not offered any promise of our state to come, but double life in the resurrection it shall shine most perfectly. For it was not beyond nature, that the flesh of Christ (which was subject to the same infirmities that we be) should be: but his resurrection he went beyond nature it selfe, as when the flesh of it selfe was infused in no vertue, whereby it might aduise it selfe of a new life, that whole was giuen to it by the mere grace and bounty fullnesse of God. This also, as far as asperitueity to that new and infused regeneration, can compass the same by no vertue or desert of our owne works; but God, of his grace and goodnesse, gaue it vnto vs without any respect of our owne merits. Further, euen as Christ, being risen from the dead, ascended into heauen; so we, being iustified by his grace, it is met for vs, in all our whole life, to thinke no more vpon earthly, but vpon heauenly things. This doth Paule teach vs in his epistle to the Colossians; If ye be risen (saith he) with Christ, seeke ye the things that be aboue, and not earthly things.

¶ Besides this, as Christ being risen from the dead, dieth no more; so he that is regenerated by faith, let him take heed, that he do not fall againe into miserable and dangerous infirmities. For which cause Paule admonisheth Timothy, that he should remember, that Iesus Christ was risen againe from the dead. For the remembrance of the same resurrection of Christ, is of no small stirring vs to the leading of a good and innocent life; that in such sort we may followe Christ, who being one, & deliuered himselfe from death by our. So we, being by his faith freed from sinne, it is not commendable, that we should intangle our selues againe vnder the yoke of sinne. And hence doth the same apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, ver. well monthly vs; Euen as Christ (saith he) was raised vp from the dead vnto the glorie of the father, so

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Col. 3.

2. Tim. 3.

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Phil. 3.4.

ver. 11.

we also should walke in newnesse of life. And vnto this ought we, with all inducure, to apply our selues, continually going forward, as Paule in the epistle to the Philippians speaketh of himselfe; namely, that Forgetting those things, which were behind, and indoeuring to that, which should be before, we might followe hard towards the marke, for the price of the high calling of God, whither he was not yet come. This verelie was to knowe Christ, and the strength of his resurrection. And he saith a little before; I will trie if I may by any means attaine to the resurrection of the dead.

¶ Wherein standeth the whole summe of christiannitie, that inuincible we should be our renewall, and that our worlde, as far as lieth in vs, we should pleasure and benefit our neighbors: seeing Christ, being raised from the dead, hath so greatlye induced vs with his benefite, by giuing from that time vnto his children that precious gift of the holie spirit; and first went vnto his father, where he continually beholoth vs, and offereth most acceptable prayers vnto God for vs. If he being reuined in him by his resurrection, he beautifullie and in heaped measure increaseth his gifts in his elect. He being raised vnto that most excellent power, doth now protect vs from all euill, and safely vs with all goodnesse. Wherefore, our part is to bend all our care and diligence vnto that end, that we may honor him after a godlike sort: not with earthly ceremonies, or with fundie inventions of men; but with spiritual worshipping, and with that which may be agreeable vnto that heauenly and spiritual life, wherein vnto Christ is now reuined. Before that he was come vnto vs, and so long as he was conseruant in the world after an humane sort, the shadowes and figures of the lawe, ceremoniall worshipings, and wooldie ceremonies were in force; but now, we being raised by with Christ, it is met, that euen as he behold him both in the place and degree, wherein he is set; so also, that we should with liued eyes of our mind, fashion our hope vpon him.

From thence he shall come to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

Chri. last  
iudgement.

¶ Our flesh humane reason, and the whole rent of wicked men, shall not euenmore obstinate vnto death, that we haue refused to our selues a God, a Lord, and a Prince, which will neuer exhort himselfe to be faine, or to be perjured of humane sense: I meane Christ our saviour. For, after that we haue consigned him to glorioulnesse at the right hand of the father; we adoe, that the same Christ will at the length euentidie shew himselfe to the world, when he

shall come into his kingdome, to execute the parts of a iudge. For it shall be a most meet thing, that he, which was condemned vntill, by sentence of the iudge, should at the length make manifest vnto the whole world, that most excellent authoritie and righteousness of his, the which was concerned; not onely what Christ receiued the sentence of death, but also as it were by continual succellion it endured by humane flesh and bloodsome the same iudgements, in the ages that came after: and that not onely in the person of Christ, but also in his holie members and brethren, whether they be able dead, or as yet liueth here in this earth, who are vnto with manie reproches and contumelies, infir perfections, and all kind of injuries; in such sort, as there is scarce anie corner of the world, that ringeth not of the sorrowfull lamentations of the godlie.

¶ But seeing all such iudgements be corrupt and peruerse, that last iudgement shall at the length come forth: from the which there shall be no appeal to a higher iudge; and the which shall correct and reforme mens equiuities and deuiations, which indeed were contrarie vnto equitie and iustice: sofoasmuch as it shall haue powers and qualities, altogether contrarie vnto those which iudgements. Christ the most excellent iudge shall flourish in his iudgement, which shall perse and perceiue all alike, as well those things which be most manifest and euident to all men, as euery thing else that is most obscure and most secret: according to that, which Paule beareth in his epistle to the Romans; namely, that He shall iudge the secrets of men. He shall then haue no need of auditors, and inquisitions.

¶ But on the other side, though 3 hold no price, euery one of the faithful both sufficient: he understand those peruerse iudgements, which the vngodlike do oftentimes aduerge, touching Christ and his members, how plainlie they set abroad their owne foolishnesse, and extreme darknesse of mind. Christ, when he shall exercise his iudgement in that latter day, shall most iustly vnto right vnto euery one, and shall temper his sentence with singular iustice; neither shall he decline to this side or that, who can not be removed from the right, neither by peruerse affections, neither by any gifts.

¶ Wherefore, this is spoken touching him, that With him there is no acceptance of persons: Rom. 13. 11. which bidde suffereth not the enemies of true godliness, either to speake or iudge aright of christiannitie. But one man being moued with the inducement of private commoditie, another being racked abate with other peruerse affections, rashly condemneth Christ, and them that be his, and persecuteth them with furious reproches. Whereupon it is said in the Coloss. How Mat. 13. 14. can

can ye speake good things, seeing your selues be  
euill? That most high Iudge lacketh no power of  
abilitie to execute those things, which he hath de-  
termined, either in fauour of the goodlie, or fo; the  
destruction of the wicked: seeing he himselfe  
faith; All power is giuen vnto me. And it is

1. Thes. 5, 3. faith; All power is giuen vnto me . And it is  
written also of the wicked, in the first epistle to  
the Thessalonians; When they shall saie, peace,

1. Theſſ. 3. **the** **theſſalonians**; When they ſhall faile peace, and that alſo well, then ſhall come upon them ſudden deſtruction, as the trauell upon a woman with child, ſo as they maie not eſcape. In the peruerſe iudgement of the tyrants of this world, which they giue out oftentimes againſt chriſtian religion, the contrarie is perceived. For either ſuch decrees take none effect, or elſe they fall againe upon the heads of thoſe tyrants themſelues; as they be rather hurtfull vnto themſelues, than vnto the chriſtians. But that they may bring to effect thoſe things, which they haue wickedly decreed; thoſe iudgements extend no further, than vnto gods, and vnto this temporal life. Which things are of the leaſt account vnto the ſpiritual man, and to him which is reſcued by Chriſt: as Chriſt himſelf ſaith ſith hee ſaueſt my ſoule from all diſturbances: And ſaith

is renewed by Christ : as Christ himselfe testi-  
fieth, who speaking vnto his disciples, said; Feare  
ye not them which kill the bodie, but are not  
able to kill the soule. But I will shew you whom  
ye ought rather to feare; namelie, God, who af-  
ter he hath killed the bodie, is able to destroye  
the soule in hell fire.

that it is no maruell, if the same be therefore  
called by Paule, Blessed hope. And in Luke, after  
that he had reckoned vp diuerſe tokens of the  
conuining of that date, he added; When ye ſhall  
ſee theſe tokens, then looke vp, and liſt vp your  
heads, for your redemption draweth neere.

29 But least the ioye conceited of that latter  
consuming, should be disturbed through the mi-  
strust of saluation, which might enter into your  
mind, while ye vnderstand that the same most  
iudice will be inquisitive of mens works,  
(and this I take because, if thou wilt believe me,  
there shall be no man, who much honestly feare  
he be inuoyed with, that standing upon the con-  
sideration of his owne works, is able to hold fast  
this confidence; and so, if these things be not  
rightly vnderstood by you, in that blessed day,  
there would frame to be an argument presented  
before your eies, of nothing else, but horrible &  
exceeding feare of everlasting death) ye must  
throughly consider, and diligently weigh what  
shall come into triall and examination at the  
latter day. Wherein I first affirme, that there  
shall be no need of examination at all against  
the iudice: as ther that for their infidelitie be

alreadie condemned. So Christ plainlie teacheth in Iohn; Whoſoeuer (ſaith he) belieueth not, is alreadie condemned. But, becauſe this doubting might creepe into the minde of manie, how it ſhould come to paſſe, that of them which are equallie intitled by the name of Chriſtians, ſome are abſolved to ſaluation, and other ſame to eternall damnation: for this came our moſt iuſt iudge Chriſt, will haue the reaſon of this difference to appeare to all the world; ſeing, as he will neuer hereafter ſuffer his iudice to be hidden to the world, in ſuch wiſe as it was, when he came firſt into the world, to be conuerſant among vs he ſaie (ſaie) at that fecond comming of hiſ, make his iudice knowne unto all perſons, that it may manifeſt ap- pear, who hath truſt taken vpon him his name and titles, o who hath done the ſame ſainede and by hypocriſie.

Who shall  
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the iudges  
ment of  
Christ

John. 3. 18

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translated vnto a better state, the same not sub-  
iect to arie infirmities. They shall be those elee,  
which then shall be found alive : for there will  
be no need for them to put off their bodies, but  
their bodilie masse shall attaine vnto glorie ; so  
that death shall not take the same auaie from  
them. Amongst them Paule did wish to be num-  
bered, as it is written in the epistle to the Corin-  
thians : and we also with him expect the same  
with great desire. **Item**, in this matter, as  
in all other things also, let vs be haue our  
selves, that all may tend vnto the glorie of

1. Cor. 15:  
14

Touching  
the signi-  
fication of  
the word  
Spirit.

31 And hee the loope Spirituſignificmeth manie things, to the end we may the more eaſilie perceive that which we beleeue, it ſhall be better good firſt to ſeuer and diſtincue into diuers parts whatſoene is ſignified to be vnder that name. But of which ſignifications we will ſhew that which is agreeable vnto our purpoſe; and will propoſe the ſame more at large. That word ſpirit in general, doth alwayes expreſſe a certaine ſecret ſtrength or power, which is able both to moue and to diue forward. Wherefore the winds, together with thoſe organs, whereby the liſt of bodie, moue, and ſtir the bodie, are called the ſpirit. And althoough this power be ſtinted and mixed with corporeal nature, yet being the bodie, wherein it is conuerſant, be ſo ſubtile, that they cannot for the moſt part be ſeene; this word is alſo deuſed to this point, that it ſignificth nature, as Eſaies, who ſaith, ſimple and of diuers forces: ſuch as are God, the

can they be discerned by the eyes of men.

Whereof of god right we be heare laie : I beleeue in the holie Ghost : as in a thing that far exceedeth the capacite of our nature, and yet is blisfullie let forth into us in the holie scripture. And that the same spirit is the third person in diuine nature, **Christ** manifestly eppeteth in these twoes, in the which he said into his apostles : Go ye and baptise in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holie Ghost. **Which** signifies no other thing, than that they which be washed in baptisme, are bound to this confessei- on; namelie, that the father, the sonne, and also the holie Ghost, be true gods, and equal with him.

Mar 28. 19.

What signifies to be baptised in the name of Jesus, is to be a Christian.

The Distinc-  
tion of the  
three per-  
sons

32 This also is meet of vs to be considered, that the Spirit is not the same that be his gifts and works: *saying Paul*, in the first to the *Corinthians*, the 12. chapter, reckoning up sundrie effects thereof, afterward adding: And all these things worke that one and the same Spirit distributing them to euery man severall as he will. So is it evident enough, that we here confesse the third person of Diuinitie, by the power of whome we are renewed in Christ, and therefore may become like vnto Christ. *For* as euen as he was begotten without mans seed, so are we borne againe vnto a new life by the power of Gods Spirit: as testifieth Iohn, when he *saith*; that He which beleeueth, is made the sonne of God; and is neither borne of bloud, neither of the will of the flesh, neither of the will of man, but of God. *Which thing* is particularie attributed to this third person, *saying Christ* expressely *saith*; that He which is borne of water and of the Spirit, receiueth life eternall. *John* 3. 3.

at Joh. 3. 5.

10

borne of the water, and of the spirit, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. From the verbe fame also is the remission of finnes said to flowe. Wherefore Christ breathed upon the face of the apostles, & said; Receive yee the holie Ghost, whose finnes ye shall forgive, the same shall be forgiven, and whose finnes yee retein, shall be retein'd. Whosoever then sineth against the holie Ghost, doth not obtaine remission of his finnes; because that it is decreed borne against him, from whence the remission of finnes proceedeth.

Neither for all that do we attribute this vnto him, but so much as he be looken with such loeving kindness, as we be scarce able to rise from the earth, being alwaies pressed downe with the burthen of our flesh, and with our corporall senses, we should be still in the earth; unless we were raised by that spirit, who strengtheneth and erecteth by vnto heauen our mindes (which through naturall corruption are altogether lowen in the affections of the flesh) euen as the soule sustineth the fraile and mortall body, and setteth the same vpright; that in this life the elea may in a manner have the same experience of himselfe, that is perceiued to be in bottles, the which being the soule empty into the water, fall to the bottome; but if so be they be blowne into filled with wind, they float aboue the water. Euen so mens mindes, being vnto of that spirit, are blowen through their owne affections and lusts; but when they be filled with that holie spirit, they be matters of our time, and they suffer not themselves at anie time to be overcome in it. This also we obtaine by the benefit of the same spirit, both to will aright, and to worke iustitie.

For our nature, as it is corrupt and peruerse, would neuer in verie deed be willing of it selfe, or would shew forth anie actions, which either in respect of themselves should be acceptable vnto God, or in that they proceed from vs, being entialed vnto him, but that he would refuse and condemn them. But that spirit of God placing himselfe here amongst vs, doth so fashion our minds, as whatsoever floweth from vs by the helpe of him, is most gratefull and acceptable vnto God; and that because he inwardly reioyceth vs, that we may become most wel come students, yea rather most deare beloved children.

Where ye see, that singular benefit this article of our faith bringeth, when it is knowen and vnderstood. And without doubt our affections, our mind, yea and the members of the verbe be instruments of the spirit it selfe. Wherefore Paul writeth vnto the Romans, that Those finally be the children of God, which be lead by the spirit of God. And euen as he cannot be called a man, who is destitute of the mind of man;

nor that a dog, which beareth not the forme of living properties of a dog; no more is he partaker of the diuine nature, which is void of the spirit of God. And therefore I cannot marvell enough at the follie of some, which if a man saie, that they be no christians, cannot abide this reproch; and yet in the meane time will neither come to be indued with that spirit; neither will be persuaded, or themselves graue that none may be a christian without the same. Wherefore the Apostle in his epistle to the Romans doth bolde at firme, that He which hath not the spirit, the same Rom. 8, 9, is no sonne. Wherefore let such men go, and by the same insensitie, whereby they mistrust of the bating of Gods spirit; let them stand in doubt whether they be christians. And if so be the anie man aske, how we haue him? I answer, that the most excellent father, say Christ his father, sendeth him vnto vs; according as Christ promised to vs in the person of his apostles; The comfortor (saith he) which is the holie Ghost, whom my father will send in my name, &c.

Yea and this I may bolde also, that Christ himselfe sendeth him vnto vs from the father; euen as in another place he saith; The spirit, which I will send from the father vnto you. For ther is he giuen vnto vs, from the father, or from the sonne, for arie other end, but to reioyce abundantly with those gifts and verie excellent riches. But yet the scriptures sheweth, that his theselt worke doth speciallie consist in teaching. Christ promised to his disciples, that he would send the holie Ghost, which should teach them, and lead them into all truth, which he had shewed vnto them. We learned them also, that when they should be brought before princes, they should take no care; because it should not be they that should speake, but the spirit of their father that should speake in them. And certeintie, the apostles were not dispersed abroad in the world for preaching of the Gospel, before they were indued from aboue with that heauenlie power; by the helpe whereof, they not only preached the Gospel mightilie for bringing of men vnto the obediencie of Christ; but they also established the truth of their doctrine with wonderfull signes and miracles. And that manner of teaching, by which that spirit is performed towards vs, must be inwardlie considered in the mind: the which he not onlie replenisheth with his light, but also doth gentle allure and persuade the same, and maketh those things acceptable from which otherwise, by reason of our corrupt nature, we do vnto die. Thus doth he worke a maruelous transforming in the minds of the clea, while he directeth them by vnto the indueure of god works and goodlie actions, which by the giue of nature they might not be able to performe.

And yet doth he not by force constraineth them into those worhs, but rather with effect persuade them inwardlie. And this is that happy libertie, wherewith the chosen of Christ be indued, who by the power and persuasion of the same spirit, do imploye their whole indueure vnto such actions, which by the onlie giue of nature could neither be borne by them, nor yet would be acceptable vnto God. Further also, from that spiritual doctrine, which flourisheth inwardlie, there springeth afterward an aduere mortification, as well in the mind as in the flesh; as Paul testifieth in his epistle to the Romans, whom he learned, that if they would by the spirit mortifie the deeds of the flesh, they should liue. To these things adde, if you will, that the comfort, which springeth by the assurance of our saluation, is so great; as euen in the midst of troubles, miseries, calamities, and sorowes of this world, we may lead a cheerful and merrie life. And that not without cause; seeing we sole in vs that singular and noble gift, which Paul to the Ephesians calleth The pledge of our saluation. I see not now how anie man, vpon iust cause, can doubt of his comming one day into that state of Christ, when he perfectly shall be able, that his soule liueth by the same spirit of Christ.

But if a man will demand; how we knowe that our soule is quickened by the same spirit? Answer may be made by the words of Paul, I haue not anie longer (saith Paul to the Galatians) but Christ liueth in me. And to the Philippians; Christ vnto me is life. Which sayings declare no other thing; but that the godlie do liue in Christ, and Christ in them, and that by his spirit. It is also written in the epistle to the Romans, that The same spirit doth testifie to our spirit, that we be the sonnes of God. And it is not fit by anie means to refuse to certifie a testimonie. But whosoever hath not this testimonie inwardlie in himselfe, is by no waye to be called a christian. But if any man object, that although Paul wrote inwardly with this assured persuasion; and that he felt in inwardlie this inward testimonie in himselfe; it followeth not, that the selfe same thing must be giuen to be in others. I answer, that Paul wrote all these things vnto the Romans, who as yet were farre off from perfection; neither had they profited so much as Paul. And that do their own contentions, suspitions, and rash iudgments, and also their verie feeble & weak confidences beare witness: all which things the apostle doth oftentimes reprobeth in these his writings.

And yet neuerthelesse, when the Romans were such, he wrote vnto them of that adoption, whereby God had determined to make

them his children, when they should embrace christian religion. Wherefore (beloued brethren) let vs put off the spirit that miserable doubteth of our saluation; seeing there is nothing that is more enemie to our faith, which is the luerie and most firme foundation of all our felicitie. Who doth not sufficientlie vnderstand, how great contraries are beliding and doubting; and how much they are repugnant the one to the other? Certteintie, for my part, do not feare those things may agree: To beleue trulle in Christ my onlie and true saviour, and To stand likewise in doubt of him, whether he will saue me or no; seeing he hath receiued me into his faith, and so gratefully testifieth by his spirit vnto my mind, that sweet and boundless affection of his towards me. And if we admit the testimony of our saluation, who naturallie are liars, & prone to deceit, that we in the manner should cleare to them; how much rather ought we to repute our selues in all these things, which that good & true spirit of God doth confirme by his testimonie: Wholes peradventure we suffer our felices to be persuaded, that there is more truth and stedfastnes in men, than there is in God. Which if anie be so barbare to saie, he shall in this point alone most plainlie betwixt himselfe to be such a one as he is.

Wherefore let his yeld vnto the most benigne and mercifull God, as great and manie thanks as we can, who hath (not by the ministerie of angels, or of anie other creature whatsoever; but by the power of his owne spirit) ingrafted vs in Christ his true and naturall soune, and by him hath renewed and sanctified vs, and enriched vs with the knowledge of him, and with other beauenlie gifts, as now we are befitting members of strength, neither of force, neither of light, neither of anie facultie to let vs, whereby we should the lesse either will or worke aright. And thus we shall retaine a cheerful and quiet life, euen in the midst of persecutions, which often the world and satan do stir vs; so that we be most fully persuaded by that holie spirit, that we shall obtaine eternall life: and that not of our owne merits, but by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which liueth and reigneth for euer, Amen.

I beleeue in the holie catholike church, the communion of Saints, &c.

35 This article of the faith is so aptlie hint vnto the other that goeth before, as to any man that is of sound iudgement, the former may seeme to be the root of stem of the latter, out of which this latter article ariseth and buddeth forth.

The spirit is the root of the church, which is the flower of the faith.

Eph.4.4, 13.  
1 Cor.12.13

what the  
name  
church  
denieth.

As similitude.

The church  
is a mysti-  
cal bodie.

faith as a most fit band. And that is shewed  
unto vs after this sort. In whatfoever bodie life  
is placed, the power and strength thereof is to  
guide, and also by a most sure bond to unite all  
the parts of the whole bodie, by how great a  
space further they be distanced one from the  
other: even so the congregation of the godlie,  
which communie (if the believers be considered  
in respect that they be earthly men) is called  
the church, how much further it be compass  
of sundrie people, and hath her parts setled a great  
space one from another in the world: and that,  
as much as the bettermost quarter of the world is  
distant by the spaces of regions, from the other  
part of the world; yet nevertheless it is joined,  
knit, and conched together. And for that cause it  
is by Paule compared to a bodie, and that often-  
times in his epistles unto the Ephesians and  
Corinthians. But by what bond the Christians  
(who so greatly differ one from another, whether  
respect be to their condition, countrie, or language)  
are so stricly knit together, it is in some  
entirely understood, by the order which joineth this  
latter article of our faith unto the former. For  
there our faith confesseth the holie Ghost; and  
here it treateth of the bodie of the faithfull, which  
with a sincere faith, imbracing the doctrine of  
Christ, is by him gathered together in one.

And this congregation by a Græke name is  
called *Ecclesia*, which signifieth no other thing,  
than a multitude called together. For it is com-  
posed of them, which by the holie Ghost are called  
unto the Christian faith, from the which they be  
separated, which by an humane motion, or persua-  
sion, or bodie heart, or by any other worldly  
means, without any infusion of the spirit of  
God, do involve themselves into it. Even as if  
one should artificially joine unto a humane bo-  
die some piece of a bone, of a sinew, of a gristle,  
or else a piece of flesh; these be not therefore ac-  
counted parts of that bodie, seeing they are not  
moved by the life thereof: but they altogether  
depend of this cunning art. Even so indeed we  
acknowledge, that the communion of saints is  
here found upon the earth: to wit, the congre-  
gation of the faithfull, the which is gathered to-  
gether in one, not by the will of man, or by any  
cunning craft of the world; but by the onlie  
spirit of Christ: not doubtles, that it should  
be contained together in one place, but that it  
should retaine one true understanding of faith.

36 By these things therefore be understood,  
that the church is a mystical bodie, the which is  
governed by the holie Ghost. Whereby also it is  
manifest enough, that they be, that expecte  
unto the same, and who live out of the commun-  
ion of it. Furthermore it is not obscure how aptly  
the name of church agreeth unto it. First it is  
evidentlie proved, that this marvellous bodie is

governed by the holie Ghost, by those words  
which Paule teacheth in the epistle to the Ephesians;  
We (saith he) be one bodie and one spirit. Eph.4.4.  
Again also it is more plainlie shewed in the  
first epistle to the Corinthians; By one spirit we  
are all baptised into one bodie, and have drunk  
of one spirit. 1 Cor.12.13. Whereupon it followeth,  
that whatsoever be the title of that spirit, do not be-  
long to this bodie. For he that hath not the spir-  
it of Christ, how can he assure himselfe to be a  
member of that bodie, whereof Christ is the head,  
and in whom there is no other life, than the di-  
vine spirit it selfe? And doubtles it sufficeth  
not, it sufficeth not (I saie) to put on certaine co-  
lourable clothes, whereby we should be taken  
by the judgement of men for members of that  
bodie. Peter was called of Christ, blessed: not  
because he confessed him with outward voice to  
be the sonne of God; but because neither flesh,  
nor blood, nor any humane reason had revealed  
unto him his great a mystery, but onely the hea-  
venly father. Paule also in his first epistle to  
the Corinthians in the place above cited, say-  
eth, that No man can faie that Iesus is the Lord,  
but by the holie Ghost. By which places it is  
manifest, what condition at the least is requi-  
red in the church; namely, not that which pro-  
ceedeth of mans flesh, but that which is stirred  
up and brought forth by the spirit of God. For  
otherwise the diuines themselves, and also the  
Mahometanes in their Alcoran, do ascribe  
a certaine honour unto Christ, while they confesse  
his flesh.

37 But here might appear some difficultie, whether  
that: As the church inuisible, that it cannot be  
perceived in the world with corporeall eyes: And  
both not the verie sense it selfe telle, that the  
company of men is there gathered together, for  
celebrating and calling upon the name of Christ  
How then is that beleued, which is sense?  
As faith caried unto those things, which be sense  
manifest, and are labiet even to the senses  
themselves: Hereinto we answer, that the  
multitude of men, which outwardly profess  
Christ, are indeed sense of vs, but not sufficient  
of our owne sense, as it hath bene said. But we be-  
lieve certeinly, that this company of men doth  
be come together, as nevertheles it is no  
true boie together. A philosopher, of some other  
then man would object, that such assemblies be  
sects of men, which might spring up of diuise  
and sundrie opinions; and be brought forth in-  
to light, according as places and times require.  
And doubtles, the true not by the multitude of  
men, but this boie must be attributed to the  
spirit of God, whome we have before con-  
fessed.

Neither must we passe over the cause, which will be  
the church

called Co-  
munion.

the church is called Catholike, which is a Græke  
word, and significth no other thing, than if thou  
shouldst saie, vniuersall: for that it is not bound  
more to one place than to another. But when as  
God is a God of the whole vniuersall world;  
even so will be, that the bodie of his sonne, which  
is his church, should be extended into euery  
place. Which him there is no exception of per-  
sons; neither had he respect, whether those, which  
he calleth into his church, be either husbandmen  
or smithes, men or women, princes or seruants,  
rich or poore, barbarous, citizens, or Gentiles; as  
though he were moued for their outward things  
to chuse them: but of euery nation he chooseth  
those, whome he thinketh meet. Wherefore the  
church is an vniuersall bodie, composed of men  
of euery kind and condition. But it excelleth  
also in a nobler societie, which is of such sort, as  
whosoever be true lie gathered together into that  
bodie, be indeed with the same feeling of faith.  
And vniuersallitie, in vaine shall euery other  
consent be, if minds be disagree in the doctrine of  
faith.

Neither is there ever any thing, that bring-  
eth more betrimment unto this faith, than the  
inventions of men. For from hence have flowed all  
the heresies that ever were, which in verie deed  
are nothing else, but the opinions of men, con-  
trary besides the meaning of the scriptures,  
and often abode among diuine people: as if  
they were certaine diuine mysteries, which  
by long education, or else by such most acceptable  
words God. And so much as such doctrines are  
nothing else, but deuises of men, by which the aw-  
thors of them have sought their owne gain  
and commoditie; first they be more lesse, de-  
scrips, and touched iuglings; secondly, when  
as they proceed from the inventions of men,  
they cannot intifie all men. For looke how ma-  
nie men, in manie sundrie opinions there be: so  
that some dissent in one article of the faith, and  
some in another. So in verie deed it happened  
among the Grækes and other Christians, which  
inhabit towards the East part, whome if thou  
examine, thou shalt vniuersallitie find, that by  
a common consent they haue allowed the ho-  
lie scriptures: but in those sundrie superstitions,  
the which they haue oftentimes beueied,  
there will appear great disagreement.

38 Howbeit, in these deuises of superstitions,  
the church of Rome carrieth abate the  
price. For while they promise to traue into the  
pure and simple religion of Christ infinite adho-  
minations, buyane out of the sinnes of pagani-  
sm, in relesing and (as they saie, or rather as  
they lie) in relesing them to a better time; it  
hath troden under foot and bestrid all things.  
Also this it obstrueth togeth, that euery  
mans faith doth rest in such godlie things. And

The ho-  
me church  
denieth  
with  
Catho-  
licans.

mens inventions are more esteemed than the  
lawfull doctrine of the truth, & actions out of the  
holie fountaines of the scriptures. And this  
might not others, which in like manner be infer-  
red with their owne superstitions, abide; that  
they, and less than the Romans, should stoutly  
hope that and defend their failed worshipings  
and humane inventions. But they, which haue  
imbraced the principall and sincere doctrine of  
Christ, be better crimines against those supersti-  
tions; seeing they perceiue, that thereby the  
glorie of Christ and his merits are altogether  
obscured, the honour of God translated unto his  
creatures, his seruice used without his word,  
a set forth onely after the deale of men: so that  
the church, which at this date challengeth vniuersal-  
tie into it selfe alone, the name of Catholike; the  
alone (I saie) more than others hath feared, and  
euen yet in sinnet that common man vniuersal  
societie of the faithfull.

39 For if it had into it selfe in that religion and  
seruice, which the holie scriptures so prescrib-  
eth unto vs; there had not passed into it more ser-  
uices from thence. But hitherto it hath by no  
measure of his owne seined deuises, and it  
hath encouraged by these a earnest to confine  
euery man to veeine the same. From hence  
haue risen infinite dissensions, amongst which  
there be some that remaine unto this date; as  
experience it selfe plainlie testifieth. And as touch-  
ing those that have bene in the former ages,  
whosoever will diligently applie his mind in  
reading of histories, shall easily perceiue them.  
Howbeit, whatsoever hath, by his cunning,  
brought about; the Catholike church remaineth  
still fixed and inuincible, and hath firme-  
ly abide euen until the last day of iudgement.  
For the same betwixt nothing else, but an  
vniuersall bodie, compact together of men of eu-  
ery date and condition; the which, in what parts  
soeuer of the earth they dwell, they retaine the  
same faith and grace, right conuiction, holiness,  
and happinesse; and finally, they imbrace eu-  
ery good thing offered them in Christ: and so  
they will neuer suffer themselves one to be  
led from that truth, which the spirit of God hath  
revealed to vs in the holie scriptures; but they  
will assure themselves of that onely way  
leading to be lawfull and acceptable unto God,  
which he hath prescribed in those holie scrip-  
tures.

40 Furthermore they for any other end com-  
pared together in this societie, but that they  
should euile one another to their power: euen  
as the joining together, that is in the members  
of a mem bodie, is chiefly opened for the helpe  
and preservation of euery particular member.  
The church striueth not, to the intent it might  
challenge unto it selfe some chiefe empire of  
tempo,

The Catho-  
like church  
denieth  
faith.

As common  
union of  
the church  
but spiritual.



temporal institution: it is promised to such end unto it selfe, as it would heape by exceeding treasures and earthly riches. The scope thereof is not to rule nations, to make warres, to invade holy vnto vnto cities, and to vanquish them. And this bodie is not befitting of his weapons, but these be spiritual, and not carnall weapons; namely the word and the spirit, with the which it overcometh the wisdom of man, casteth it to the ground, leaueh captiue the mind and exaltation to the obedience of Christ. And the same (vnbondable) opposeth not the bodies with tyrannicall seruitude, or dually auaie mens goods by grauous tributes. This selfe same doctrine both Paule in verie manie words inculcate in his later epistle to the Corinthians, where he verie well describeth the wellings of this congregation: to be in the same epistle, intreating there of his olme, and of other of the apostles authoritie, saith; that the same was granted vnto him to edifie, and not to deuoie. Vnto the which notwithstanding, they do singularly bend themselves, which will alone be called heads, and apostles of the church.

Whollett (in the meane time) with all their power they resist the word of God. Neither do they suffer the perfect state of our institution to be perached; but rather by their fumes against the miserable soules of the people committed to them, the which notwithstanding are redeemed by the precious blood of Christ. And yet further, they pollute with their further abuses, the sacraments ordained of God, and especially the holie supper of the Lord, which they haue turned into filthie and shamefull idolatry, and of the signes or scales thereof, they admit the simple soules to the participation of one onelie; as though it were in their power to inuirt the oter, which the Lord hath appointed. They not content (I saie) to defraud the soules of Christ of that principall food of soules, which is the word of God, do also cut awaie halfe the sacrament, which is as it were the visible word, and the eminent testimonie of the goodnes, charitie, and ardent affection of Christ toward vs, a memoriall of his death, the most effectuall marke of that vniou, whereby they growe by together vnder Christ himselfe being head, vnto a holie bodie of the church. But this will I here adde, that this one thing they woyle by their traditions; namely, they establish that tyrannie of theirs, and make it to extend further aboad. Whollett, the hope is, that Christ will at length take pittie of so vnable a bodie of his, and that he will not suffer a mortal man any longer to bound himselfe so proudly against his head. This Christ onelie, Christ (I saie) is the head of the church.

40 But they which saie, that the Pope is head

of the church; as he will commonlie be accounted, (which also his shamelesse flatterers scarce not to publish openlie, both by words and writings) seeme in my iudgement to be like vnto those wicked Jewes, which all with one voice denied Christ to be their king, and professed Caesar to be their prince. Quia as in a bodie well framed, there is one head: so must the church, vnlesse be transformed into some kind of monster, be ioued with one head onelie, the which head is Christ. Neither standeth it with any reason that they saie they haue the Romane bishop to be appointed another head, as it were vnder the cheefe head Christ: whose bishoppe to wit, that other head, they will haue to be a necessarie instrument. For there was neuer fence, in a well shapen bodie, such a disorder, as thereto should be ioined two heads; wherefore one should be subiect vnto another; seeing the verie name of Head, signifieth the cheefe part of the bodie. But Christ alone the which himselfe about the church, he altogether by marvellous and vnspeakable means, ioined the humane nature vnto the diuine nature. Wherefore the head, which God appointed to that beloved bodie, as it is written in the epistle to the Ephesians. We conclude in Epd. 1.1, that the members in that bodie be diuers, whereof one is more excellent than another: but in this point they conspire all in one, that they be subiect vnto that head, and are to serue faithfully vnder it. Wherefore it is not lawfull to be wise more heads than one; and vnbondable it is verie intollerable pride, for one to arrogate vnto himselfe the rule of Christ.

But (I beseech you) let it be as these men will, that the Pope should be counted another head, vnder Christ the principall head. Yet, with what faith he is vnder Christ, as a fit instrument, experience it selfe speaketh: which beareth record, that he not onelie doth not cleaue vnto him, but that he is plainlie against him, both in words, deeds, and counsels. Neither is it my purpose, to set forth at large the proofs of this matter; (saying Barnard hath declared the same, indeed not fallie, but yet so, as their craftie and subtill exception may be withstood. Wherefore, being content with this possible declaration, I will not here at this time adde any more, but that I conclude againe, that that be the same filie man, which with his authoritie alone may use, corrupt, pervert, and set in funder the wordes of the scriptures; whereof he boasteth among his fitt, that he within the closet of his brest, hath the full knowledge and perfect interpretation; not a filie man, which (according to the naked iudgement of his olme will) may repulse out of the church whom he please, and execute and condemne them; not a filie man, that

at his olme onelie breke may appoint pastours, rectors, and bishops vnto churches, to whom he will not commit the custodie, no not of their olme goods; because he mistrusteth their wilt and induritie, whereof he hath not had anye one lot of triall. Now then we be content with one head; namely Christ, the holie Christ being the guide, and the holie scripture being as an outward testimonie of his wilt: the certaine persuasion whereof, the power of the holie Ghost doth inwardlie scale in our minde.

41 But let vs twigh (I beseech you) by what means that most holie bodie of the church may be established, edified, and also increase. And here I affirm, that besides the inward grace, faith, and outward scripture, we haue also need of admonitions and goodlie sermons out of the word of God: the which be vnspeakable permitted at this daie, by them which would be called christians. And yet neuertheless this is the cheefe and principall woyle of the Apostolicall office, the which, as though it were vnto the office of a Bishop (sayeth) these new heads of the church haue committed it vnto certeine hungry monks, who neuertheless are threatened vnto gallies, vnto perpetual prisons, and to be put to euerie most cruel death, if they passe the bounds prescribed by them. And, they knowe verie handsonelie how to withstanding themselves from their olme office, charge, and labour; but so, as they will neuer preach vnto the people concerning holie things. Yet neuertheless, whoeuer doe take that charge in hand, they will haue them to preache after the rule prescribed by them. Whereof cometh to passe, that the poore small flockes of Christ, either perily with hunger, or else are franticke and deuolied. And commonlie, the sermons touching holie things, are onelie made in the time of Lent, and a verie few daies beides; and that either by a sort of vnlearned and vnderit men which haue not sufficientlie those things that they speake; or else by them which stand more as fraid of some, than they ought to do; or else by such as hunt after honours, riches, or fauour; which are not fit for their vocation. Wherefore, at that time they haue sermons; but yet such, as in them they utter mere trifles, and bewaie the grosse darknes of ignorance.

But if otherwhile they shew something of the truth, it is done with such closed speeches, with such intricate, mistie, and close termes, as they rather bewray much, and elsse they reach state, the which vnbondable vnto all goodlie men are vtterly intollerable. And such be they, that preach for the better they haue either of the hour, or of private commoditie. All the rest of the yeare is spent in talking by and bowne the churches, in chaunting, singing, and sounding

[of instruments.] In all which things, not so much as the least word is vnderstood that might serue for edifying of the people. At which time, those chiefe priests, bishops, and other prelates are occupied (as they saie in great affaires, as to take vpon them the administration of the common weale, to examine accounts, to search out the perille reuences of lands, and manie times to find out new waies of gouernment. I passe oter those things that be more outrageous; not because it groweth them to heare such things, but partly, for that I am ashamed of them, and partly, because those things are sufficientlie knowne, and manifest to euerie one. As they be applier, it pertaineth vnto their office to preach; if they be pastors, to feed; if they be supervisors of the treasures of Christ, they ought to enrich their sheepe therewith: I vncare not with their thorpens, bulles, and blessings; but with the word of God, with continuall admonitions and exhortations, by which means the soules are conuerced vnto God, the faithful are directed by from their sloth and idleness, and receive comfort in the foyame of afflictions.

42 These be those exquisite arts, whereby the bodie of Christ is preserved; vnto the which must be added the life of the sacraments, but yet whole and thoughtlie clesed from the deuises of men. Whom that holie supper of the Lord, holie manie waies art thou here miserable dishonoured and polluted? Whose masse, masse, masse, what remaineth found in it? I vnto here will I foyle beare my stile, (saying I write a Catechisme, and not a full treatise of the sacraments, which neuertheless I hope tholue (if the Lord lend me life) to bring to passe. These few things I haue written onlie to this end, that I may shew how all these things haue bene handled, which do make for the increase and profit of the church. I will speake nothing of baptisme, seeing by the merite of God, the same hath bene somewhat less polluted with soule abuses. And although it is not possible to haue sounde vses; yet there is less cause for this to complaine herein. Wherefore the life of the sacraments is most profitable vnto the church; seeing they be as it were visible wordes, the which consist in those euident signes of water, bread, and wine. By which signes, as it were by words, all the promises of Gods mercie are effectualle represented vnto vs.

And here, not onelie the promises are giuen to, but we be assemblie partakers of the life it selfe; and therefore those sacraments are verie necessarie vnto vs, and further be not a liue vnto saluation. Vnto which sacraments must be ioined brotherlie correction, which in these daies is so neglected, as no man will apply it, either

by apostolic correction.



The heires  
of the  
church.

And least peradventure to offend separation  
and rectitude reiterated by the ministerie  
of men, against one and the same man, should  
seeme to be of small importance, and repented  
for sport and mockerie, as a thing proceeding  
from the will of man, he addeth; that He giuech  
them the keys of the church: that is to say, the  
power, that whatsoeuer the church should loose  
upon the earth, should be established in heauen.  
And this doth the church understand in the same  
sout, as the holie euangelist writeth it. *Ex* this  
article therefore we beleue, that such blaine au-  
thoritie is committed unto the church, that it  
may absolue and set at libertie the persons ex-  
communicate, which repent them of their finnes  
committed; and may reconcile them to his ser-  
vice: whereby they may be restored unto that place  
of a healed bodie, whereof Christ is the head.  
Which absolution being performed with publicke  
boles and prayers in the church, no doubt but  
the church forgiveness them their finnes com-  
mitted. Wherefore, after the grant of this autho-  
ritie of the heies, Christ not in balne added;  
Whatsoeuer ye aske in my name, it shall be gi-  
uen vnto you: *Mt* 18. Wherefoeuer two or three  
shall be gathered together in my name, I am in  
the middelt of them.

*Matt* 18, 19  
and 20.

*1 Cor* 12, 7

Whereby it is gathered, that the church is ne-  
uer present, either to excommunicate, or to re-  
concile them that be excommunicated, but that  
Christ himselfe also is present. Wherefoe Paul,  
that Christ himselfe also is present. Epistle Paul,  
to the *Corynthians* the second epistle, writeth  
to the church; that forgiving the fault of that  
sinner of whom he had made mention in his first  
epistle, they should continue charitie towards  
him, in retaining with him their old friendship.  
Behold how we condemne not the authoritie of  
the church, but we denie it to be in the will  
and authoritie of one. We confesse this power ther-  
fore to be in the earth among the golie. But  
even as the multitude of beleuers, gathered to-  
gether in Christ, haue onelic the right of excom-  
munication; so haue they also of reconciling  
and admitting; and that, which is so performed  
by them, we beleue able to be done and confir-  
med in heauen. Holobreit note, that in this third  
meanes, is contained the forgiveness of pub-  
licke finnes onelic. And as concerning the two  
former meanes, the church hath belonging vnto  
it the forgiveness of all finnes in general. Where  
onelic that abolution tatheth place, which ap-  
taineth to publicke crimes; the which, through  
euill example, hath offended and done harme  
vnto them, to whom the knowledge thereof hath  
come. Wherefore, with all the hart and voice  
let vs giue thanks vnto God, who hath granted  
vnto vs so great a benefit vpon the earth, and  
hath labored greater for vs in heauen; I am in  
ward we shall see.

### The Resurrection of the flesh.

*1* Look more betwixt in the third part.

47 *How* these articles should be knit to-  
gether, by a more fit method, I cannot perceive.  
Sonne (as it is knowne) hath bene the onelic  
and holie cause of mans death: and that we  
haue remission of finnes through Christ, it was  
shewed a little before. How then remaineth  
this one thing; to wit, that by him we shall be  
delivered from death, and released from the  
tyrannie thereof, so some as euer we haue accesse  
vnto Christ by faith: fith then shall perill in  
the continuall torbation, which it obteinech a-  
gainst vs. For seeing the naturall power here-  
of is such, as what it hath once seased vpon,  
it firmelie holdeth: therefore the philosophers  
saie, that it must not be granted, that from  
such a passion men can returne to their an-  
cient health. In which matter certeinly they be  
not deceived, if thou shouldst but consider the  
power of nature. For we, which are indured with  
the power of death, as we knowe that there  
is an end and limit appointed, to the working  
thereof; we being confirmed through the pro-  
mise of Christ himselfe, who in the first of *Iohn*  
saith; that He will loose none of them which  
his father haue giuen him, but will raise them vp at  
the latter daie.

*Iohn* 6, 39.

But if so be thou object, that we will raise vp  
not onelic them that be golie, but also the v-  
beleuers: and shall therefore the faith in Christ  
(as touching the resurrection) possit aine thing?  
I answer, that the confidence in Christ shall no  
thing at all profit vnto the marte and absolute  
resurrection: seeing that degre, both the golie  
and the wicked shall obtaine: but the resur-  
rection vnto felicitie, vnto life eternall, and vnto  
to heauenlie blessednesse, is onelic granted vnto  
them, which by faith are united vnto Christ.  
Holobreit, I thinke not meet to passe over this;  
(to wit) that whereas the wicked shall rise a-  
gaine, they obtaine not that, by the power of  
their owne nature, but by Christ. For, seeing  
we confesse that by the death of that first  
man, we were all made subiect vnto death; it  
is reason also we should grant, that both  
manie shew be made partakers of this se-  
cond life, should also obtaine the same by that  
one man Christ, who first was raised vp. Where-  
fore the wicked, whether they will or no, shall  
feele in themselves the power of Christ: but that  
which they shall obtaine to their great harme,  
ind men shall receive to their great benefit.  
This is the doctrine of Paul to the *Corynthians*,  
when he saith; As by one man came death, so by  
one

*1 Cor* 15, 21.  
one

upon the Creed.

one man came the resurrection of the dead.  
And as by Adam all men die, so by Christ all  
shall be made alie: but euerie one in his  
owne order. The first fruis is Christ, then they  
which die of him. And in the last and most  
vnhapie state shall they be, which be strangers  
from Christ.

And as there shall be a difference in the state &  
condition; so shall there be also in the place. For  
the saints then raised vp, shall together with the  
golie, which then perhaps shall remaine alie,  
be caught vp, to meet with that high King our  
Lord IESVS CHRIST in the aire; Who vn-  
doubtedly (as we haue already confessed) shall  
come to iudge the quicke and the dead: as  
we haue expresselie shewed in the article of  
the last iudgement. Wherefore Christ will  
shew forth his power generally towards all,  
as well good as bad; not onelic in the iudge-  
ment it selfe, but in the resurrection also. We  
therefore see the first that hath risen, and we shall  
followe him at the time appointed. The church  
is a bodie quickened by the spirit of God, the  
which increaseth by degrees: no otherwise than  
a liuing bodie is naturallie formed, by little  
and little. For of the power of forming, which  
is in the seed, first some one member is formed,  
and brought forth in the lumpe; whether the  
same be the heart, or anie other member, it fol-  
loweth not: it sufficeth, that sense and maning be  
giuen to aine one of them. The same spirit a-  
gain that goeth forward by little and little, to frame  
in other members. And euen this happeneth in  
the bodie of beleuers, wherein the spirit of  
God hath raised by Christ, the verie head of  
them all. Afterward the same spirit by the same  
power, whereby it raised by Christ in all vs, be  
the diuer members of resurrection: as we  
read in the first chapter to the *Ephe*siens, and as  
we haue declared in that article, wherein we  
intreated of the resurrection of Christ.

48 But hold great consolation that blessed  
hope belonging to the golie, let euen they them-  
selues iudge, which in great ioye celebrate with  
such pompe and ambition the date of their nati-  
uitie; or else that daie, wherein they were pre-  
ferred to some degree of honour. And thus they  
celebrate, with iustill memoire, the beginnings  
of so great miseries and calamities, as this life  
is subiect vnto; and as are incident vnto pri-  
uapities and wretched honours. This is the  
true nativitie of the saints of Christ, this is the  
true triumph, this is that heauenlie inter-  
taining of them. Then shall be opened vnto  
the wounds, or rather the garrs of glorie. Here  
ought all our hope to renewe, if at aine time (as  
oftentimes it doth happen) we appeare to be  
negligent, and to go slooie forward in the way

Chapter  
of there-  
fore  
furrection  
kingdome  
great ioye  
four to the  
golie.

*Ephe* 1, 9.

of the 3. and by reason of the burden of our flesh,  
which oppresseth vs. In this life ought our  
minds to be strengthened, to endure the troubles,  
which seeme to be hard and difficult vnto  
the bodie, vnto nature, and vnto the sense. In  
this life ought we to be confirmed to the morti-  
fication of our senses & concupiscences; seeing we  
know of Paul, that We, which haue bene *Rom* 6, 5,  
partakers of the death of Christ, shall also be par-  
takers of his resurrection. For then we shall be  
delivered from the labours, miseries, sorowes,  
and tomentes of this life: and we shall haue a  
bodie so much more excellent, as a heauenlie  
and spiritual bodie doth excell an earthly and  
fleshly bodie.

And certeinly, I speake not this, as though  
we should not recover so much flesh, blood, and  
bones, as shall be sufficient vnto the consti-  
tution of a bodie: but we beleue it will be a much  
more excellent bodie; becaue Heauenlie and  
Spiritual better names of nature. The which  
titles and peregations, Paul, in the first epistle  
to the *Corynthians*, gaue vnto bodie renewed  
by the resurrection. And Christ in *Matthew*,  
when he was tempted of the *Saducees*; pte-  
fied that we should be like vnto the angels: that  
in heauen there shall be no use of matrimoine.  
For seeing that death shall haue no dominion,  
there shall be no need also of generation; which  
is granted vnto vs for supplying the number of  
such, as death hath dailie auoyde. The same is  
affirmed touching hunger, thirst, and all that  
cuill band of troubles. Wherefore therefore goe  
forth vnto noble and glorious a troubles,  
ought to regard but a little, all the cares  
and labours which be endureth for the name of  
Christ. Yet this doth not the wickedest con-  
sider; but it seemeth to be a matter of no weight  
vnto them, that they submit their soule vnto the  
bondage of innumerable miseries, and suffer the  
same to be martured with the flames of naughty  
lusts.

They do not make aine account of losing  
their bodie once free, and discharged from  
naturall necessities; as men that iudge it a thing  
impossible, because they measure the power of  
God by the course of those things, which con-  
tinuall be brought forth, and be here among vs.  
But contrariwise the golie, which most excellent  
the resurrection do hope for, that most excellent  
gift (to wit, that neither death, nor yet other na-  
tural infirmities may be able to do aine miserie  
displeasure to the bodie) must brend their whole  
indemour to rid their minds from the tyrannie  
of vices and affections; whereby they may be  
more and more confirmed in the hope of reco-  
uering of a free bodie, wherein the mind may  
be cleaue, that vnto whom Christ hath got-  
ten the victorie over lusts and finnes, which by  
means

*1 Cor* 15, 41

*Mat* 22, 30

meanes of the bodie and the flesh <sup>to</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> spirit. And this let vs desire of the eternall God, and most mercifull father, that he will vouchsafe to be slowe vpon vs at his owne appointed time, and that through the merit of our Lord Iesus Christ, for that immortal desires sake, whereby we wish after his kingdom. And this we would desire with all speed to be done, for his glorie & honour might be made more famous and knowne.

### The life euermlasting.

49 The which here living in the church by the spirit of Christ, have obtained remission of sins; and when we have attained vnto regeneration in felicitie and glorie, what either can we as ought we afterward wish, but that it be granted vs to liue euermore iustitie, contented, and happie in GOD through Christ? And although such a state is for manie causes verie greatlie to be desired; yet all the parts of that happy life must be referred to two good things; the first hath respect vnto the soule; as the other vnto the bodie. Touching the which this I will brieflie, that it will come to passe, that all labours, griefes, miseries, and sorowes, which we are compelled to suffer in this vniuersitie vntill we shall escape from the same. And this is it, which is said in the Apocalypse; that God will wipe away all teares from the eyes of his faime: neither shall there remaine to them any more sorowes, lamentations, sighes, or weepinges. Wherefore our bodie that mortall be renewed, according as we are treated in the article of the resurrection.

¶ Into which sentences declared this we adde; that there is a liuelie & effectual example in the resurrection of Christ, that manner of pleasanttie proper to our bodies shall have. It is euident alio, euen in summe of his actions, when he was euertant in this passible state of life, what time as he shewed miracles euen in his owne bodie. He entered into the place; where the apostles were, the doores being shut. He walked vpon the waters of the sea, and sonke not. He was lifted vp into the aire, or rather ascended into heauen: for he hath aboue confessed. And he offered himselfe to be seene and felt of his disciples. ¶ Likewise this, when his will was contrary to be seene, not yet to be caught hold of by any man, he so ordered his bodie, as neither the one nor the other happened otherwise, than it pleased him selfe. As in Nazareth, when they encountered to shoulde him downe heauling from the mountaine; or when they went about to stone him in the temple. Again, when he rate by and to go out of the sepulchre, which the soldiers kept, he would not be fast. ¶ So more would he be seene vpon mount Thabor, wherein his bodie

being transformed, became bright like the sun. And we are not anye waie forbidden to hope, but that our bodies shall probable be adorne with those qualities in the life eternall. For it seemeth altogether conuenient, that the men that were like to him in his owne had, were so; for if any man haue a fleshlie care of his owne bodie, he dealeth vniuersally, to obiect in that things which manifestlie strue vnto his blessed end. He ought rather, for that fauour, whereby he is indued by the grace of God, to yield the same bodie of his to the obedience of the spirit; by whom it shall at the length be quickened and carried vp into so excellent a state. In consideration whereof, Paule decreth; that Those things, which we presentlie suffer, are not worthe of the glorie, which shall be shewed to vs: And as in the same manner, Christ disposing of eternall life, said; Hee that will find his life, shall lose it.

In the which place, vnder the name of life; he meaneth this naturall life, the which whosoever will haue vnto eternall life, and the crosse laid vpon him by God, and hath attempt with hisgillie dishonouring of Christ and his name, to repulse danger and temporal death from it: then both he breake lose it, although he determine with himselfe to find it, and to recover it. For he despoileth it of those properties, which otherwise it should perpetuall haue in that eternall felicitie with Christ. But the spiritual and true christians, which by the iudgement of the world are thought to betray their owne life, while they make our small account of the same, taking great and infinite perils in hand, yea a willing death for: Christs life sake: these (I saie) as Christ most truelie testifieth, in losing of their soules, do in verie deed find and most certie obtaine the same. And that is most aptlie expessed in the similitude of a grain of corne, which unlesse it should first become root in the earth, it would neuer giue out flower or fruit, framed in the order of an earre of corne.

¶ So let vs proceed, & sit, in what thing the spirits of the blessed may rest themselves in that state, whereof we haue spoken. They that be distressed by Christ, although that euen in this life, they haue setled their desire to loue God with all their heart, with all their soule, and with all their strength; & so long as they acknowledge, they be verie far off from doing that, which they ought to do, they must needs be disquieted with erecting forsooth. How pleasant a thing (thinke you) will it be to them, that they shall be able to satisfie their desire, so iust, so excellent, so great, and so long be fired of them: When we shall be indued with this gift, that we shall euen and him no more: we shall be deliuered from the feruor of sinne, and from our domestical enemie, sinne,

name, from the maine of the flesh, seeing the same shall be at peace with the spirit. We bring constrained with the bonds hereof, cannot fulfil the lawe of God. But in that state we shall loue God with all our strength, and more than our owne felicity, or whatsoever else is in the world. Neither shall that flesh let vs anie thing, from the true & perfect loue of our neighbour: he vniuersally shall haue no need of the duties of this life, but yet we shall loue him, in that we shall no lesse be desirous of his felicitie than of our owne.

The motions of enuie, selfe-pleasing, and of other desires (the which things be verie great enemies vnto vs, and make vs the flatter to loue our neighbours) shall haue no longer abiding in vs. But as touching that, which is of greatest importance, and is greatlie wished for of all men that be indued with reason and a right godlines at all; I meane the knowledge of God; shall then at the last be granted vnto vs. Anded it is now, after some sort, giuen vnto men to knowe God by the euent of some things created, by the testimonies of the scriptures, and by inward reuelation of the spirit; but there shall be then a full and perfect knowledge. Wherefore saith Paule to the Corinthians, We see (saith he) through a glasse as in a darke speking, now then he certie haue bene sent into before vs, which the Grecians call *anagnosce*: then shall it be set fast to be perceived indeed. All waies and conuersing shall be removed, that we may penetrate euen to the face of God himselfe, the which cannot be perceived in this life: as God himselfe testifies to his faithful seruant Moses, in these words; It cannot be that a man should see me and liue. Therefore thou shalt not see my face, but I will cause, that as I passe by, thou shalt see my backe part.

¶ But when we be loosed from this mortal state, we without doubt shall be capable of that excellent gift. In the which thing chiefe consisteth that eternall life, as our fauour Iesus teacheth in the Gospell of Iohn; This is the life eternall, that they may knowe thee onlie, the true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent. And againe he saith; that Abraham desired to knowe the daie of the Lord, and he knewe it and reioiced. And vnto the apostles he said; Blessed be the eies, which see that yet. I saie vnto you, that many kings & prophets desired to see that which ye see, and yet it was not granted vnto them. In which place we must vnderstand, that Christ spake of his first coming, in the which he had the mortall and passible properties of humane nature. But if thou wilt obiect, that they saw him also after his resurrection, when he was now indued with an immortal and impassible life: I answer, that he had not euen as

yet gotten the full victory of all his enemies, neither had he yett the kingdom to be perfect, peaceable, and pure from all acconties: such as it shall be by the iudgement of Paule, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, When he hath put all his enemies vnder his feet.

¶ Therefore, let euery one ponder in his mind, what a felicitie remaineth to vs, seeing it is admitted, that we shall see him, and shall haue experience of our first begotten brother in that glorie and triumph: where we shall not onlie be one with him, but with the eternall father also, with whom he shall make vs fructue to abide, as a kingdome wonne by his owne conquest, and gouerned in an excellent sort; That the same God the father (as Paule testifieth in that place) may be all in vs all. Now then brethren, what better thing can we desire? How profitable, pleasant, glorious, honest, beautiful, and in euery respect good shall it be, that shall then and blessed God shall be all in all: These things are not else where to be sought, for they be not else where to be attained. Some haue, yea, and little figure of that blessednesse of ours, but Peter saith vpon the mount, and therefore be wisest then to haue his present habitation. Therefore had Paule a trial, when he was rapt into the third heauen, where he heard great wonders, as if he were removed from the sense of man, as they were vniuersally. The face of Moses is glittered, by reason of the conueration which he had with the diuine glorie, as the licencies were not able anye meane to behold him. What shall happen therefore vnto vs, when we haue obtained with him the place of children and bone-brothers?

¶ If so be at anie time it happen here, that we by anie motion of the spirit, read the scriptures; if we loue out our earnest prayers before God, if we lament before him with great zeale for the euill which we suffer, or else be moved in worlde through the effectual preaching of the word: do we not conceiue a ioy, delectation, and consolation, which passeth all delights, pastimes and pleasures of this world? But this is onlie beginning of eternall life; whereby neuertheless yet we may conuince, how pure, perfect, and vniuersally happy is that shall be, which is in the life to come. Touching the which, manie more things might be written: but it is more meet to leave these amplifications to the faith of the godlie reader. The which felicitie seeing it is the gift of God, which proceedeth not from our felices, in that God maketh vs capable thereof; so are we to want to conceiue much more accepting to the measure which cometh into vs. And these sweet conceits of the mind do comfort and refresh vs in the calamities of this life: they shewing vnto vs, euen in the midst of

Appropinquate  
of eternall  
life in this  
respect.

Apoc. 1. 4.

Iohn. 20. 19.

Iohn. 6. 19.

Act. 1. 9.

Luk. 14. 33.

Luk. 4. 50.

Iohn. 8. 19.

Mat. 28. 19.

Mat. 28. 19.

Mat. 28. 19.

Mat. 28. 19.

Mat. 28. 19.

Mat. 28. 19.

Mat. 28. 19.

Rom. 8. 8.

Mat. 20. 39.

Mat. 20. 39.

Mat. 17. 4.

1 Cor. 1. 4.

1 Cor. 1. 4.

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1 Cor. 1. 4.

1 Cor. 1. 4.

of the storme of this world, the haven of great felicitie. Unto the which we beseech him to bring us, that by his precious death he may receive it for us. And that it will please him through his holie spirit, to bring therunto all such as through him are regenerated by the eternall father: with whom he liveth, triumpheth, and reigneth for ever, Amen.

¶ Here (brethren) ye have a short exposition of the particular things belonging to our faith. And as touching those things, which shall be perceived of

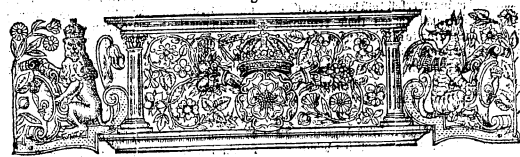
you to want, I beseech you to allow of these excuses. One is, that my abilities is but small and slender; the other is, for that I mean, in the booke which I have in hand touching the true worshipping of God: to supplye manie waies, which for brevities sake I have omitted. God and the Father make you partakers more and more of his grace in Christ Jesus our Lord! Amen. (.)

The end of the Second Part.



# THE Third Part of the Common Places of PETER MARTYR.

In the which is treated of the causes and generall meanes, whereby we are let into the possession of Christ and of salvation: and as touching the effects of Christ reallizing in vs.



## The first Chapter.

Of Predestination. Upon the ninth chapter to the Romans, at the latter end of the chapter.

These be  
the words  
of the  
whole 9.  
chapter to  
the Rom.  
and Joh. 1.  
and 3.

Whom  
of the ques-  
tion.



Cast in disputing our talke might drage to farre, which might easilie come to passe, in so large a field of Some predestination, the tract wherof is be come intricate, all that we mind to saie, we

will divide into foure principall points; that is to wit, 1. I will first diligentlie search out the nature and definition thereof. 2. Secondly, what are the causes of it; for nothing can perfectlie be knowne, which is not knowne by causes. Thirdly, what are the effects, which predestination bringeth forth in men; for there are manie things, which by their effects are most plainlie understood and perceived. 4. Lastly, whether the power of force thereof be such, that it bringeth unto men necessitie; and whether it either taketh away, or hindereth the libertie of the will of man; and whether it may be altered or changed. These parts being diligentlie discussed, we will then make an end of this discourse. And yet will I not promise of this matter to speake all that were to be spoken; for there are infinite things, which come to their mind that consider of this matter: onelie those things will I touch at this present, which shall seeme most necessarie, and are in greatest controuersie; which

being so complicated, it shall not be hard for others; to gather elsewhere to themselves much more matter. But before we go to the definition of predestination, I am to dispute two matters. The one is, whether it stand with true christian religion, either to dispute or to preach of predestination; least that if it be not lawfull, we should seeme to do wickedlie. The other, so much as the Logicians teach, that the question, whether a thing be or no, naturallie goeth before that question, whereby is demanded, what a thing is; that we heare not that a yder, let us first consider, whether there be any preordination or no; to the end we may afterward the more easilie define it.

As touching the former question, this is to be considered; that there are sundrie elections of God. For there are some, which serve for the executing of some certaine office, as to a kingdom, or to an apostleship; and others there are, unto eternall life. And these elections are sometimes separated alimder; for it happeneth oftentimes that he which is chosen unto a kingdom, is not straitwaie chosen unto eternall life: which also happeneth of the apostleship, as in Iudas. Whombeit, sometimes they are ioined together; so that whereas we speake of temporall election, we may also understand that the same is meant of the eternall. And after this sort Paule saith; Gal. 1.5, that he was called to be an apostle, and se-

The electi-  
ons of God  
are diuers.

John 6. 70.

Gal. 1.5.

221.



error; it was necessarie, that this doctrine should be more diligently be examined. And yet not do the fathers, which were before Augustine, alwaies leave this thing unopen of. For Augustine himselfe pteacheth that, in the 19. brooke of his booke *De bonis persequendis*. Ambrose upon Luke saith, that God could, if he would, of hundred persons make devout. And againe he saith, that God calleth them, whom he willeth to be benefactors; and whom he willeth, he maketh religious. These things willeth he upon that place, wherein it is written, that the Samaritans would not receive Christ. The civill also Gregorius Nazianzenus, who saith; that God granteth that the faithful both beleeve the blessed trinitie, and also confesse it. Now whereas they quere that this doctrine is verie oblique, and cannot be understood; but rather kingly men to be uncerteine of the will of God, he answereth, that indeed it is an oblique understanding, if any man go about to fesse out reasons of the iudgements of God, why other men being reccived thus or that man is chosen thus or those he is chosen of predestination, as the lawe scriptures do let forth unto us; those things are not to be oblique, but that they might be manifest through unto our faith.

Neither counsel I me, that when a man doth any thing, he should deliberate with himselfe of predestination; but rather refer himselfe unto the will of God, expresse in the scriptures: and that euerie one also ought to have a trust, that by predestination he is not excluded. Neither is this anie let to preaching, that the number of the elect (as it is verie doubt) is certeine and unnumerable. For by preaching, we goe not about to translate men from the number of the reprobate into the number of the elect: but that they which pertaine to the elect, might by the ministration of the word be brought unto their appointed end: which selfe-same ministration, as unto the one it is profitable, so unto the other it bringeth destruction, and taketh awaie from them all manner of excuse. But whether predestination and election unto saluation, may be said to pertaine unto all men; so that God Will have all men to be saved, we will afterward in his due place speake of. Nowhere in the meane time Augustine willeth be not to conceale the truth touching predestination, because thereby hangeth danger, least by mis-understanding thereof, corrupt doctrine might be confirmed. Neither are those, which are of capacitee, to be deceived, for their fakes which are not able to attaine unto it.

And so much as out of this doctrine, many considerations may be had, it is indifferent to be let forth, both to the learned, and to the unlearned; although not alwaies after one man-

ner. For, unto some, milke is meete; and unto others, strong meate. And this selfe-same thing may be applyed be intraved, of that it may fauillie leade the learned and unlearned. Which Augustine himselfe did wisely accomplish, who not onlie disposed of this matter against the Pelagians verie thaply; but also in his homilies and familiar sermons plainlie and expressely handled the selfe-same thing unto the people; which (saith he) is more profound than the saying of Iohn; In the beginning was the word; so than this other; The word became flesh; In which sentences many may fall, and perniciously erre; and yet notwithstanding, we must not cease to let it forth both to the learned, and unlearned; but yet using therein a fumble kind of speech. We ought not so to preach predestination unto the people of God, as to fesse; whether then doeth this, or doeth it not, then cannot alter the determination of God; and if we do not alter, what neede we doubt, then cannot be removed from saluation: for these speeches easilie hurt take and unlearned men. It is the fault of an unskillful; or rather malicious physician, so foolishly and unaptly to applye a medicine, which is otherwise good, that it may be hurtfull unto health.

But to let forth this doctrine profitable, and with fruits; the ends and commodities which we have before spoken of, ought to be regarded. And let all our speech be directed to this, namely that they, which are of Christ, ought not to put confidence in their owne power and strength, but in God; and that they ought to acknowledge his gifts, and to glory in God, and not in it. themselves, and to have feeling of the grace a merite that is given them, and that they are fraile iudged by Christ. Let them understand also, that they are predestinate, to be made like unto the image of the Son of God, in the adoption of children; to walke in Gods wayes; lastly, to rest in the assurance of Gods good-will towards them. Further, euerie thing which has cares or handels, whereby a man may most aptly hold it; which if it should be taken by any other waie, or part, willeth fall from the hand, or else hurt him that taketh it. Thus haue we gathered out of those bookes of Augustine, which we before cited; wherein he answereth to the objections of Hilarius and Prosperus.

Now rest two doubts to be dissolved; first, that they saie, that we appoint a certeine fittall necessitie; secondlie, that they thinke that men by this meanes are brought to desperation. As touching the first, if by fate or destinee they understand a certeine force influant from the stars, and an impregnable connexion of the causes, by which God himselfe also is re-  
turned;

ned; we (and that not without iust cause) will utterly renounce the name of fate. But if by that name they understand the order of causes, which is gouerned by the will of God, then can not that thing seeme to be against pietie; although in my iudgement I thinke it best, to abstaine from that name, least the wilewonderer should thinke, that we appaune the sayings of the Ethnikes. Of this matter hath Augustine excellently well written in his fifth booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the eighth chapter; Either by this predestination, are the natures of things changed, as touching necessitie and hap; as in the treatise of providence we haue declared: naie rather, by the effect of predestination, that is, by grace, we are made free from sinne, and made seruants unto righteousness; which liberatie is holie; and in the Lord, that willeth to be imbrued. And so far is it off, that willeth to be predestination our sins should be broken or diminished, as euen by it, it is most strongly confirmed. For Paul in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, when he had said; Hope confoundeth not; and had added, that Vnto them that loue God, all things worke to good, confirmeth the same by predestination. For whom God hath fore-knowne (saith he) those had he predestinate: and afoerth afterward;

Who shall separate vs from the loue of God? Shall tribulation? Shall anguill, &c? And immolate; Neither death, nor life, nor angells, nor principallities, &c. Therefore we are not by this doctrine brought to desperation, but rather much more confirmed in hope, and in faith; by the great comfort. And undoubtedly, it is much more cause to commit our saluation to the care and providence of God, than to our owne iudgement. For we, as we are changeable, would euerie day, and euerie houre, desert our felices. But our saluation, soasmuch as it lieth in the hand of God, is most faile and sure. And to conclude, there is nothing that more annoanceth the glorie of God, than doth this doctrine: wherefore we ought not to flee from this doctrine of predestination. And especially, seeing it is a certeine part of the Gospell, which must not be recited in part, but fullie and whole; and thus much as touching the first part proposed in the beginning.

Now the other part we are to consider, whether there be any predestination; lest we seeme to go about to set forth and define a thing feined and imagined: not that euer any haue borne, which openlie, and of purpose, durst denie the predestination of God; but for that there haue bene some, who haue laid such grounds, as those being granted, predestination cannot stand. For some saie, and amongst them especially Pighus, that in God is neither any thing

past, or to come; and therefore, he presentie, that is, alwaies predestinate and fore-knowneth. And he saith, that these are heretic knowledges, that we thinke, that God alwaies, before, and in times past, hath predestinated some. Whereof are gathered many absurdities; Vnto God (saith he) all things are present, therefore he alwaies fore-knoweth, and predestineth; and thereupon inferreth, that it lieth in euerie man to be fore-knowned of God, what manner of one he is; and that it is in our power to be predestinate, to be euen such as we our felices will. But this saying straiue far from the truth, although in God, there be no courses of times, yet that creature, whom God fore-knoweth and predestineth, is not without beginning. Wherefore, seeing it is not conseruall with God the Creator; it followeth of necessity, that God predestinated the same, before it was brought to forth; for predestination is of the number of those actions of God, which haue respect to other things. So as we must not flee the eternitie of God; so in it men haue no participation with God the Creator.

This may better and plainlier be understood by the time past; wherefore I haue thus, Certaine men are now dead and gone, but unto God all things are present; therefore God doth now predestinate them, and now also is it in his power, how to be predestinated. There there is none so blackly, but that he hath the almightie; for they are not now predestinated, seeing they are already come to an end; neither lieth it in their power, either that they shall be, or that they shall not be, which is which they haue now recured be not at all, or how it ought to be. And if their reason be to take, touching the time past, how can it be firme of the time to come. But leave me this argument, which nevertheless is most strong; and let us weigh what the scriptures saie. Doubt not Paul affirmeth of God, that he will not be overcome, or had done either good or yill, that it was said; The elder hath sence the young, and so the Christians, doubt they not say, that we were predestinate before the foundations of the world were laid? These places and many other such like, do most manifestly declare, that these men are predestinate before they were gotten to their being; which thing he that taketh his life by his sword, shall take awaie from them; which we receive of this, that we knowe that we are predestinate of God the Father, before all eternitie. But let us consider to what end Pighus hath thus forced the fencer; so forth to this end, to confute this; that our workings are determined and appointed to God, before they be done. For then he thinketh, that the freedom of mans will should pre-

Although in God be no courses of times, yet the creature, whom God fore-knoweth and predestineth, is not without beginning. Wherefore, seeing it is not conseruall with God the Creator; it followeth of necessity, that God predestinated the same, before it was brought to forth; for predestination is of the number of those actions of God, which haue respect to other things. So as we must not flee the eternitie of God; so in it men haue no participation with God the Creator.

Dead men are not now predestinated, for they are already come to an end; neither lieth it in their power, either that they shall be, or that they shall not be, which is which they haue now recured be not at all, or how it ought to be.

Rom. 9. 11.

Ephe. 1. 4.

we conclude that they that are predestinated by God, are predestinated before they were gotten to their being.



rich, and men should be left under necessity. This could he thinketh may thus be remedied, if we late, that God doth all things presently. But he should have remembered, that in the prophets, and other scriptures, many prophesies are read, wherein things were determined and appointed, how they should be done before they were done. That shall we here late: Shall we thinke that those prophesies were not before those things which were to come? Christ faith, that It behoveth that the scripture should be fulfilled: therefore these fond imaginations are to no purpose. These men thote onlie, with their lying inventions, to make darke a thing plain and manifest, as the fly directly the mudd to hide and save it selfe.

7 Pighius also goeth on further, and saith, that The providence of God hath not preferred unto men the time of hind, either of life or death; yea rather (he saith) that there have bene manie, which as touching the providence of God, might have lived longer, if they had not either by negligence, or interceptive shortned their life. For if these things were to determine (saith he) a murderer, when he killeth a man, may be excused: because he hath executed the will of God. Mercie I wonder that a man being a diuine, could let such an old wives tale come out of his mouth. As though the murderer, when he slayeth a man, hath respect to the pleading of God. This onie he regarded, how he may playe the thief, or accomplish his hatred to enemies: for both could he knowe, that this is the will of God, being God hath in his lawes commanded the contrary: Death he thinks, that Iudas can be excused of his wicked treason, because he had heard the Lord thus tell him, that Iudas said, O thou Pharo therefore be excused, because God had fore-told that his trait should be hardened: Wherefore it is a foolish thing to lying in an excuse of sinnes, by reason of the determination which we ascribe to be in God.

But Pighius addeth also another argument; If our doings (saith he) should in such sort be determined by God, then should all our care, diligence, and inducible be taken away: for what might it profit (saith he) to avoid them and dangerous iournies, or sailings in the winter, or secretings, or unholloine meats, if both the kind, and time of death, and such other life, be already certainlie appointed of God?

Were cometh to my mind, that which Origin hath in his second booke against Celsus, where he unsketh mention of a subtil argument raised betwene them which disputed of fate or destinie. A certaine man gave counsel to a sicke man, not to fend for the physician: because (saith he) It is now already appointed by destinie, either that thou shalt recover of this disease,

or that thou shalt not. If it be the destinie that thou shalt recover, then shalt thou not need the physician: if it be not the destinie, the physician shall nothing helpe thee: therefore, whether thou have been decreed, that thou shalt recover, or not: either by the like argument deduced his friend from marriage. Thou wilt marie (saith he) a wife to gette children: but if it be the destinie to have children, then shalt have them without a wife; if it be not the destinie, then will it therunto without profit thee to marrie a wife: so that whatsover destinie hath decreed, thou shalt in vaine marrie a wife. Thus did they deride and coigne fate or destinie: for they intended to shew, in what absurdities men should fall, if they would defend fate.

Contrariwise, they which defended destinie thus witholded these reasons, and shewed, that those reasons should not trouble men. Wherefore they said, that the sicke man might thus have made an answer; I rather, if by fate it be appointed that I shall recover, I will fend for the physician, because he professeth to restore health to the sicke; that by his industrie I may attain unto that which destinie hath decreed. And that other, which deliberated as touching the marriage of a wife, they imagined thus to answer; If it be appointed that I shall have children, I will marrie a wife, that destinie may take place. Let Pighius also thinke, that his arguments may serve against him; for he also may be the holie creature, or spiritie reprobate. For unto the life of Ezechias were added 15. yeeres, to the captivitie of Babylon were 12. yeeres, 40. yeres. And Christ faith, that All the heares of our head are numbered; and that Nofo much as a sparowe shall light upon the ground without the will of God.

8 What also is childh, which he addeth; namelye, that our paters should be in vaine, if the events of things were certaine appointed. Of these things we have spoken in another place; that God hath not onlie decreed, what he will give unto vs; but also hath determined means, whereby he will haue vs to attaine unto them. So Christ faith, that God knoweth what we have need of, and yet needethlesse amonisheth vs to praye. This is nothing else than to leane againe a man from the providence of God: for that providence is not new, but an eternall disposition of things. Unto the death of Christ, both the place, and time, and manner, was prescribed and revealed in the foresayden of the prophets; and that it could not otherwise come to passe, because

Christ himselfe saith; Mine house is not yet John.4. come.

come. And that which was true in Christ, how can it be denied in others? We grant, that in the stars are long before sente the reasons and causes of winds, howes, tempests, fauernes of weather, and dynells; and shall we not ascribe those causes to be in God, who infinite comprehendeth more things than heaven doth: And the scriptures do not onlie speake manifestly of that which we a little before rehearsed, as touching the twins, that Before they were borne, or had done good or euill, it was said; The elder shall serue the younger: Jacob haue I loved, but Esau haue I hated. And spake it also of the time to come; I will haue mercie, on whom I will haue mercie. Also; Not of works, but of him that calleth, that the purpose should remaine according to election. And in Deuteronomie it is written; He chose their seed after them. Unto David was appointed a posteritie, even to the coming of Christ; and when he had committed to sin, it was told him, that The sword should not depart from his boule: and that his wities should openlie be deflowered by the naked of his blood. And of Ieremie, it is written; Before that I framed thee in the wombe, I knew thee. Christ faith, that The elect altho they be decreed, if they were possible: nay, That as manie as were given him of his father, no man should be able to plucke out of his hand. And in the Acts, we reade; They beleued, as manie as were ordained to eternal life.

So also is compared with a pottor, who unbonderlie, before he beginneth to worke, aseth in his mind what kind of vessel he will frame. And a little before; Whom he foreknew, those also hath he predestinate, to be made like unto the image of his sonne. Predestination is set in the former place, and afterwards followeth the continuance to the image of the sonne of God. And in the Acts we reade, that The Iewes toke Christ, and crucified him; according to the fore-knowledge and determination of counsel of God. What need we any more testimonies; Paule to the Ephesians faith, that We were elected before the foundations of the world were laid. These things sufficient declare, that we are not decreed, when we teach that the fore-knowledge and predestination of God, doth before all eternitie go before those things, which are fore-knowledge and predestination: and that unto this determination this is no let, that in Gods action, there is nothing that he hath past to come. For these things, which we have brought out of the holie scriptures, it is by no manie manifest, that there is a predestination of God: which will appeare, even by those things, which we will afterwards make mention of.

Now in the meane time it shall be confirmed by a reason, and that such a reason, as doubtles

in my iudgement, may seeme to be a briswstration. The end whereunto we are made, far passeth nature; for that by our owne potter and strength we cannot attaine unto it: so that we have need of God, to prepare vs, and to lead vs unto it. Therefore Paule faith to the Corinthians 1. Thee eiaht not seeke, nor the care haue, nor heard, neither haue ascended into the hart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him. Wherefore, fearing that of necessity, we must by God be brought unto the end, this cannot be done by chance, or rastle; but by the counsel of God, which was appointed and determined, even from before all times.

9 Now, saying that there is no let, but that we may come to the definition of predestination, I thinke it best to begin with that, which the Logicians call *Quid nominis*; that is, what the word signifieth. The Grecians call predestination *προβουλη*, of this verbe *προβουλομαι*, which signifieth to determine and appoint before; for *προ* is *Terminus*, that is, A bound or limit: for as the elect are separated asunder from them that are not elect. The Latins calling this *Predestinatio*, *Pre* to destinare, is nothing else, but firmelle in mind to determine, and constantlie to appoint anie thing, or by some firme decree of the mind to brede a thing to some purpose.

But predestination, which we speake of, may be taken two manner of waies: either as touching the bringing of it to the effect, as that Paule going to Damasus was converted to Christ; and by that means separated from the unbelievers: or in respect it is with God from eternitie, before men are borne. At this Paule saying to the Galatians, faith, that This Paule toying to the Galatians, from his mothers wombe, long before he was converted. And to the Ephesians also he faith, that We were predestinate before the foundations of the world were laid. And to the Romans, of the twins, he saith; Before they had done either good or euill, Iacob haue I loved, but Esau haue I hated. And we at this present faile of this eternall predestination of God: wherefore the other is nothing but a declaration of this predestination; therefore predestination may be taken both commonlie and properly.

But forasmuch as God doth all things by an appointed counsel, and nothing by chance or fortune; undoubtedly whatsoever he createth or doth, he appointeth it to some end or use. And in this manner, neither the wicked, nor the diuill himselfe, nor sinnes, can be excluded from predestination: for all these things doth God be according to his will. Wherefore Paule calleth wicked men doined to utter damnation *condemni*, that is, The vessels of God, upon whom he maketh open his wrath. And Salomon in his



he hath continually decreed. By these words we are taught, that the predestination of God is immutable; for Paule faith in the latter epistle time; to Timothy, The foundation standeth firme; the Lord knoweth who are his. And in the eight chapter, when the apostle would teach, that hope is not vain, he saith, they which have an assured hope should be saved, they which have an assured hope by predestination, saying; Whom he hath foreknown, those also hath he predestinate. And he addeth; Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation? Shall anguish? &c. And James faith, that With God is no changing nor variableness. And in Esaie, God crieth; I am God, and am not changed. And in the epistle to the Romans the 11. chapter, where is intreated of predestination, Paule faith; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. And whereas God in Ieremie the 18. chapter saith; that he would change his sentence, which he had threatened unto manie nations, to which they would repent, that is not to be understood that they would come to passe, but of those things which are fore-told shall come to passe, by that will of God, which they call the will of the signe; namely, when by his prophets he declarably told men, either what their sinnes have deserved, or what he might over their heads by reason of natural causes.

12. [Whom he hath loved in Christ]. This we adde, because whatsoever God chooseth, he decreeth to give, that giveth he, and will give, through Christ. And as we have oftentimes alledged, Paule to the Ephesians faith, that We are elected and predestinate in Christ, for he is the prince and head of all the predestinate, yea none is predestinate, but onely to this end, to be made a member of Christ. [To call into the adoption of children.] So Paule in a manner reuerie speakech, specially in the first chapter to the Ephesians, for there he saith, that We are predestinate, to the adoption of children. And that calling followeth straight waie after predestination, those words which we have already alledged do declare; Whom he hath predestinate, those also hath he called. [To justification by faith.] That unto calling is adjoined justification, Paule by the selfe same words teacheth; Whom he hath called, those also hath he justified. [Unto glorie by the selfe same waie.] Thus also Paule teacheth in the selfe same place; Whom he hath justified (saith) he chose also hath he glorified. And that this glorie shall followe by good works, and that we are predestinate unto those good works, that place unto the Ephesians, which we have already oft enen manifestlie p.roueth, that we first be faith; that We are predestinate, that we should be holie & blameless before God. Afterward he saith, that God hath

prepared good works, wherein we should walke.

[That they may be made like unto the image of his olone of God.] This image was to be given to vs by regeneration, when we are subiect to perfection by good works, and is fully finished in the eternall glorie. But in infants this likeness hath place, while that it is begun by regeneration, and is finished in that last glorie. Whobut in them, for want of age, are not required good works. [That in them might be declared the mercie and goodness of the Creator.] This is the last end of predestination, shadowed unto vs by Paule in the similitude of the potter, which hath power to make one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour: so God hath prepared his vessels to glorie, that in them he might declare his glorie. By this definition we gather, that God hath predestinate unto the elect, not onely glorie, but also good works; that is, means whereby he will haue his choise vnto glorie. By this we may see, how foolish they are deceiued, which lue inckeles, and yet in the meane time boast that they are predestinate. For the scriptures teach, that men, according unto the predestination of God, are not brought vnto glorie by wicked facts and naughtie deeds, but by vertuous life and manners. Whether are they to be hardened into, which crye out, whosoever I lue, the predestination of God shall haue his effect. For this is utterlie to be ignorant, that predestination is, and impendeth to go about definition to abuse it.

13. Now that we haue crucellie, after this manner, examined this definition by his parts; let vs gather therout certein things not vnpossible. First this, that predestination is a worke of God, and is to be placed in the purpose of God: for although men are said to be predestinate, yet must we not appoint predestination in nature, but like wiise things are said to be perceived, y & holotie; when as yet in them is neither knowledge nor perceiving, but onely in the mind of God. Therefore, euen as we can see the other raine, or cold, or frost, before they come; so God predestinately men, which are yet without the use of reason, as we can see the other, as a father and a sonne: and some there are, whereof the one may be, although the other be not at the same time with it, as the former and the latter, knowledge and the thing to be knowne. Predestination therefore is reserved unto this latter kind of relation; which predestination yet, so much as it is (as we haue said) in the mind of him that predestineth; those things, whereof the predestinate are blessed, namely grace, justification, good works and glorification, are in them which be predestinate:

note: for these haue no place, but in the saints. But in that we haue put the effects of predestination, in the definition thereof; it is not to be marvelled at: for this definition cannot be given, without the copulations (as they call them) he also expresse. Predestination is in best defined, but of necessity there must be expresse and declared the ends, unto which men are by it directed. And therefore they are joined with the knowledge; because God knoweth both the beginnings, and means, and ends of our salvation. This moreover is to be holotie, that taken of the fathers (as sometimes it happeneth) predestination is called foreknowledge, that then it signifieth, not onely knowledge, but also appointment: which (as we haue declared) pertaineth vnto purpose. Therefore we did what we could, to make properlie, to the end these things should not be confounded. Lastlie is to be considered also, how in predestination, are hint together the godnes, wisdom, and power of God, which are his most chaste proprieties. But the will of God, for knowledge, declareth a wise preparation; for the will purporeth nothing, which is not before knowledge. Lastlie, when it is come to be put in execution, that is power.

14. And now, because things contrarie pertaine to one and the selfe same knowledge; and the one of them serueth much to the knowledge of the other; euen as we haue defined predestination, so also will we define reprobation. I said before, that I was of the same mind that the Schoolmen are; namely, that the reprobate are not predestinate: not for that I indged their reasons to be so firme, but because the scriptures vse to speake for the most part. It is in their reason, because reprobation breetheth not onely to the end, but also unto the means which leade to the end. But so much as sins are the means, by which men are damned; they saie that God can not be named to be the cause of them. Although so, if we will speake by lightie and properlie, God can not be said to be the cause of sins, whome yet we can in no wise truly exclude from the government and ordering of time: for he is the cause of those actions, which to vs are sins; although as they are of God, they are mere iustice: for God punisheth sins by sins. Therefore sins, as they are punishment, are laid upon men by God, as by a iust iudge. Besides, it is God which withholdeth grace from men; which being withholden, it can not be chosen, but that they must fall. And so much as through his agitation or stirring up, all the both lue and moue; doubtles all the works which we do, must needs in a manner be done by his impulsion. Although therefore follo-

meth not, that he should potize into vs his impulsion; for we haue naughties abundantie enough of our felicitie, both by reason of original sin; and also because the creature, if it be not holpen by God, of it selfe it declineth without measure and end, to worse and worse.

Furthermore God, and that vnbolueible by iustice, ministereth vnto the reprobate, and vnto the wicked, occasions of sinning; and therefore he is the author of the harts of men, not onely to good, but also (as Augustine saith) by his iust iudgement to euill. See, also be weth the malice of men, will they quill they, vnto those ends, which he hath purposed vnto himselfe. And the holie scriptures sicke not to saie, that God deliuereth men into a reprobate senle, and maketh them blind, and seductively them, and manie other such things; and yet for all this, he can not be truee called the cause of sins, seeing and he haue the true cause of sins sufficient in themselves. So that reason of the Schoolmen is felise, neither cleareth it to a verie sure foundation. Doubtles, I therefore separate the reprobate from the predestinate; because the scriptures no where (that I knowe of) call men that shall be damned predestinate. Which sentence, though I lue no reason why, yet would I iudge to be followed; because of the authority of the word of God. Whobut, I thowe that the holie scriptures so speake; for that (as we haue before said) predestination hath regard vnto those ends, unto which we can not by nature attaine: such as are iustification, god life, and glorification; by which God raisech vs far above all strength and power of nature.

But the sins, for which we are damned, although they are not excluded from the government of God; namely, after that manner, as we haue already declared; yet do they not passe the strength of our nature: for euery man of himselfe is prone enough to sin.

15. Therefore reprobation is the most true purpose of God, whereby he hath before all eternitie, constantly decreed without any iustitie, not to haue mercie on the whom he hath not chosen, but hath vnto which them; that by their iust condemnation, he might declare his iustitias sake, and also his glorie. The former parts of this definition are already declared, when we defined predestination, euen vnto that part (whom iustice in iustice;) which part is therefore added, because God doth intire vnto them, no grace; and he bestoweth not his mercie vnto them: for he is not bound vnto any man by anye lawe; neither is he compelled of dutie, to haue mercie vnto any man. Therefore God answereth in the Gospell; Is this iustie wicked, because I am good? Is it not lawfull for me to do with mine owne what I will? The selfe same

sinners are not all manner of sinners reprobate from the people of God.

Rom. 9. 24. and 18.

Ezech. 4. 9.

According to the phrase of the scriptures, the reprobate are to be

reprobate

reprobate

Definition of reprobation

no iustice

upon whom he hath not mercie

Mat. 23. 34.





difference, for that the one was borne of a free woman, and the other of a hand-maiden: after-  
 wards he brought two brethren that were twins, Jacob and Esau, which had not one like a selfe-same parents; but also were brought forth both at one time, and in one of the selfsame birth. And as touching toothes, there was no difference at all betwixt them: for as the apostle

saith, Before they had done either good or euill, it was said; The elder shall serue the younger. Again; Jacob haue I loued, but Esau haue I hated. What need was there, that Paule should to bilgentlie allege these things, but to make these two brethren therein equal in all points, as touching nature? which had bene to no purpose, if thill there had remained to much difference in tholke forefence. So then it followeth, that wharsoeuer difference is in men, the same dependeth onlie of the will of God: for other wise it is all borne vnder sinne.

Further, if there should be any thing of our felices which might moue God to predestinate vs, that should chiefe be faith. For Augustine saith, when he was yet young, I was not so well acquainted with this question, thought that God in predestination & reprobation, had a respect vnto faith, & vnto infidelitie: which opinion, both Ambrose and Chrysostome imbraced before. But this in verie deed cannot be attributed, nor vnto faith; for faith alloweth of predestination. For it is not of our felices, but is giuen of God; and that not easily, but by his determinate counsell: which may be easilie proued by manie places of the scriptures. For Paule vnto the Ephesians writeth;

By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of your felices, for it is the gift of God, least any man should boast. And againe in the same epistle; Charitie and faith from God the father, through Iesus Christ. And in the epistle vnto euerie Roman; As God hath diuided vnto euerie man the measure of faith. And vnto the Corin-  
 thians; I haue obtained mercie, that I might be faithful. Vnto the Philippians; Vnto you it is giuen, not onlie to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. In the Acts; God opened the hart of the woman that sold purple, that I might giue heed vnto those things which were spoken of Paule. And in the 13 chapter; They were elected, as manie as were ordained vnto eternall life. Christ also saith in the Gospell; I con-  
 fesse vnto thee, o father of heauen and earth, that thou hast diuided these things from the wise and prudent, and hath reuealed them vnto infants: euen fo, o father, because I hath lo pleased thee.

And in another place; Vnto them (saith he) I speake in parables, that when they heare, they should not heare; & when they see, they should not see: but vnto you it is giuen to vnderstand,

And vnto Peter he saith; Blessed art thou Simon Bariona, for flesh and bloud hath not reuealed this vnto thee. And there are manie other testi-  
 monies in the holie scriptures, whereby is proued, that faith is giuen and distributed by Gods onlie; so as it cannot be the cause of predestina-  
 tion; if faith cannot, toothes can much lesse. 22. Apocrypher, no man can denie, but that predestination of God is eternall: for Paule to Timothy saith; that God hath elected vs be-  
 fore the world was. And vnto the Ephesians; Before the foundations of the world were laid, Ephesi. 4. But our toothes are temporal, wherefore that which is eternall, cannot come of them. But they vnto to canell, that those toothes, in whose respect we are predestinated, are so to be taken, as they are forefence of God; and by this means they cannot seeme to be temporal. Be it so, take them in that manner; yet can it not be denied, but that they are after predestination: for they depend of it, and are the effects thereof, as we haue before taught. Therefore after these things, the efficient cause of that which went before, which, how absurd it is, euerie man may easilie vnderstand. Further, the efficient cause is, of his onlie nature, more lovable, and of more excellencie than the effect; specially in respect it is such a cause. So then, if toothes be the causes of predestination, they are also more lovable, and of more excellencie than predestination. Quer. this predestination is sure, constant, and infallible; how then shall we appoynt, that it dependeth vpon toothes of free will, which are vncertaine, and vncertain, and may be warped to any use, if a man consider them particularely. For men are alike prone vnto this; or that kind of sinne, as occasions are offered: for otherwise, if we will speake generally, free will before re-  
 generation can do nothing else but sinne, by reason of the corruption that cometh by our first parents.

So as, according to the mind of these men, it must needs followe, that the predestination of God, which is certaine, dependeth of the toothes of men, which are not onlie vncertaine, but fumes also. Further can they say, that they meane as touching those toothes, which followe regeneration: for those (as we haue taught) spring of grace and of predestination. Neither do these men consider that they, to ascribe mans reason, and to attribute a libertie (a libertie, knowe not what) to men, do rob God of his due power and libertie in election: which power and libertie yet the apostle testifieth forth, and saith; that God hath no lesse power ouer men, than hath the potter ouer the vessels which hee maketh. But after these mens opinion God neuer not elect, but him onlie, whom hee knoweth shall be haue

because himselfe will: neither can hee reiect anye man, but whome hee seeth shall be euill. And this is to go about to ouer-rule God, and to make him subiect vnto the lawes of our reason. As for Erasmus, he in vaine speakech against this reason: for he saith, that it is not absurd, to take as true from God that power, which hee himselfe will not haue attributed vnto him; namely, to do any thing vnkind.

For we saie, that Paule hath in vaine, re-  
 ceiued this libertie of God, if hee therellie testifieth this libertie of God, if hee neither haue it, nor will that it should be attributed vnto him. But how Paule hath proued this libertie of God, that place which we haue cited, most manifestly declareth. They also to no purpose object vnto vs the iudice of God; for here is intreated onlie of his mercie. Neither can hee denie, but that they, by this their opi-  
 on, do derogate much the loue and good will of God towards men. For the holie scripture, when it would commend vnto vs the fatherlie loue of God, affirmeth, that He gaue his son, and that vnto the dead, and at that time when we were yet sinners, enemies, and children of wrath. But they will haue no man to be predestinated, which hath not god toothes forefence in the mind of God. And euerie man may saie with him-  
 selfe; If I be predestinated, the cause thereof dependeth of my selfe. But another, which seethly truite in his hart, that he is frelie elected of God for Christ sake, when as he of himselfe was all manner of wises vnto the eye of great loue, will vnderstand all doubt be wonderfullie indamed to loue God againe.

It is also profitablie vnto vs, that our sal-  
 uation should not depend of our toothes. For we oftentimes waiver, and in liuing by our confide-  
 nce in our owne strength, we should vterlie be-  
 liebbe; but it we be true, that our saluation abideth in God, fixed and assured by Christ sake, we cannot but be of good comfort. Further, if predestination should come vnto vs by our toothes forefence, the beginning of our saluation should be of our felices; against which opinion, the scriptures euerie where crie out; for that we were to raise vp an idoll in our felices. Apocrypher, the iudice of our toothes. But Christ saith; Ye haue not chosen me, but I haue chosen you. Neither is that consideration to God, which is in men, when they begin to fauour a man, as to haue a friend: for men are moued by excellent gifts, wherewith they for a man adorned; but God can find nothing good in vs, which first pre-  
 cedeth not from him. And Cyprian faith (as Augustine oftentimes citeth him) that we there-  
 fore can not glorie, for that we haue nothing that is our owne: and therefore Augustine con-

cludeth, that we ought not to part shakers be-  
 twixt God and vs, to giue one part to him, and to keepe another vnto our felices, to obtaine sal-  
 uation: for all vholie is without doubt to be as-  
 cribed vnto him. The Apostle, when he testifieth of predestination, hath alio this end before him, to confirme our confidence, and especially in afflictions; out of which he saith that God will deliuer vs. But if the reason of Gods pur-  
 pose should be referred vnto our toothes, as we haue caused, then could we by no means conceiue anye such confidence: for we oftentimes fall, and the righteousness of our toothes is so small, as it can not stand before the iudgement scale of God. And the Apostle, for this cause chiefe-  
 ly made mention of predestination, we may vnderstand by the eight chapter of the Epistle Rom. 8, 1. and 8, 30.

For when hee described the effects of iustificati-  
 on, amongst other things he saith, that wech it haue obtained the adoption of children, and that we are moued by the spirit of God, as the sons of God; and therefore vnto a valiant mind we suffer auerities; and for that cause euerie creature groweth, and earnest-  
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Touching saluation the whole must be ascribed vnto God.

For predestination should be of Gods gift, it would not be ascribed to us, nor to hope, but to be iustified.

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For predestination should be of Gods gift, it would not be ascribed to us, nor to hope, but to be iustified.

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Acceptio  
of persons.  
2. cor. 13  
Rom. 1.11.

is no time. We addey moreover, that we can-  
not avoid, but that we must make God an ac-  
ceptor of persons. But if he had considered, that  
this fault is then committed, when as we are mo-  
ved to distribute, as to give indifferently by such  
circumstances and conditions, which make no  
way to all the cause, he would never saie  
thus: for this cannot have place in God. For  
he found not those circumstances and condi-  
tions in men, but putteth in them even such as  
himselfe will; so as no man can obiect unto  
him, that as touching election he hath not attri-  
buted unto his person, that which was commu-  
ent: or agreeable: for God is the author of all  
persons, and of all comelines.

But he saith, the care and endeavour to live  
uprightly is taken away. As though we by  
this doctrine do make men worse, and do open  
a window to licentiousness and dissolute life.  
But how strange and false these things are, I  
suppose it is thereby manifest: for that we al-  
ways teach, that predestination belongeth not  
onlie to the good, but also to the meane. For  
we are predestinated, not onlie unto felicitie,  
also unto good works; namely, that we  
should walke in them, and be made like unto  
the image of the Sonne of God. We be chosen  
regard not these things, and also without this  
doctrine, live wickedly: but the goodly, for  
they have confidence, that they are predestina-  
ted, labour by holie works to make their cal-  
ling sure. And unto them by this doctrine, is  
opened a window unto modestie, unto patience  
in afflictions, unto gratitude, and unto a singu-  
lar love towards God. But take away this  
doctrine; there is made open, not a window,  
but an exceeding wide gate to pride, to igno-  
rance of the gifts of God, to uncharitie, and  
doubting of salvation in adversities, and the  
weakening of our love towards God.

But these men faie further, that this ma-  
terh here much against us; for that nothing can  
light under predestination, or reprobation, but  
that which God willeth; but that God should  
will finis, is to be counted for a most absurd,  
and a blasphemous doctrine. They saie more-  
over, that God cannot will finis, if we com-  
mit those things, which he himselfe both wills  
and loatheth. But this must be of necessitie  
saie, if we asseme, that not onlie our ends, but  
also our means to the ends depend of the pur-  
pose of God. So to satisfie this doubt, first let  
them remember, that it cannot be denied, but  
that God after a sort wills, as (or some other  
saie) permit it him. But so far as that is  
done without any coaction of our mind; there-  
fore no man, when he sinneth, can be excused.  
For he willingly, and of his owne acceptio, com-  
mitteth those finnes, and which he ought to be

condemned; and hath the true cause of them in  
himselfe; and therefore hath no need to feare it  
in God. Further, this is no good comparison,  
which these men make betwene good works  
and finnes. For God so loveth in his good  
works, that he ministereth unto his grace  
and spirit; whereby these works are brought;  
for these are the grounds of good works: which  
grounds we have not of our felices. But finis  
be to governance, and after a sort wills; that they  
notwithstanding, the grounds of them, that is,  
the flesh, and our corrupt and naughty nature,  
are not in God, but in us. Therefore, there is  
no need that they should be pointed unto by  
any outward mover.

And God is said after a sort to will finnes; <sup>John 6.40</sup>  
either for that, when he can, he prohibiteth them  
not; or, for that by his wisdom he directeth  
them to certaine ends; or for that he suffereth  
them not to hurt soules, but when, and how,  
to what else he himselfe will; or finally, for that  
by them he will punish other finnes. But these  
answers, that God by no means wills finis, <sup>Exe. 33.11</sup>  
for it is written in Ezechiel; As true as I live,  
saith the Lord, I will not the death of a sinner,  
but rather that he be converted & live. But we  
answer, that the prophet in that place, intrea-  
teth not of the mightie & hidden will of God,  
of his effectual will; for God by that will, <sup>Psalm 136</sup>  
worketh all things which he will both in heaven &  
in earth. But he intreateth of that will, which  
they call the will of the signe: for no man can  
by those signes and tokens, which are expected  
in the laste, gather that God wills his death  
or condemnation. For the Lord commanded his  
law to be published unto all men, he both  
unto all men first; those things which he should  
be profitable & healthfull, lastlie, he upon all men  
indifferently the promise of great benefites; therefore  
by this will, which we call the will of the signe,  
he wills not the death of a sinner: yea rather,  
he moveth them to repentance. But as tou-  
ching the other will, which they call the will of  
his good pleasure, if by it he would have no man  
perish, then doubtles no man could perish; and  
there is no will to pervert, as Augustine saith,  
which God (if he will) cannot make good. Then  
when according to this will, he hath done all things  
whatsoever he would. This is a ready and  
plain interpretation, which if our adversaries  
admit not; but will needs contend, that the  
words of the prophet are to be understood of  
the mightie will of God, and of his will of good  
pleasure: then will we answer, that that sen-  
tence pertaineth not universallie unto all sin-  
ners, but onlie to those which repent. And they  
are the elect and predestinated, unto whom God  
as according to his purpose, he giveth faith and  
calling, so also giveth he repentance. And there-  
fore,

verse.13.

fore, whether sente former they followe,  
they shall never out of those words conclude, that  
God uttereth and by no means wills the  
death of sinners, or finis.

But they obiect certaine words, out of the  
first chapter of the booke of Ecclesiame, where it  
is written; God reioiceth not in the destruction  
of the living. But if (saie they) he by any  
manner of means wills finis, or the punish-  
ment thereof, he cannot be said not to reioice:  
for he reioiceth in that which he will have to be  
done. First I answer, that that booke is not in  
the canon, and therefore the author thereof  
may be refused. But admit that that booke were  
canonically, yet do those words make nothing  
against us; for he, whosoever he was, that was  
the author of that booke, meant nothing else, but  
to remove from God that naughtines of nature,  
whereby wicked men take pleasure in  
evil things. And yet was it not his meaning,  
that God punished wicked facts against his  
will; for otherwise, whosoever be that author  
under the name of Salomon, he should be as  
against the true Salomon. For he in his pro-  
verbs, under the person of wisdom thus wis-  
eth of the vngodly and unbelivers; I also  
will be against your destruction. In which words is  
declared, that God with this laughing, that is,  
with a cheerful mind, admitteth justice.

God puni-  
sheth not  
wickednes  
against his  
will.

Prova. 16

verse.11.

As touching the words of Ecclesiasticus,  
which are written in the fiftene chapter, that  
No man ought to saie of GOD, *deus me  
deservit*, that is, Hee hath deceived mee;  
in which place the Latin translation hath, *Me  
implant*. Canse we will have that place  
to be manifestly repugnant with many other  
places of the scripture, in which God is said to  
have deceived the people by false prophets, and  
to have commanded that Achab the king should  
be deceived, and to have made blind the hart  
of the people, least they should see; we must needs  
say that this manner expound those words: that no  
man ought to laie fault in God, as though  
he would excuse himselfe. Achab, if he was de-  
ceived, unjustly deceived to be deceived; for that  
he contemned the true oracles of God, and de-  
lighted himselfe in false prophets. The unbeli-  
vers also, and impietie of the people of Israel, came  
to the vengeance of the people of Israel, to come  
upon them; so that when they were deceived,  
they could by no means be excused. Our adver-  
saries also seeme somewhat to be offended, for  
that we asseme, that men have in themselves  
the cause of sin; that is, a corrupt and naughty  
nature. For in that first chapter of the booke  
of Ecclesiame, the generations of the world are  
said to be good, and not to have in them *depravatio-  
nem naturae*; that is, A deadly medicine. This  
is true indeed, for it be understood of the first con-

verse.14.

stitution of things, and chieffe of the creation  
of man, which was created of God in a good  
estate: but afterwards, through his fall, he fell  
both himselfe and his posteritie.

Pighius moreover cauleth against our  
doctrine, as though we first say men to have God  
for Christ thus speaketh of Iudas; We be ven-  
erous to that man, which had beene better for him  
to have beene borne. If he being reiect, and a  
reprobate, it must needs followe, that he hated  
God; seeing God first hated him. And so far  
much as the number of the reprobate is the  
greater number, euerie man (saie they) might  
easie suspect, that he is one of that number; and  
if it should come to passe, that manie should be  
lost. But we answer, that Christ said well,  
that it had beene better for that man, that he  
had not beene borne. For euerie one of vs,  
ought rather and more gladdie either to have  
never beene, or to be brought to nothing, than  
to be by committing of sinne, we should offend  
God. Wherefore Christ said true and plainlie,  
that it had beene better for Iudas that he had  
never beene borne. Doubtles simple, and as  
touching God, it had not beene better: for by  
him, both the counsell of God, concerning our  
redemption was fulfilled; and also by the pu-  
nishment which was laid upon him, both the jus-  
tice and power of God appeared the more  
plainlie.

And it is baine, that they saie, that manie  
fall into suspicion of their reprobation: for out  
of the holie scriptures, no man can gather any  
effectual arguments of their reprobation. And if  
God will sometimes reveale it by a certaine for-  
eord judgement, it cannot be bydone to a com-  
mon rule. In our time (saie Francis Spiera in  
a certaine man in Italie called Francis Spiera in-  
wardlie saie, that God had imposed this enu-  
pon him; but this in his judgement was due  
to the terror of others. For he, after that he had  
at the beginning, knowen the truth of the Gos-  
pell, and gentle comforted it; by being brought to  
Venice before the Popes legate, publickly as-  
sured it. Afterwards, being driven with a gra-  
uous wound of conscience, he perswaded him-  
selfe, that he had sinned against the holie Ghost;  
by means whereof, he was thowne into so  
great a desperation, that he would never after  
ward admit any consolation, though notable  
and goodlie men were about him, which exhorted  
him to have a good hope in Christ, and his death.  
And he would saie, that these things served well  
to be spoken unto others, but unto him they ne-  
thing at all prevailed; for that he knew most as-  
surelie, that he had sinned against the holie  
Ghost, and that there was no remedie left to  
deliver him from damnation; and so remaining  
in this desperation, he died.

Our nature  
as it was  
created  
was with-  
out corrup-  
tion.

Mat. 23.34.

whether it  
had beene  
better that  
Iudas had  
never beene  
borne.

As man  
can gather  
out of the  
scriptures  
any effect-  
ual argu-  
ments that  
he is re-  
probate.

The ex-  
ample of  
Francis  
Spiera.

God would in this man, by a certaine singular, and unaccommoded dispensation, leave away others from the like wickedness and impietie. Wherby, this neither conformable happy penit, as far as we can gather out of histories; neither also can any man, by the holie scriptures, see this degeneration. And peradventure God did not this to Spiera, but the duell (whose bondswine he was) having now renounced goodnes suggested this, to the end he might induce him to utter degeneration. So then we must make a distinction (as we before admonished) that either we speake of them that are bitter without all feeling of pietie, or else of the goodlie, and of them that are now called. If we talke of the first, they either nothing regard the commandments of God, or else they are alreadie in despayre of themselves: if we meane of the goodlie, they will not suffer themselves any long time to be tormented with this suspition; for that they now for themselves called faithful, and therefore are iustificed: all which things persuade them to have a confidence, and to hope that their names are entered in the roll of the elect.

34. Lastly, Pighius imagineth, that we speke things absurd; because we teach that men were first in a masse marred and corrupted with original sinne, before that they were predestinate of God: as though we would iustifie the purpose of God, when yet notwithstanding he in the counsell of predestination, put condemnation and eternall infelicitee, before finnes and our corrupt nature; and so we iustifie that which is first, by that which cometh after. We adde also, that by this meane, as touching the purpose of God, even by our owne doctrine, the end is first appointed, and those things also which bring unto the end. Wherefore, so much as original sinne is one of the means, whereby we are condemned; it cannot, as we imagine, go before reprobation; when as it falleth and is comprehended under it as a means unto eternall condemnation. But these things the same that this man understood not what we saie. Neither Augustine nor we ever said, that original sinne went before predestination, seeing predestination is before any time was; & Adam fell in time. Neither is it to absurd as he imagineth, that finnes should fall under reprobation, not indeed as the cause thereof; but as the cause of condemnation and of eternall miserie. And whereas he saith, that if it were so, it should followe; that God willeth finnes. Now we have declared how this is to be answered. Neither can he denie, but that God willeth finnes, which are continually committed to those ends which he himselfe hath appointed. And how much as this is not done of him rashly, but by

his determinate counsell; how can it be, that after a few finnes are not comprehended under reprobation?

Now if he contend that God offer one first willeth, and is not the cause of finnes and god works; we also asseme the same. But yet in the meane time, let him cease to count it as a thing absurd, that as well the end, as the means either of predestination, or of reprobation, are comprehended under the purpose of God, though after a divers manner. And as touching original sinne, we also asseme, that it goeth not before predestination or reprobation; but of necessity followeth it: for that God would not produce men out of any other stocke or matter, but out of the progenie of Adam; by means whereof, we are all borne infected with the spot of corruption. And so much as this was not hidden from God, therefore Augustine & we also will him saie, that God from everlasting purposed to have merrie on those whom he loved, and not to have merrie on others whom he loved not: so that if they, which want that merrie, which is bestowed upon others, we lead their life in original sinne; and when they are come to age, and to the life of reason, do add unto it many other finnes, then are they iustlie and justlie damned. And this may effectually be said, to repell those, which peradventure presume to laie the cause of their damnation, not upon their owne faults, but upon God. Wherefore original sinne goeth before the birth of all men; so that thou have a respect unto euerie particular man: it also goeth before the damnation of all the wicked, although it could not be before the eternall purpose of God, but onlie as touching foreknowledge.

35. These things being as we have declared them, as they are in no case absurd, even so may they well be perceived; if we depart not from the sense of the scriptures: which sense, how much in this place Pighius overpasseth, by means of his owne fond invention, I will in few words touch. The maketh manie degrees or acts in the mind of God, which he ordereth in themselves; not by distinction of time, but of nature: and therefore, such acts he calleth finnes; and yet had he not that out of the holie scriptures, but borrowed it out of Scotus. In the first figure (saith he) God appointed to bring forth all men to eternall saluation, which they might have fruite of together with him, and that without any difference; and over them he would have Christ to be the head, whom he himselfe also should have come in the flesh, although the first man had not sinne. In the second figure, he saith, that God foresaw the fall of man, by reason whereof it was not possible that men should come unto saluation, that is, unto the end,

Original sinne goeth before our damnation.

It should be imagined of Pighius.

end, which God had purposed in himselfe, when he decreed in the beginning to create man. Wherby, that the matter might go forward, he saith, that God did put in the third figure, remeins in Chast; namely, of grace, and of the spirit, & such like, whereby might be holpen those which would receive them, and those forsaken which should refuse them. Lastly in the fourth figure, for that he foresaw that manie would imbrace these aids, and would use them well and effectually, he therefore predestinated them to saluation: but others, whom he sawe would reject the benefites of God, he appointed to bitter destruction. This he speaketh concerning them that be of full age. But so much as by this fond imagination, he could not satisfie as touching infants, that perily befoze they can haue the use of free will, he patcheth thereto another fable; namely, that they, after the iungement, shall be in this world bapty, with a certaine natural intelligence, where in they shall continue pacific God, and give thanks unto him, for that their estate is tolerable. So this man stretch a doctrine, which he can not proue by any one word of the scripture.

For both attributes he vnto God, that he in the first figure decreeth those things, which should not have increase; namely, that all men should enioie felicitie: It is the point of a loose man, & will not saie of God, to decree or will those things, which shall take no effect. Let him also bring forth some oracles of God, to declare vnto us, that the forme of God should haue taken upon him mans flesh, though man had not sinne; but he shall no where be able to shew any such thing, seeing the holie scriptures euerie where testifie vnto vs, that he was guiltie for our redemption; and for the remission of finnes: which also might haue taught him, if he had considered, that original sinne went before all the effects of predestination, creation onlie excepted. Seeing Christ Ions to this end predestinated and giuen vnto vs, that we might haue a remeins of our falls; of all which false original sinne is the head and principle: and he had not taken upon him humane flesh, if there had ben no sinne committed. He, without the scriptures alle, imagineth, that it lieth in the power of our free will, to receive the remeins being generally let forth; when as this is the most absolute gift of God. And that which he lackt of all bingeth, namely, of the natural felicitie of christen, is not onlie wanted before the scripture, but also is plucked against it; which teacheth, that all verily in Adam, unless they be redeemed by the mediator. But to perily, or to die, how repugnant it is with felicitie, all men easily understand. And besides that, he hath not on his side one of all the fathers, which durst ima-

gine any such fond deuises. Neither can I be persuaded, that Pelagius himselfe, if he were alive againe, would moze diligently colour his opinion, than this man hath painted it and set it forth.

36. That which we have hitherto proued touching predestination; namely, that it becometh not of woorkes forelane; the selfe same thing also asseme we of reprobation: for neither wold it also depend of finnes forelane; so that by reprobation they understand not extreme damnation, but that most dure eternall purpose of God, of not having merrie. For wold we saie, that of Eua and Iacob; before they had done any good or euill, it was said; The elder shall serue the younger; Iacob haue I loved, but Esau haue I hated, that it should not be of woorkes, but of him that calleth. And Pighius labour in vaine, to haue this sentence of Paule understood of one of them onlie; seeing the apostle ioined them both together, vnder one and the selfe same condition. Which he may more manifestly afterward declare, saying; Hee hath merrie on whom he will, & whom he will hee hardeneth. Further, if sinne were the true cause of reprobation, then should none be elected; seeing God sochlike, that all men are deified with it. The breif which thing Augustine proueth vnto Simplicianus.

37. But now we will entreat of the third article, to see what are the effects of predestination, & of reprobation: & we will be the breif, for that those things which shall be spoken hereafter, much light of that is alreadie spoken. The first effect therefore of predestination is Christ himselfe; for the elect can haue none of the gifts of God, unless by our Saviour: he is giuen vnto them. It then also let there be put those effects, which Paule describeth in the 8. chapter to the Romans, when he saith; Whom he foreknew, those also had he predestinated; whom he had predestinated, those also had he called; & whom he had called, those he hath iustificed; & whom he hath iustificed, those he hath glorified. Whereby it is euent, that calling also, iustification, and glorification, are the effects of predestination; vnto also made be added, consensu to the image of the forme of God, seeing that Paule reckoneth it by as an effect of predestination. Let god woorkes also be added, seeing that God is said to haue prepared them that we should walke in them. Then followeth the certaintie or confirmation of our saluation. Lastly, is the declaration of the riches of the glorie of God, which end Paule manifestly mentioneth in the 9. chapter to the Romans: & the 2. Ephesians he willeth; That we might be to the praise of his grace and glorie.

But as touching reprobation, if it be compared to C. 1.

What the effects of reprobation are.

Christ is the first effect of predestination.

Eph. 2. 10.

Rom. 9. 23. 24. The effects of reprobation.

the goodlie subject not that they belong to the reprobate, can why?

Pighius understood not our meaning. Original sinne went not before predestination. These finnes fall vnder reprobation.

Christ had not come, unless there had ben sinne committed.

These things which the reprobate receiue by the curse.

the state of the first man.

whether the first man were created by God or by the devil.

Rom. 1. ver. 24 and 26.

red unto the first man; God from everlasting decreed to produce him, that by free will & certain grace given unto him, he might have stood, if he would; and God could have given unto him greater grace, so that he could not have fallen, but he would not. But whether Adam were of the number of the reprobate, or of the predestinate, cannot be gathered out of the holie scriptures; although all the fathers, in a manner, consent that he was saved, & therefore pertained to the number of the predestinate. But other men, which were reprobated, were offered unto God in a mass of perdition, & by their corrupted; for God decreed to produce them, not elsewhere, but out of the seeds of Adam. And so far as he was by his free purpose, he would not bestow his mercie on manie, which is bitter to refuse, therefore of horrible refection; whereby they were left in their nature filth; Further, so far as he was God, suffering not his creatures to be idle, & so that are perpetually pined forward to knowe; & so that they were not healed, they do all things according to their corrupt nature; which although they seeme sometime to be beautiful, yet before God they are filthie. Moreover, according as their wicked facts deserve, God manie times punisheth in their finnes by other finnes; as unto the Romans; Manie are said to have bene delievered up into a reprobate mind, for that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God.

But yet as touching the time of the first man, this is to be considered, that time could not be said to have bene the punishment of another time; for if it were the first time, it had not any other time before it; and that God utterly would not that sin, it cannot be said, for against his will, how could it be committed? And he saith that he would fall, if he were not confirmed with his spirit, and with a more plentiful grace: he holpe him not, neither put he to his hand to haue him from falling. Moreover, the diuell, if God had otherwise willed, might not have tempted him. Furthermore, he had appointed him, to declare his godhead and felicitie. He gave the occasion when he set a law, which he knew he should not be kept; and also it giving him a law which should trouble him, and finally, suffered the pliation of his godhead, could not without the power and might of God, have bene produced. Wherefore it is evident, that God after a sort willed that time, and was some time the author of it, although that it were not a punishment of time going before. But contrariwise, he is said not to have willed it, and not to have bene the author of it; for that he prohibited it, punished it, and did not absolutelie will it, but for another end; neither suggested

he of himselfe, nor inspired the lawgiver: but the will of Adam, not being letted by a more mightie grace, of his owne accord declined from happy estate. There is also brought out of Eliae an effect of reprobation; namely, that he will make blind and grose the part of the people, that they should not understand. And God sometimes, either by himselfe, or by evil angels, kindeth cogitations, and secretly takes in, which if he were mightie, might be taken in the best part; but so far as he is not reprobated, we are by them driven into evil; afterwards in filth and wastfull followeth damnation; for sinners; and finally, the declaration of the power and iudice of God, is the last effect of reprobation; & all these things followe reprobation; although God, as we have before declared, is not all alike the cause of all these things.

But because all the benefits of God, which are given unto the predestinate, are referred unto grace, as to their head & fountaine: therefore let us see whether that principall effect of Gods predestination, be as some have imagined, first of God common to all men: for if it were so, then should all men be predestinate, and it should lie in their owne power, or in their owne hands (as the saying is) to be predestinated, so that they would receive grace when it is offered. This is no true said, that grace is common unto all men, but is given unto some; and unto others, according to the pleasure of God, it is not given. And to confirme this matter, we also allege these places of the scripture. In the 6. of John it is said: No man cometh vnto me, unless my father shall drawe him. And to answer that the adversaries should say, that all men are drawn of God, but all men will not come. As if a man should say, so man can challenge to himselfe learning of god arts, which is not endured but reason & wit; and yet doeth it not thereof follow, that though all men have reason & wit all men should attaine god arts, seeing that besides those principles studie and will are required. So saie they, All men are drawn of God; but besides the drawing of God, there is required that we be willing & assent; for otherwise we are not brought to Christ. But without lesse it cannot be, that in all those propositions, which are spoken with an exception, that exception should belong to all men. For Christ said to Pilate; Thou shouldst not have power against me, unless it were given thee from above. Shall we therefore take upon us to saie; that unto all men was given power against Christ? And when as it is written; That No man shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, unless he be borne againe by water and the spirit; Shall we therefore inferre, that all men are borne againe of water and the spirit. And when the

God is not the cause of all the effects of reprobation.

John. part. 3. place 3. and 7.

2. of 2. faith. Ye shall not haue life in you, unless ye eate the flesh of the sonne of man, and drinke his blood, then will I take it, that all men eate the flesh, and drinke the blood of the 2. of 2. And if this ought not to be, while will these men, when we saie; No man cometh unto me, unless my father drawe him, thereof inferre, that all men are drawn unto the father?

Where, if a man consider the course of the text, he shall see that this sense cannot stand. After that he had made mention of the eating of his flesh, and of the drinking of his blood; the 2. of 2. were by reason thereof offended; and the disciples went their waie; upon occasion whereof Christ said; No man cometh unto me, unless my father drawe him: which he ought in no case to have said, if he had meant to reprove onely them of infidelity. He should not doubtlesse have made mention of the father, as though he drew them not, if he gaue that gift to all men. And Augustine, when he interpreteth this place, saith; Whie he doth thus this man, & doth not that other man do not then judge, if thou wilt not erre. In which words he declared, that all men are not drawn of God. And in the selfe same chapter it is written; All that my father giveth me shall come vnto me. Wherefore, if all men were drawn, they should all come unto Christ. And in the same place it is written; Euerie one which hath heard of my father, and hath learned, cometh vnto me. Seeing then manie come not unto Christ, there by is declared, that manie neither have heard nor learned. And in the 10. of John, when Christ had said, that he is the shepherde, and hath his sheepe; amongst other things he saith; These whom my father gaue me, no man can take out of my hands. But we see, that manie fall from salvation, and therefore we ought to thinke that these are not given of the father unto Christ.

ver. 37.

ver. 41.

ver. 11.

ver. 18.

2. of 2.

2. of 2.

ver. 19.

John. 1.

John. 1.

which thing the Lord also spake, touching the present temptation of the latter times; namely, that if it were possible the elect should be deceived. In the selfe same 6. chapter of John, Christ said; In that No man cometh vnto him, but hee vnto whom it is given of the father: which place hath one and the selfe same sense with that other sentence, wherein he said; No man cometh vnto me, unless my father drawe him. And John Baptist, as it is written in the 3. chapter of John, when he heard of his disciples, that Christ baptised manie, answered; that No man can receive any thing, unless it be given him from heaven. And in the selfe same chapter; The spirit beareth witness within us, that the things which we hear, are true. And although it be spoken unto the holie ghost, yet notwithstanding it is applied unto the holie ghost, which regenerateth; so to declare the force of the holie ghost, the similitude is taken from the nature of the loine.

But this is more manifestly set forth in Matthew, when it is said; No man knoweth the father, but the sonne, and he to whom the sonne will reveale him. Wherein we are taught, that the revealing of Christ is not given unto all men. Which thing Christ in the same Evangelist declared, when turning him unto the father, he said; I grieve thee thanks o king of heauen and of earth, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent men, and hast revealed them unto babes. There also is declared, that the revealing of true doctrine is not common unto all men. But if thou wilt saie, that therefore it is not revealed unto the wise men, so that they will not receive it; the words following do not render this cause; but rather declare, that the will of God hath decreed: for it followeth; For so I have pleased thee. And againe, when the Apostles inquired where he spake in parables to the people, he answered; Vnto you it is given to knowe mysteries, but vnto them it is not given. And he said that he spake unto them, that they seeing should not see, and hearing should not understand. And he said a prophesie out of the 6. of Eliae, wherein was commanded, that the people should be made blind, and that their hart should be made grose; least peradventure they should be converted, & God should heale them. Moreover, the apostle citeth out of the booke of Exodus, God thus speaking; I will have mercie on whom I will have mercie, and will shew compassion on whom I will shew compassion. Also that which is written of Pharao; To this end have I raised thee vp, that I might shew my power in thee. And he saith also, that Some vessels are made to honour, and some to dishonour. Which words most evidently declare, that grace is not set forth common unto all men.

ver. 27.

ver. 8.

Matt. 11. 27.

The revealing of Christ is not common to all men.

bid. ver. 25.

2. of 2.

Matt. 13. 11.

Eliae. 3.

Exod. 3. 17.

Exod. 3. 16.

Rom. 9. 21.

Peter

Peter also in the Actes of the Apostles, said unto Simon Magus; Repent, if peradventure God forgive thee vnto these things thou hast thought. But they saie that in this place Peter doubted not, but that grace is common vnto all men: but he was uncertaine whether Simon would receiue it, and earnestly repent. But this subtil stie nothing helpech them; for, as the apostle teacheth vs vnto Timothee, Euen repentance also is the gift of God. For he admonisheth a bishop, to hold fast found doctrine, & to reprove them that resist, if peradventure God giue vnto them to repent. Whereby is concluded, that it lieth not in the hands of all men to returne into the waie, vnles it be giuen them of God. **30.**ouer, some time against the holie ghost; Who are not pardoned, neither in this world, nor in the world to come. So as it is manifested, that vnto these men, grace is no more offered nor common. And in the Actes of the Apostles, God is said to haue opened the heart of the woman that sold silkes, to giue heed vnto those things which Paule spake: which is spoken, as a certaine thing peculiarly giuen to that woman. And this place maketh that plaine, which is written in the Apocalypse; Behold, I stand at the dore & knocke, if any man open vnto me, &c. For we are said to open, in as much as God woeth that in vs; for he maketh vs to open, & it is he which giueh vnto vs to worke our saluation, as it is said vnto the Philippians. And in the Gospel it is many times written, that Marie are called, but fewe are chosen. Paule also denieth the libertie of the spirit in distributing his gifts, when he saith vnto the Corinthians; that One and the selfe-same spirit divideth vnto all men as pleaseth him. Which teaching, although it be meane of graces & free gifts, as they terme them; yet maie it a litle be transferred vnto the grace, whereby we are reueled vnto saluation, seeing God is alike free in the one and the other.

**40.** A litle, whilist these men thus make grace common vnto all men, they conuert it into nature: which in no wise agreeth vnto the doctrine of the holie scriptures. And how much they are deceived hereby, it maie easily be proued; for that they feele of these things to inferre, that it lieth in euery mans power to receiue grace, when it is offered vnto them. Which in no case agreeth with the holie scriptures; for Paule saith that We are not able to thinke anie thing of our selues, and that all our sufficiency is of God. And vnto the Philippians he writeth, that God worketh in vs, both to will and to performe, according to his good will. And vnto the Corinthians, when he had said that he had labored much he added; Not I, but the grace of God which in me. To the

Romans he writeth; It is not of him that wil-  
leth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that giveth  
hath merite. Which could not be true, if it lie in  
our will to receiue grace when it is offered.  
Touching which place, Augusine to Simplicianus,  
in his first booke and second question saith,  
that The meaning of those words is not, as  
though it were sufficient for vs to will, vnles  
God ad be with his grace: for by that meanes  
he might contrariwise haue said, It is not of  
God that hath merite, but of man that will-  
leth; the sense is, as it is written vnto the Phi-  
lippians; that it is God which worketh in vs to  
will; and to performe; and it is true, that he  
vaine, will vnles God in vaine hath merite, if  
to will could that God in vaine hath merite, if  
we will not: In Ezekiel the prophet it is said;  
that God himselfe would change our hearts, &  
steed of stonie hearts, giue vs fleshly hearts. And  
David in the psalme singeth; Incline my hart,  
to God vnto thy testimonies; to declare, that it  
pertaineth vnto God to bestow our wills. Which  
he in another place ment, when he saith; A cleane  
heart create in me, o God. And in the booke  
of Wisdom it is written, that No man can haue  
a diuine hart, but he vnto whom God shall giue it.  
And Christ most manifestly taught, that A man  
will receiue forth good fruits. Where-  
fore, so long as men are not regenerate, they  
cannot bring forth good fruit, that they should  
assent vnto grace when it knocketh. So that  
first it is necessarie, that they be changed from  
the same, and that of euill plants they be  
made good. As in the generation of the flesh, no  
man which is procreated, helpeth anie thing  
thereto: euen so it is in regeneration, for that  
there also we are borne againe through Christ  
in Christ.

Wherefore, if we should giue place vnto the  
opinion of these men, all boasting should not be  
excluded; for euery man might boast of that his  
owne act, whereby he receiued grace when it  
was offered. Furthermore, seeing that this ap-  
prehension, according to our mind is borne by  
faith, but (as they thinke) by charite, what will  
they do? Will they denie that faith and chari-  
te are the gifts of God? Auguline also re-  
neth, that As in Christ the diuine nature take  
humane nature free, not waiting for the con-  
sent thereof; so they, which are iustified, are not  
iustified by their owne will or assent. The same  
father also noteth, that Eternal life is in the  
scriptures sometimes called by the name of a  
reward, for that god woeths go before it. But  
grace (saith he) and righteousness, are neuer  
in the holie scriptures called by the name of a  
reward; for that before it, goeth no good worke  
acceptable vnto God. And vnto the Romans  
Paule writeth; I knowe that in me, that is in my  
selfe

flesh dwelleth no good: where, by flesh, he vn-  
derstandeth whatsoeuer is in a man not yet re-  
generate. And dare they notwithstanding at-  
tribute vnto man, being yet in the flesh, that is,  
not yet regenerate, so much good, that he is able  
to aspie saluation vnto him selfe?

And vnto the Corinthians; What hast thou  
(saith he) which thou hast not receiued? And if  
thou hast receiued, why boastest thou, as though  
thou hadst not receiued? Neither will we suf-  
fer these men to rume vnto creation; for haue  
we speake not of the soule, or of the powers  
thereof, that is of will or understanding, which  
we had of God by creation: but of that action  
or worke, which these men seke to picke out of  
free will, to the receiuing of grace. And sofo-  
much as they saie, that they haue this of them-  
selues; they manifestly speake against the  
apostle. For the Corinthians might haue ar-  
gued; Thou demandest of vs, what hath se-  
parated vs, what we haue that we haue not  
receiued? Behold, we note these vnto this,  
that ad and assent, whereby we feele, and  
by our owne power receiue the grace, which  
thou preachest vnto vs; this doth separate vs  
from others: and so Paule had in vaine in such  
sort reprobated them, whereouer, if grace were  
set forth as common to all men, as these men  
teach, what should we praye vnto God for the  
conuersion of infidels? Doubtlesse we do say,  
for that we beleue it lieth in the hand of God  
to open their hearts, if he will.

Neither must we thinke, as these men  
saie, that God giueh to euery man so much  
grace as is sufficient to moue them: for if that  
should suffice, they should doubtlesse be moued.  
If yet there were set before a man, a thing of  
hope, & he being willing to moue it, had  
in himselfe so much strength as were sufficient,  
that is, as might ouercome the weight, which is  
to be moued; then without doubt there would  
followe motion. So if God (as they saie) would  
in verie deed moue the hearts of the wicked,  
it would giue so much strength, that is, so much  
grace, as should suffice; yea rather so much as  
should exceed the hardnesse of the wicked hart,  
nothing could let, but that it should be moued,  
not in deed by compulsion, but by most effectu-  
all persuasion. Auguline vnto Simplicianus, in  
his first booke & second question saith, that There  
are two sorts of calling, one common, whereby  
men are called, but not by one & the selfe-same  
manner, whereby they are apt to be moued & re-  
uered: others be so called, as they are apt to be  
moued. Neither must we thinke (saith he) that  
God could not so haue called Euan, as he might  
be moued and as he might be made apt: for all  
men are not. After one and the selfe-same man-  
ner allured and moued vnto God. Therfore for;

sonmuch as he is omnipotent, he might by his  
impulsion take away that naturall hardnesse.  
But faie they, if he would, he might; y yet will  
not God alwaies do that he can do. & let it be  
so; we saie euen the selfe-same, that God ouer-  
threw some, & will not haue merite on them, &  
therefore giueh not vnto all men, so much as  
might be sufficient vnto their saluation. And as  
saith the text; he ouerthrew, he attended  
the end that he willed; as it is written of Pha-  
rao; To this purpose haue I raised thee vnto de-  
clare in thee my power, & that my name might  
be spread abroad throughout the whole earth.

Christ himselfe beie well, as he himselfe testifi-  
eth that I yes, Siden, a Sodoma would haue bin  
spared to repentance, if he had applied to him  
the miracles a doctrine which he granted to the  
Iewes. Wherefore, so founmuch as he gaue not  
those things vnto them, they wanted that which  
sufficed vnto saluation. The Lord also saith vnto  
the Apostles; haue chosen you, but ye haue not  
chosen me. But by the opinion of the aduer-  
saries, that vniuersall grace being granted, no  
man should be chosen of God, so founmuch as  
should be after one and the selfe-same sort vnto  
all men; yea rather, we should chole God, in  
receiuing his grace when it is offered; and we  
should be founners of the election of God, and  
should not be formed of him. I haue planted (saith  
Paule) Apollo hath watered, but God hath gi-  
uen the increase, that is, life and spirit. But if  
those things should be granted to be common  
vnto all men, he should rather haue said; Ye  
haue taken vnto your selues the spirit, life, and  
grace. The selfe-same apostle saith, that God  
began in the Philippians a good worke, and al-  
so would performe the same againe at the bare  
of the Lord. Which words plainly declare, that all  
whole is to be ascribed vnto God; namely, to  
begin and to performe. And vnto the Ephesi-  
ans; He worketh all things, according to the  
counsell of his will, not (saith he) according to  
the counsell of another mans will; which doubtles  
he should haue said, if euery man had in his po-  
wer to take saluation, or not to take it. A-  
gaine, vnto the Galatians; When it seemed  
good vnto him, which separated me from my  
mothers womb, If it were (as these men af-  
firmed) Paule should haue said; & when it seemed  
good vnto me. For, as touching God, they af-  
firmed that grace is alwaies ready, and offered  
vnto all men. Wherefore by their iudgement,  
conuersion should then come, when it should  
please vs.

These arguments I thinke to be suffici-  
ent at this time, though manie more might be  
brought, whilp now refecth to ouerthrowe those  
of the aduersaries, which faie to make against vs. But  
before we enter into that matter, this we saie  
C. xij. that

who flesh is  
inherent  
in the holie  
scriptures.

1 Cor. 7.

Phil. 13.

Exe. 149

Phil. 146

Phil. 150

Man. 7,8

Man. 7,8

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Rom. 17.

Man. 11, 21.

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Man. 11, 21.

that we in no wise deny, but that God out of love calling; namely, by his prophets, apostles, preachers, and scriptures, calleth all men. For this man is no more excluded from the promise of the eternal life than that man, but these things are alike let forth unto all men, although all men are not predestinated to attain unto the fruit of them. This is diligent to be noted, if we will readily answer to those things which are objected. And when they laie against vs (which thing they verie often doe) that the promise are common and vniuersall promises; it is needfull to be restrained vnto these; to whom, and that God doth not in them, but doleth in god earnest. First, as touching vniuersallitie, I will bring other propositions no lesse generall. All flesh that see the saluation of God; All shall be taught of God; All that know me, from the least to the greatest; I will pouer of my spirit vpon all flesh. I shall now laie, that these things are true as touching all men: So doubtles, vntill Origens false should be reuenced, that all men shall at the last be saved.

They will answer, that these propositions ought to be restrained vnto the beleueers, vnto them that are willing, & vnto them that respect the grace of God. And we also laie, that they are to be restrained; but we fetch our restraint further off, & accord vnto the election of God, & vnto reprobation. And whether resolution (I beseech you) is the perfecter; and whether restraint is of more equitie: And yet doe we not beleue, that God doleth in this manner, vntill promises; because so much as the predestinate and the reprobate leaue their life together, and are not known vnto they be, it is merite, that there should be preading vnto all men, least that for the reprobate, the clea should be defaunded, which by the preaching of Gods word shall take profit. And by this vniuersall preaching, God bringeth that cro to effect, which he himselfe wiltheth. For the godlie, when they see that the reprobate are left in their owne sense, and beleue not, so by derstand, that it is grace, and not nature, and in them perceiue what should also haue happened vnto themselves, without the merite of God, of whose gift conuersion is, and not of the power of man. And the goodlie are made vniuersall, when as they haue not performed so much as those outward workes, which they might haue done; as it is declared to the Romans in the first and second chapters.

Roma. 1, 2.

whether we consider the matter more inwardly, we attribute much more vnto merite than they doe: for we affirme, that all though the dependeth of it; which is of them denied, whilst they will haue it to

lie in our power to receive the grace of God. And if we laie, that merite is not distributed alike vnto all men, we cannot therefore be reproved; so much as the scriptures manifestlie testifie the same. But these men, when they laie, that it lieth in our will to receive grace, though they extenuate the same, yet is it in verie doubt poised to be a great matter: for what should it profit, to haue grace vniuersallie let forth vnto all men, vntill a man would by his own power will apply it to himselfe? Let them cease therefore to asume this opinion, with the title of the merite of God. They bring also another argument, that so much as God prometh for all men things competent vnto his life, it is not verie likely that he will faile them, as touching the preparation of eternal saluation; which should not be, vntill vnto euerie man were let forth, so much of the grace of God, as is sufficient.

But for this cause, these men are reproved by a similitude. For euen as God giueth vnto euerie metall man copozall life, without anye their assent; euen so must they needs conclude of spiritual life, which by all means they refuse to grant. We confesse in deed, that God, through his merite, canleth the summe to arise vpon the god and vpon the cruel; and we also confesse, that both the predestinate and the reprobate are partakers of some of the benefites of God. And euen as in this life, the commodities of the bodie and of life, are not alike giuen vnto all men; so also predestination vnto eternal felicitie is not common vnto all men. Some are better lepe, blinde, deafe, foolish, most paye, and vniuersal by naty vnto all manner of natural felicitie; neither attaine they vnto it at anye time: so as the comparison which they bring maketh verie much against themselves. But laie they God hath created all men to his owne image, and therefore hath appointed all men vnto blessednesse; vntill he hath ought not to laie, that these are predestinate, and some are reprobate. That men are made to the image of God, and capable of blessednesse, that we grant; but after the fall, nature was corrupted, & the image of God much blemished: so as men cannot of themselves attaine vnto felicitie, but haue need to be deliuered from miserie. But that God hath now decreed to deliuer all men from miserie, & through Christ to haue blessednesse, the scriptures teach not: therefore we do not without iust cause laie, that he hath decreed to deliuer some, and to leaue other some, and that iustlie: the causes of which iustice, yet are not to be sought by our owne workes, being they are known to God onlie through his hidden and vnspieable wisdom.

44. They object this out of Iohn; Hec grae Ioh. 1, 17.

into them the power to be made the sons of God. As though they could thereof inferre, that euerie man might be made the sonne of God, if he will. But they giue no hand vnto those things which follow: for it is added; Vnto those which haue beleued in him, which are borne, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. These things, if they be rightly peried, declare that this dignitie a privilege is giuen vnto the beleueers, and vnto the regenerate: for, to haue power giuen to be the sonnes of God, significth nothing else. Therefore, this dignitie is put as an effect of regeneration, and of faith, and not as the beginning thereof, as these men deame. They grant also, that Christ died for vs all; and thereof they inferre, that his beneficte is common vnto all men. Which we also will easily grant; if onely the worthinesse of the death of Christ be considered: for as touching it, it might be sufficient for all the sinners of the world. But although it, itselfe it be sufficient, yet it neither had, nor hath, nor shall haue effect, when they asseure, that Christ hath redeemed all men sufficientlie, but not effectually: for there vnto it is necessary, that the death of Christ be healthfull vnto vs, that hee take hold of it; which cannot otherwise be done, but by faith: which faith we haue before abundantly declared to be the gift of God, and not to be giuen vnto all men.

1. Tim. 2, 6.

What this is to be understood, see Christ teacheth for all.

Math. 23, 34. Ecce ego mitto ad vos prophetas, sapientes, scribas, & phariseos, & scribamus ad vos, & occiditis eos, & lapidatis eos.

Some saye, that we ought not to be bound to natural felicitie.

Roma. 8, 30. 1. Cor. 1, 2.

What the comparison of Adam with Christ importeth, see the text.

Gen. 1, 17.

is Per accidens, that is, by chance, and pertaineth not vnto the scope and substance of the summe.

45. They object also the sentence vnto 1. Tim. 2, 4. mochie; We will haue all men to be saved. For this sentence Pighius continually repeateth, as though it were inuincible: when yet Angulime oftentimes hath taught, that it maie in such sort be expounded, that it bringeth no weight at all to proue those mens fond inuention. First we take it to be spoken of all estates and kindes of men; namely, that God will haue some of all kindes of men to be saved; which interpretation agreeth excellentlie well with the purpose of the Apostle. He had commanded that prears and supplications should be made for all men, and especially for kings, and those which haue publicke authoritie, that vnder them we maie live a quiet life, in all godlyne & chastitie. And therefore to declare that no estate or kind of men is excluded, he added; God will haue all men saved. As if he should haue said, No man is letted by that vocation and degree, whereinto he is placed, so that it be not repugnant vnto the word of God, but that he maie come vnto saluation: and therefore we ought to pray for all kind of men. But hitherto we cannot inferre, that God endueth euerie man particularly with grace, or predestinate euerie man to saluation. Euen in like manner as in the time of the flood, all liuing creatures are said to haue bene saved in the arke, with Noe; where as there were but onlie some of euerie kind gathered together in it: so we maie vnderstand it thus; that God will haue all men to be saved; for that as manie as are saved, are saved by his will. As if a man should faile of one that teacheth Xhetois in a cite, that he teacheth all men: by which kind of speech is not signified, that all the citizens are hearers of Xhetois; but that as manie as learne, are taught of him. And this also is like, if a man pointing to the gate of a house, should faile, that all men enter in this house; we must not thereby vnderstand, that all men enter into that house, but that as manie as do enter, do enter in by that gate onely.

Gen. 8, 9.

Further, there are some which interpret these words of the apostle, of the will of the signe, of the antecedent; that all men are invited, so that preaching is indifferently let forth to all men. Neither is there any in a manner, which misleadeth not some pite which is oftentimes stirred by to live well. So that if we respect this will of God, we easily grant that he will haue all men to be saved. But they will not haue it to be vnderstood of the hidden & essentiall will, which they call consequent: and after this manner maie those kindes of speech be

of the antecedent; that all men are invited, so that preaching is indifferently let forth to all men. Neither is there any in a manner, which misleadeth not some pite which is oftentimes stirred by to live well. So that if we respect this will of God, we easily grant that he will haue all men to be saved. But they will not haue it to be vnderstood of the hidden & essentiall will, which they call consequent: and after this manner maie those kindes of speech be





The report  
bapt map  
for a while  
but good  
wonder, &  
the predesti-  
nate map  
fall into most  
gracious  
1 Sam. 9.  
1 King 19.

4 Kings 1.  
ver 15, 16.

1 Kings 17.  
27. & 19.  
1 King 19.

Ezech 18.

1 Sam. 11.  
2 Sam. 26.  
Psalm 50.  
Ezech 33.

Good works  
both to pre-  
destination  
& to repro-  
bation.

Stinner also  
doo feare to  
both.

some while with them.

48 And touching answering to objections,  
here will I say, and consequently end the  
third article. Whosoever this will be in  
the next time put you in mind of, that the re-  
probate may sometimes in some degree do good  
works; and that the predestinate on the other  
side, may fall into sinnes most grievous. Of  
the first part, Saule may be vnto vs an exam-  
ple and firme testimony; for he was at the be-  
ginning moderate, having a modest opinion of  
himselfe, as the scripture saith, Salomon also  
at the later end of his age fell grievously; yea,  
he fell awate from God, when pet at the begin-  
ning he was most holie; and had in his pieters,  
when his was consecrated, required those  
things, which highly pleased God: wherefore he  
was also heard. Likewile Achab repented,  
which commendance God talking with Helias,  
highly repented. And also loos the hing, as long as  
Iouda the pietie lue, beuaued himselfe well.  
Ezechiel also teacheth the selfe-fame thing,  
when he teacheth; If a righteous man depart  
from his righteousness and iue wickedness, I will  
forget all his righteousness. Yea, and experi-  
ence it selfe teacheth, that there are many which  
hane lue without intent here: and yet do at  
the length, in the last time of their life perih.  
Wherefore it is manifest, that in the reprobate,  
good works sometimes haue place, which yet  
come not from a sincere and a perfect faith, but  
from a faith, that inuirtu but for a time; and  
therefore they cannot simple be said to be good,  
neither do they in verie deed please God; but  
only haue a shew of goodness, and make as thou-  
ging outward discipline be praised.

And that the predestinate do sometimes most  
graciouslie sinne, David is a witness, who com-  
mitted adulterie and man-slaughter. Peter also  
is a witness, who adured his saviour. Likewile  
Moses and Aaron are witnesses, who as the  
scripture testifieth, committed no light  
sinne. The same also say, that they, which are  
perdurant in the number of the predestinate,  
do fall into horrible crimes: and there-  
fore we maie asseme, that good works do  
sometimes serue vnto predestination, and  
sometimes also to reprobation. Predestination  
by them bringeth the elect to eternal life; & a  
touching reprobation, they are sometimes cau-  
sation, why the fall is made the grievous. For  
as they fall awate from God, so far as they  
were by him adorned with good works, as  
when his sinne is most grievous, so far as they  
pursue more thereby. Some in like manner  
serue both to reprobation & to predestination;  
so; they that are reprobate, are by them brought  
to eternal destruction; they which are predesti-  
nate, do by them the more fast leaue the glorie of

God, when they are delinced from him. And there-  
by also is manifested vnto them occasion more  
and more to knowe themselves, & to acknow-  
ledge the benefites that are giuen vnto them of  
God; and so do giue thanks for them, & do call  
vpon him for helpe. And yet are not these things  
to be taken, that because God, by his most sin-  
gular wisdom, weth these things most right-  
lie to our saluation, we should therefore sinne;  
we must follooe the holie scripture, which com-  
mandeth, that Euill things be not to be done. Rom. 8,  
that good may come thereof.

49 Now let vs at the length come to the fourth  
article, in which lue purpose to intreare 13. arti-  
cles of these things in especiall, first, whether by the  
predestination of God, any necessity be laid vpon vs;  
secondly, whether the same do hinder fre  
will; 3. lastly, whether by the foreknowledge of the  
predestination of God be taken awate his in-  
flic, whereby he is said in the scriptures to  
tender to euertie man according to his works.  
These things being thoughtfully declared, I trust  
the article propoed shall be fully satisfied. Touch-  
ing the first part, this we said first, that neces-  
sity is defined to be that which cannot be other-  
wise. But the principles of grounds of neces-  
sity, are sometimes inward, and sometimes out-  
ward. Things which of their owne nature are  
of necessity, and of an inward principle; either  
they are absolute necessity, as God; and what-  
soever things, if they be changed, include  
contradiction (as they speake); As, that foure is  
not an euen number; or that foure and three are  
not seuen, and this is called a Geometrical ne-  
cessity; for that it suffereth no varietie. And  
things inbeade are of necessity of an inward  
ground, but yet not absolute and simple, but  
lesse they follooe the accustomed course of na-  
ture. Fire is said of necessity to burne that  
which is apt to be burnt, and the same also of  
necessity perpetuallie moueth; but these are  
not simple necessity: for God is able to let  
them, and to cause theie physical and natural  
things sometimes to cease from their proper o-  
peration. As it is manifest of the three children Dan, 3,  
put into the oven of fire, which were not burnt,  
although the flame were most great. The first  
also said from his counsell, which Iosua pur-  
sue after his enemies. And in the time of Helias,  
it is most likeli, that there were vapors bat-  
ten out of the earth, and out of the sea, and yet  
that, for the space of three yeares, came not  
downe out of the clouds deins, nor raine. This  
also is manifest of Ezechias, that his disease  
was by nature to the death, And these things  
shall suffice touching inward necessity.

That necessity also, which cometh out-  
wardly, is of two sorts: the one violent, when  
things

13. arti-  
cles  
13. arti-  
cles

whereby  
the  
13. arti-  
cles

whereby  
the  
13. arti-  
cles

the  
grounded  
necessity  
are inbeade  
outward.  
A diuision  
of necessity  
comming  
inwardly.  
A secon-  
dary  
necessity.

Dan 3.  
Iosua 10.  
1. Kin 17.

2. Kin 19.  
2. diuision  
of necessity  
that com-  
meth out-  
wardly.

A sense  
complex  
and a sense  
simple.

9. other  
distinction  
of necessity

Our action  
one nature  
necessity  
of inward  
principle,  
the outward  
by disposi-  
tion.

The will  
cannot be  
constrained.

things are compelled to abide of to two; he con-  
trarie to their nature; the other is by imposi-  
tion: by occasion whereof the schol-men haue  
said, that there is a necessity of the consequence  
& another of the consequent. By which distinc-  
tion, they ment nothing else, but that the con-  
uersion is sometimes necessarie, although that  
which is inferred be not of it selfe necessarie. The  
Alogicians also haue thus distinguished them;  
that they call the one a compounded sense, & the  
other a diuident sense: as if thou wilt saie, that it  
is not possible that white should be blacke; that  
it will be granted, if these two things be taken  
continuentiue and together; namely, that one  
or the selfe-fame thing, should be both white and  
blacke, which is by no means possible: but if  
they be taken apart, then it may be said not to  
be impossible; for that which is now white may  
be changed & made blacke. Wherefore the schol-  
men thinke, that the whole difficultie of this  
controversie consisteth in the necessity of the  
consequence, and of the consequent in the com-  
pounded sense. But we for the more perspicui-  
tate, will adde another distinction; that there is  
one necessity of certaintie of infallibilitie, and  
another of coaction.

Now let vs more narrowly search out,  
how these distinctions of necessity may be ap-  
plied vnto this present purpose. First I saie, that  
our actions haue not necessity by an inward  
principle; for that to will, which of his owne na-  
ture, that is, (as God hath made it) is mutable  
a necessity vnto either part: howbeit they haue  
necessity by imposition. For that as some as  
now respecteth the foreknowledge of necessity, that  
of God, it followeth of necessity, that if  
shall so come to passe, as it is of Gods foreknow-  
ledge and predestination. Our will inbeade hath an ap-  
titude, that it may be bowed to either part alike;  
but the action thereof, namely the conuersion, it  
shall not be, but to that part which God hath  
foreknowne: wherefore the necessity saithly  
vnto the conuersion and continuation of the pre-  
destination of God with our works. Which  
they ment by the compounded sense, and by the  
necessitie of the consequence. For our works, if  
they be considered apart, and that we onlie haue  
a respect vnto their rightest original, that is, vnto  
the will; are of necessity. Were also is con-  
fessed necessity of certaintie of infallibilitie;  
for that God can neither be changed nor de-  
ceiued. Neither do we plainelie grant, that pre-  
destination bringeth necessity of coaction: for  
coaction and violence is against the nature of  
will; so if it should be willinglie to do a thing,  
it should not then be called will, but rather a will  
(if a man may so terme it) which were to ouer-  
throwe it. I knowe that the schol-men first  
among themselves, whether God foreknoweth

those things, which he foreknoweth, neces-  
sarie, of contingencie. But in this conten-  
tion, I will not intermeddle my selfe, for that  
there is no such matter set forth in the scrip-  
tures; it is sufficient vnto me, to proue that  
God is cleare from all manner of change and al-  
teration. For the contingencie and necessitie  
is in the things; but God alternates and perpe-  
tuallie abideth one and the selfe-fame.

But that there is such a necessity, namely  
of the consequence, of the compounded sense,  
or of infallibilitie found in the holie scriptures,  
we will declare certaine places, which emden-  
tie proue the same. I can saye should thinke it  
but a feigned invention, Christ said; it must  
needs be, that he should be deliuered vnto the  
Iewes, to be mocked. This necessity can be of  
no other thing inferred, but of the definite com-  
mell of God: which Peter teacheth in his sermon  
in the acts of the apostles. Christ also said; that  
it must needs be, that the scriptures should be  
fulfilled. An Iohn it is written; that the  
figure cannot be broken, that is, it is not possible,  
that it must needs be fulfilled. Unto the he-  
brewes; It is vnpollible, that they which once be-  
lieued illuminated, see. In which place is intren-  
ced of sinne against the holie Ghost, that it is  
impossible, that they which are guilty of it  
should escape; for that God hath altogether  
decreed, for euer to forsake those, which haue  
sinned. Christ also said of the temptations of  
the latter times; That the elect also, if it were  
possible, should be decieved, Against; Heauen  
and earth shall passe, but my words shall not  
passe away. In which words is signified, that  
all those things, which God hath spoken either  
in the scriptures, or in his eternal eternum, anon,  
cannot by any means be made frustrate. We  
answereth also vnto his parents; Did ye not  
knowe that it behoued me to worke those  
things, which pertaine to my father? Unto Ti-  
mothee Paule teacheth; The foundation standeth  
firme, God knoweth who are his, And in Iohn;  
Whom the father hath giuen vnto me, no man  
can take out of my hand. And likewise wher-  
soeuer he would he hath don both in heauen &  
in earth. Wherefore of all these things is argu-  
ed, how emdenitie this necessity of certaintie  
of infallibilitie is fast fixt in the holie scriptures;  
neither is it (as some thinke) a benefit of man.

And these things which we haue spoken  
of foreknowledge, pertaine also to poudence;  
for although in this vniuersallitie of things, ma-  
ny things are said to be done by chance; yet  
notwithstanding, it cleane that there is nothing  
but neuer so small, that it is subiect vnto the  
prouidence of God, therefore also hath it neces-  
sity, which we call, necessity of certaintie; and  
others, of consequence. But if, forsomuch as  
things

9. other  
distinction  
of necessity

whereby  
the  
13. arti-  
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the  
13. arti-  
cles

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passé And as touching this, there is no need that the should be afraid concerning our will; for by it the will is not diminished. The former indeed is repugnant unto it; for it is not possible that it should will one thing unwillingly: but this latter is no way at all against the nature of the will, as the life and foreknowledge of God, although they are necessary attributed unto him, yet they nothing hurt his nature nor will; he neither can be deceived nor die; yet he suffereth he not any thing which he willeth not. So also we saie, that when we will one thing, by will, we necessary will it: and yet do we not thinke, that hereby our choice is violated.

56 And how the foreknowledge of God hurteth not our will, Augustine in his third booke *De libero arbitrio*, in the second and third chapters verie well declarath. And first he saith, that by this question are exceedingly let a woode a great many of wiche men, which either would if will were at libertie, that God should haue no preuidence nor care of things inuolunt; that they might with the more licentiousnes give themselves vnto iulles, in denying the iudgements both of God and of man, and to the bitterness of their power auoiding the same; or if it cannot be auoided, but that it must needs be granted, that God foreseeth and vnderstandeth the things which are done of vs: yet at the least they would obtaine this, that by his preuidence they should compell the will of men, that they may be excused from blame of their wicked facts. But how these means becomme as frustrate, he easilie declareth, in setting forth, how the knowledge of God may hand with will, and that a free will. He demandeth of him, with whom he reasoneth, Whether he knoweth that he should haue to moue a will by night or by day: he maketh answer, that he could not tell: Darest thou thinke (saith Augustine) that God knoweth this? The other consereth, that he thinketh God knoweth this. Therefore (saith Augustine) so far as God foreknoweth this, he also foreknoweth what he will do with this, that is, whether he will glorifie this at the end of the life: which if he foreknowe, and cannot be deceived, then of necessity will he glorifie this. But in the meane time tell thou me, what thou wilt be glorified against thy will, or with thy will? Clergie (saith he) not against my will; for I most earnestly desire the same. And hereby is concluded, that that which God will of necessity do in vs, hindereth not the will. He sheweth also, that this shall be moie plaine, if we consider foreknowledge, as though it were our owne. Suppose that I foreknowe, that a certaine man shall come to me to morrowe, shall this my foreknowledge take his will from him, but that if he come, he cometh of his owne choice? Doubtes that cannot be said: for

he willingli cometh, neither shall my foreknowledge diminish any thing of his choice.

And as our memorie compelleth not things past, to be past; so foreknowledge compelleth not those things which shall come to passe, to come to passe. And this likewise may another way be declared; If a man saue Plato diuine the will of Socrates, or the summe of the eclipses, the sight of the star causeth not, that they which dispute together, should necessary of unwillingli dispute; neither doth cause, that the summe of moone do eclipse by chance, seeing those eclipses of the heauenlie lights haue their necessary causes: wherefore, he which doth see both, maketh not, by the reason of his sight, that which is contingent, necessary; neither maketh he that which is necessary, contingent. Further ought we to imagine, that the foreknowledge of God obteine his certainte of the necessity of things; for so great is the perspicuence of the mind of God, that it can also most certeinly vnderstand things contingent. Further is this reason any thing hindered, by that which we before often admonished; namely, that the foreknowledge of God hath alwayes will joined with it, seeing nothing can be foreknowledge of God to be, which he himselfe willeth not to be. But yet this will, whereby God worketh all in all, applyeth it selfe to the natures of things; for in meate it nourisheth, in the summe it lighteneth, in the vine it bringeth forth wine, and in the will of man it causeth, that they of their owne accord, and fruite, will those things, which they will. Paule, as we read in the *Acts*, cited that sentence of Atrax; In him we liue, we moue, and haue our being: whereof it followeth, that the will of man hath his motions of God. But if a man saie, that it receiue of God such motions, as it selfe before willeth; then shall he speake things absurd: for then should our will measure and gouerne the influences of God, which is furthest from the truth. But rather let vs saie, that it receiue of God such impulsions and motions, as he will giue; and let vs in the meane time marke, that God so worketh in our will, that it gladlie, willingli, and of it owne accord, receiue the motions, which God putteth into vs.

57 But how it cometh to passe, that God most certeinly foreseeth things that come, when yet the wills of men, and manie naturall causes, are doubtfull, and woebe contingent; it may thus be declared. It is true indeed, that those which consider things onlie in their causes, as they will of God oftentimes deuide. For all causes do not necessary bring forth their effects; for sometimes they are letted, and otherwise inclined that they were supposed. Therefore men are not deceived, when they iudge of effects lying hidden

in their causes. But the foreknowledge of God, not onlie knoweth what things shall come to passe in their causes; but also thoughtfully saith them, as if they were already brought forth, and by their causes made perfect. And hereof it cometh, that we may of the foreknowledge of God infer necessity of certeinie and infallible nes; and so can we do not of the nextest causes; for when we saie, that God foreknoweth that this, or that should be to morrowe; we rightly adde, that therefore it shall of necessity be. If necessity is not applyed vnto a thing knowen, but as it is foreknowledge of God as present and already brought forth; which maketh not onlie to perspicuence, but also to necessity; for euery thing, which is, is of necessity: neither must we afterwards grant, that the thing is of necessity, for that it is not taken in such sort as it was foreknowledge of God.

Whereto haue we defended the potuer of mans will, which yet we would not haue taken generalitie; but onlie as touching foreknowledge and predestination. For although thereby (as it is proued) be not letted free will, yet by doth it not otherwise want impediments of lets; for we are borne in sinnes, and will we of necessity; we are vsuaged in original sinne; neither can we by any means vnto our felues out of sinne. And before regeneration, what manner of power former we giue vnto the will of man, in things indifferent and euill; this first we ought to thinke, that which was founer it turne it selfe, of necessity it sinne; neither can it do any thing, which is in verse and acceptabile vnto God; neither yet can it giue vnto euill woebe, the success which it purporth. Wherefore Augustine thoughtfully wrote in his *Enchiridion*, that the first man by sinning, lost the libertie of free will. This moueure is to be considered, that the wills and motions of the mind, and actions, euen of men not yet regenerated, are directed of God; and so directed, that by his preuidence they are brought to the end, by him predest and determined: yea also when we are regenerated, although after a sort we obtaine libertie through Christ, yet the same is not full, but only begun: for the first motions, which stir vnto sinne, creep vpon vs against our will; which motions we haue shewed to be sinnes.

And Ambrose plainelie confessed, that Dur harts are not in our owne potuer; neither is there any of the beleueers, which often saith not, when as neuertheles he would faile stand. Therevpon we ought all to pause; Forgue vs our trespasses. And vnto the Galatians Paule saith; The spirit fighteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit, so that yeec do not will to the Romans it is witten; The cuill which I

hate, that I do. Again; If I seela law in my members struing against the lawe of my mind, and leading me awaie captiue into the lawe of sinne; which woebe cannot be vnderstood, but onlie of man regenerated. For he had said; In my mind I seela the lawe of God, but in flesh the lawe of sinne: which in no wise can be referred to a man not yet iustified. Yet againe we read, that God could if he would giue vnto men so much ad, that they should not sinne at all; but that whosoer hath ye not done, neither hath he vnder taken at any time to do it. Therefore, our wills be abiey yet to some feruitude, which as we desire to remaine cerie and vnbouded; so on the other side we asseme, that by the foreknowledge and predestination of God the will is not letted.

58 Whereto in this article it is seene, what necessity cometh of the foreknowledge and predestination of God; namelye such a necessity, as is not absolute, but by supposition, which we call necessity of consequence, of infallible nes, and of certainte; but not of coaction. And seeing it is so, it is no euident, that no iniudice is comitted of God, when he condemneth sinners, and glorifieth the righteous. For vnto euery man is rendered according vnto his woebe; so that no man can saie, that his sinnes are not his owne woebe, seeing he is not compelled to commit them, but exceedingly alloweth and willeth them. Neither are labors, admonitions, pomes, & punishments in vaine; as it was objected: for they are of so much force, as God hath decreed they shall be of force; as Augustine writes in his fifth booke *De ciuitate Dei*, in the chapter before cited. For Gods will is to vse them vnto the saluation of manie; and although they profit not some, yet they want not their end: for they helpe forwards to the condemnation of the wicked. Paules also are not made impossible; for by them we obtaine motions of God; and so directed, that by his preuidence they are brought to the end, by him predest and determined: yea also when we are regenerated, although after a sort we obtaine libertie through Christ, yet the same is not full, but only begun: for the first motions, which stir vnto sinne, creep vpon vs against our will; which motions we haue shewed to be sinnes.

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one certie  
not sinne  
fourthly  
the will.

in that  
things  
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man willeth  
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not sinne  
fourthly  
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it is, is of  
necessitie.

we do not  
denie  
will.

Ephes. 1. 11.

how the  
will of God  
bringeth  
forth  
nature.

we do not  
denie  
will.

we do not  
denie  
will.

we do not  
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we do not  
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we do not  
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will.

we do not  
denie  
will.

verse. 22.

God could  
kerpe vs  
from all  
sinne, but  
he doth  
it not.

Menitions,  
labors, and  
punishments  
are not in vaine

Paules also  
is not  
in vaine.

Mac 26. 11.  
2m exam-  
ple.

1bidem 39.

1oh 12. 11.

Gen. 45, 27. apollies said to have agreed together, to do those things, which the council of God had decreed. Are either the Jews, as those people were, by reason of this, to be acquitted from sinne; when as they condemned and slue an innocent man? To be willed to be acquitted from sinne; when as they sold the brethren of Ioseph, when they sold their brother; although God would by that meanes that Ioseph should come into Aegypt?

Esaie. 57, 7. neither shall the crucitie of the king of Babylon be crucified, although the iustice of God be creder to haue the Iewes in such sort punished.

Exo. 23, 31. The which is killed, is said to be deliuered by God into the hands of his enimie. And God is also said to deliuer a citie, when it is won by assault.

Iosha. 6, 16. And Iob said, that those things, which were by violence and robberie taken awaie from him by the Chaldeans and Sabeans, were taken awaie by God; The Lord (saith he) gaue, and the Lord hath taken awaie. Wherefore of that council of God, whereby he visiteth sinners to their appointed ends, cannot be inferred anie iust crucities of sinnes: for wicked sinners are iudged and condemned, by reason of the leuod and corrupt hart, from whence they are deriued.

Wherefore let no man be offended with the doctrine of predestination, seeing rather by it we are led to acknowledge the benefits of God, and to giue thanks vnto him onlie. And let vs also leane, not to attribute more vnto our owne strength than we ought: let vs haue also an assured persuasion of the good will of God towards vs, whereby he would elect his, before the foundation of the world were laid. Let vs moreover be confirmed in aduerities, knowing assuredly, that whatsoever calamitie happeneth, it is done by the council and will of God: and that finally by the moderation of predestination it shall turne to god, and to eternal salvation.

### *Whether God would kill or destroy anie man.*

In 1. Sam. 2, 30. 17. But there ariseth a doubt, whether God would kill or destroy anie man: for it is written, that the sonnes of Helic had not their fathers words, because the Lord would slay them. In the 28. and 33. chapters (of both the chapters are of one argument, although Ioseph shewed some difference betweene them, yet so finally, as it maketh in a manner no matter) Ezechiel, vnder the person of God saith. As true as I live, I will not the death of a sinner, but that the conuerter and liue. And in Esaie 28. chapter it is read; I, saith the Lord, will do a strange work; namely, to punish you: whereupon it is gathered, that it is farr from the nature of God

to laie punishments vpon vs for sinnes. Wherefore it is euerie where pronounced of the church, that the propriety of God is to forgive, and to be mercifull. And in the first chapter of Ecclesiastes (yet to be shall allow of that booke it is written; God made not death, nor delight in the destruction of the liuing. Furthermore, the name of the verie same God is called in the holie scriptures Iehouah; which soundeth nothing else, than Being, *est*, To be. Wherefore Augustine in his booke *De vera religione*, the twelfth chapter saith; That the nature of God is to be; for somuch as all things haue from thence euen that being that they haue. But death bringeth to passe, that things cease to be; so that it seemeth not to proceed from God. And in Genesis it is written, that God made man a liuing looke;

whereupon it followeth, that he did not to make him that he would destroy him; but rather that he should liue. And in the 29. chapter of Ieremie it is said; My thoughts are the thoughts of peace, and not of affliction, saith the Lord. *pro* sinne.

Whereas Ieremie in the 29. chapter saith; I will destroy the sonnes of Helic. And Ieremie in the lamentations saith; And in Zacharie 11, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

now haue I determined to do well vnto you. And there is a place extant in the 14. chapter of Esaie, wherein by manifest words it is declared, that God consulted and decreed with himselfe to destroy the Babylonians and Assyrians. And verie manie testimonies, for the confirmation of this matter, might be gathered out of the holie scriptures; but because we meete with them euerie where, I will passe them over.

60. As touching the discourse which we haue in hand; first we must determine of some certaine thing; secondly, we must encounter the testimonies and reasons, which may seeme to be against the definition set before.

First of all, the nature of death is to be distinguished; because there is one of the soule, and another of the bodie. As touching that of the bodie, it would be superfluous to saie anie thing; seeing by the sense we perceiue the same to be nothing else, but a departure of the soule from the flesh. Wherefore, on the other side we affirme, that the death of the soule doth then happen, when we for sinne sake are separated frō God. Vnto these things, this also is to be added, that the death of the soule doth depend of the death of the soule; for by that which had gone before, this should not follow: whereupon Paule must tricke together; that by the sinne came death into the world. Whiche Christe is here to be excepted, who onlie died without sinne; albeit that neither he, in verie deed, died altogether

altogether without sinne, seeing that he bare our sin on his bodie vpon the crosse. But the procurer of death (as Augustine saith in his fourth booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the 12. chapter) was the diuell; for he was therefore of Iohn called A murderer; therer euen from the beginning, became he persuaded the first men into sinne. Euen as Christe therefore is the mediator of life, so is the diuell, of death. And it is written, that Sane entered into the world by one man, because that same into one, that is, the first man, was corrupted by the diuell. Therefore fourth Augustine; God made not death absolute, and by it selfe, but for a iust recompence imposed the same vpon sinners.

For in verie deed it is one thing to produce a thing absolute, and by it selfe; and another thing vslike to lay it vpon vs; for all things that are done of God by themselves, are in verie deed god; for God laue all things that he had made; and they were verie god.

Gen. 31, 32. These things also which are laid vpon vs for a reward of sinnes, although in their owne nature they be evil, that is to saie, against our nature; yet to far saith as they haue the nature of iustice, they ought to be counted for god things. For the plaine declaration wherof, Augustine vseth a verie apt similitude; When a iudge condemneth a man to execution, he is not properlie said to haue done the execution, seeing the guiltie man procured the same to himselfe.

Wherefore there is a certaine will of God absolute, and another (as Augustine callith it) recompensing. So whether of those belongeth the present place, wherewith is said, that God would destroy the sonnes of Helic? Whether shall we understand it of the absolute will, or of the recompensing will? Doubtles of the recompensing; because of the absolute will it must not be understood.

Therefore (saith Augustine) it is most iust, that when one soule shall of his owne will depart from God, it should be separated from his bodie, whether it will or no. In like manner, there would be a difference put betweene the conditions of sinners; for there be some of them which forsooke their sinnes committed; these men, as they belong to the election, euen so do they exercise the faith wherewith they are adopted.

64. As thus kind of sinners speaketh God, when he saith in Ezechiel; I will not the death of a sinner. And this will of God is so firme and steadfast, as he conuinceth the same with an oath. As true as I live (saith he) I will not the death of a sinner. But others do so stricke in their wickedness, as they are neuer led with anie repentance; for so much as they belong to the number of the reprobates; these men assuredly God would haue to die. And for a truth, after that they haue fulfilled the measure of their gracious

sinnes, it is requisite that they should die; that one date at the length they may make an end of their sinning. Therefore, wherewith the prophet saith vnder the person of God, that He will not the death of a sinner, it must not be understood vnresolute, as touching all; but of some certaine date might also adde with manie benedictions that there is a certaine will of God, which they call effectual; and also another of the figure; for there are giuen to all men one with another certaine figures of saluation; such as are out-much.

One will of God, that is, effectual; another figure, that is, out-much.

One will of God, that is, effectual; another figure, that is, out-much.

One will of God, that is, effectual; another figure, that is, out-much.

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One will of God, that is, effectual; another figure, that is, out-much.

One will of God, that is, effectual; another figure, that is, out-much.

One will of God, that is, effectual; another figure, that is, out-much.

to me to signifie a tooke vnaccustomed, not  
fame, nor heard of before: as if God should say,  
I will bring vpon you, not an ordinarie and dai-  
ly punishment, but a notable and vnderfull  
punishment. He that shall after this manner vn-  
derstand the wordes of the prophet, in iudgement  
he shall varie from the naturall sense  
thereof. And whereas it is written in the first  
chapter of the booke of Ecclesiome, that God  
made not death, nor delight in the destruction  
of the liuing, it is (as I thinke) plainlie  
enough to be vnderstood by those things, which  
are alwaies spoken. For we may vnderstand,  
that God made not death, because we by our  
sinns haue diuine it vnto vs: but yet we must  
not therefore asseme, that the same is no manner  
of losse deriued from God. Neither must we  
be Ordered be viced vnderstand in that  
place, otherwise it might be againe objected  
against them out of the 11. chapter of Ecclesi-  
asticus, that Death and life, good and euill, po-  
uerie and riches are of God. And whereas it is  
added, that God reioiceth not at the destruction  
of the liuing: that is true as touching the pre-  
destinate, seeing of them he suffereth none to pe-  
rish: when otherwise of the reprobate it is said  
in the first chapter of the Psalms; I also will  
reioice in your destruction: for God is not led  
by unwillingie or violentie, but willingie and  
gladlie to destroye the vngodlie. *spoucer, truth*  
it is, that man at the beginning was created a  
liuing soule: and God for that cause may seeme  
not to be the author of death, because he created  
man, that he might liue: who afterward by his  
oune fault, procured death vnto himselfe.

But yet hereto I adde, that man could  
not haue life, without the speciall benefit of  
God; for he giueth it at his will and pleasure to  
whom he willeth good. And vnderstande that  
is true, which he himselfe speaketh in Ieremie;  
that his thoughts are the thoughts of peace, and  
not of affliction. First, because that death, and  
his retriuers are (as it hath bene said) diuine  
to vs by our oune felices. Further, it must not  
be lightlie weighed, which is after ward written  
in the prophet vnto the house of Israel, that is,  
vnto the elect, and them that are predestinate  
to salvation: for vnto them God intendeth no  
salting but for their saluation. As touching the  
name of Iehouah, by which God is speciallie na-  
med; because all things haue in him euen the  
verie being which they haue; and that therefore  
death, seeing it bringeth a man to nothing, can-  
not seeme to haue his cause of God; it is to be  
vnderstood, that death is ordeined for men as a  
punishment of sinne, and is laid vpon them that  
deserue it. Neither do we denie, but that God  
of himselfe is life; seeing the essence of all things  
dependeth of him, as of the fountaine. *Which*

nerthes is not so, but that he can withoute  
the same, so often as he thinks good; for what-  
euer he doth, he doth it voluntarie, and of his  
oune accord: not as doth the sunne, the stars,  
the moone, the fire, and other naturall things,  
which haue naturall, and of a certaine neces-  
sitie. Therefore Dauid wisely said; When thou  
openest thy hand, all things shall be filled with  
goodnes, which if thou plucke backe againe, and  
once dost close, all things shall straiue to be  
destroyed. *Whobut he closest not his hand, ex-  
cept he be poulded by our ill desertes.*

## The second Chapter.

Of the calling of God, and of  
his grace.



he calling of God is directed vnto that end, that we should be-  
come the same; and further, that the end of  
that we should be saved by the benefit thereof.  
Seeing therefore that our saluation and faith  
be those god things, which the calling of God  
both respect vnto, this nature they haue, that  
both respect to another end; namely, for our  
saluation: two manner of ends indeed, but yet it  
may seeme to be one, seeing without doubt the  
one tendeth vnto the other. But the forme of the  
calling is not alwaies one and the same; for  
sometimes it is done onlie by inspiration of  
the spirit, and sometimes by the wordes of  
our wordlie propounded vnto vs, either by writ-  
ing, or by word of mouth. And those wordes of  
God, whereby he is called, do consist partly in  
promises, and partly in doctrine, vnto the which  
all threatnings are otherwhise added. I like-  
wise we knowe, that some haue bene called by  
compulsion, as the holie hiatorie in the Actes  
the apostles declareth of Paule. We also reade,  
that this hath sundrie times bene brought to  
passe by benefits, pea, and the gifts of healing  
bestowed vpon the apostles same to haue an  
eie vnto that. Sometimes God calleth his chil-  
dren by aduertices; of which weate the children  
of Israel had verie manie times experience.  
And it must be remembred, that this calling  
sometimes is vnderstood as concerning salua-  
tion, seeing God doth therefore call by vnto  
him, that we may be saved. There is also  
a certaine other puaite calling by the taking  
of some certine degree in hand, be it of pre-  
bode, hingdom, gouernment of household, and  
other, which like. *Which* two callings be not all  
one, because they may be secured; for so was  
Saule

1 Sam. 17.  
John 6, 70.

Calling  
effectual  
and not ef-  
fectual

Mat. 22, 14  
Mat. 22, 14

ver. 28.

of God. Saule called vnto the kingdome, but not vnto  
saluation; as Iudas, albeit he were iointed to the  
apostle, yet was he not partaker of the sal-  
uation by Christ.

Again, calling is of two sorts: one is cal-  
led effectual, and the other not effectual: not  
effectual, is when some men are thought by the  
reason of outward signes, and tokens to be cal-  
led, and yet in verie deed the successe is not so: and  
here it is spoken in the 20. and 24. chapters of  
Matthew. Manie be called, but few be docten.  
But that is said to be effectual, which by the  
meanes wherewith the due end of saluation; of his  
which Paule speaketh in the eight chapter of his  
epistle to the Romans, then he saith; All things  
work for the best to them which are called ac-  
cording to the purpose of God: for those which  
he knew before, he also predestinated, to be  
made conformable to the image of his sonne,  
that he might be the first borne among manie  
brethren: whom he predestinated, them al-  
so he called; and whom he called, them also  
he iustified; and whom he iustified, them he al-  
so glorified. Thou seest by these wordes of Paule,  
that they which be called, are predestinated, and  
that the verie same shall be glorified. Therefore  
an apparant controuersie in the scriptures is  
decided: for when it is said, that some be called  
and not chosen, there it is spoken of calling with-  
out effect. Again, when those that be called are  
said to be iustified, and glorified, there the  
speech is of effectual calling: this effectual cal-  
ling Paule nameth according to the purpose.  
But this purpose of God is referred vnto pre-  
dination and foreknowledge.

This also will be added, that calling goeth  
before faith, which thing appereth out of the  
eighth chapter to the Romans, when the apostle  
saith; How shall they call vpon him, whom they  
haue not beleued? How shall they beleue  
him, of whom they haue not hard? How shall  
they heare without a preacher? How shall they  
preach, vnlesse they be sent? Wherein, in this  
method of resolution thou seest, that faith both  
two waies depend vpon calling; first, because  
they that should preach, and be messengers,  
ought to be called and appointed to declare the  
word of God; and then they, while they preach,  
do call the people of God; whose faith, as thou  
seest, both depend vpon the calling of God. And  
if it be calling before faith, it is also before  
all merites; because our god wo; his, by the which  
we deserve anie thing, do flowe from faith, e-  
uen as it is said in the first chapter to the Gala-  
tians; Faith which worketh by loue. Seeing  
therefore that faith goeth before works and me-  
rites, and calling before faith, it appereth that  
our calling is not giuen for any merites of ours,

Calling so  
before  
faith.  
Rom. 10, 14

With the  
preaching  
of calling  
two maner  
of calling.

ver. 6.

The calling  
is done  
freely.

but onlie for the free merite of God.  
that time that calling is made; as thou must and ought  
to see, that vnto God there be no latens preiudic-  
tate, he by his most puaite gouernment, call-  
eth into his kingdome some at the first house,  
some at the second, some at the third; againe,  
he calleth some a little before the coming time.  
For, albeit that in respect of his foreknowledge  
or predestination, all men were called together  
at the beginning; yet neuertheless, the decia-  
tion or creation of calling, is done by God,  
according as it furtherth his glory, and the  
honour or commoditie of his church. And so  
great is the honour of the diuine calling, that  
the church take thereof hir name, ant is cal-  
led in Greke, *κλή* τῆς ἐκκλησίας, the which word  
theologically signifieth, no other, but a compa-  
nie of them that be called. Therefore it is a maner  
that when we be called, we should with all dili-  
gence obey the caller; weighing thoughtlie  
with our felices, that we be called to our profit:  
for God calleth vs not, but for our good. There-  
fore Christ faith, Come vnto me all ye which  
labour, and be heauie laden, and I will refresh  
you. For being far from God, we are de-  
uied with thought and carefullnes of liuing. *Spou-*  
ner being laden with a multitude of grieuous  
misdeeds, we are picied bolone.  
Furthermore, we must marke what maner  
of effect of God, this is, and how singular and  
excellent, the which he imparteth not vnto all  
men; for he giuing order so manie, whose na-  
me is all one with ours, hath taken vnto him-  
selfe, or separated vs. Therefore if we imbrace not  
the benefit that is offered vnto vs, and that is  
denied vnto vs, we shall deserve no final  
punishment, yea rather, as it is written in the  
second chapter to the Romans; We shall iustie  
vnto our felices wrath in the daie of wrath.  
Neither ought there o; may there be anie lau-  
dable excuse pretended, for not obeying God when  
we be called; although in the same weate a  
godlie excuse, which is sufficientlie shewed in  
the eight chapter of the Gospell of Matthew, tou-  
ching him that being called of the Lord, alle-  
ged for himselfe, that he should go to burie his  
father. So doubt, but that seemeth to tend vnto  
godlines; but Christ faith vnto him; Let the  
dead burie the dead; as if he had said; Wherein  
thou art called by me, let aside all duties, and  
followe me. And such is the power of Gods  
calling, as without that, all our inducours are  
made void, as are not allowed by God: as in the  
same chapter we most plainlie see, that he plea-  
seth not Christ, which in a manner offered him-  
selfe of his owne accord to followe him; but be-  
cause he wanted that calling, he did not see for  
ward himselfe to followe Christ with an upright  
heart.

the time of  
calling.  
Mat. 22, 14  
ver. 14.

The house  
of the  
nau calling

we must ob-  
serve the cal-  
ling.

Mat. 11, 28

ver. 21.

The power  
of Gods  
calling.  
Iudic. 19.





the effects, and (as the schol. men fate) *apostolic* *1000* that is, by that which followeth after. God would make our calling and election certain; for Peter in his latter epistle, and first chapter, after he had spoken largesse of works, he adds; Wherefore brethren, endeavour your selves rather to make your calling and election sure. But if thou shalt againe demand, Seeing the spirit of our neighbour is not well knowne unto us, can there be any other waie for vs to iudge of him, than by his works? Therefore Christ left no other means, whereby we should iudge of our neighbours: for he said; By their fruits ye shall knowe them: and charitie ought to be the best and truest way, that when thou shalt see thy brother to be conuerst in the church, to lead an unblamed life, and to maintaine the right professed faith; of such a man hope thou well. And Paul was in god hope of the Corinthians, partly of charitie, whereby he embraced them; and partly for their works laie; and gifts of the holie Ghost, the which appeared to be manie in their church: partly he was led by the spirit, whereby he was warned, that in that place there was much people which pertained unto God.

## Of Grace.

7 This place putteth vs in mind to speake fourth of grace. For since, which as the Logicians may be put abstrahed as substantiues, are usually declared by their conuerse, or adiectiues; the significations of which are more ready to the sense. Therefore let vs first see, what is signified among the Latins by this word *Gratia*, that is, Graces. He is said among all men to be gracious, whom all men fauour, and unto whom god will is commonlie beque: even so, in the holie scriptures, men are said to be gracious, which haue fauour grace vnto God; for so the scripture useth to speake of them, whom God doth fauour, and unto whom he extendeth his loue. Whomebeit as concerning this, there is a great difference betwene God and men: for men fauour none, but him, in whom they find things, whereby they may be assured a donation to loue. Therefore it becometh, that he which will be loued of men, haue in himselfe the causes of loue and good will. But contrariwise, God sendeth nothing in men towards to be loued, whereby he might be induced to loue them: for he himselfe first loued vs, and through that loue he hath bestowed vpon vs whatsoever we haue that may please him. Wherefore the name of grace, in the holie scripture, is vnderstood two waies. First a sheweth how it is signified the good will of God towards men, and the frankie and free fauour that he beareth vnto

to the elect. Secondly, forsomuch as God doth indue his elect with excellent gifts; grace both sometimes signifie euen those gifts, which are freely bestowed vpon vs by God.

This two manner of significations of grace, being well knowne, both plainlie shew, with how great a difference our aduersaries and we ascribe one and the same fence. For both of vs saie, that a man is iustified by grace: but this is the difference, that they, vnder the name of grace vnderstand those gifts, which are bestowed vpon them that be iustified; namely, the habits or grounded dispositions, which be powred into them: moreover, good works, and such other things as God tooke in the elect. But we (forsomuch as we see, that so long as we are in this life, these gifts through our corruption are imperfect) denie that a man can be iustified by them, or that Gods iudgement can by any means be satisfied by them; whereby we vnderstand, that to be iustified by grace, is to be iustified by the onlie, more, and sincere good will of God, which he beareth vnto vs of his owne onlie mercie. We saie also, that we be iustified by the grace of Christ, which his father beareth him: for seeing he is most gracious before him, by bringing to passe, that the father alio leueth vs in him, as his members and brethren by faith.

8 But the schol. men feigne to themselves, that grace is an habit powred into the soule, whereby the soule may the easier be stirred by the reader to do good works, which denie of these things they are not able any waie to confesse by the holie scriptures. And they seeme to haue taken it from the philosophes, who teach in this; Ethics, that faculties and powers are strengthened by the habit of the mind, whereby they be able to performe that, which before they could not: or if they could, yet might they not do it, without great difficultie. The verie same thing do these men iudge of the soule, that seeing it cannot by nature it selfe find the means to be acceptable vnto God, and to do the works which may please him: it becometh to haue a heauenlie and spirituall habit, to bring these things to passe: and while they thus addit themselves to their philosophie, they straye from the common and allowed sense. For when we saie, that a souldier is in fauour with the king or emperor: we saie not, that there is fauour of grace in the souldier, but rather in the king or emperor, which will fauour matchly more of the souldier: euen so here, if we shall speake rightlie, we will not saie, that grace is given or powred into vs; but rather that we be received into grace by God, when as we were his enemies before.

And that the error of the schol. men may the better be found out, let vs shew that their definition

of God.  
the definition  
which the schol.  
men gaffe.

definitions is: for they define grace to be an habit powred in by God, like vnto his goodnesse and charitie, whereby he that hath it, is made acceptable vnto God, and doth works that be meritorious and well pleasing to him. When they saie, that the habits powred in by God, they saie, that the habits they make the same to be like vnto the goodnes and charitie of God, they thinke, that they alledge a reason, why these which be indue with this habit, be accepted of God; namely, because of that similitude. And seeing they be not able to proue out of the scriptures, that grace is a thing created, they endeavour to ascribe the same by reasons: for Thomas saith, that the good will of God is not idle; for that God is said to loue, when he bestoweth any good things. Wherefore he saith, that the well willing of God vnto any man, or the fauouring of it, is to giue them or powre into them such an habit, as we haue already described. But this argument is most feeble; for we grant, that the good will of God lieth not idle, but doth bestow benefits vpon vs, and those vnto men in manifold. But how folloiweth this argument; God bestoweth manie gifts vpon vs, therefore he createth or powreth in such an habit.

Moreover, it is no small error, that they would haue vs to be made acceptable vnto God by this habit or creature. For it had bene a necessary thing, that he hauing bestowed this benefit vpon vs, we should first haue loued him; for the loue of God goeth before all his gifts. Among the vertues, which he doth followe, haue men reason they be given, yet can they not haue the power to allore God to loue vs, for we haue him our fauourable God, euen before he bestowed these gifts vpon vs. And an other reason of this is this; If those men (saie they) which be conuered vnto Christ, haue the spirit of God, which they had not before, of necessity there went some change betwene. But in God there is no change, wherefore it behoueth to appoynt the same to be in vs; namely, that we should haue the habit of grace, which before we had not. But this reason also standes to none effect, because God doth deferre his helpe, as to him himselfe God, and moueth the hearts of men at a time appoynted, when as he moued them not before. Which thing neuertheless we doubt not to be done without any change of him; for we knowe that he created the world, which before had not bene; and yet did we not therefore saie, that God is changed.

9 Now there remaineth, that we confirme by the scriptures, that the grace of God signifieth his owne voluntarie or free good will; befo- condie, the benefits or gifts which are bestowed vpon the saints; thirdly, that the grace of

Christ is that, which carrieth authoritie with the father, and by which we are beloved of the father. Of the first, Paul saith vnto the Ephesians; that We were chosen of God before the foundations of the world were laid, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glorie of his grace. In which place we see the cause of our election to be, that the good will and grace of God should be commended vnto vs. And in the latter epistle to Timothee he saith; Who hath called vs by his holie calling, not through works, but according to his purpose and grace. And Peter exhorteth, that we should hope in that grace, which is offered vs: and it is not lawfull to hope in a creature. And as touching Christ, Paul saith vnto the Ephesians; that God hath made vs acceptable in the beloved, that is in Christ, whom he loueth most, and as his onlie daughter. And in the epistle to the Romans, he calleth Grace euangelizing life. Wherefore let this be the true definition of grace, and that which is most agreeable vnto the scriptures: It is the good will of God, that commeth voluntarily of his owne accord, whereby he holdeth vs deare in a good Christ, and so, giueth vs our sinnes, giueth vs the holie Ghost, a perfect life, and everlasting felicitie. By which definition thou shalt easily see, that not onlie what we may call grace, but also by whom we haue the same; and in like manner what the effects of the same are.

10 Now let vs see by what means God bestoweth or excellent good things in vs. First he offereth the promises of his things, secondly by his inspiration he opereth the heart, that those promises may be admitted: which briefly he should do, those good things would neuer find place in vs; for manie hart is stubborn, and resisteth spirituall things; and therefore there is need of continual ministration in the church. For it is the dutie of pastors, to laie before the people the promises of God, a not onlie to bge the same with words, but also to kalle the same by sacraments, which are certaine visible waies. But first of all their part is to ge-moue two impediments, which chiefly lead men auaie from the promises of God. For on the one part, men thinke they cannot at tyme to the promises of God, because they be unworthy of them: here ought a faithfull minister diligently to persuade; that, that these things are freely bestowed by God, not by our worthy works, or by any other thing of the receiver. On the other part, men are loath to doubt, whether themselves, by the election of God, be excluded from these promises: so, not doubting they teach, that it is the part of faithful people to receive the promises of God generallie, as they be taught vs in the holie scriptures, by the

C. C. I. spirit

ver. 12, 13.

Mat. 7, 16.  
ye shall knowe them by their fruits: whether they be good, or whether they be evil: so shall ye knowe them.

1. Cor. 13, 8.

A. 13, 10.

In Rom. 12, 200 before place. art. 20. aduersaries are knowne by their conuers.

ye are one with another: grace before God, and an other waie beiege men.

The grace of God is taken two manner of waies.

what is to be iustified by grace, and by that grace of Christ.

The good will of God towards the elect lieth not idle.

The loue of God tooke vs before we were any thing.

A. 13, 10.

God is not changed, although he doth that which he will.

To haue the general grace of God, is to be received into his fauour.

1. Tim. 1, 9.

1. Pet. 1, 13.

Eph. 1, 6.

Rom. 6, 23.

A true definition of grace.

By what means God bestoweth good things in vs.

What an outward ministration of the church is needfull.

What ought to be done to receive the promises.







Good words are a beginning unto eternal life.

This word meeteth among the fathers, but water must be to give bapt.

This word meeteth not in the scriptures.

Verfe. 16.

Verfe. 16.

Verfe. 16.

Arguments ought to be taken of

can be faued. And in thofe that are of full age (to fpeake properly) good words cannot haue the nature of a caufe: for in them, there are nothing elfe, but a beginning of eternal life. Wherefore, feeing they are a certaine part of eternal life, they cannot be counted caufes thereof. After this ment I amie other thing elfe, when before I faid, that good words are means, and as it were certaine fteps, whereby God leaueh vs unto eternal life. I grant indeed, that among the fathers is oftentimes found the name of merit: which word I would to God they had more abfolute, and with greater confideration vied, for that word hath ingendred much foule errors. Although the fathers themfelves in many places mitigate and qualifie that word by expofitions, to the end we fhould vnderftand, that they ment not the luft and proper nature of merit: for they alwaies aduertifh, that eternal life is giuen freely, and that the fauits are rewarded by the merie and compaffion of God, and that we ought not to truft vnto merits, becaufe they cannot confift before the iudgement feate of God, and other fuch like. Which fentences, if our aduerfaries would carnetlie to the touch and ponder, they would not fo malepertie and flubbomlie defend thofe merits, which they call *ex condigno*. But (as I haue faid) it is the faileft waie, vnto the abidine from this word, fpecially, feeing it is neuer vied throughout the whole fcriptures.

But they vfe to obiect a place out of the 13. chapter of the epiftle to the Hebrewes: *Talibus hojpit promeretur Deus*, which after the Latins is thus englifhed: With fuch facrifices is God wone, as by merit. But in the Greeke, in the place of this word *Promeretur*, that is, is Wone of Merited, is written this word *βλαψεται*, which fignifieth, is delighted, or Accepteth them. They obiect alfo a place out of the 16. chapter of Ecclefiafticus: *Omnis mifericordia fua et in bonis meritis fecundum meritum operum* *pro meritis*, which (according to the Latins) is thus englifhed: All merie fhall make place vnto euerie one, according to the merit of his works. But firft, that booke is not in the canons; further, the place is not well cited: for in Greeke it is thus written: *παις διασωσιν ταυτας τω τω, ικασις καρις τα ταυτα ευρησιν ιγους*; that is, All merie fhall make place, euerie one fhall find according to his deeds: in which words is no mention at all of merit.

Now let vs examine that which before we faid, that Augulline wrieth; namely, that the apoflle might trulie haue faid, that eternal life is the fpecie of righteoufnes; but he would not. Here I faie, that arguments ought to be taken of that, which we are taught in the fcriptures; not of that, which otherwife might haue beene taught in the fcriptures. Therefore, if it is a weak argument, if arie fhould thus faie, The apoflle might haue faid, that eternal life is the fpecie of righteoufnes, therefore righteoufnes deferveth eternal life: becaufe the argument might be taken of the words of Paul. For if it were lawfull to reafon after this manner, the found arguments, which leane vnto the word of God, fhould be weakened: for the word might alwaies be objected, although the fcripture be fo, yet it might haue bene otherwife faid; and by that means we fhould haue nothing certaine. And although I haue declared what Augulline ment by thefe words, yet I cannot therefore be eafilie perfuaded to thinke, that the apoflle could otherwife haue written than he wroote. For if the other kind of fpeech fhould haue giuen occafion of hauntnesse and pride, then could it not errie: it behoued him alfo to follow the faicings of the holie Chrift. And although that fentence might peraduenture be fpooken of righteoufnes taken by it felfe, yet can it by no means be fpooken of vs, and of our righteoufnes. Therefore, feeing that fentence could neither errie, nor make anye thing to the purpofe: I fe not how Paule could fo haue written: but be it in this matter I will not contend with Augulline more than is meet.

### The third Chapter.

Of Faith, and the certaintie thereof; and of the vices of feare and fecuritie, which are contrarie vnto the fame: alfo of the nature of our adoption, and hope, and vniou with Chrift.

Now it fhall be convenient to declare what faith is. Faith therefore is an affent, and that a firme and free affent vnto the words of God; obtained, not by reafon, or naturall demonstration, but by the authoritie of the fpeaker, and by the power of the holie Chrift. And this definition wifely geth not from that, which Paule taught in the eleuenth chapter to the Hebrewes. By this we may fee, Verfe. 1. that it fhall be convenient to declare what faith is. Faith therefore is an affent, and that a firme and free affent vnto the words of God; obtained, not by reafon, or naturall demonstration, but by the authoritie of the fpeaker, and by the power of the holie Chrift. And this definition wifely geth not from that, which Paule taught in the eleuenth chapter to the Hebrewes. By this we may fee, Verfe. 1.

Verfe. 16.

Verfe. 16.

Verfe. 16.

Gal. 3. 17.

Rom. 14. 3.

Rom. 10. 17.

it is called *fiducia*, which word is deriued of *fidus* *fidus*; for we are not accuftomed to beleue, vnto the end in that thing whereof we be full perfuaded. Bafile, as touching faith, when he expouneth this place of the psalme: I haue louded, and therefore haue I fpooken, wrieth thus; Do not contend to fee thofe things, which are laid up far off; neither make thofe things doubtful, which are hoped for. In which words he thewelh, that two principall things are to be avoided; the one is, that we be not willy to mudy curiofities, to feeke out the pofte of things, which we ought to beleue, which pofte, fo long as we lue here cannot be had: the other is, that although they be obfcure, yet we fhould not doubt of the truth of them. And the fame wrieth, interreating of the confeffion of faith, faith on this world; it is a manifeft falling awaye from faith, and a point of hyde, either to refufe anie of thofe things that be written, or to bring in anie thing that is not written: fo foloweth as our Lord Iesus Chrift faid; My theepe heare my voice: before that he faid; but a ftranger they will not followe, but will flee from him, becaufe they haue not knowen his voice.

The apoflle alfo hath by another humane example, frailely fo; bidden, either to adde, or to diminiſh anie thing in the holie fcriptures, when he faith; And yet no man difturbeth the teftament of man, when it is confirmed, neither addeeth anie thing thereto. In which place a man may perceiue, how warlike this wrieth afferteth, that as touching faith, nothing ought either to be adde, or diminiſhed in the holie fcriptures. Which thing maketh theſe againſt them, that obtrude inventions and traditions of men, as of neceffitie to be beleued. Further, the fame wrieth plainly, fecteth forth the certaintie of faith, when he declaredly the propertie thereof in his fpoake, the righte Summe, 2. chapter, where he faith; What is the propertie of faith? The anſwereth; an vnfeperable certaintie of the truth of the words of God, which is not erried to by anie kind of reafoning, or brought in through anie naturall neceffitie; ne being framed to anie pectie, can errie be fhaken off. And he addeh, that it is the dute of one that beleueth, in fuch a certaintie, to be affected to the power of the words fpooken; and not to preſume, either to diſanull, or to adde anie thing. For if it be fo, that Whatfoeuer is not of faith, is faine, as the apoflle faith; And faith cometh of hearing; and hearing by the word of God; then, whatfoeuer is not of faith, being not contained in the fcripture infpired by the Spirit of God, the fame is faine.

As his father, together with vs, confirmeth the certaintie of faith, and theweth whereupon the fame dependeth, when he calleth it vnfeper-

able; becaufe, when we beleue, we do not examine by our owne reafon, what is poffible, or not poffible to be done. And he leaueh to allic: to thofe words which I haue fpeaehly of the faith of Abraham; that He waunered not through vnbeleue: to where he vied theſe verbe *Abraham* *Abraham*. Wherefore let certaintie be the contrarie thing unto doubtfullnes; which happeneth through iniquities or examination of manns reafon. Whoeuer, that which he in another fentence had fpeehed, he plainlie repeateth againe; namely, that thofe things which are without the fcriptures are not to be beleued. And this place of aule; Whatfoeuer is not of faith, is faine, he vied in his natural and proper fenfe, as we alfo fe to fe; which thing our aduerfaries cannot abide. Faith differeth from opinion; for opinion, although it make vs leane vnto one part, yet it woth the fame both with reafon, and alfo not without feare of the truth of the other part. And fufpicion both yet ingender a weaker affent than opinion both; it is both feble, and fufpicion both, it leaueh men doubtful of the truth of the other part. At this true indoe, that fciencie ingendreth a firme affent; but that is brought to paffe by adding of demonstrations.

For fo much as we now fee plainlie, as well what faith is, as alfo how it differeth from opinion, fciencie, and fufpicion; let vs fee how manns faith is taken. For there is one kind of faith; that is mightie, perfect, and of efficacie, whereby we are iuſtified; but there is another, which is void without fruit, and the fame being baie, and during but for a time, bringeth no iuſtification. Which thing is manifeſt by the parable of the Gofpell, there it is faid, that the fow, that is to faie, the word of God, fallth fruitles; vpon ftonie ground, and fruitles vpon thornie ground, vpon thornes, and by the high waie fide, where it is loſt, a bringeth forth no fruit. Again, that faith which is good and profitable, is not in all men alike: for it hath degrees, according to the greater or leſſe infirmities of the fleſh. Wherefore Paule faith; Euen as God hath diuided vnto euerie man the meafure of faith. And in the ſelfe ſame parable, the fow falling into the good ground, bringeth not forth fruit in all parts alike: for in ſome places it bringeth forth thirtie fold, in otherſome place fiftie fold, and in other ſome an hundred fold.

In the example of Abraham, which the apoflle take in hand to intrate of in the fourth chapter to the Romanes, is verie aptly deſcrib'd, how the nature and propertie of faith is. For he biddeth to the faith, which is the gift of God, whereby we are made faie to his promiſes, firring againſt the fleſh, and againſt humane wiſedome. That it is

Rom. 4. 20.

Rom. 14. 23.

Rom. 14. 23.

Rom. 14. 23.

Rom. 14. 23.

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Rom. 14. 23.

Rom. 14. 23.

**Ephe. 4, 8.** **eruptive towers**, when he saith; that By faith we are saved, and that not of our felicity; for (saith he) it is the gift of God. And even as the philo-  
**2** **trinitu**  
**tutor,** sopher supposed, that the strength and ability of men is not sufficient to do all things possible; and absolute; and therefore he saith; that we have means of habits, or grounded dispositions, that we have ends we might be ready to do well, so as we should make no long deliberation, and the thing which we do, we might do it both easily and pleasant: even to also ought we; for the perceiving of those things which are of God, to have our mind and understanding strengthened, by power potent that is from without us, and should be given unto us; seeing that through the default of our first parent, we are made unable to understand the secret things of God. And so; forasmuch as those things, whereunto we faith hath a respect, are altogether divine; it followeth of necessity, that to understand them, we are also helped by divine inspiration.

But we must not declare, what is the cheif  
feth thing, wherunto vs this obiect is directed; but  
(to speake breuely) is the promise of God, whereto  
vs bnto by believing we asserit. For this promise  
is cheifly that, wherein hee promiseeth and mercifull  
through Christ hee is mercifull and mercifull  
to vs be. And although in the holie scriptures  
are read and offered vnto vs be verie many pro  
mises of God, yet this one is the cheifest, for  
whiche faith the rest are performed vnto vs; but  
to which all othe promises are to be referred.  
This promise (as we haue before said) is  
that, wherein God promiseth, that hee will be  
mercifull vnto vs for Christ his sake. And al  
though there be verie many things, which hee  
ought to beleeue; as are threateninges, iudgements,  
reueries, exhortations, praises of God, and such  
other like: yet out of all these things to be refer  
red to the performing of vs to this promise one  
only. Hereby is manifest, that is the cheifest ob  
iect of faith; for the common obiect, as (as they  
terme it) the equal obiect of faith is the word of  
God, chiefly in the holie scripture. Beyond  
this obiect faith extendeth not it selfe; for (as

tioned in the holie scriptures. They object moreover, that the authoritie of the holie scriptures dependeth of the church, and cannot be proved by the scriptures themselves.

[illegible]

opinion on the one part or the other. As concerning  
 the other objection, we have oftentimes  
 declared, that it is not true which they take as  
 granted; namely, that the scripture hath his  
 authority of the church; for the foundations  
 of dependeth of God, and not of men. And the  
 word was both firm and certain before the  
 church began; and the church was called by the  
 word; and the fruit of God wrought in the  
 heart of them that beleaved the word, and of  
 them that read it, that they did acknowledge it  
 to be no humane word, but altogether divine.  
 Wherefore the authority came to the word of  
 God from the holy Ghost, and not from the  
 church.

If what do  
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 te gospel,  
 th cept the  
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 mooned  
 therefo.

*Of Faith.*

brace the same. But the matter is far otherwise;  
for what authoritie souer the church, or the mi-  
nistres thereof haue, the same dependeth whole-  
ly vpon the word of God. For if a man should be  
made of them, how they please the authoritie of  
the church, or how certaine they are, that it cr-  
rech not in the vnderstanding of the holie scrip-  
tures; and discerning them from other wri-  
tings? They will answer that, becauise it is go-  
uerned by the holie Ghost. But I beseech you  
will kinde pe that? I beseech (they will saie)  
I beseech you, remember, that Hee will be with it.

Mart. 8. 10 **Chil**d into p<sup>ro</sup>ph<sup>et</sup>ie. And because he  
 cuen to the end of the world. And because he  
 hath al<sup>l</sup>o faid; Where fouer shall be two  
 ch<sup>u</sup>rch gathered together in my name, there am I  
 in the middell of them. And againe; I will  
 send the holie Ghost the comfortor, which shall  
 lead you into all truth. These are the things, (saith  
 he) wh<sup>ic</sup>h p<sup>ro</sup>ph<sup>et</sup>ie vs of the authoritie of the ch<sup>u</sup>rch;  
 but I would faine knowe, from whence ye re-  
 ceined these things, but out of the holie scrip-  
 tures; therefore we may contrariwise con-  
 clude, that the ch<sup>u</sup>rch hath hir authoritie of the  
 scriptures.

son of the fault of him that vseth the science.

Cuen to loe, *hicaen* (so long as we live here) we be weakie, *meicun* can have a full and perfect life; *yea*, *cuen* against our wills. But toun-  
ding the nature of an opinion, *thou* must per-  
ceive it to be otherwise: the which is such, as  
there can be no blame laid unto vs, if we fene  
will incline to the other part, from that which  
we thinke to be true. But the infinitie, which  
happeth to vs, concerning faith, may come  
two waies: for sometimes we fenniclike cleave  
unto those things, which we beleue; howbeit,  
there are other things behind, which are to be  
believed, the which vs yet perceive not. And  
after this manner, they which together with the  
Gospell observed chace of meares, and other  
ceremonies, are called by *Paul*, in his epistle  
to the *Romans*, *Weake men*, in this respect  
not as yet, but as yet not for the perfectness  
of the lawe were abrogated. Sometimes it cometh to  
passe, that we be fene the things, which are to  
be beleued, but yet we are not so perfect in  
faith, that we can fenniclike and confidentlike  
cleave unto them. So *Ch* called the apostles  
Men of *Iudea*, and especially *Peter*, *whan*  
(though doubting) he was almost drowned  
with the waves of the sea. Therefore, as touch-  
ing each part, we must alwaies paie unto  
God to increase our faith.

It is also to be noted, that the power of be-  
lieving commeth of the holie Spirit, when as  
we yeild not unto so manie and so dangerous  
flouds of doubting, which doe inuade the mind;  
but doe in the end overcome them: which thing  
cannot be done without a heauenlie and super-  
natural power. But in this assent of the faith,  
we must diligentlie examine, both what he is  
that hath spoken, and also what it is that he  
says, and is left before to beleue: it being in  
doubt whether such a one, whom we see but  
death striketh nothing more, than that which he  
saies, can be true, when that which he  
saies not. Sometimes also those things, which  
be spoken by God himselfe, are by false decei-  
full sweete to ynnocent people, are corrupted,

U Rom.14,2.

il Matt. 8, 26  
ed & 14, 31  
u- We must  
to praise unto  
God to in-  
crease our  
faith.

is things to  
id, are to cra  
ell mine in t  
to ament of  
the faith.

we must  
praise our  
God that  
he will not  
suffer us  
to be decei-  
ved.

Ephes. 2, 8.

A famili.  
iudic.

The chief  
object of  
faith.

The com-  
mon ex-  
pression  
is

Rom. 10, 1

The Pa-  
pists objec-  
unwritten  
verities.

The perpetual  
vir-  
ginitic of  
Marie







But for the retaining skill of certainte, we must take unto that which is written a little after; namely, that The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. And that we may feare, how profitable this admonition of the apostle is unto them that be faithfull, and that it is not in anie respect vaine, we will use this distribution: first, to feare as touching the church, which is to be feared. If we speake of the whole church, we must not in anie wise feare, that it shall ever faile: for Christ promised, that He would bee with it unto the end of the World. Anded it may be tempted, tried, and shaken; but overthrow it cannot be: wherefore let vs praye, that the cruell, temptations, and persecutions thereof may be swallowed, and turned to good. But touching particular churches, because it is possible that they may be transferred, we do praye as well against their continual temptations, as also that with them, and especially with our church, may abide the kingdom of God. And concerning our posteritie also, there is cause why we should feare; because the promise is indefinitive for faith: and unless the faith be vaine, more narrowe through election and predestination, it may come to passe, that it shall not comprehend them; even as all the Jewes were not comprehended in the promise. And touching infants, we may also imagine the like; in vertue dead, the covenant and promise excludeth them not, naie rather they be generalitie signified in these wordes, wherein the Lord saith; I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed; under which promise we baptize them, and visible incorporate them into the church; who yet, when they come to age, may reuert the covenant, and contemne the Gospell. Whereby is made manifest, that they in vertue dead pertained not to election, and unto the promises: wherefore we may iustly feare, least they should not stand, as we feare happened in Imael and Esau.

What is to be feared as touching the church, and what not.

Matt. 28, 20.

Particular churches may faile.

We are to feare our posteritie.

Gen. 17, 7.

Gen. 17, 7.

Gen. 17, 7.

Gen. 17, 7.

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Gen. 17, 7.

Gen. 17, 7.

There are moreouer in the church some wicked, that, which beloeue but for a time, and in the time of temptation flye backe, as did Iudas; and they which in time of persecutions denie Christ: wherefore for these also we haue great cause to be afraid. As touching those which sincerely beleue in Christ, although they haue a confidence of their salvation, and are assured thereof; yet so long as we liue here, there be many failes euen readye at hand with vs, and these great: as it is manifest by that which Peter and David bid. Therefore they haue cause to be afraid, although they be not afraid, that they shall eternallie be damned; but assuredly hope, that either they shall be defended by God, or that if they do fall, they shall be refozsed againe. As we also do trust of them which be ex-

communicated; for they are not cast out of the church, to the intent they should perilly; but that their spirit might at length be faued. And therefore the elect also, and they which sincerely beleue, ought continually to be afraid of falling; and to beware, least they be cut off from the church, though it be but for a time. And of this reftitucion of them that haue fallen, is also mention made in Ieremie, in the third chapter; That hath plaid the harlot with thy louers; howbeit she returne againe. All these things declare vnto vs, that this reparation of Paule vnto faile, is not impossible; seeing we ought to manie waies to be carefull both for our selues, and also for others. Further Chrysostome addeth hereto: That the abuse of the grace of God, which rightly among vs, ought to be vnto vs a great feare and heere, so often as we consider of it.

1. Where vnto belongeth that, which is written both vnto the Romans, and vnto the Corinthians; to wit, that The godlie stand by faith. Neither is that hereto repugnant, which is written in the selfe same 1.5. chapter of the epistle to the Corinthians, that They flood in the Gospell; because faith is referred vnto the Gospell, as vnto his owne object: yea rather it springeth hereof after a sort, as we haue heard before. And touching infants, we may also imagine the like; in vertue dead, the covenant and promise excludeth them not, naie rather they be generalitie signified in these wordes, wherein the Lord saith; I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed; under which promise we baptize them, and visible incorporate them into the church; who yet, when they come to age, may reuert the covenant, and contemne the Gospell. Whereby is made manifest, that they in vertue dead pertained not to election, and unto the promises: wherefore we may iustly feare, least they should not stand, as we feare happened in Imael and Esau.

For: when we consider, how weak we are, and how prone to euill, and weigh also the vnpurities and imperfection of our waies, how good sooner they be; and requiringe the suretie of the lawe, in requiringe the verte truest of things that it commandeth: this consideration (3. laie) if it be earnestly had, cannot but make the mind exceedingly afraid, and cast it into doubt. But when on the other side we consider the goodness, clemencie, and mercie of God, and

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and his goodnesse in promises, and herewith all remember also, that all the merits of Christ are communicated with vs, we are refreshed and recreated, and the feare is either qualified, or else sometimes plainelie laid aside. For these affections, where they be perfect, & thoroughly bent, doe one fauor another: for they cannot be both at one time; or else if they be both at one time, then they appeare both to be remitt. But in what manner they giue place the one to the other, we may by daily experience vnderstand.

For if anie man be set vpon the top of an high tower, and when he is there, his mind runneth vpon nothing else, but vpon the height of the tower, and what a weepe waile he should haue, so that he cannot fall without danger of death; it is not possible, but if his mind be still bent vpon this, he will be altogether insentient vnto horror: but if he turne his eyes aside to the bars or battlements which stand him by, so that he cannot fall, then will he plucke by his spirits as game, and will praye vnto alwaie all feare. Neither ought it to seeme strange to anie man, that we saye, that faith expelleth that feare which is tainted with building of satisfaction; when as it is said in Iohn, that Charitie driueth out the feare: it is most certene, that that which the scripture attributeth vnto charitie, ought much more to be attributed to faith; for charitie springeth thereof. But (as we haue already said) Paule meant not of men particularlie, but of the publike possession of Christ, of the preaching of the Gospell, and of the religion thereof received in anie whole nation or psonne. And that which is here spoken, directly by godlie men of the publike possession of Christ, of the preaching of the Gospell, and of the religion thereof received in anie whole nation or psonne. And that which is here spoken, directly by godlie men of the publike possession of Christ, of the preaching of the Gospell, and of the religion thereof received in anie whole nation or psonne.

1. But because the apostle in his epistle vnto the Romans writeth on this wise; Ye haue not received the spirit of bondage to feare anie more: it shall not be from the purpose, but rather to feare, whether Paule meant, that we be delivered from all kind of feare or no. First this is certene, that feare is nothing else, but a reuerent affection of the minde, whereby we are firste by reason of some great & deable euill at hand. We are not wont to be moued with barres for a fall, but with such as hang ouer our heads; neither do things that be light, and of small weight make vs afraid. Therefore feare (as a deuine speecheth of feare) hath respect vnto sinne, vnto the wrath of God, vnto chastisements and scourges, and finally vnto hell-fire.

But there are two kinds of feare reckoned to be, of which the one is commonlie called a childe feare, and the other a seruile feare. And that is counted a seruile feare, which onelie for feare of paines and of hell-fire, either watheth vs backe from doing euill, or forcibly vs to do well. Euen so signified an Childe poet; Oderunt peccare mali formidine pame, that is, The wicked hate to sinne for feare of punishment. But the childe feare is that, whereby men liue vnpuritie, and die wickedly; because they desire the glorie of God, and so; that they allow righteousnes euen for it selfe. Therefore the same poet saith; Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore; that is, The good hate to sinne for the lone of vertue. Of these two kinds of feare are manie things spoken oftentimes by Augustine in sundrie places, & especially in his 9. treatise vpon the epistle of Iohn: it is read in the matter of the sentences, in the third booke, and 26. distinction, where Augustine allegorizeth two places out of the holie scriptures, which seeme to be repugnant one to another. The one is out of Iohn; Perfect loue driueth out feare: the other is taken out of 19. psalme; The feare of the Lord abideth for euer. To abide, and to be diuine faith, agree not together: this contrarie he maketh at one in this wise, & saith, that they be both dead disgrace not. For when as two pipes, being blown with one; the selfe same breath discord not; so (saith he) two parts, namelie the hart of David, and the hart of Iohn, being stirred with one and the selfe same spirit, cannot disagree the one from the other. But yet they require an indifferent and an attent heart; for Iohn speaketh of seruile feare, and of perfect loue; but David speaketh of the childe feare, as forsaide. And therefore he saith; The feare of the Lord is chaste or cleane (for in Hebrew it is written, *seareth, lebanah, tchabah*), and abideth for euer. In this manner (he thinketh) that the appearance of contradiction which seemeth to be in these two places, may be holpen. And he vtieth for each feare this similitude.

As it vs suppose (saith he) that there be two women, the one chaste, and the other vndeane: an aduise; doubtles each of these women feareth her husband: the aduise each feareth him, when he is absent, least he should returne againe; and when he is present, least he should vnderstand of her naughty behaviour: but the chaste wifeth afraid of her husband when he is present, least he should depart from her; or should not loue her so well, or should by some offense be alienated from her. By this similitude Augustine thinketh may be distinctly perceived each kind of those feares. Others faie moreouer, that this seruile feare is not altogether vnpuritable; for it prepareth a waie vnto loue; for first (say they) it striketh the minde, and reuerent men from sinnes; it directeth them vnto righteousnes for feare of punishments. And an vnpuritie, by little and little passeth into an life, and is by some made pleasant: and so at the length men

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21 civi-  
tas.

begin to revere their doings unto God, and to  
esteem righteousness in respect of it selfe. For  
even as a needle, whene any thing is to be fol-  
lowed, first entrench it, and daintily wish it  
the thing that is aimed there, but it selfe abideth  
not in that which is followe: so (saie they) there  
creepeth into vs a ferule feare, which is after-  
ward excludeth, when charitie and a chaste feare  
do once take place.

But what is to be thought of those terrors,  
which in our minds go before faith, it is mani-  
fest; namely, that they are time before the Lord:  
but if anie profit or commoditie followe them, that  
is to be attributed, not vnto their owne nature,  
but to the goodness of the holie Ghost: for he useth  
those to be means of our iustification.

The Spal-  
ster of the  
sentences  
mately  
four kinds  
of feare.

The first is a lawlike feare, whereby men, rather than their will, live riches,  
pleasures, and honours, fall away from Christ;  
and this is a feare most pernicious, and most  
fearre from all redolence. The second is a ferule  
feare, which we before have described. The third  
is an initial feare, that is, a feare that ferueth at  
the beginning, whereby men are so moued  
with the feare of punishment, that together ther-  
with they haue also a regard vnto God, and are  
caught with a certaine loue of his righteousness  
and will: this feare in his iudgement is ming-  
led both with a ferule feare, and also with a  
chilidie feare. Last of all he teacheth that pure  
chilidie feare with perfect charitie. But the  
Schole-men, which followed the Spalster of the  
sentences, because they also might adoe some-  
what of their owne, haue brought forth another  
feare, which they call natural: whereby euery  
by the impulsion of nature it selfe, we flee from  
those things, which are against the constitution  
of nature.

The Schole-  
men haue  
added a fifth  
feare.

12 Now that I haue braue and faithfullie  
declared these things out of Augustine, out of  
the Spalster of the sentences, and out of the  
Schole-men; I will in few words set forth  
what is to be taught touching them. First I  
confesse, that there is more than one kind of  
feare: for I knowe that Peter feared otherwise  
than did Iudas: for Iudas was to be feared, as he  
despised; but Peter I knowe before he by being  
again vnto Christ, whom before he by being  
had forsaken. Therefore we see, that a ferule  
feare is that, whereby we be so horrible afraid  
of God, and of the paine him when he is angry,  
that we are utterlie bold of him. But a chilidie  
feare is that, whereby in the midst of terrors, we  
are lifted up through faith: neither suffer we  
our selves to be shauled by such feare. There-  
fore in goodlie men feare is neuer separated  
from faith; for they: two things must be so knit

Math 27, 42  
and 26, 71  
where as  
Iudas feare  
d after a  
faint heart.

together, that faith do alwaies gouerne feare: for  
if it should not be so, desperation would easily  
followe. For, euen as the lawe ought al-  
waies to be ioined with the Gospell, so ought  
feare to be euer ioined with faith. And thus we  
induce the Gospell, but that we alwaies  
thinke vpon the obedience of the commande-  
ments of God. And when we see howe often  
and howe grievously we fall, we call our felicitie  
backe againe to repentance. On the contrarye,  
the lawe is not to be received without the Gos-  
pell; for if it should, we could neither obeye it  
nor Christ, neither yet obtayne pardon for  
the offences that we haue committed against  
it. Therefore Paule calleth vs not backe bitter-  
lie from all feare of God; but from that feare  
which is not to be receiued without the Gos-  
pell; which wanteth faith, and which fleeth  
from God, as from an enemy, and from a cru-  
el tyrant. But that feare which hath faith in  
it, cannot be reuoced; for it is the gift  
of the holie Ghost, as we read in the eleventh  
chapter of Elsie. And the propertie of the gifts  
of the holie Ghost is, that by them we submit all  
our vertues and affections to the moderation  
of faith, and make them to serue God true and  
sincerely.

These gifts they commonlie counted to be  
ten; and if a man demand how they growe  
into us, they straitwaie cite the eleventh chapter of  
Elsie. Howbeit if we examine that place by the  
truth of the Hebrew, we shall easily see  
that to be there; namely, the spirit of wis-  
dome, of vnderstanding, of counsell, of forti-  
tude, of knowledge, and of the feare of the Lord.  
But these men haue bene deceiued by the  
time translation, which folloiweth not the truth  
of the Hebrew, but the fenetic interpreters;  
for they, betwixen the spirit of knowledge and  
of feare, haue put the spirit of *phobos*, that  
is pertaining to the obedience of God; where-  
by it seemeth, that they ment to interpret what  
manner of feare of God that should be, by  
manner of feare of Melchis, of whom in that place  
there is mention made. For that feare was nei-  
ther light, nor yet a childe feare; but onlie an  
obedience, petic, and reuerence towards God  
his father. Neither haue the fenetic interpre-  
ters onlie once so interpreted the feare of  
God; for in the booke of Iob, where we read;  
Feareing God, they haue turned it *phobos*, that  
is, Obeying God. Howbeit, vnderstande well  
ought not to wane together into so freit a  
number, the gifts of the holie Ghost, to thinke  
them to be but onlie five or seuen; for besides all  
those, which are reckoned in that chapter, the  
same Elsie reckoneth in another place the spirit  
of iudgement and of yeale. And Zacharie maketh  
mention of the spirit of grace, and Paule of the  
spirit of sanctification, and Iohn of the spirit of  
truth;

13  
Eph 4, 13  
that man-  
ner of feare  
is in the  
same de-  
pente.

that man-  
ner of feare  
is in the  
same de-  
pente.

that man-  
ner of feare  
is in the  
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same de-  
pente.

that man-  
ner of feare  
is in the  
same de-  
pente.

truth; and Paule againe in another place of the  
spirit of adoption, and to the Christians of the  
spirit of promise, and a great manie of other  
like gifts.

13 These things being so, let vs now see,  
howe both in this life, and in the other life, feare  
may haue place. The saints, when they are in  
heauen, so that they shall then haue perfect cha-  
ritie (to speake of feare properly, as it is a mo-  
tion stirred up by means of some grieuous or  
vill that hangeth ouer vs) shall haue no feare.  
This doth Augustine confesse vpon the fifth plaine  
vpon these wordes; I will worship in thy feare to-  
wards thy holie temple. But in them can on-  
lie be that *phobos*, that is, obedience, reuerence,  
worshipping, and petic towards God; as the

70. interpreters haue expounded the spirit of  
the feare of the Lord; and so much a gift might be  
found in Christ, which indeede other wise could nei-  
ther haue place, nor be well-se, nor yet fatherlie  
chastitiments of God. And as a man would  
saie, that he feared death, that must be vnder-  
stood of natural feare, whereas after this sort do I vnder-  
stand *phobos*. When in his booke *De spiritibus*  
*sancis* he affirmeth, That the gifts of the holie  
Ghost are in the angels. Out of which words  
the Schole-men gather, that in them is the feare  
of God; for doubtles, seeing they are in blessed  
state, that can be no otherwise vnderstood, but  
as it hath bene alreadye shewed of me. But as  
touching the godlie in this life; we must so as-  
firm, as we thinke not, that they can be with-  
out childe feare; so that that feare be so vnder-  
stood (according as I taught before) that it  
should not onlie flee from offending of God, and  
are afraid of fallies against his will; but also are  
moued with the feare of hell-fire, and of the  
wrath of God, and of his punishment: vnto  
which feare neuertheless, a quiet faith and con-  
fidence in the mercie of God, are as a present  
consol.

For we ought not to thinke, that the theate-  
nings in the holie scriptures are vaine; for they  
are also profitable to the godlie, especially when  
they haue not as yet obtained perfect charitie;  
absolute regeneration. Christ said vnto his dis-  
ciples; I will shew you whom ye shall feare,  
euery man, which after he hath killed the body,  
hath power also to call the soule into hell-fire.  
And Paule to the Corinthians bringeth ex-  
amples of the Hebrews in old time, whereby he  
declareth, that for their abusing the sacraments of  
God, they were befouled in the desert. By  
which examples he ment to wanie the Con-  
tinents, to beware of the like vengeance; Manie  
(saith he) are weakes, and manie leaues. And if  
we would iudge our felues, we vnderstande  
should not be iudged; but now, forsomuch as

we are iudged, we be corrected of the Lord,  
that we should not be condemned with this  
world. And vnto the Philippians; Work ye your  
saluation with feare and with trembling. And  
vnto the Romans; Be not ouer wise, but feare.  
Whereby we see, that godlie men lue not vpon  
the earth without the feare of God. And here,  
feare hath respect to manie kinds of euils; for  
the godlie are afraid of sinne, of often falling,  
of the wrath of God, of fatherlie chastitiments,  
of scourges, vnto which God punisheth his people  
when they sinne, and finally of hell-fire: which  
they feare they haue deserued, vnto which God by  
his mercie, and Christ by his sacrifice, which he of-  
fered vpon the crosse, should helpe and succore  
vs.

But what meaneth that which Iohn faith;  
Perfect charitie catcheth out feare. I knowe  
there be some, which interpret these wordes in  
this sense; to wit, that they which lue God true-  
lie, are not vnto to put themselves for god-  
lesse sake into all manner of dangers; neither do  
they shun persecutions, but valiantly do stand  
and stand in all manner of aduersities. The true  
which thing Paule in the latter epistle to Timo-  
thee wrote in other words saying; We haue not  
(saith he) receiued the spirit of fearfulness, but  
of might and of loue. Therefore he exhorteth  
Timothee, not to be ashamed of the testimony  
of the Lord, or of him being in bonds for the  
Lords sake; but countenancing to endure labour  
for the Gospell sake. Albeit that thing be  
true, yet this is not that which the place of Iohn  
reached; for it maketh mention there of the  
iudgement of the Lord, of which he willieth the  
godlie, which lue God, not to be afraid; and  
he reuizeth reason, because feare hath indubi-  
tably tomed with it. Therefore he, that Iohn fa-  
theth perfect charitie, which faith, that Iohn fa-  
theth perfect charitie, the which, seeing it can-  
not be had in this life, lue may not loue to haue  
it without feare. Further, we might in this  
place vnderstand that feare, which is discus-  
sed from confidence; and therefore diueth men  
to desperation; for they which beleeue and loue  
God truly, uphold their feare with a luke  
faith.

### Of Securitie.

14 Securitie seemeth to be a contempt of  
Gods iudgement, whereby finnes are punished. If  
we speake of this securitie, it can neuer be o-  
therwise than twofold; but there is also another  
foote, the which no doubt is to be allowed, and  
is commendable. But to make the thing more  
plaine, let vs consider of those things; Securitie,  
hope, a desperation. Hope is the mean which  
ought alwaies to be commended: securitie is  
excess,

1. Ioh 4, 18.  
2. place of  
John de  
120.

1. Tim 1, 7.

1. Tim 1, 8.

1. Tim 1, 8.

1. Tim 1, 8.

1. Tim 1, 8.

1. Tim 1, 8.

1. Tim 1, 8.

1. Tim 1, 8.



the one side, so that we suspect nothing at all of the truth of the other side. Wherefore, to believe, according as earnestly to our purpose, is by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, to give a firme assent unto the word of God, and that by the authority of God himselfe. To wit, that the inspiration of God is required, because humane reason in those things doo faile, and The natural man perceiue not those things which be of God; for he thinketh them to be but foolishnes, and he cannot give credit unto them.

And that a firme assent is required in a true faith, Augustine declareth in his 109. treatise upon Iohn: when he saith, *Deus* must believe immuablely, firmeley, steadfastly, and courageously, leaſt a man wander about his owne alterations, and abandon Christ. And we must give our assent unto the word of God, which is of two sorts; written, and not written. For those things, which God spake unto the prophets, the prophets believed: & yet were not those things written by others before them. Abraham believed that he should be blessed, so as all nations should obtaine blessing in his seed: although he believed that God was to be obeyed, when his some was demanded for sacrifice; and yet had he not read any thing written thereof. Wherefore that which we haue spoken of faith, maketh nothing against them which say, that faith is an assent giuen to the Gospell of Christ, or to the merite of God giuen vs through Christ; or else assented unto by him, for the remission of finnes. For so much as these be the most high and principall things in the word of God, unto the which, the laue, the prophets, the thearengins, promises, and by stories, how manye sooner be found in the holy scriptures, be directed. Wherefore I agree with them, and what they imbraced in the Gospell, but as touching remission of sins through Christ, I also doe asſirme to be continued in the word of God.

19 The epistle to the Hebrews the eleventh chapter, hath a most plaine definition of faith, where it is called *firmis*, that is, The ground or being of things, which are hoped for; in *Esche*, *in* *firmis*. And surely in this respect, faith comprehendeth the Gospell, eternal life, the fellowship of Christ, and thereby the remission of finnes: for these be the things which we hope for. But seeing those things cannot appeare by naturall evidence, neither yet sicke faith in our minds, so can firme faith be by the inward of our owne reason, or by the helpe of humane knowledge, they haue need of faith, as a pup or ground-wooke, unto the which surely they may lane. Afterward is added *dey*, *dey*, that is, An euident token or argument of those things which appeere not. For those things, which be taught vs in the scriptures, but

lesse they be admitted by faith, will not seeme of themselves verie like to be true unto our reason. And whereas there is mention made of *firmis*, or *dey*, that is, A being, or euident token; that firme assent is declared, the which we saie we haue need of in believing. Whereunto there is no let, that we being compassed on euery side with the flesh, are often times put to trouble by wauering and infirmities; seeing this cometh not to passe by any error of faith, but by our owne fault. Wherefore, we define faith by it selfe, according to the propriety thereof, and not as it is weakened in vs. Whereupon the wauering and infirmities of faith an assent, is the cause of notable failes, which haue happened unto godlie men, and which we see do euerie day happen. For when our reasonings men doe commit, they doo sinne the rough the want and imperfection of faith, because either they beleue not, that God obeyeth laies against the finnes, which they commit; or else those laies, which are made, they consider not as they ought to doo; or sometimes they give but weakie assent unto those things that be read and deliuered unto them.

20 Aristotle in his *Ethicks* maketh diligent inquire, how it can be, that when as yet there is a knowledge of diuine things, any thing can be committed against the same: and he saith; It may be, that there is retained onely a general knowledge; but seeing that particular things doo require specialie, the force of a particular thing laie before vs, easilie ouercometh the general knowledge, and maketh the same more feeble. If any man haue assured himselfe, that all theft is an vniuersal and infamous thing; and on the other part conuictly, that it were fit for him to followe all his owne commodities; it may some come to passe, that he will not bring in the particular thing of the first sentence, whereby he should earnestly reckon with himselfe on this laue: That which now now attempteth is theft, a thing vniuersal and infamous. For if he doth roughly call in his mind these things, and hee his eyes upon them, he would not feele: but these things being verry oft times abandoned, and not considered of, he onely respecteth the particular thing of the other proposition, namely, that this monie, this garment, this stuffe will both be commodious to him, and serue him to great vtil. About which things his mind being that true knowledge, while it is but finally regarded by him, is imperfect, and in a manner cry signified.

So David, as concerning faith, haue he wrote, that all auditive both is firme, and blissfull with God exceedingly: but when he committed the same, he had euen then but onely a general

generall knowledge thereof, the which was weakie and of verie small efficacy; and he conuerted in a manner all his cogitations vnto speciall and present allurements, so euidently was the beauty of the woman which he beheld fixed in his mind, vnto which delights he gaue more of his consent, than vnto the generall sentence of vnto the word of God, and perceived by faith; wherefore thou seest, that through the weakenes of faith he came to his fall. Also Peter knoweth with a generall knowledge, that the libertie of the Gospell should be kept, & that corrupt opinions should not be brought in through his example: on the other part he saith, that offense, should be taken away from the weakie brethren. Wherefore when the Ierosolims came into him, he began to withholde himselfe from the *Ethicks*, neither did he eate with them; because he did not remember himselfe so much as he ought to haue done, that by this act euill opinions would creepe in, and by that means the libertie of the Gospell be ouerthrowne: but he chafed in his mind his weakie brethren the Ierosolims, toward whom he was more affected than it was meet he should. And therefore he fell, because he thought that they ought by no means to be offended. So that he was vpon me yet cause blamed by Paule, that he walked not uprightly. By these things it appereth, of how great importance is the strength & steadfastnes of the assent of faith; which I repeated before.

21 I confesse, that while we live here, the same cannot perfectlie be had; because we now knowe in part onely, whereas vnto a strong assent is required a full knowledge. But because that desire may not suddenly turne vs from the right, no yet perfect attention disturbe the indgement of faith, this notable remedie we haue; namely, that with a fixed and attentive mind we be continually occupied in the word of God; and that we examine our actions by the same: therein let vs exercise our felues, therein let vs imploy our businesse, and therein let vs earnestly spend our whole time and trauell. We must not behold with our eyes, nor satten our mind vnto those things that are against the commandments of God, & which cause Gods

loyalty not to be believed. Abraham being now a hundred yeeres old, heard that he should beget a sonne; he respected not as the apostle saith) his owne dead body, he gaue the glorie to God, remembering with himselfe, that he which was able to doe all things, and which failed not, might not fail him, promised this vnto him. Where by it came to passe, that neither he doubted, nor yet mistrusted. These things haue we said touching the frailties and strength of the assent of faith. And of what efficacy this strength of faith is in the believers, Augustine declared

upon the ninth treatise of Iohn, when he saith; To beleue in Christ, is in believing to loue; in believing to go vnto him, & to be made a member of him. How do we yet gather, that faith is a gift of power inspired into vs by the spirit of God; by which faith we giue a firme and steadfast assent unto the word of God, through the authority thereof. This definition I doubt not but is made plaine, by those things which I haue already spoken.

22 I am not ignorant, that the apostle James mentioned, that it is a dead faith which is destitute of good works; whereby, that is no faith, when it is pronounced to be dead, euen as a faith is no faith. We see a figurative speech. And when they saie that a man is buried, they understand the same of the dead carcase: euen so this is not to be accounted faith, but rather a dead carcase of faith; neither both it in nature agree with true faith, but in name onely. The apostle Paule also writing vnto Timothy, called the same feigned, lasting in this life; Let charitie proceed from a pure hart, a good conscience, & a faith not feigned. And Christ in the Gospell described certeyne believers, but those temporarie, or which beleued but for a time. Wherefore, when as in the holy scriptures it is intruded concerning iustificacion by faith, & other things of that sort; those are not to be ascribed vnto a dead faith, but vnto a liuely faith; after which manner I at this present may order my speech. Amongst the *Schole*-diuines there is doubt made of faith formed, and faith without forme; for such terms they haue: but the same we will examine a little after. Onlie I will now declare this; to wit, that Thomas Aquinas beareth that faith formed and faith unformed be of one habit; or qualitie: because (as he thinketh) it doth geth little or nothing vnto faith, whereby certaintie be present or present; for this they thinke is done by chance, or (as they saie) by accident. Certaintie it is to be wondered, that so notable a man should be so much deceived, as he would not haue these two to be distinguished in their owne nature, seeing the one is a dead faith, and the other a liuely faith; the one maketh vnto eternal life, and the other vnto condemnation. For a dead faith putteth a certeyne godlie shew in the mind, but such, as seeing it both not (sufficiently) regenerate, it onely taketh away the excuse of ignorance; as Paule teacheth vnto the Romans, and Christ in the Gospell of Iohn; If I had not come (saith he) and had not talked with them, they should haue had no finne.

23 Faith, hope, and charitie we appoint to be these severall things: neither do we mingle them together, or confound them one in another, as our auerities laie to our charge; but we saie, that

A definition of faith.

I me 2, 10  
I me 2, 10  
I me 2, 10

A dead faith is the dead carcase of faith

1 Tim. 4, 9  
I me 2, 10  
I me 2, 10  
I me 2, 10

Thomas Aquinas beareth that faith formed and faith unformed be of one habit, or qualitie.

Faith formed and faith unformed be of one habit, or qualitie.

Rom. 1, 22  
I me 2, 10



*Whether charitie may be called  
the forme of faith.*

27 As touching the second question, we are to examine, whether charitie be (as the Scholmen terme it) the forme of faith. And first I saie, that they so speake, not propoerly, but rather fondly: for it is not becoming, that one qualitie of one and the same kind should be the forme of another. For we grant not, that one accident cleaue like a forme vnto another accident: and that chiefe among qualities. It is said of figures of shapes, that they happen vnto quantitie, when as yet they be qualities. But whether figures do trulle & propoerly pertaine vnto the predicament of qualitie, I will not stand at this present to gioue: it is sufficient as concerning our purpose, that one qualitie can not be called the forme of another. But the Scholmen by that their manner of speeche ment no other thing, but that faith is made perfect by charitie: euen as matter is wont to be made perfect by the forme of the same: which is required of these must not be allowed. For if faith is to be compared vnto hope and charitie, it is euen so towards them, as wisdome is to those vertues, which they call vertues of intelligence; and as pudence is towards those, which they call moiall vertues. For euen as moiall vertues are knit together in pudence: so those things also, which belong vnto intelligence, are ioined together in wisdome. But no man will saie, that in other-vertues of the mind be the forms of wisdome, neither that moiall vertues are the forms of pudence: wherefore, neither hope nor charitie may be called the forme of faith.

The comparison, which I haue vpon me to make of faith vnto pudence, is to be read in Chrylosome vpon the epistle vnto Titus, the third homilie, where he saith: that faith is of no lesse power to the gouerning of life, than wisdome is. Furthermore, that our wisdome consisteth in faith, no man I thinke doubteth: and that hope and charitie are knit together in faith, it is hereby declared; inasmuch as where faith is, these also are present vnto the same. For charitie, to speake of the forme, according to the nature thereof, we make the same to be the beginning of the action: but faith, by a naturall propoerly and vertue thereof, maketh vs to hold fast the word of God. Neither doubt charitie tend vnto that end, the which rather compelleth vs to love him, whom we haue alreadye knowen by faith: therefore charitie in respect of faith shall not be accounted a forme, seeing it is no beginning of the action thereof, the which chiefe consisteth in beleeving. Furthermore,

matter is gouerned of the forme, and therefore it is both continued and continued, and not reason, the forme by the matter. But charitie is obedient vnto faith; faith gouerneth the same: for whatsoever we loue by faith, it must be knowen by faith, that we ought to loue the same. For this in nature we see, that loue followeth the iudgement of the partie that knoweth. Besides this, the thing which begetteth, is more perfect, than that which is procreated. And we make no doubt, but that hope and charitie is ingendered by faith: wherefore, neither hope nor charitie can be the forms of faith. That god worships are ingendered by faith, David the worthie, when he saith: I beleueed, and therefore haue I spoken: whereby appereth, that confession proceedeth of faith. The faith also; I haue not declined from thy iudgements, because thou hast taught me. By these things it is manifest, that the bypocrisies of life proceedeth from the assent of faith.

28 But let vs see after that lost hope and charitie are ingendered of faith. In the epistle to the Romans we read: We being iustified by faith, haue peace towards GOD through Christ, by whom also we haue accesseth through faith vnto the grace wherein we now stand, and rejoice vnder the hope of the glorie of GOD. We hold, the apostle expresseeth the word, that we haue peace and accesseth vnto GOD, and hope of the glorie through faith. The same word he more plainly teacheth in his epistle to the Ephesians, the third chapter, where he teacheth, that we haue accesseth with confidence, which cometh by faith: Here againe thou seest, that confidence (which is hope) doth spring of faith. And that charitie is derived from thence, the same apostle testifieth vnto Timothee, when he saith: Charitie out of a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith not feigned. And the reason which he toucheth before, persuadeth the same: for seeing that by faith we apprehend GOD, as the loue reigne good; as he that is mightie, wise, and most loving toward vs, which gaue his onelie sonne vnto death for vs, & hath giuen all things with him; how can it be, but that our loue must breake out towards him, and towards all things, which appertene vnto him? But touching order, it is to be vnderstood, that hope springeth out first. For when as by faith we haue embraced the promise of eternall life, an hope is conceiued of obtaining the same; and from hence in the third place springeth loue: for we loue not those things, which we are out of hope to obtaine.

29 Now let vs come to the arguments, which our aduersaries do vse, to proue charitie to be the forme of faith. They alledge that sentence of Paule vnto the Galatians; Faith

which worketh by loue. Seeing (saie they) that faith doth worke by charitie, the same it shall haue in stead of a forme. Hereof groweth the error of these men, that they imagine something to themselves, that should be compounded of faith and charitie, the which being all wholy compact of these, might haue the first entrance of the working thereof from charitie, as from the forme. But this deuile of theirs is vaine; for seeing faith and charitie be seuerall vertues, and that one qualitie (as I haue said before) is no forme of another, there shall be no one thing compact of these two faculties. Forouer, this manner of speeche (to wit, that euery thing worketh by another thing) doth not alwaies respect the forme, but sometimes the instruments. The writer teacheth by his pen, the souldier fighteth by his weapon, & the foule worketh by the bodie; but all these things they confesse to be no forms, but instruments. And Paule saith, that We must all stand before the tribunall seat of Christ, that euery man shall beare away according as he hath behaued himselfe in his bodie; be it good, or be it euill. We see also, that pudence worketh by moiall vertues, which vertues notwithstanding are not counted the formes thereof.

Also they obiect, that charitie hath therfore the nature of a forme: because it is the end of the precept; and whatsoever is done without that, cannot please GOD, but is condemned as finite. But if this argument be of force, we also will proue thereby, that faith is the forme of other vertues; seeing Paule hath said; Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is finite. Out of the which sentence Augustine in his 4. booke and 4. chap. against Iulian taught, that all the workes of the infidels are finites. These men also bring the saying of James, that Faith is made perfect by workes: the which maketh nothing against vs; for it is not leadeeth, that faith is their perfect, when it leadeeth. Euen as the philosopher teacheth, that a forme is not perfect, when it is taken as the first act; for so they speake; but when it is respected as a second act: for in working it putteth faith

his strength, & declareth it selfe. Wherefore we great, first after this manner faith is made perfect by workes: not that it is either increased, or made more earnest by the vertue of workes; but through the more effectual operation of the holie Ghost, the which in working declareth it selfe; but in time of idleness laie hid. And this is not the propoerly of charitie alone, but is common vnto all other vertues: for vnto this end are vertues giuen vnto the mind, that out of them actions might be diuined.

30 Forouer, they saie that charitie is therfore the forme of faith; because by it is the first beginning, whereby the godly are known from the wicked. And this they proue by that place

of the Gospel, where Christ is brought in to saie at the day of iudgement; I was hungrie, and ye fed me: I thirsted, and ye gaue me drinke, &c. Vnto these things we answere, that the discerning and knowledge of things is sometimes had by the causes, & by the beginnings of them, which they commonlie call *Apories*, that is, by that which went before; and an other is vnderstood by the effects and properties, which they name *Apollonies*, to wit, by that which cometh after. Wherefore I willingly admit, that charitie is that, whereby the godly are discerned from the wicked, by the latter knowledge, and by the effects: but this knowledge pertaineth to vs, Christ otherwise, without the same, very well knoweth them that be his, and perfectly them apart, namely, by election and predilection: the which be in a manner the beginnings & causes of our saluation. Wherefore that knowledge is had by the effects, out of the forme of things, which they take as granted, we must not grant. Neither is there any doubt, but in the last iudgement the saints shall be discerned from the wicked, by the workes and effects, according as the workes which they men bring do declare. Whobest, if they will haue respect vnto those workes which the iudgement pronounced before time, when he said; (Come ye blessed of my father, take the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world) they shall callie vnderstand, that there is a more noble & excellent knowledge set forth of saluation to be giuen, than that knowledge which is afterwarde adde through workes. As for the forme of faith, if any thing be brought in, which properly is not lawfull to be done, the same should be the spirit. For we haue faith as it is of the spirit, the more ample faith is present, and the more charitie there is of the spirit, the weaker is faith.

*How Faith excelleth Charitie, and  
so likewise on the contrarie.*

31 Now lastly there remaineth to us, whether faith is preferred before charitie; and againe, what is attributed vnto charitie, rather than vnto faith. I first vnto faith, iustificatiō is agreeable, the which we asseme ought not to be granted vnto charitie: for while we liue here, charitie is alwaies imperfect. Therefore we cannot, in respect of the iudgement of GOD, cleane referre vnto charitie, or to the god workes which proceed from the same, in respect of being iustified and absolved by them. Further, in the epistle of Paule to the Romans, and to the Galatians, it is most plainly declared, that We be iustified by faith, and not by workes. We vertue which is the nature as well of faith, as of charitie, if it be



full considered, both things: fo faith both fur-  
ther the mind of goodie men toward Christ, and  
toward the understanding and admitting of  
the promises made concerning him: which thing  
is manifest to be done by the assent of the mind:  
and while that we knowe of: understand arie  
thing, the very same we receive into our selves.  
But on the contrarie part, the office of charitie  
is, that it may pioushe and drive the will, to  
thoſe things in action, and expresse in fight of  
the world, that which the mind hath received. And  
this herein consisteth, that those things which  
we have, we impart and communicate them  
with others. And seeing, to be iudicial, is to  
receive righteouſneſſe by imputation: it may  
ſufficiently appere, that the ſame commonly re-  
ther by faith, than by charitie. Hereunto muſt  
be added, that ſuch ſhould appoint charitie to be  
that, whereby righteouſneſſe is comprehended:  
it ought to be granted, that we, when we re-  
turne into favour with God, are not enemies,  
(as the epistle to the Romans teacheth). For cha-  
rite ſufficiently the friends of God, whom ſouer it  
adorneth; and None darſt love God, but he  
hath firſt bene beloved of him. Wherefore,  
faith in this is to be preferred before charitie,  
that we are by faith iuſtified. We may add  
doe things, which we received before; namely,  
that charitie is ingendred of faith: but on the  
other ſide, not faith of charitie. Besides this,  
charitie followeth the measure of faith. As Grego-  
rie ſaith; that ſo much as we love, ſo much we  
believe.

32. Thoſe things which we have now received  
are more agreeable unto faith, than unto cha-  
rite: now let us ſee what things charitie doth  
change unto it above faith. Firſt, it induceth  
even in the life to come: at which time faith  
have no place. And that is it, that faith bringeth  
us no cleere knowledge, but an obscure: fo now  
we knowe darkly, and in part; but the know-  
ledge which we ſhall have in the Kingdom of  
heaven, ſhall be thorough perfect. Wherefore  
faith ſhall give place to a better ſtate: but cha-  
rite ſhall moſt of all apere in the world to come,  
as well toward God, as toward our neigh-  
bours. Thou wilt perhaps ſay; And ſhall not  
charitie alſo be made perfect in the life to come?  
Which if it be granted, it ſhall continue no low-  
ger than faith. We anſwer, that here there is  
a difference: fo ſaying faith paſſeth into an  
open knowledge, and unto a revealed fight of the  
thing preſent: it changeth his kind and nature.  
Which thing happeneth not to charitie: fo al-  
though the ſame become great and more ſub-  
ſtantial, yet it ſhall retaine ſtill the ſame ſub-  
ſtance: albeit even the ſame ſhall not have all  
the world which it now exerciſeth. Thus ſhall

be none hungrie, to be ſecondly thiſt, to give  
drinke unto; nor other like things in that eter-  
nall felicitie. Wherefore, it is attributed unto the  
charitie, that (as Iohn twiſeth in his epistle) it  
giveth a testimony of our iuſtification: & We  
knowe (faith he) that if we love our brethren,  
we are tranſlated from death unto life. And Pe-  
ter ſeemeth to give commendement, that We  
through good works ſhould make our calling  
certeine. And we muſt not omit that which  
Paul ſaith; to wit, that Charitie is greater than  
faith and hope. Which ſaying we expound two  
things; firſt, becauſe the Lord ſaith, it is a more  
blessed thing to give than to receive. The ſhall  
indeed commendeth theſe, that faith doth ex-  
erciſe it ſelfe in receiving, & charitie in giving  
and beſtowing.

It is further expounded, that we are ſaid  
to have two ſorts of righteouſneſſe; the one (3  
ſaith being imputed unto vs by God, by of the  
which we are iuſtified in verbe dead: and that  
(as it hath bene ſaid) we obtaine not by works,  
but apprehend it by faith: and the other right-  
eouſneſſe is that, which cleaunth unto vs; and  
conſiſteth of faith, hope, and charitie, and all  
good works; the which (as we have already ſaid)  
do neuer attraine unto the perfect obedience of  
the lawe, but do onlie make an entrance into  
the ſame: the which is nothing elſe, but to obte-  
the commandements of God, with as earneſt  
an indurance as we can. Wherefore I willing-  
ly grant, that in this kind of righteouſneſſe,  
charitie hath preeminence: becauſe one exer-  
ciſing, notwithstanding it be begun by faith,  
yet it ſtanceth not there: but goeth forward unto  
hope, unto charitie, and unto all other vertues  
and good works. Wherefore as in iuſtification  
before God, faith is the cheefe and principal: ſo  
in this righteouſneſſe that is begun, charitie is  
the better.

33. And if anie will demand, wherefore we  
appoint two ſorts of righteouſneſſe, as hath bene  
ſhewed before: we will anſwer, that the ſame  
we have learned out of the holie ſcriptures. So  
the Rom. is ſaith; As by the diſobedience of one  
man, manie are made finners: ſo by the obedi-  
ence of one, manie are made righteous. And in  
the ſame epistle the apoſtle ſaith; But to him  
that worketh not, but beleueth in him that  
iuſtifieth the vngodlie, faith is counted for right-  
eouſneſſe. And Paul alſoſt throughout that  
holie chapter, ſpeaketh of this imputation of  
righteouſneſſe by faith. And to the Corinthians  
he ſaith, that Chriſt was made unto vs, wiſedome,  
and righteouſneſſe, and ſanctification, and re-  
demption. But of the righteouſneſſe that cleaun-  
th unto vs, he ſpeaketh unto the Ephesians,  
when he ſaith; To put on the new man,  
which is created according to God, in righte-  
ouſneſſe

ouſneſſe and holines of the truth. Alſo to the  
Ephesians, when he ſaith; that The ſaints wrought  
righteouſneſſe. And it would be an infinite thing,  
if we ſhould recite all the teſtimonies, which  
we find for the proofe of either righteouſneſſe.  
But it is verie good to be conſidered, when the  
apoſtle comparcth them both together: for there  
it eaſily underſtand, wherein the one both ex-  
cell the other. Unto the Philippians it is writ-  
ten; That I may be found in him, not having  
mine owne righteouſneſſe, which is by the lawe;  
but that righteouſneſſe, which cometh by the  
faith of Ieſus Chriſt.

We had reckoned up before theſe things,  
which had happened unto him in the Jewiſh re-  
ligion; whereof he might have gloriſed, as con-  
cerning the fleſh; the which he ſaid now that he  
made no reckoning of: and he eſtimated them  
to be loſe and nothing; and that for the excellencie  
of the knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt, &c. In which  
place thus ſaith alſo Paul, that the good  
works, which he now exerciſed, being converted  
unto Chriſt, are by him accounted nothing, in  
comparison of that righteouſneſſe, which is gran-  
ted unto vs by faith. The ſame compariſon alſo  
is ſet in the epistle to the Romans, where it is  
ſaid on this wiſe; The Gentils, which follow-  
ed not righteouſneſſe, attained unto the lawe of  
righteouſneſſe; becauſe they fought it not by  
works, but by faith. Alſo that which followed  
righteouſneſſe, attained not to the lawe of right-  
eouſneſſe, becauſe they fought it by works, and  
not by faith. Alſo it is ſaid in the ſame epistle,  
that They being ignorant of the righteouſneſſe  
of God, and would eſtablish their owne righte-  
ouſneſſe, ſubmitted not themſelves unto the right-  
eouſneſſe of God.

34. But againſt this diſtinction ſome ſaie;  
How can it be, that the righteouſneſſe which we  
have not, ſhould be imputed unto vs? We an-  
ſwer; that we muſt not imagine, that Chriſt  
is righteouſneſſe; it is ſtrange from the bapti-  
ſme: And as it is written unto the Ephesi-  
ans; God hath ſaved us and accept vs in his be-  
lief. But the men ſaie, that it becometh the  
iudgements of God to be true; but how can his  
iudgement be true, when as the righteouſneſſe,  
which we have not, is imputed unto vs; and  
that the ſinne which we have, is not imputed:  
And yet nevertheless both things are ſpoken by  
the ſcripture: ſo; as touching ſinne, David re-  
heardeth (as Paul ſaith) that Bleſſed is the man,  
to whom the Lord hath not imputed ſinne. And  
touching righteouſneſſe, it is added; But unto  
him that worketh not, but beleueth in him that  
iuſtifieth the vngodlie, his faith is counted for  
righteouſneſſe. And theſe things, which the ſcrip-  
ture declareth, are not without reaſon: for ſee

ing righteouſneſſe is imputed unto vs, we are  
not altogether accuſed of the ſame; not that it  
cleaunth in vs, but becauſe we apprehend it by  
faith: therefore by faith we are truly ſaid to  
have the ſame. For the apprehending by faith,  
doth not take ſubſtance into the truth of becom-  
ing righteouſneſſe; becauſe manie are far deſer-  
ving the matter of the Cudſon: for when  
we affirm, that by faith we have receivd the fleſh of  
Chriſt, and drinke his blood; they ſtraightwaies  
conclude, that therefore we have not theſe things  
indeed: as though that by faith we apprehend  
a falſe fleſh of Chriſt, or a feigned blood of him.

So other yet is that true, which was taken as  
granted; that we in anie wiſe have ſinne, be-  
cauſe it is not imputed unto vs: ſo ſaying they  
which be iuſtified, do ſtrive againſt ſinne, and  
ſuffer not the ſame to have dominion over  
them; therefore after a ſort they are iudged to  
have no ſinne. On the behalf of charitie, that it  
doth iuſtifie, that is to wit to be obeyed, which  
we read in Iohn; Iſe charitie, and that  
dwelleth in charitie, dwelleth in God, and God  
in him. Wherefore, this place is not verie proper  
for charitie: fo elſe where it is written alſo;  
He that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my blood,  
dwelleth in me, and I in him. And againe; I  
that dwell in me, and in him, this man bringeth  
forth much fruit. And of theſe alſo, which  
keepe his commandments, he ſaith; that He  
and the father will come and dwell with him.  
Wherefore now ſaith, that this abiding, which  
they obteine againſt vs, doth happen unto vs  
through manie inſtruments or means: and  
yet is there not one man that will affirm vs  
to be iuſtified by all theſe things. Therefore we  
need not labour to knowe, by what means it  
cometh to paſſe, that Chriſt and the father  
dwell in vs, and we in them: but we muſt ra-  
ther conſider, what is that, by the which he firſt  
and principall dwelleth in us. And certeine  
it is, that ſuch a communion ſpringeth not  
of anie other cauſe, than of election, predeſtina-  
tion, and calling, according to his determinate  
purpoſe: as the apoſtle hath continued ſaying  
theſe things in the epistle to the Romans. And  
there is no doubt, but that we firſt of all by faith  
anſwer unto the calling of God. Neither doth  
experience teach vs otherwiſe. When anie  
is promiſed unto vs by ſinne man, we then firſt  
of all cleaunth him, when he give credit unto  
his falſe ſaying. Wherefore Paul in another  
place ſaith; that Chriſt dwellen in our hearts by  
faith.

VVhat is the vnion of the god-  
lie with Chriſt.

35. How muſt we ſee, that it is to be in  
Chriſt. Firſt cometh in place, that which is ſignifi-  
cant

in Rom. 8.

common





1. John 3. 2. he shall appeare, we shall be like vnto him. And  
Col. 3. 3. Paule saith vnto the Colossians: For he dead,  
and your life is hidden with Christ in God: and  
when as Christ your life shall appeare, then shall  
ye also appeare with him in glorie.

Inheritance as it is defined by the *lawyers* is a succession into the whole right of the man that is dead. And may this appeare to be but a small matter, to be made partakers of the whole right of God: Certainlie Peter faith, that We be made partakers of the diuine nature. Here Ambrose notes, that it is not in this matter, as we commonlie for it come to passe in the world: for it becometh that the testator die, before the successer can come to the inheritance. But God dieth not, naie rather hee that is appointed to be his heires do die first, before possession can be deliuered vnto vs. Christ altho first died, before he came vnto the glorie which was appointed for him. Wherevnto, as touching ciuill lawes, the heire is counted one and the selfe same person with him that maketh him heire. Cuen to be, through Christ, are creature him together with God, so as we are now one together with God, according as Christ saith: That they may be one, as thou and I are one. For all things are ours, and we are Christs, & Christ is Gods. This inheritance obtaine we freebie, by the spirit of Christ. Wherefore the *lawyers* of Rome, and their champions the Cardinals, and false bishops, do becheile, which haue shut up this inheritance of remission of finnes, and access vnto the kingdom of God vnder their counterfet keyes; that they at their owne pleasure might sell the same, and either thrust tomt to hell, or send by to heauent vpon them they list themselves.

*The Description of Christian Hope,  
in the 5. chapter to the Ro-  
mans, verse 5.*

1. Look 3. 2. 4. 2. As concerning hope, this is a notable  
chain, and an excellent connection of christian  
degrees. At this chaine, the first linke is fastned  
to the post of afflictions in this life; from thence  
the godlie ascend to patience, from patience to  
experience, and from experience to hope: which  
hope, so long as it is weakly not assured, but  
without doubting attaineth vnto God, which is  
our principall felicitie, is fastened vnto him, as  
vnto the highest linke of the chaine. This verie  
propertie of not confounding, belongeth also  
vnto faith; for None that beleeue in him shall  
be confounded: and that for good cause; for  
that can be of more naere a kinne vnto faith,  
than hope: The *lawyer* interpreteth thus: It  
Non confundit, that is, Confoundeth not. Wher-  
but it might be proper to turne; Non pudet; for

that is, Madeh not ashamed. And it is a figure,  
the kind of speech; for Paules mind was to fig-  
urise, that the godlie cannot be frustrated of their  
boies; for they which are frustrate; namely,  
when things fall out farre otherwise than they  
hoped for, are commonlie ashamed. Wherefore  
Paule by thame vnderstandeth frustration; be-  
cause thame alwaies followeth it. But the *lawyer*  
interpreter had respect to that perturbati-  
on of the mind, which followeth thame; for, To  
confound, is nothing els, but To perturb or  
trouble.

Now, if this sentence be true, as in ded it is  
most true, namely, that this Hope confoundeth  
not; it followeth, that the same dependeth not  
of our woishes; for otherwise, it would often  
times faile. But that it is true a certaine, Paule  
declareth, not by one word onlie, but by three,  
and those of great efficacie. For first he vlieth this  
word Knowing, which belongeth an assured  
knowledge of a thing. He maketh mention also  
of Reioysing, which cannot have place among  
godlie and well men, but in those things which  
they assure and can certifie possesse. A last of all  
he addeth, that Hope maketh not ashamed. And it  
is not without cause, that he oftentimes inuol-  
ueth perfections of this certaintie; because  
from these chiefe is consolation to be sought  
for in afflictions. When Christ had hang vpon  
the crosse, the wicked railed against him, say-  
eng, He hoped in God, let him saue him, if he  
will haue him; let him come downe from the  
crosse, &c. The selfe same things are laid against  
vs, not onlie by outward enemies; but also by  
our selfe, our outward senses, and by humane  
withdoome. How can we resist these, but by  
this doctrine of the apostle; Hope confoundeth not.  
The hope which we haue put in the Lord, will  
not make ashamed.

43 The *lawyer* laboureth to proue, that hope  
springeth of merite; because Paule saith it spring-  
geth of patience: as though we should thinke, that  
hope were giuen to vs by the merit of patience.  
But in the mean time they marke not, that the  
things which Paule here by a certaine order  
poseth, are not so compared one to the other,  
as causes & effects. For who will thinke that afflic-  
tion are the causes of patience? And if they be  
not so, why should they more assure, that pati-  
ence is the cause of hope? The scripture most ex-  
pressely teacheth, that He which purrith conser-  
ueth in man, or in any creature, is ascribed:  
for a man, of whose promise we depend, and at  
tune our felices, may either die, or alter his mind,  
or els be let that he cannot faithfullly performe  
that which he promises: and to haue confidence  
[in him] either for merit sake, or by reason of  
good woishes, is to fetter our hope in man; where-  
fore such hope too; thine maketh ashamed. But  
the

the hope, which is fixed vpon God is certaine;  
neither can it be deceived. The *lawyer* offers  
nothing vnto to auoid this sentence, by two  
places of Paule; the one to the Romans, and  
the other to Timothee. The place to Timothee is  
thus; I knowe whom I haue beleeued, and am  
certaine. And the other to the Romans is thus;  
I am assured that neither death, nor life, nor an-  
gels, &c. By these places they thinke to over-  
throwe the proofe which we haue made, because  
they thinke that these words are to be under-  
stood, not vniuersally of all beleeuers; but onlie  
of Paule, and such other like, who had it pecu-  
liarlie revealed vnto them, that they should at-  
taine vnto saluation.

But these their enterprises are in vaine; for  
here is now intreated of the nature and prop-  
ertie of hope, whereby is manifestly proued, that  
all they which are indeed vnto it, are sure of their  
saluation: so that they must needs confesse, that  
they which doubt of their saluation, either haue  
not the hope which belongeth to a Christian; or  
elfe if they haue that hope, they must needs be  
assured of their saluation. But if a man will  
say: What if I shall be without hope, and there-  
fore God will not bestow vnto me the chiefe  
reioysing? I answer, that this is a working of  
the conscience, and must be overcome by hope;  
for the obtinement thereof let vs cleaue fast  
vnto the word of God: such as is this; God is  
faithfull, which will not suffer you to be tempt-  
ed aboue your power, but together with the  
temptation will make a waie out: and such like  
places of the holic scripture, wherein God pro-  
miseth, that he will giue perseverance vnto his,  
euen vnto the end. And to speake brieflie, the  
hope of the godlie leancheth onlie vnto the good-  
nes, power, and merite of the onelie God. This  
thing Basilus verie well vnderstand in his ex-  
position vnto the 23. psalme, when he interpreteth  
these words; Hoping in his merite: He which  
putteth not (saith he) confidence in his owne  
power, neither hopeth to be iustified by  
woishes, hath his hope of saluation onlie in the  
mercie of God; for when he shall consider these  
things with himselfe, Behold God and his re-  
ward, &c.

44 But the *lawyer* men haue taught farre  
otherwise; for the assuier of the sentences, in  
his third booke, thus definitively hope: is an  
assured expectation of the blessednes to come,  
comming of the grace of God, and of merite  
going before. Which definition, how assured it  
is, expressely touching the latter part, it is ma-  
nifest in those, which are not in our most be-  
nigne and honorable finnes conuicted to Christ:  
for they vnbewildered can haue no good merits,  
seeing before they were vnto of shartie, from  
which all our woishes proceed. Yet can there be

nothing more certaine, than that they, which be  
conuicted vnto Christ, cannot be without hope; be-  
cause Augustine vpon the psalme; From the  
depth haue I called vpon thee O Lord, thy mercie  
that thou fall, and those which live in the depth  
of sinne, not to cease alwaies; and that by the  
example of the these, and of many others. It  
may now be demanded of them, by what merite  
hope is confirmed in these men? They com-  
monlie answer, that merite do not alwaies go  
before hope; but alwaies go before the thing ho-  
ped for. And they declare their opinion touching  
this matter, in such sort, as they teach that me-  
rits go before hope, either in verie deed, or else  
doubles in thought. For men notuie conser-  
uatiue, commonlie which they conceiue hope of sal-  
uation, determine both in their mind, and in  
their cogitation, to do good woishes; whereby  
they thinke to merit the last reward. But that  
certeine hope can these good woishes imagined  
in the mind produce which are not yet wrought;  
of a effect, which yet is not, cannot be pro-  
duced an effect which already is. The *lawyer* there-  
fore affirme the contrarie; to wit, that this god-  
lie will springeth of faith and of hope, than that  
faith by hope should proceed of it, as from the  
cause.

But it is a word to see, how these men turne  
themselves, when on the one side they say that  
hope is an assured expectation; and yet on the  
other side they will haue this to be a most firme  
doctrine, that no man can be assured of his sal-  
uation, vnles it be specially revealed vnto him  
by God. Where they perceiue themselves to be  
falsified; and they confesse, that it is a hard mat-  
ter to vnderstand, what manner of creature the  
certeine of hope is. Here these miserable men  
swear, and go to woishes, and feigne, and in-  
uaine manie things. First they teach, that all  
certeine of hope commeth of the certeine of  
faith; and this indeed is not amisse: for therefore  
we certeine hope, because by faith we embrace  
the most certeine promise of God. But they go  
on further, and say, that by faith we generally  
and vniuersally beleue, that all the elect are  
predestinated that be saved; but that hope mo-  
ueth vs to haue a confidence, that we are of the  
number of the elect: as though hope had a par-  
ticular knowledge vnto faith; that that which  
was generally apprehended by faith, is by hope  
applied vnto euery one of vs apart. Wherefore  
they affirme, that this certeine of hope is by  
supposition; if we be of the number of the elect,  
and do persist vnto the end. And this kind of  
certeine they will haue to consist of verie  
like like coniectures. And at length they con-  
clude, that the certeine of hope is lesse than the  
certeine of faith.

45 But contrariwise, we make the certein



hope consists  
in the ex-  
pectation of  
waiting for.  
Rom. 8, 23.

great waite from vs; they ought to leane vnto  
faith, by which as by a prop or pillar, they may be  
staied vp. And that hope doth continue & p̄petu-  
all, attending for, the epistle to the Romans  
the 8. chapter doth plainlie declare; where Paule  
saith, that that Hope which is leane is no hope;  
for how doth a man hope for that which hee seeth?  
But if we hope for that which we see not, we doo  
by patience wait for it.

Hope hath  
respect unto  
things of  
great diffi-  
culty.

Neither must this be passed over, that that good thing, which hope hath a respect unto, is difficult and hard to come by. For naturall in using creatures, the affection of hope consisteth in the greater part of the mind, which they call the angrie part; whereby the living creature is encouraged to pursue after that good thing, which is set before it, although there seeme some thing to let it: for by such an affection it is stirred up,

A similitude.

to overcome whatsoeuer standeth in the waie. The wolfe being hungrie meeteth with a bull, and throught the power of appetite desirerh the same for a pzele: but when he seeth the great difficultie that he must haue, of toining and fighting with the bull, he is throught the angrie power of the mind stirred vp by hope, and is bold to put himselfe into danger and fight: and so at the

pope is placed in the nobler part of the mind

length hauing put awaile all lets, he obtayned his pccie. So hath God in the nobler part of our mind, placed hope, whereby is brought to passe that when the chiefe felicitie (which is a thing both difficult, and farre from vs) is set before vs, we should not be feared awaie, but by faith haue boldnes and access to God: as Paule saith in the 2. chapter to the Ephesians.

verse. 1

And forasmuch as this felicitie is beie farre  
different from the goodlie, it cannot be otherwise  
but that in hoping they haue some griefe; & that  
they be byod in themselves, because their present  
state is by God so farre remoued from felicitie.  
But on the other side, when they are certaine  
and assured, that they shall attaine vnto the  
end; they cannot chole but be inuolued with an  
erredible ioy. And to this power of hope is spiritu-  
ally likened with the affaers of ioye and sorrow. And the  
apople hath figured vnto be some part of the  
sorrow there signified, in that place to the Romanians  
which he haue already cited, when he teacheth  
Eiusque uocatur avaricia et uauellendi in pnia

Rom.8,1

Rom. 12.

11. **E**uen the creature groweth, and travaileth in pain together with vs, euen vnto this present: and none the creature; but we also, which haue received the first fruits of the spirit; euen we do sigh in our felues, waiting for the adoption, and the redemption of our bodie. **And that to vs is ioined with the selfe-same hope, he beclaireth in the 12. chapter of the same epistle;** Reioicing (saith he) in hope.

same otherwisse than from the hope which I have described. Neither is it to be marvelled at, that one vertue should recitee any thing of an other vertue: for they which are but meanlie conuerfant in the Ethics do knowe, that liberallitie, temperance, a such other vertues, have much helpe at the hand of pietytie: for by the helpe thereof, they have a medicocritie appointed them to followe. This is the difference that ethicke distinguisheth hope from faith; namely, that by faith we admit and embrace the promises offered unto vs by God: but by the helpe of hope, we do patientlie wait to have those promises at the length to be performed unto vs. Neither was hope for any other cause giuen by God, but because we should not cease from loving after that good thing, which we percieve cannot be obtained by our owne dedes: for they are not by any means to be compared with it. For as the apostle faith, The tribulations of this time are not worthe of the glorie to come, the which shall be reuealed in vs. For they were he that is indured with hope, assure themselves, that whatsoever they do want in the strength of nature, and in works, shall be supplied by the merite of God, and the obedience of Christ.

And if a man demand, whether a pure life, and holie works can auailie any thing to the certaintie of hope? **W**ell will euill grant that it may, so far that it exclude the blemish and selling of merites: for our works of temerities haue nothing at all whereby they can bring forth hope. **H**owbeit, the persequition of holie hope, will take an argument to the certaintie of hope, and to reason for in this sort, **G**od hath no knowledge of his mere liueliness, to put auaile this; that vice out of my mind; therefore he will put eye greater things, and will not berrie me those things which are remaining to saluation. If the **S**ouphiers be said thus, they might haue bene borne withall. **F**irst then in berie be it contrarie vnto the apostles meaning: for, as we shall a little afterward see, he would haue be, by reason of holie things which **G**od hath alreadie granted vnto vs, to be certintie persuaded of his grace, and to be borne towards vs, that we may haue a perpetual way towards vs. But the other men haue built without and taught, that hope is selfe dependeth of works, and to dependeth, as to hope without then there is no supposition and raimes.

*Of Hope.*

Phil. 1, 23.

God promi-  
sed remissi-  
on of sinnes  
and eternall  
life, abso-  
lutelie and  
without  
condition.  
We haue no  
absolute  
promise  
touching  
the dan-  
gers of this  
life.

Why Waule  
was some-  
time decei-  
ved of his  
hope.

Some  
doubts of  
salvation a-  
rise even in  
the godly.

for under him he was lame. The same apostle unto the Philippians, when he said that, he was distressed on both sides, vicariously on the one part he suffered to be loved, and to be with Christ; and so that, on the other part he sawe it was necessarie unto him for their sakes to remaine in the flesh, he addeth this; And this I am fure of, that I shall abide, and with you all continue for your furtherance, and ioice of your faith. Here also againe it appereth, that the apostle hoped, that he should be deliuered from that captiuitie, the which neyther whiles he did not escape. Therefore it might seeme, that the same hope confounded him. So vnlesse these things, we may repeat that which was said before, namely, that he hoped retriue his certeyne faith, and thereby haue his certeyne of the looke of God. Faithfully he saith, that either of them is as certeyne as the other, as the promises which be offered. And God hath absolutely, and without condition promised vnto be remission of sinnes, and eternal life; and hath commanded, that he should abide without doubting, both beleue and hope for them: therefore in these things, neither faith nor hope can occur vs.

But touching the dangers and absurdities of this life, we have no plaine and absolute promise; but, as they terme it, *under diffinition*: for God hath promised, that he will either deliver vs, or give comfort vs in the dangers: for he will not leave us fall away, but constantly will assist his name: or if we chance to fall, he hath promised to restore us againe, that we may at last come to everlasting life. Therefore it is not to be feared, that the certaintie of hope should be fire in our eyes, that putteth out the light: which thing it cannot doe, because the same time doth, the same spirit quickeneth our hearts, and maketh us able to stand against all carnall affliction, and not of chytian hope alone, and therefore it is no marvell, if they be sometimes deceived. But to returne unto Paul, he saith of a certaine great love hoped to abide longer in the company of the Philippians, and to comfort them: of the which thing he says he was not assured by the prayers of God, it is more easilie to passe, that he was deceived. But the summe of that godlines, which belongeth to the Gospel, is to determine certaintie, that God doth love vs, and that he will at the length make vs blessed. And if sometimes the minds of godlie men be distressed, as though they doubted of the promises of God, or of their salvation, this happeneth not through the default of either, of, or hope; but by reason that while we live here, we be not touched with perfection: wherefore this doubting proceedeth from the flesh, and from unperfected knowledge.

Indeed we agree with our adversaries in this point, that sometimes certaine doubts of saluation do arise even among the godlie. Wherin we disagree from them : namelie, that

they attribute this into hope; but that false, the  
it cometh only of mans infirmity, and that  
must be baile corrected. Let a man therefore  
thinke, that by hath to much posited in faith and  
hope, as he feeleth himselfe more confident and  
firme. And in what foyle these culdes lying in  
off faith, or of hope, but of our owne corruption  
to have bene declared by an apt similitude  
and toll too repeat the same againe. A  
man can deny, but that the mathematicall sci-  
ence must be such certaine; wherefore he truly hath  
learned that he is false, pronounceth bubble, a  
thing doubtfull of the verity of his hope, and  
is but meanly instructed in this facultie, often-  
times doubtful, and fainthe in a perplecity, be-  
cause he hath not as yet attained perfectitie in  
those sciences. When so hee toyle with doubt  
not through faith; hope; but because hee  
is not hope nor believe so much as is needfull.

¶ But some man will say, that we are pe-  
rhapsenture deceived hereby, for that in stead  
the true faith; hope, we haue enelle the  
shadows of them; for we cannot easily differ  
the true faith & hope, from the figne and con-  
terfeit faith; hope. I answer, that by the  
infance cannot be taken away the property  
of faith; of hope; for although one; or two  
can not differre them, yet they remaine still firm  
in their owne nature. As we see it in libe-  
rall and probabilite; for there be manye  
that cannot bringgill the one from the other, as  
yet are not therfore their properties & condi-  
tions taken away. I will intreatch of the nature  
& property of hope. As if thou wilt afterwarde  
demands, how the sciences; or powers are  
learned from the sciences; and therefore, it  
is learned by the force and power of the  
holie Ghost; which spirit hath in all spiritu-  
things no other light more cleare than it self  
whereby it should be illustrated. Which this  
also we see to be true in the sunne; for the sun  
is not declared to be the sunne, but by his owne  
light. Wherefore Paul vnto the Romans  
re aptlie said; It is the spirit that bare record  
with our spirit, that we be the children of God.  
¶ But before this light of the holie Ghost, is  
quired also an examination of our selues; the  
foye Paul thus speaketh in the latter epistle  
to the Coymthians; Thyfe selues, whether  
be in faith.

In which triall hope must be distinguished  
for there is one hope that hath alwaies repen-  
tance, and a desire of amendement of life  
connected with it; of which kind of hope the apostle  
speaketh when he saith that It confoundeth n

for it hath alwaies these companions loyned  
with it; namelye, faith and charitie. Wherefore  
when we teach a certein tie thereof, we open  
a window vnto vices, as our aduersaries flatter

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der be; neither doe we sit by men to lose life: for this true hope moueth vs not to these things, but rather diueth vs to line according to that hope. There is another hope, which we may say rather call a security of the flesh, whereof Augustine thus rightlie speaketh; Such as cleaue together by hoping perith. And the so be they, which this hope leadeth to; Christ need vs for our saluation; wherefore we lean our life, the shall obtaine saluation. Of this hope we must diligently beware; for it is far distant from repentance, and from a desire to line well: it being of that nature, it utterlie diueth away from it both faith and charitie; this hope miserable deceiveth men: wherefore of this, Paule doth not here speake.

2. How remaineth to see, whether the blessed spirits or soules may in heauen haue this true hope, whereunto the godlie are now aduocated. For on the one side we knowe, that they wait for the resurrection of bodies, and the last iudgement, which shall vnto them be verie welcome: wherefore in that behalf they seeme not to be vnder void of hope. But on the other side, the apostle vnto the Corinthians doth bescriue this faith, hope, and charitie: but of these things he saith, that onelic charitie faileth not alwaies. 1<sup>st</sup> which whiche he manifestlie teacheth, that true hope can haue no place, when we be in heauen. And that which he haue spoken of the godlie, may also be called into question touching Christ: for he also seemeth to haue hope, that he should rise againe, and that he should carrie by his humane nature into heauen. Vnto these things we answer, that it ought not to be doubted, but that both Christ hoped, and also the soules of the blessed do yet after a sort hope. But we denie that it is such a hope as ours is, which we haue in this life; because (as we haue before declared out of the wordes of the apostle) our hope hath as companions) sighing and sorrowing ioined therewith: which things doubtles in the eternall felicitie, which the blessed do enioie in heauen, can haue no place. Further, our hope cleaueh fast vnto faith, the which breedeth an imperfect and an obscure knowledge: for as Paule saith vnto the Corinthians; We see now by glasse, in a riddle, and we knowe but in part: but the saints in heauen knowe most perfectly and most clearely. 3. Wherefore, forsoomuch as faith hath chiefe a respect vnto the last and chiefe good thing; there ought no such hope be curied to be ascribed to that thing. For true and whole possesse that haue no place in the eternall felicitie; it is onelic giuen vs as an anchor, for long as we abide here: for so the epistle, which is written vnto the Hebrewes calleth it. For while we be tossed with the waves and tems

pests of this world (vntes our mind be confirmed and established by the anchor of hope) our ship will come dash against the sands and rocks. 3. Chrylosome calleth it a golden chaine, which leadeth us out of this world, which chaine if we take hold of, we shall be distant by vnto heauen. Therefore, we must diligently pounce, that this hope be double more and more confirmed in vs; which thing will then chiefe come to passe, if we touch the singular benefits of God; which benefits, forsoomuch as they are manifestlie contained in the holie scriptures, our hope by the reading of them shall greatly be confirmed. And this hath Paule in the epistle to the Romans most plainlie taught, when he saith; Whatsoeuer things are written, are written for our Rom.14. learning, that through patience and consolation of the scriptures we should haue hope. He becrieth which thing Dauid also saith; They which knowe thy name, put their trust in thee. Wherefore, seeing the nature and name of God is no where better knowne, than in the holie scriptures; it followeth, that by them we ought to confirme our hope. And this if we will diligently observe, our mind shall not be discouraged, when God (as oftentimes his manner is) suffereth our doings to come euil to shame. And the same we see happened euil to Christ our sauer: for he was so utterlie forsaken of God, that he was nailed vnto the croasse, and died a most ignominious death betwixt two thieves. Dauid also was brought to that point, that he not onelic being expelled from the kingdom of Israel, was faine to wander in desolate places; but also was now in a manner shut up in the power of Saule. The selfe same thing we see hath oftentimes happened vnto other of the godlie sort, so as they were in a manner lodged to be quite wipong, and to be fallen from their hope. But the spirit of Christ giueth strength, that men are able in the midst of their calamities, to reioice and faie; These things should haue no power of vs, if they were not appointed from above. Wherfore sentence Christ laid against Pilate, when he boasted of his power. The 4. p.aine also hath excellently well taught vs, how we ought to exercise our minds; and with a good hope to erex our minds: for thus it is written; Why are thou so heauie, o my soule? Why art thou so discouraged? Hope in God; for I will yet make my consolation vnto him: my safetie is in his countenance. Neither doth God countenance for any other cause dispossit his people of the outward aids and helps of this world, but to gather their scattered hope, and not to suffer it to loame vnto manie aids; and these sunbrie and manifestlie aids be changed for one principall aid, and the same most firme; to the end we should depend vpon him. 2<sup>nd</sup> this difference

rence of a firme hope, the christians do much differ from the Epicures and Ethnicks: for the Ethnicks, if there come any great calamitie to them, straightwaie they exclaim and cry out; If there be a God that hath a care of these things, if there be a God that seeth these things. So they call not vpon God, but being in despair, utterlie discourage themselves. But contrariwise, godlie men most constantlie cry vnto God; neither doubt they, but that their prayers ready by euil vnto heauen; and that God hath a care about them, and also ouer all that they haue.

### The fourth Chapter.

Of Iustification; Vpon the epistle to the Romans, at the end of the 11. chapter. This place is al so treated of, vpon the 1. to the Cor. 1. about the end; and vpon Genesis. 15. verse 6.

I shall now be a profitable thing to treat of iustification, which is the scope and end of all that Paule teacheth in the epistle to the Romans. 1. et this question be put forth after this sort; namely, whether men be iustified by works or by faith? But first of all, it shall be good to define the wordes of the question proposed; and we will begin with this word iustification. This verbe Teptiadac, with the Hebrewes in the first conjugation is significant, To be iust: but if it be transferred vnto the third conjugation, it significeth To transfere righteousness into another, and to make iust. For this is the efficacy of the forme of these verbes, which they call Hiphil. Euen as Amad is significant, To stand; so Heemid significeth, To appoint: that is, To make an other thing to stand. Wherefore Hiphil in the Hebrew significeth, To iustifie, that is, To make one iust: which thing, when it is done of God, it is done of him two manner of fashions. For sometimes he doth assure the being both righteous in men. First, when God with his holie spirit frameneth them againe, a whole reneweth them in restoring the strength of their minds, a beluering the powers of man from a great part of his natural corruption; and this is the first righteousness, which stretch a cleaueh vnto our minds, by the benefit of God, through Christ. Secondly, when he hath so restored and made them new againe, he giueth full and holie iustices, by the life and continuance of which works, a quality, or as they call it an habit is ingendered in our minds, whereby we are made pliant to line honestlie and godlie:

and we denie not but this kind of righteousness is in the hearts of the regenerate.

3. But sometimes God iustifieth in absolving vs from sinns, and absolving and imputing righteousness: and then this word Hiphil, is a word taken of the law, which pertaineth to iudgment, as also this word Hiphil, which giueth iustitie. To declare one to be an offender & a wicked person. And to iustifie in iudgement, is by iurors, testimonies, and affirmation, to count one for iust. And forsoomuch as these are the two significations of this word, To iustifie; namely, either in deed, or in account and estimation; and either the author of either of them: whether of these two shall we follow in the disposition proposed; forsooth the latter; and that for because the remuneration inspired by the spirit of God, and our righteousnes, as touching the habit gotten by good works, are vntil it we live here to be improved and maintained, that if iudgment should be given by them, we might not be able to stand before the iudgment seat of God. Whereas that, Paule disposing of this matter, after he had brought forth the authority of Dauid, and a testimonie of the history of Abraham in Genesis, which this word of imputing; and by the proper significatiion thereof, he reasoneth touching this present cause a question. And this I suppose to be sufficient as touching the declaration of the first word; namely, iustification.

2. Now let vs treat of Faith. Auen among the Hebrewes in the first conjugation significant, To be firme: the verbe which verbe in the third conjugation; being called (as 3. Paule said) Hiphil, significant, To give confidence ant: steadfastnes to any promise or thing. Wherefore the Latines say; Fidem homini aut rei tribuere; which is in English, To give faith or credit vnto a man, or vnto words: and it significeth euen as much as if a man should say, To be beleue these for this Hebrew verbe Heemam, significant more other thing, than To suppose, or thinke a thing to be firme, constant, and true. And as touching God, he which beleueh not him, maketh him a lier: for John faith in his first epistle, the which lier; He which beleueh not God, maketh him a lier. Which thing both grieuous a sinne it is, let euerie man consider with himselfe. Contrariwise, he which doth trust God, asometh him with glorie a home: for in the epistle to the Rom. 8. it is written of Abraham, that he staggered not through doubting, though the confirmation of his owne body, as of the wombe of Sara being in a manner past child bearing: but gave the glorie vnto God, being strong in faith, and fullie persuaded that he was able to performe whatsoeuer he would. Wherefore there cometh to be a certaine analogie or proportion betwixt this word, To be beleue, and that To iustifie; as we see in

Our esteem is no security of the flesh.

Whether Christ and the Father may haue hope as yet. 1. Cor. 13. ver. 8. 3.

Ibidem. 12.

Hope is given us as an anchor in this life. Heb. 6. 19.

A great difference betwixt the hope of the Christians and of the Ethnicks.

Hebrew 14.

Hope is made thing by the continuance of good benedictio.

Psalm. 111.

God does much more things to us, than we are able to see.

Mat. 27. 31.

1. Sam. 31. 4. 4. 4. 4.

Mat. 11. 11.

Psalm. 141.

1. Cor. 13. 13.

1. Cor. 13. 13.

1. Cor. 13. 13.



this place take it: for as, To iustifie, is by waite  
of iudging & accounting, to ascribue righteou  
nes to a man; and not to make him to be in be  
rie deed iust: so, To beleue, is not (in verie deed)  
to make the wordes and promises of anie man  
sure, and firme; but to thinke and determine  
with our selues, that so they are.

But this act of believing, whereof we now en-  
treat, hath two manner of firmnes and certein-  
tie . First of the things ; namely, of the words  
and promyses of God , which abide much more  
of firme than heauen and earth . Secondly, as  
touching the perswasion it selfe ; which seeing it  
is wrought by the power of God, it is also most  
firme, most certein, and of assured perswasion;  
that is, that it is neuer nased, but alwaies dar-  
durdly motions of

27. **Whereby, moreover, to praise, that in the ho-**  
**ly scriptures, promises are made both to faith,**  
**and to truth; For even as it is said; The just**  
**man liveth by faith: also; He which believeth**  
**in him, shall not be confounded: and in the new**  
**testament; He which believeth in the sonne,**  
**shall eternal life: againe; We thinke that a man**  
**is justified by faith: Cuen fo it is twittin in the**  
**psalme; Blessed are all they which pur their**  
**trust in him: and in Ecclie, the 2. chapter; The**  
**just shall keepe peace, because they trusted in him:**  
**and in the new testament; Hope confound-**  
**eth not: To Trus also, the 2. chapter; That we**  
**shall be heires, according to the hope of eter-**  
**nal life. Although in the old testament be no**  
**direct promises are offerred made unto hope,**  
**than unto faith; yet in the new testament it**  
**is, contrariwise; the reason thereof may be**  
**this, because in the old time, the Hebrewes cō-**  
**sed, in believing that there was but one God;**  
**and rather, they professed the twofolding of**  
**him one. But this was not well amongst**

that, they had not a lucid faith, which da-  
 weath with it a trust; otherwise they had by con-  
 sideration conceived either a certain opinion, or  
 else a certain knowledge; and therefore into  
 this the scripture exhorted them, to believe true  
 and effectually, which was expressed by the  
 effect, under the name of trust. But in the new  
 Testament they erred in the meaning, both the  
 Gentiles which were whisperers of fables, and  
 of manie gods; and also the Jews, as touching  
 the conditions of grace: for they looked that  
 he should come in glorious pompe, like a king,  
 and magnificent in worldly empire. Therefore  
 faith was oftentimes bent into them, where-  
 by they might obtaine the promises of God: for  
 it was verie necessarie, that they should right  
 lie be instructed of the chiefe point of the thing  
 that they should beleue.

And in the  
 new tes-  
 tament, faith.

of this of the Hebrew verbe *Amen* is derived  
 this name *Emanah*, which significth Faith, and  
 it sometimes significth, Certaintie, and con-  
 fiance of words and promises. Therefore *Faith*  
 is attentives in the holie scriptures, as called  
 faithful; and his watches are called faithful;  
 because they be firme, and do constantly  
 continue; and we read in the epistle to the Ro-  
 mans; What if some of them have not beleeved  
 Hadh their incredulitie made vaine the faith  
 of God? *Yes*, and this Latin word *Fides*, that is,  
 Faith, if we mate beleeve Cicero, is berueth of  
*Fio*; because that thing is done in deed, which  
 was spoken. And sometimes it significth the  
 assent of our mind, whereby we receive things  
 which are set forth unto vs as it is said of Abra-  
 ham; He beleeved God, and it was imputed  
 to him for righteousnes. And for to be in this  
 discourse, we take faith now in this man-  
 ner, it shall not be from the purpose, to define  
 what faith is. Therefore, Faith is a firme and  
 assured assent of our mind, into the words of  
 God; by the which assent is inspired by the holie  
 ghost, to the salvation of the belevers. And there-  
 fore it consisteth in the mind, and is occupied a-  
 bout the words of God, from whence we haue  
 the matter thereof. Of the same also we need not  
 to doubt, (because it is defined to be an assent).  
 The efficient cause is set before to be the in-  
 spiration of the holie ghost. And the end is declared  
 in the last place, when as we saie, that this as-  
 sent is inspired of the holie ghost, to the saluati-  
 on of the belevers.

Not much unlike unto this definition, are those things, which be written concerning Faith, in the epistle unto the Hebrews the 11. chapter, namely, that Faith is a substance of things to be hoped for, and an argument of things that appeere not. Where, that which the Latine interpreters have turned *Substantia*, that is, Substance; in Greeke is written *ὑπόστασις*. Which

*Of Justification.*

What  
Impressions  
Signify.

inbeliev-  
ing we  
have need of  
strength.

word Budeus must learne the turney in his commentaries, boldness, strength, or valiantnes of mind : and is derided of this verbe *trouuer*, which signifieth to Sustaine, to receive, not to give. And thus one that is called upon manly, valiant, and strong, is derided.

¶ Hence a labourer is called *trouuer*, *trouuer* of sinnes, Trafficke, and turney not his backe unto his enemies; but goeth against them, and resisteth them. And undoubted in beleieving, we haue need of this strength, a patience; by reason of the great fight, of which we haue there experience. *¶* For we must resist the flesh, we must overcome reason, which verie much strueth against us. *¶* For we must also resist the condemnation of our owne conscience, sinne, and the wrath of God : and there are many things besides, by which a faithfull ayle is both letted and hindered. *¶* Iob in this *trouuer*, or tribulation, saith many things that are hoped for, are not accomplished. *¶* And he compared together bewtweene his sinnes, *¶* For *¶* God promised reuerence, but put vnto the deads, by punishment of death. *¶* He promised to be a father, but put into them that are fathers, he calleth them vnto, but yet shold they abundantly thirst and hunger, and an enemie face opposeth; he promounceth ment to be iustified, but yet such as are couered with sinnes and filthines.

Therefore seeing these things seeme to be so  
far off from vs, it is needfull that we haue bold-  
ness, strength, and the assurance of a most firm  
allent; which maie make these things to abide,  
and to stand with vs as things most assured.  
With such a most strong shield of faith we  
ought to be to arme ourselues thereby, and to  
all assaults of the diuill, when they are  
called in question, that we maie also overcome  
the world; for as Iohn testifieth, This is the  
victorie, which ouercometh the world, when we  
our faith. **Further, we must note, that this word**  
**Argumentum**, that is, Argument, which in  
Greke is *ἀπολογία*, is turned of some *Demons-*  
*tratio*, that is, a Declaration; because, by fa-  
uour whereof we declared those things which ap-  
pear not. But this is not to be taken, although per-  
happes it is to be taken like, *per verba factis*  
hath it *causam*, that is, An overcoming  
by faith our mind is overcome, to grant  
that those things are true, which God  
speaketh by promise.

4 But Holiens intreating of the holie Trinitie, and the catholike faith, labouring by two reasons to shew, that faith by these wordes of the apostle is not defined; because that *invisibilis*, or substance agreed also with hope. For as much therefore as it is not proper to faith, be- cause it cannot be applied to the definition thereof. Further, because faith hath not a regard onlie to things to come, and those things which are hoped for; but also is referred unto things past:

for: we beleue that God created heauen & earth, that Christ was borne of a virgine, that he suffered for vs, and was raised from the dead; but all these things are past, neither are they hoped for to come againe. These two reasons of *Hilariensis* are verie weak, neither do they proue, that these wounds unto the *Deubens* cannot be applied unto the definition of faith. 3. grant indeed, that the intent of the apostle in that place was not to define faith, because he spake of patience chiefly, and would shew that it is most necessary unto faith; because faith is *impetens*, that is, *A* subsistence, &c. But by this reason are touched all things that expre the nature of faith. And to the first objection we say, that *impetens*, or subsistence must indeed be applied unto hope; but not that which is said to be desired from faith, nor that which it hath of itselfe.

¶ Neither ought it to seeme any new matter: if these things, which are of a diuerse nature, haue those things common in their definitions for a lion, a dog, and a man, although they differ much in nature, yet herein they agree, that they be liuing creatures. And therefore in their definition is something put, which is common to them all: saying, *that which is a body, and hath life*. And thus in the same manner, and in such sort, whether, if it ought not to seeme marvellous: if faith and hope agree in that *marvellous*; forasmuch as they are distinguished by other differences. For in faith *trustings* is referred vnto the aduent, but in hope to the expectation, where by we patientlie abide, untill the promises and such things as we haue receiued by faith be entered into vs. To the other reason we answered, that Paule made mention of things past, and things to come, and that he said, *that we are made sure*; and plainely sheweth, that he saith not so. For *that which is a substance of things to come*, is not so. But, adde that, it is an arguement, conuincion of things that are not so.

Whether in  
that place  
to the re-  
buses faith  
is defined.  
Un'storing  
must be ap-  
plied vnto  
faith.

Things  
differing in  
nature have  
some thing  
common in  
their defini-  
tions.

to what  
is referred  
to, in faith  
& in hope.

faith has respect to things present, to come they be here.



to the prin-  
cipall point  
of goodlines.

all things we ought to be most sure and cer-  
teine. But now a daies it is not onely called  
into controuersie, but manie blasphem one from  
another, and perniciouse erre from the true  
doctrine.

But if by complaining I might anie thing  
preuaile, I would at large complaine of this  
vniuersall; but forsomuch as that which is so,  
we can by no means bring to passe, but that it  
be so: onlie this will I present that I can;  
namely, that we fall into these opinions,  
which diminish the glorie of God, and are re-  
pugnant vnto the holie scriptures, and also are  
hurtfull vnto our consciences. Peradventure  
some will looke that I should thesle make au-  
ser to the cursed speekings, flanders, and re-  
proches, wherewith the aduersaries doe as tou-  
ching this matter, most impudently and  
tragicallye infame vs; but I am not so mad, to  
thinke that these things are to be preferred  
before the setting forth and defense of the truth.  
Wherefore first of all I will defend to the mat-  
ter, and then when I have confirmed our owne  
opinion, I will picke out such wicked obser-  
uons as are laid against vs, and according to  
the strength that God hath giuen me, I will o-  
uerthrowe them. And to the end it may mani-  
festlie appere, that men are not iustified by  
works, (which thing was our first proposition)  
I will reherse in due forme the order of the rea-  
sons which I Paule hath in the epistle to the Ro-  
mans; whereby it may the easier be perceiued,  
that I in all points agree with him, neither do  
I one heares worth depart from his doctrine.

Rom.1.18.  
The first  
reason for  
the first po-  
sition.

9 In the first chapter he began to reproue  
the Gentils, because they they came to the  
knowledge of Christ, although by their philoso-  
phy they knew the true God, yet they would  
hymen him not as they should haue done; nei-  
ther gave they thanks vnto him, as to the au-  
thor of all good things; but being made folish  
they became vaine in their reasons & cogita-  
tions; and changing the glorie of God, did trans-  
fer it from him, and gave it not onely to the i-  
mages of men, but vnto birds, four footed  
beastes, and serpents; wherefore God deliuered  
them ouer to the affections and desires of their  
owne hearts, by means whereof they liued  
most shamefully, and became as it is there  
written, full of all iniquitie, maliciousnes, for-  
nication, auarice, and those vices, which do  
there followe. And if so be they were such, and  
liued after that manner; doubtlesse they could  
not be iustified by their works: neither should  
Paules reason against the Gentils haue bene  
of anie force, to proue to them, that the reli-  
gion of Christ had bene necessarie to the iusti-  
fying of them, unless he had taught, that they  
were vniuersallie such as in that first chapter he

described them to be. For who would thinke it  
to be an effectual reason, which appereth to be  
true onlie of some, and not of all?

And in the second chapter he testifies in  
maner the same things of the Iewes, & behold  
(saith he) thou art called a Iew, & doest trust in  
the lawe, and makest thy boast of God, and  
knowest his will, and allowest the things that  
are profitable being instructed by the lawe; how  
boastest that thou art a leader of the blind, a  
light of them which are in darkenes, an infor-  
mer of them which lacke direction, a teacher  
of the vnclearned, as one that hath the forme  
of the doctrine that is by the lawe. Thou deriue  
which teachest another, teachest thou not  
thy selfe? Thou which preachest, a man should  
not steale, dost thou steale? Thou which sa-  
iest a man should not comit adultery, commit-  
test thou adultery? Thou that abhorrest images,  
doest thou commit sacrilege? And thou which  
makest thy boast of the lawe, dost thou by  
transgressing of the lawe dishonour God? For  
the name of God, as it is written, is call poken  
of among the Gentils through you. Such there-  
fore were the Iewes without Christ; therefore  
they could by no means be iustified by their  
works; or else they might haue answered Paule,  
that they were to graueouslie accursed without  
lawe.

10 But in what case men were before they  
received the faith of Christ, is more manifestlie  
shewed in the third chapter: for there it we read;  
There is none righteous, there is not one that  
vnderstandeth or seeketh after God: all haue gone  
out of the waie, and are become vnprouethable;  
there is none that doeth good, no one that  
there is an open sepulture, with their tongues  
they haue deuced, the position of aspes is vnder  
their lips, whose mouth is full of cursing and bit-  
ternes: their feet are swift to shed blood, destruc-  
tion and wretchednes are in their waies, they  
haue not knowne the waie of peace, the feare of  
God is not before their eyes, &c. These testimo-  
nies Paule gathered together out of sundrie pla-  
ces of the holie scripture; by which the nature  
of man, being destitute of the grace of God, is  
set forth in his colours. And that I man should  
saie, that onlie the idolatrous and wicked Gen-  
tles are by these words signified; the apostle (as  
it manifestlie appereth) sheweth, that these  
things are also extended vnto the Iewes, who  
about all other thought themselves most holie  
and beedeth. But we knowe, that whatsoeuer  
the lawe speakech, it speakech vnto them which  
are vnder the lawe. And to the end the should  
not doubt, but that his intent was to bring a  
general reason, he addeth; Because by the  
works of the lawe no flesh shall be iustified.  
And by the selfe he vnderstandeth a man not  
yet

ver.17.  
The second  
reason.

The third  
reason.

Ididem.19.

ver.20.  
The fourth  
reason.

yet regenerate.

I knowe there haue bene some, which by the  
selfe haue vnderstood the inferiour parts of the  
lawe, which are grosse, and intangled with  
humane lusts. But this sense Paule excludeth  
when he saith; By the works of the lawe, that  
is, by the works commanded by God in the  
lawe, which must needs come of reason, & not of  
the strength of the inferiour parts of the mind.  
Further, the scripture, after the Hebrew phrase,  
by the selfe vnderstandeth the whole man; which  
thing we haue in another place more aboun-  
dantly exprest. Afterward, to the end he  
might the better confirme this sentence, he saith  
That euery mouth might be stopped, and that  
the whole world might be guilty before God.  
Vndoubtedly, if men should be iustified by  
works, their mouthes should not be stopped, nei-  
ther should they be guilty before God. For they  
should alwaies haue somewhat to saie; name-  
ly, that they are quit from sinnes, because they  
haue deserved it by works: but now, when men  
perceiue the contrarie, they are not once open  
their lips. Further, he saith; But now without  
the lawe, is the righteousness of God made ma-  
nifest, which hath the testimonie both of the  
lawe and of the prophets. What man would ap-  
point that thing to be the cause of our righteous-  
nes, without which, righteousness might be obte-  
ned? Vndoubtedly we wisse man would so do,  
seeing that such is the nature of causes, that  
without them the effects cannot be wrought.  
So the same purpose also serueth that which  
followeth; Where is then thy boasting? It is  
excluded by what lawe? By the lawe of works?  
No, but by the lawe of faith. He would haue vs  
knowe, that all iust of gloire is excluded  
and taken away from vs: for the whole glorie  
of our righteousness ought to be giuen and pre-  
sented to God. But if we should be iustified by  
works, then would it not be so: for the glorie  
should be ours, and euery man would count  
himselfe to be therefore iustified, because he hath  
liued without lewd and illlie. And how certaine  
things which followe do declare; We thinke  
therefore that a man is iustified by faith, with-  
out the works of the lawe. Whiche then shall  
we denie that, which the apostle with so great  
vehement affirmeth? Vndoubtedly it were  
a thing most impudent so to do. Wherefore let  
vs assent vnto him, and not resist to great a  
testimonie of his. But before these things, let vs  
twigh and consider the pity of Paules meaning;  
If we should be iustified by works (saith he)  
we should not only haue matters to boast of; but  
the occasion of our boasting & reioicing in God, &  
offspring & commending his fauour towards  
vs, should be taken away. For without doubt

The fourth  
reason.

The fifth  
reason.

The sixth  
reason.

ver.8.  
The seventh  
reason.

The eighth  
reason.

Rom.4.1.

it is vnto vs a thing most praise-worthy, and  
glorious, to acknowledge, that the beneuolence  
and ready fauour of God towards vs, through  
Christ, is so great, that he deliuereth vs misera-  
ble men from our sinnes, and receiuech vs in-  
to fauour, although we be couered ouer with  
neuer so great leishonnes and bags of sinnes.  
If we should (I saie) be iustified by works, then  
doubtesse we might not truly boast, brag, or  
glorie hereof.

11 But it is better for vs to heare what the apo-  
stle himselfe saith in the beginning of the fourth  
chapter; What shall we saie then, that our father  
Abraham found to the flesh? For if  
Abraham were iustified by works, he had neede  
of to boast, but not before God. For what faith  
the scriptures? Abraham beleued God, and it  
was imputed vnto him for righteousness. And  
vnto him which worketh, a reward is not im-  
puted according to grace, but according to debt.  
Wherefore to the end that vs suet a consolati-  
on of the lone and beneuolence of God towards  
vs, should not be taken away from vs; let vs  
constantlie ascribe with the apostle, that we are  
not iustified by works. And that he might the  
better perswade vs hereof, he vserth this word  
lay, which he saie, is To impute, to ascribe  
vnto a man righteousness, or to count a man to  
be iust; and he setteth it as an Antithesis or con-  
trarie position vnto merit or debt: so that he,  
to whome anie thing is imputed, deserueth not  
the same, neither receiuech it as a debt. But he  
which obtaineth anie thing as a debt, accom-  
teth not the same as imputed; or ascribed vnto  
him. Neither do Paule thinke it sufficient,  
that he brought the scripture, concerning Abra-  
ham; but he also citeth Dauid; Blessed are they  
whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose finnes  
are couered. Blessed is the man, vnto whome  
the Lord hath not imputed sinne. All the which  
words we do not onely gather, that the righte-  
ousnes, by which we are laid to be iustified, is  
kech not in our minds, but is imputed of God;  
so that it is such an imputation, as consisteth not  
of works; but of the mere clemencie of God.

Further, the apostle doth by another propo-  
sition the same confirm his opinion; namelic, the tenth  
cause of our righteousness is the circumcision of  
our flesh, which was in vncircumcision, &c. Seeing  
therefore that good works are signes and also  
seales, which beare witness of the righteousness  
already receiued, they cannot be the causes  
thereof. Neither haue ceremonies onely that  
propertie, but also cure those works, which are  
called moztal, when they are pleasant and ac-  
ceptable before God: for they also are signes  
of iustice.

The ninth  
reason.

ver.13, &c.

ver.17.  
The tenth  
reason.

The eleventh  
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Even here  
it is said  
works are  
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1.Pet.1.10.

the ele-  
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Rom.4.13.

Verf.16.  
the  
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why god  
would that  
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verf.18.  
the  
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tokens of our righteousness. Therefore Peter ex-  
horteth vs to endeavour our felues to make our  
vocation true, by living by sight, & by good  
works: yea, and the forme of the promise  
which God made vnto Abraham, is diligentlie  
to be watched: for thereunto is added a con-  
ditiō of the lawe, of good works. And seeing God  
added none, what boldnes were it in vs to pre-  
sume to do it: and Paule saith; For not through  
the lawe was the promise made vnto Abraham,  
or to his seede, that he should be the heire of the  
world; but through the righteousness of faith.  
For if those, which pertaine vnto the lawe, be  
heires; then is faith made frustrate, and the  
promise is of no force, namelye, because the lawe  
together anger. Therefore if we fulfill not the  
lawe, the promise shall take no place. And to be-  
lieue that promise, which shall neuer be fulfilled,  
would be a vaine thing: which vncōfutable must  
needs utterlie be so if he giuen vpon this con-  
ditiō, that we shuld performe the lawe, when  
as no man can perfectly accomplish the lawe.

But the apostle proceedeth further, and by the  
iudgement of the most mercifull counsell of  
God decreeth after this manner; Therefore is  
the inheritance giuen by faith, and according  
to grace, to the end the promise should be  
firme. As if he should saie; If the promise  
should depend vpon works, our mind would  
continually waue; none might appoint anie  
certeinie of his owne saluation: for his con-  
science would euermore accuse him, that he  
had not performed those works, for the which  
the promise was made. To the end there-  
fore we should not waue. God would that our  
iustificatiō should consist of faith and grace,  
that the promise might be firme. The same  
thing also is gathered by that which is declared  
of Abraham, howe that, Contrarie to hope, he  
belieued in hope. He is said to beleeue in hope,  
contrarie to hope, which either in him selfe, or in  
nature fauor of: seely no manner of thing, which  
might persuade him to hope. When as Abra-  
ham was an hundred yeeres of age, his bodie  
was in a manner dead: his wife an old woman,  
& barren; all which things naturallie put  
him from hoping; and yet persisting against  
them all he hoped. But we, if we haue merites  
of god works, whereby we might obtaine righte-  
ousnes; then should we not hope contrarie  
to hope, but in hope, and according to hope.  
Therefore our iustificatiō is to be appointed  
no otherwise, than we read it was in Abraham;  
for he is the father of vs all: as it was imputed  
vnto him, euen so shall it be imputed vnto vs.

12 But now let vs come to the 5. chapter.  
Here againe Paule plainlie expreth, in that  
case men are before they be regenerate: for he  
saith; For Christ; when we were yet weak,

according as the time required, died for the vn-  
godlie. And straight waie; But God fetted our  
his lowe towaies vs, in that when we were yet  
sinners, Christ died for vs. And he addeth; For  
when we were enemies, we were reconciled to  
God, by the death of his sonne, much more  
being now reconciled, shall we be saved by his  
life. Whereby we gather, that before regenera-  
tion men are weak, sinners, vngodlie, and the  
enemies of God. Who then can ascribe vnto  
such men, power to obtaine righteousness at  
their pleasure, when they list to do good works?  
Others maye beleeue it, but the godlie will  
neuer be so persuaded. This maye ouer all  
prosse, in that he fetted forth the cause of a  
great euill, when he saith; Therefore, euen  
as by one man sinne entred into the world, and  
by sinne, death: euen so death went ouer all  
men, forasmuch as all men haue sinned. As if  
he should haue said; We haue bene euen from  
the beginning, by the first man, lost and con-  
demned. And least you shouldst thinke, that  
infants are to be excepted, he saith; Yea death

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should be coupled to another; namelye to him,  
which is risen againe fro the dead, that we might  
bring forth fruit vnto God. Paule would by  
this reason declare, that before our faith in  
Christ, we as it were to husbands, were coupled  
to the lawe, and to the flesh; of which couplati-  
on could come no fruits, but liuely as are perui-  
ous and deable: but now being deliuered by  
the grace of God, we are coupled vnto Christ  
by the spirit, vnto Christ (I say) being raised  
from the dead: by which couplatiō, we shall  
now bring forth fruit vnto God, and not anie  
more to death and damnation.

And the selfe same thing he affirmeth, & ra-  
ther expoundeth, when he addeth; For when we  
were in the flesh, the lusts of sinnes, which are by  
the lawe,ooke effect in our members, to bring  
forth fruit vnto death. Here let vs note, that so  
long as we were in the flesh, we were subiect  
vnto lawles affections, which by the lawe were  
of force in our members; how then could we  
be iustified by our works? Further, in the same  
chapter it is written; For that which I do, I al-  
low not: for what I would, that I do not; but  
what I hate, that I do. I know I do that, which I  
would not, then it is not I that do it, but sinne  
that dwelleth in me. For I knowe that in me  
(that is in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing.  
Here (as it manifestlie appareth) he doth inter-  
act of the works of men. And although that in in-  
terpreting of these words, I haue effectually  
proued, that they are to be vnderstood of those  
works, which are done of the godlie, which haue  
already obtained iustificatiō: yet now I leaue  
it free vnto the aduersaries, to take whether  
part they will. And if they grant, that these  
things ought to be vnderstood of works done  
before iustificatiō; then, forasmuch as they are  
neither allowed, nor good, how shall they be-  
serue righteousness? Forasmuch as they are  
not man is iustified by an euill action. But  
if we vnderstand of works, which are here de-  
cried, to be the works of those that are iustified;  
then will I make my argument a matter, that  
is, For the greater. If those works, which  
might seeme most acceptable & iust, and holie  
to God, are called euill, & by the iudgement of  
reason now reuenced are not allowed, how can  
we affirme then, that those works, which are of  
sinners, are such, as they be able to iustifie?

13 And least anie man should saie, that two  
tales our argument ouerle of that, which hap-  
peth through the slouthfulness of men; when as  
the disputation is of that which may be done, if  
men would put to their god will, for manie are  
not iustified by their god works, when as they  
might be iustified by them if they would, here  
vnto we answer with the apostle in the eighth  
chapter, who saith; For that which the lawe could

not performe, inasmuch as it was weak, because  
of the flesh, that performed God by his owne  
fornie, being sent vnder the similitude of flesh  
subiect vnto sinne, and for sinne condemned  
sinne through the flesh. This place commonly  
vs, that the righteousness, which God comman-  
ded in the commandments, could not be per-  
formed by the helpe of the lawe; by reason of  
the corruption and infirmities of the flesh; and  
for that cause was Christ sent by the father, to  
performe that which could not be accomplished  
of us. The same thing also teacheth he a little af-  
ter; for when he had said, that the lust of the  
flesh is death; he addeth moreover; that is eni-  
mitie against God: for it is not subiect to the  
lawe of God, neither indeed can be. There-  
fore, whatsoever we do of our owne naturall  
strength and power (which is called flesh) the  
same resisteth God: for our corrupted nature  
cannot be subdued vnder the lawe of God. And  
forasmuch as it is so, then can we be iustified  
by the deeds thereof. In the same chapter al-  
so we read; Vnto those that loue God, all things  
will worke to good, vnto those, I saie, which are  
called of his purpose. In which words the apostle  
toucheth the beginning and chiefe part of all  
our goodnes, namelye the purpose of God; which  
is so the cause of our saluation, that all our good-  
nes dependeth thereof, but that is not moved  
by anie of our goodnes.

But the verie causes of mans felicitie are  
afterward orderie and succession of all, of our  
good works. Those which he knew before, of  
good works, to which he had laid prede-  
stinated, those hath he also called; and whom he  
hath called, them also hath he iustified; and  
whom he hath iustified, them also will he glo-  
rifie. This chaine is linked together with all the  
meanes and helpe, whereby God bringeth vs  
vnto saluation. But seeing there is no mention  
made of the works of the lawe, and of merites;  
it is sufficientlly appereth, that by them we  
are not iustified. Further, when it is said; Who  
shall accuse the elect of God? It is God which  
iustifieth, who shall condemne? It is Christ  
which died, yea which also is risen againe, which  
also sitteth at the right hand of God, which  
maketh intercession for vs. If by the iudgement  
of God we should be iustified by works, it had  
bene sufficient to haue said; The elect shall be  
accused in vaine, forasmuch as they haue good  
merits; and being by their vertues and holie  
works they shall obtaine absolution. He saith  
not; But (saith he) it is God which iustifieth.  
And it might haue bene answered; For manie  
shall condemne the elect saying that their works  
shall condemne them, as they before both absolution, and a  
reward. But he maketh no such answer, but  
saith;

faith; It is Christ that died, &c. Why then should we take upon vs to mingle our works therewithall, seeing the scripture telleth vs in 10. c. 1. to doe?

1. How come we to the ninth chapter, wherein is intreated of the p'poundment of God, which directly and ordereth all things; not for any other cause vnbondurable, but that we should thinke, that the nature of it, and of iustificatiō is all one: for either of them is given freely, and not of works. For the apostle telleth, that Of two brethren, which were not yet borne, and when they had done neither good nor euill, (to the end the election of God should abide according to his purpose, not of works, but of him that calleth) it is said; Jacob thou I loved, and Esau thou I hated. Here, as we see, are two most manifestly excluded. Alas unto Moles it was answered; I will shew mercie to whom I will; and I will have compassion on whom I please. I have compassion. These two also declare, that the forgiveness of sins, and the mercies whereby men are recruited into favour, depend on their works, but of the mere and mercifull beneuolence of God. And no less also do the words following declare; And no is of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth; but of God that hath mercie. Again; He hath mercie on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. But if iustificatiō might be gotten by our will, as by works; then should it be of him that willeth, and of him that runneth. Neither should they be converted, on whom God hath compassion; but they, which should have most compassion upon themselves: neither also should God harden any man, seeing all men might promptlie, easilie, and at their pleasure by good works be reconciled unto God, and also be iustified. But it is farre otherwise; for they which put their confidence in works, doe to fauour come from the true righteousness, thereof we now speake. Toward the end of the ninth chapter, the apostle saith; I had said, as heholo: and the lawe of righteousness, which I have to the lawe of righteousness. And why? Because they taught it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the lawe. And if the two of the lawe were a let unto the Iewes, for the obtaining of iustificatiō; what should we then hope to haue thereby?

2. The same thing the apostle, although in other words, declareth in the tenth chapter; They being ignorant of the righteousness of God, and going about to establish their owne righteousness, did not submit themselves unto the righteousness of God. These words signifie nothing else, but that they fall from the righteousness of God, which attributeth much unto their

owne righteousness; namely, to works. And there is fo great a contrarietie and repugnancie betwene grace and works, that the effect, which proceedeth from the one, cannot proceed from the other. For Paule saith; There is a remanent left, according to the election of grace, if it be of grace, then it is not of works; for if it be of works, then it is not of grace. & if it be of grace, then it is not of grace. & if it be of works, then it is not of grace. For this is the property of grace, to be given freely, & of mere liberality: but the property of works is, that the reward should be gotten of dutie, & even of vertue right. As telle, what shall we say, facing the apostle crieth out; Oh the depth of the riches of the wisdom of God! Vnbondurable Paule by this affideth declareth, that it is a thing most hard to be knowne; whether God deale iustitie, which proceedeth without him he will, a iustitie whom he will, having no respect to condition & merits. Where humane reason is verie much offended, if there out of this; namely, iustificatiō and election, should happen by works and merits, there should be no trouble, no offense, no stumbling block laid against vs. But so foomuch as it is farre otherwise, and that by vs cannot be rendered a reason of the will of God; therefore Paule iustitie and doubletelle crieth out; and to his opinion must all men that be wise agree. In the 14. chapter it is written; Blessed is he Roman. 14. which iudgeth not himselfe, in that thing which he alloweth. But he which iudgeth, is condemn. 14. ned of the cate, because he catcheth not of faith. For whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. Whereby are we taught, that they which want a true faith, can doe or performe nothing which is not sinne.

3. I knowe indeed, that the aduersaries interpret these words of the conscience; but they are neuer able to proue, that faith signifieeth conscience. And although perauenture Paule teacheth this at the beginning; namely, that we ought not to doe any thing against our conscience: yet in a manner afterward be bringeth in a general sentence, when he telleth, that Whatsoever is not of faith, is sinne. As though he should have said; This is a general rule, when men go about to doe any thing, they ought to be persuaded by the spirit and word of God, that that which they haue in hand to doe, is acceptable unto God, and pleaseeth him: which persuasion if they haue not, then vnbondurable they sinne in doing that which they doe. And if I should grant, that in this place, faith signifieeth the conscience; I would thinke it should be added also, that the conscience ought not to be beleaved, but leste it be intruded by the word of God: forasmuch as there be manie inbred with so superstitious a conscience, that whether they obey it, or not obey it, they sinne most grievously. But

I will not stand long at this time about the expounding of this place, & therefore let vs heare what is said in the 4. chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, where it is thus written; I knowe nothing by my selfe, yet am I not therefore by iustified. These words Paule spake of his iustification, being now converted unto Christ, being now an apostle, and whome; as touching his function, no man was able to accuse. And if so great a friend of God, pronounceth this of him selfe, and of his works; what meane we to attribute iustificatiō to the works of them that are not yet regenerate? The works of the godlie, and of the these apostle of Christ, could not decrease it; how then can it be granted unto those, which are yet strangers from Christ?

15 To the Galatians, the second chapter; Paule repeateth that sentence, which he had written in the 3. chapter to the Romans; namely, that No flesh shall be iustified by the works of the lawe. Which sentence forsoomuch as it is plain inough, and hath bene already before recited, needeth now no further declaration.

16 But in the same chapter it is written; If righteousness come by the lawe, then Christ died gratis. In which place, gratis, signifieeth nothing else, but in vaine; and to no purpose; which then vnbondurable should be most true. For if true righteousness before God, could by any other meane haue bene attained vnto by men, whie then died he? And whie was he crucified? And againe; This one thing I desire to learne of you; Received ye the spirit by the works of the lawe, or by the preaching of faith? And straight tow; He therefore that ministrerh vnto you the spirit, and worketh miracles amongly you, doth hee through the deeds of the lawe, or by the preaching of faith? They which are iustified, receive the holie Ghost; for without it, it is verie impossible to be iustified; and if it be not given through works, neither can iustificatiō then come through works. Further, there is no doubt, but that iustificatiō cometh of the good will and fauour of God; seeing by it men are recruited into grace, adopted to be his children, and made heires of eternal life. But such as before iustificatiō, are occupied in the works of the lawe, are bound vnder the curse; so farre is it off, that they should haue the fruition of the fauour of God. For the apostle addeth; As manie as are vnder the lawe, are vnder the curse. But to the end we should not thinke this to be his owne intencion, he saith; As it is written, Cursed be he, which abideth not in all the things that are written in the booke of the lawe. After this he argueth from the time; I speake after the manner of men; though it be but a mans testament, yet if it be allowed, no man receieth it, or addeth

any thing thereto. Moreover, vnto Abraham were the promises made, and vnto his seed: he saith not, to his seedes, as speaking of manie but to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ. This I doe faie, that the lawe, which began afterward, beinge, 430. yeeres, dooth not diminish the testament, that was before confirmed of God vnto Christward, to make the promises of none effect. First, saith he; the testament of God, and the first promise, offereth iustificatiō vnto our works; wherefore the testament confirmed, received, and allowed, is not retracted by the lawe, which was so long time afterward giuen.

If there had bene a lawe giuen, which could haue giuen life, then should righteousness haue bene of the lawe. This reason of the apostle

is not full; for there must be added the demerit of the antecedent; namely, that the lawe can not giue life. For as it is declared vnto the Romans; It was weakened through the flesh, although as touching it selfe, it contained commandmentes, which writhed vnto lie. Wherefore seeing it is: for certain, that the lawe can not giue life, no more can it liberate iustification. But before that faith came, we were kept vnder the lawe, and were thus vp vnto that faith, which afterward should be revealed.

Wherefore the lawe was our scholemaster vnto Christ, be we should be iustified by faith. At the lawe be as it were a scholemaster, that should we do great iniurie vnto God, and to Christ, which are vnto vs in stead of parents, if we should ascribe vnto the scholemaster, that which is proper vnto them. It is not the scholemaster, which maketh vs heires, which adopteth vs, which giueth vs all things; but it is the father; wherefore let vs ascribe our iustification vnto God, and vnto Christ; and not vnto the lawe, nor vnto works, nor to our merits.

Tell me, yet that would I faine be vnder the lawe; doo ye not heare what the lawe hath? For

it is written, that Abraham had two sonnes, one of an handmaiden, an other of a freewoman; and he which came of the handmaiden, was borne according to the flesh; but he which came of the freewoman, was borne according to promise; which things are spoken by an allegorie. For these are two testaments, the one from the mount Sina, which ingendred vnto bondage, the which is Agar; for Agar is mount Sina in Arabia, and is ioined vnto the cite, which is now called Ierusalem, and it is in bondage with her children: but Ierusalem, which is about, is free, which is the mother of vsall. In the two words, this thing is chiefly to be noted; that the lawe ingendred not, but vnto bondage, as Agar did. But if by the lawe thereof it could iustify, it should ingender to libertie; for what thing else

Ches. 1. reason.  
Rom. 9. 17.

Ches. 1. 1. reason.  
Rom. 9. 17.

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Rom. 9. 17.

Ches. 1. 1. reason.  
Rom. 9. 17.

Ches. 1. 1. reason.  
Rom. 9. 17.

verfe. 3.  
Chap. 3.  
ration.  
verfe. 3.

elfe is iustificacion than a certeine libertie frō finne : But fo much as it is both called a ſeruant, and gendry to bondage, we ought not then by it to loke for iustificacion. In the firſt chapter it is twiſt ; If ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall nothing profit you. And he brings a reaſon of the ſaid ſentence; For that man (ſaith he) which is circumciſed, is debter to keepe the whole lawe. So much doth Paule take iuſtification from circumciſion and woorks, as he ſaith, that Chriſt nothing proſſeth them in caſe they ſhall be circumciſed, after they beſele. And ſtill he moze ſtronglie confirmed that which ſune ſaid; Chriſt is come in vaine vnto you for if ye haue iuſtification, as the fruit of your woorks, then the coming, death, and bloodſhedding of Chriſt should not have bene neceſſarie. And if I yet preach circumciſion, while do I ſuffer perſecution? Then is the offence of the croſſe abſent. The offence and flammes of the croſſe is, that men being twiſed, and o therwiſe ſinners, are by God counted ill, through Chriſt crucified, and by faith in him. Here the fleſh is offended, here doth reaſon by ſerle reſiſt; which thing happeneth not, when iuſtification is preached to coue of twiſes, when they be ceremoniall or morall. But God would haue this offence to remaine, becauſe it pleaſeth him, by the ſoliticnes of preaching, to ſaue them that beleeue.

1. Cor. 13.

verfe. 1.  
Chap. 11.  
ration.

16 Vnto the Chriſtians the 2. chapter it is twiſt; And ye, when ye were dead in treſpaſſes and finnes, in which in time paſt ye walked according to the courſe of this world, euen after the gouernour that ruleth in the aire, and the ſpirit that now worketh in the children of vnbelleſe, among whom we alſo had our conuerſation in time paſt, in the luſt of the fleſh, and fulfilled the will of the fleſh, and of the mind, and as it is in the Creſte *de diuinitate*, our thoughts, & were by nature the children of wrath, euen as others are. It is to be note in theſe woordes, that men at the beginning, before they come to Chriſt, are dead in finne; and therefore are not able to helpe themſelues to liue, and to be iuſtified. Who euer ſaith that a dead man could helpe himſelfe; Further, by that woordes is ſhewed, that they were in the power of the prince of darkeneſſe, which twiſthly and is puſſant in the children of vnbelleſe. Seeing therefore they were gouerned by him, how could they by their woorks tend to iuſtification? And becauſe he ſhould not thinke that he ſpake onlie of ſome other certeine vnbelleſe perſons, he addeth; All we (comprehending alſo the apoſtles in the number) Among them (ſaith he) we were. And what did we there? We were conuerſant in the luſts of our fleſh. And to the end we might vnderſtand, that theſe luſts were not onlie the twiſed affections of the greater part of the

ſoule, it followeth; We doing the will of the fleſh and of the mind, or of reaſon, did followe alſo the thoughts or inuentions of human reaſon. If we were all ſuch, from whence then cometh ſalutation, and iuſtification? But God is rich in merſie, for his exceeding lowe ſake, where, with he loued vs, yea euen when we were dead in ſinners, had quickened vs together with Chriſt.

But what inſtrument beſe he to giue vnto vs our ſalutation? For by grace (ſaith he) were ye ſa- ued through faith, and that not of your ieiues; for verſe. 11. it is the gift of God: not of woorks, leſt any man ſhould boiaſt. Certeine woorks be moze manifeſtly certeyne. In what place then ſhall we put them? Certeine they followe iuſtification. For as the apoſtle addeth; For we are his workmanſhip, created in Chriſt Ieſus vnto good woorks, which God hath prepared, that we ſhould walke in them. But they could not be in vs before, which thing is beſie uel thus deſcribed; Ye were at that time without Chriſt, being alienated from the common wealth of Iſrael, ſtrangers from the teſtaments of promiſe, hauing no hope, and being without God in this world. Being in this ſtate, who can ſaue vnto himſelfe good woorks, whereby men may merit iuſtification? And to the 3<sup>th</sup> Philipians the 3. chapter, Iſaie other man may ſeeme that he had whereof he might trult in the fleſh, I haue more, being circumciſed the eight daie, of the kindred of Iſrael, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebreue, borne of the Hebreues; as concerning the lawe, a Pharife; as touching ſeruenties, I perſecuted the church of God; as touching the righteouſnes which is of the lawe, I was vnbekauable. Seeing that Paule had ſo manie, and ſo great things before his conuerſion, and that he had whereof to trult and boiaſt in the fleſh, let vs heare what he at the length pronounceth of all theſe things; Theſe things (ſaith he) ſhall be compared vnto the true righteouſnes, which is through the faith of Chriſt, I count loſſe, yile, and dooing. If we ſhould thereby obteine righteouſnes, ſhould to poſſible things be counted for loſſes; for perſonall holie things, ſo vble, and things acceptable and pleaſant vnto God, ſay dooing; Let Paule take theſe that he ſaith here, note rather let the reader take heed that they be leaſer not ſuppoſers more than Paul.

Now to the Colloſſians the firſt chapter; And ye, which were ſometimes far off, and through euill woorks, enmities in your hartes; yet hath he now reconciled in the bodie of his fleſh, through death. Here ought euery vnto diligent to be noted, ſo as we may perceiue, that in them which he alienated from God, we are not to loke for ſuch things, whereby they may returne into grace & fauour; & that the y which he commies in mind, cannot obteine that peace which is ſoined

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verfe. 13.

Eph. 2.10.

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Chap. 4.  
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with iuſtification: that it is vnpoffible that god woorks ſhould be done of them, before they be changed, which are ſaid to ſticke in euill woorks. But that manner of woorks theſe were, it appeareth in the 2. chapter, ſeing it is there written; And ye, when ye were dead through finnes, and through the vncircumciſion of your fleſh, hath he quickened together with him, forgiving alſo our finnes, & hath put out the hand-writing that was againſt vs. In the 2. to Timothee, the 1. chapter; Who hath called vs with an holie calling, not according to our woorks, but according to his purpoſe and grace, which is giuen vs through Chriſt Ieſus. Here be ſpeaketh of the effectuall calling, whereby we are iuſtified; and not of the common calling, which is by the preaching of the woord of God, that is laid open to all men. And ſo much as this conſiſteth not (as Paule ſaith) of merits or woorks; neither can iuſtification alſo come of them. Certeine Iuſt it is twiſt; The goodnes and loue of God our ſauour towards vs, hath appeared; not by the woorks of righteouſnes, which he haue done, but according to his merſie, which he ſaied vs. Alſo vnto the Hebrewes, there is but one onlie ſacrifice, and one oblation offered to be; namely, the death of Chriſt, by which finnes are wiped awaie, and ſatisfaction made for men. Wherefore iuſtification is not to be looked for of woorks; and it ought to ſuffice vs, that the god woorks which we do after iuſtification, are ſacrifices of thankſgiving; but let vs not make them ſacrifices propitiatorie; for then we ſhould do great iniurie vnto Chriſt.

Chap. 4.  
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verfe. 17.

Chap. 4.  
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Chap. 4.  
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17 But ſetting alſo the epiſtles of Paule; let vs ſeie teſtimonies alſo out of other places of the holie ſcriptures. Chriſt in the ſeventh of Matthew ſaith; Euery good tree bringeth forth good fruits, but an ill tree bringeth forth euill fruits. And to the end the nature of thoſe which are not regenerate, might be the better declared, he addeth; A good tree cannot bring forth euill fruits, neither can an euill tree bring forth good fruits. Wherefore ſeing Chriſt ſaith, that this cannot ſo be, how dare theſe men affirme that it may be; & ſaie, that by woorks men may be iuſtified? Chriſt ſaith the ſelfe ſame matter in the twelfth chapter of Matthew; Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or make the tree euill, and his fruit euill; for by the fruit the tree is knowne. O ye generation of vipers! How can ye ſpeake good things, when as ye your ſelues are euill? For of the abundance of the hart the mouth ſpeaketh. A good man out of the good treaſure of the hart bringeth forth good things; and an euill man out of an euill treaſure bringeth forth euill things. Theſe woordes of Chriſt do declare, that men, which are not yet regenerate, are euill trees, which neither do nor can bring forth good fruit; and theſe

treſſe, that the twiſed cannot ſpeake good things, much leſſe then can they woorks good things; and that out of an euill treaſure of the hart, are euill things to be looked for. And ſeing the matter is ſo, conſider 3<sup>th</sup> piae. pen. where they, which are alienated from Chriſt, ought to be called euill; no. Vnbekauable vnto theſe be euill, none of vs which cleaue vnto Chriſt can be good.

Alſo in Luke the 17. chapter; But which of you that hath a ſeruant that goeth to plough, or feedeth your cattell, which ſtraight waie ſaie vnto him, when he cometh from the field; Go thy waie and ſit downe? And ſaith rather vnto him; Prepare that I may ſup, and dry thy ſelfe, and ſerue me, till I haue eaten and drunken, and afterward eat thou, and drinke thou? Doſt he thanke this ſeruant, becauſe he hath done thoſe things which he hath commanded you, ſaie, I trove not. So likewiſe ye, when ye haue done all thoſe things that are commanded you, ſaie, We are vnprofitable ſeruants, we haue done that which we ought to haue done. Theſe woordes ſpake Chriſt to his diſciples, to his apoſtles 3<sup>th</sup> I mean, & to them which were not conuerſed to ſalutation; whoſe they were vnpoffible woorks, that ſhall we then iudge of thoſe, which haue not yet receiued the faith of Chriſt? But the diſciples here had the woord ſaid ſoles, that they ſaie, that woorks before iuſtification do after a ſort beſerue it; and theſe woorks which followe, they call moſt poſſible of all. And therefore noth men would in a manner make account with God, and with heaues number alwaie with God, and with heaues number alwaie with God, for what o ther thing merit they by them, than that they ſhould be a certeine number rectre to manie Pater noſters, or ſo manie Ave Maries; thinking by that recitall to haue God moſt alſeruile bound to them?

In the 15. of Iohn, Chriſt is compared vnto a vine tree, and we vnto the branches thereof; therefore he ſaith; Euen as the branch cannot bring forth fruit, if it ſelle, ynelleſe it abide in the vine; no more alſo can ye, ynelleſe ye abide in me. I am the vine, and ye be the branches; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much fruit. And whoſoeuer ſhall not abide in me, they are caſt out of the doores, euen as the branches or cuttings off from the vine, and they ſhall gather them, and call them into the fire. Now that we haue rectred theſe woordes of the Lord, how agreeth it, that men being ſtrangers from Chriſt, and yet not regenerate, can woork god woorks, whereby they may be iuſtified; ſeing they are called vnto it branches which ſhall be caſt into the fire? And it branches which ſhall be caſt into the fire? And it is ſaie, that they onlie can bring forth fruit, which cleaue vnto Chriſt, as branches cleaue

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to the time. And that we ſhould the better underſtand the word of Chriſt, there is added ; Without me ye can doe nothing. Which ſentence ſome go about to make obſcure ; and ſaie, that nothing can be done without Chriſt, in reſpect that he is God, ſo farre as he is the firſt cauſe of all things : as though the Lord diſputed then of the generall conſervation of naturall things, and of that power, whereby God bringeth forth all things vniuerſallie. Chriſt came not into the world to teach this philoſophie, he vniuertible intrate of the fruit of ſaluation, and of eternal life ; and ſpoke of thoſe, which ſhould cleaue vnto his doctrine, or elſe ſhould be ſtrangers from it.

The 16.  
reaſon.

18. Forouer, the ſonne of God commanded, that the faithfull ſhould in their prayers ſaie; Forgiue vs our treſpaſſes : ſignifying thereby, that the faithfull alſo haue need of forgiveness, in thoſe things which they do ; for our woekes are imperfect, neither are they able to ſatiffie. Therefore, if our woekes, which we do offer our regeneration, need purging by the merit of Chriſt ; and we praye, they may be ſo : how can they be propitiatory ? A great deale leſſe can we thinke of thoſe woekes, which are done before regeneration, that they ſhould be acceptable and pleaſant vnto God. And further, no man can iuſtifie ſaie, that he is not one of this number, ſeing God hath commanded all men to praye in that manner : and his will is not, that any man ſhould make a lie in his prayer. Peter and Iohn alſo writeth ; If we ſhall ſaie, that we haue no ſinne, we deceive our ſelues, & there is no truth in vs. And I ſuppoſe there is none, that will iudge it a thing meet, that there ſhould be made mediators bought in, where as there is but onelie one mediator betweene God and man ; namely, the man Chriſt Ieſus. But if beſides him, and his merits, our woekes ſhould alſo iuſtifie vs, then ſhould they be fet betweene God and vs : neither ſhould Chriſt be the onelie mediator. Our this, the prophete do euerie where praye, and David alſo ; that God would waſh, cleaſe, purifie, and purge their finnes ; namely, in forgiving and remitting them : but if they could haue attained vnto that thing by their woekes, then needed they not to haue requiſed it by prayer, or at the leaſt : woe not with ſo great ſternitie.

The 16.  
reaſon.

And in Iob the 15. chapter, it is writen, that The verie heavens are not pure before God : and in the fourth chapter, he pronounceth the angels not to be pure. In what caſe then ſhall man be, before they obtayne iuſtificatione ? Dauid alſo in his Pſalmes crieth ; If thou Lord ſhouldeſt ſtriue vpon our iniquities, Lord, who ſhall be able to abide it ? Eſay calleth the third vnto the waters, and bideth them bue iuſtificatione.

The 12.  
reaſon.

And in Iob the 15. chapter, it is writen, that The verie heavens are not pure before God : and in the fourth chapter, he pronounceth the angels not to be pure. In what caſe then ſhall man be, before they obtayne iuſtificatione ? Dauid alſo in his Pſalmes crieth ; If thou Lord ſhouldeſt ſtriue vpon our iniquities, Lord, who ſhall be able to abide it ? Eſay calleth the third vnto the waters, and bideth them bue iuſtificatione.

ſuer. But our men ſo ſoliloquy will merit, and be iuſtified both by merits, and by woekes, and alſo by ſilence. Forouer, in the ſortie chapter the ſame prophete (when he heard a voice, wherein it was ſaid, Crie out ſilence, What ſhall I crie ? And it was ſaid vnto him that he ſhould crie ; And I beſis is graſſe ; and Chaſide, that is, his pietie, or religion ; or mercie, wherein he ſuccoureth his neighbour, is as the flower of the field ; that is, a thing vaniſhing, which ſtraightwaie badeſt awake, neither can it continue. The ſame thing alſo affirmeth he in the 64. chapter, where he ſaith ; that All our righteouſnes is as filchie rags. Which ſentence, whether a man applie it vnto woekes done after regeneration, or before ; I poſite not much : for either waie will make on our face. And in the ſelfe ſame chapter he addeth ; O our God, we are claie, and thou art our creator, and we are worke of thy hands. And the ſame ſimilitude of the claie and potter ſaith Paule to the Romans, in the ninth chapter ; wherein is notable declared, that ſo much as we be able to do towards our iuſtification, as can be ſaid to the claie towards the potter, to cauſe him to make it after this manner, or that manner, we might alſo recite teſtimonies, which are writen of the malicioſities of our hearts, both in Genes, and in Ieremie : but I ſuppoſe I haue alreadie brought teſtimonies enoſe for the confirmation of our propoſition.

And this now onelie will I ſaie, that there haue bene men ſo ſoliloquy, that they haue not onelie attributed ſome merit of iuſtification vnto theſe woekes, and which are (as they terme them) moſaiall ; but alſo vnto ſuperſtitious woekes, which they themſelues haue imagined and inuented. For ſo they are ignorant of the rimes commonlie ſet abroad of holie water : Aqua benedicta, delictum tua delicta, ſi ſibi laus & gloria ; that is, By holie water let thy finnes be blotted out, and let it be vnto thee praife and life. They aſcribe alſo forgiveness of finnes vnto ſphecules, to candles, and the athes of the boughes of the olie tree, and the palme tree, and vnto pilgrimages. Wherefore they proceeded vnto ſuch ſord and vngodlie tridles, by means of theſe things which they ſo peruerſelie interpreted in the holie ſcriptures concerning merits. Doubtles, none vnderſtand, but they which haue experience, how hard a thing it is ; that a hart buriſhed, overthwarted, and laden with the burthen of finnes, ſhould when it is grieved and oppreſſed, quiet it ſelfe in the free promiſes of God through Chriſt : ſo ſuch a hart can neither labour, that once at the length it may winne ſaie faith be eſtabliſhed. If we ſhould will the ſophiſters, will a man to haue a reſpect vnto his woekes ; then ſhould he neuer be in quiet, but ſhould alwaies be vnderd, and alwaies vnderd, his

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his ſaluation, and at the laſt be ſwallowed by with deſperation. I would not that any man ſhould thinke, that when we reaſon of this matter, we take in hand a vaine thing, or a triſte about woekes. It is a thing, whereby is defended the honour of Chriſt, and that which is proper vnto himſelfe onelie ; namely, to iuſtifie and to forgive finnes. We ſaie, that the ſame ſhould in no caſe be attributed vnto woekes, or to any other thing elſe of ours. We ſaie, that the promiſe ſhould be firme, and that afflicted consciences ſhould receive conſolation in the woekes and promiſes of God. Laſtly, we ſaie, that the Goſpell ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the lawe, and the lawe from the Goſpell ; but this cannot they do, which aſcribe iuſtification to woekes, and conſound, and perniciouſly mingle them together. And ſo the confirmation of this propoſition, although I could bring a great manie more reaſons, & in a manner infinite ; yet theſe which I haue alreadie brought ſhall ſuffice : and I will omit the reſt, for they which are not moved with theſe reaſons, neither will they be touched with any other.

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19. Nowbeit I thinke it not good to paſſe over with ſilence, the trifling ſhiftes and velle deuites, whereby the ſophiſters vie to avoid and obſcure this doctrine, which we haue now put forth. Firſt they ſaie, that the holie ſcriptures, as often as they take a waie the power of iuſtifying from woekes, do that onelie as touching the ceremonies of the old lawe, and not as touching iuſt and bright woekes, which commonlie they do call moſaiall woekes. In which thing how much men are deceived, euen the teſtimonies of the ſcriptures, and eſpecially of Paule, (whome they affirme to be moſt of all on their ſide, as touching that matter) will well plainlie declare. For although this apoſtle ſpeaketh of the lawe, and alſo to the ceremonies of the lawe ; yet in his declaration he writeth a great manie more other things : whereby he declarerh, that he ſpeaketh not onelie of ceremonies, but alſo euen of the other lawes of righteouſneſſe and goodneſſe : yea rather altogether of thoſe, which pertaine to maners, and euen vnto the table of the ten commandments. And in the 1. chapter, when he reprimeth the Gentiles, that without the faith of Chriſt, they could not be iuſtified, he ſetteth before their eyes, their woekes ; namely, idolatrie and ſhamefull luſts. And towards the end of the chapter, he reprimeth a verie long catalog of vices, whereunto they were infected ; neither ſpeaketh he anye thing of the ceremonies of Moſes. Wherefore, ſoſomuch as thoſe vices, which he there mentioneth, are againſt the ten commandments, and the moſaiall lawe, we can not thinke, but that

that alſo he vnderſtandeth thoſe things, which he writeth. And in the ſecond chapter he reprimeth the Jewes ſay the like kind of finnes ; ſay he ſaith ; Thou which readelt an other, doſt thou not teach thy ſelle ? Thou which teacheth that a man ſhould not ſteale, doſt thou ſteale ? That a man ſhould not commit adulterie, art a fornicator ? Yea, and thou which deteſtelt idols, doſt rob God of his honour ? We ſaie, that theſe things are contained in the lawe of the ten commandments :

And in the third chapter, he pet more manifeſtly intrate of the ſame, when he writeth, There is none iuſt, there is none that vnderſtandeth, or inquireth after God. All haue declined, and are together made vnprofitable, there is none that doth good, nor one. Theſe things we ſaie of the ſame kind, and pertaine vnto maners. If the apoſtle would haue ſpoken onelie of ceremoniall lawes, he would neuer haue made mention of theſe things. And this is alſo ſo euenly gathered, that when he had ſaid ; No ſelle is iuſtified by the woekes of the lawe : he addeth ; For by the lawe cometh the knowledge of ſinne. Wherefore that lawe, whereby we knowe ſinne, iuſtifieth not. According to which meaning, he ſaith alſo in the fourth chapter ; The lawe worketh wrath : ſo farre is it off, that it ſhould iuſtifie. But it is better manifeſt vnto all men, that finnes are verie perſeuered, and the wrath of God againſt tranſgreſſours more pronounced, by reaſon of the ten commandments, than through the precepts of ceremonies : ſo will not ſpeake alſo of that general ſentence, wherein it is ſaid in the fourth chapter, that, Vnto him which worketh, a reward is not verſe 4.

imputed according vnto grace, but according to debt : and alſo ; That God would haue the inheritance to conſiſt of grace, that the promiſe ſhould abide firme, and not be changed ; that our glorying might be excluded ; which glorying cometh no leſſe of god woekes moſaiall, than of ceremonies. It is writen alſo in the fiſt chapter, that The lawe entered in, that ſinne might abound ; and where ſinne hath abounded, there alſo hath grace more abounded. Theſe things alſo he ſaith to be done vnto ceremonies onelie. Forouer, in the firſt chapter, when it was objected vnto him, that by ſo deſpelling the lawe and the lawe, he do ſeeme to open a gate vnto laſe life, and vnto ſlothfullneſſe, and vnto finnes ; as now ſaith they objected vnto vs, he answered, that ; We ought not to abide in ſinne, forſomuch as we are now dead vnto it. By baſepheme (ſaith he) we are buried with Chriſt, that euen as he died, and roſe againe, ſo likewiſe ſhould we walke in newnelle of life. And he admoniſheth vs, that euen as Chriſt died once, and died no more ; ſo alſo we

verſe 11.

verſe 11.

Rom. 3. 20.

Rom. 4. 15.

Rom. 7. 5.

Rom. 6. 1.



he should effume our felues dead to finne, but living vnto God. And he addeth, that we must haue a diligent care, that sinne raigne not in our mortall bodies, and that we giue not our members the weapons of iniquitie vnto sinne, but giue ouer our felues vnto God, as of dead folks, now living, and our members the weapons of righteousness to sanctification.

20 These things, which we haue rehearsed, and the rest which followeth, euen in a manner to the end of the chapter, seeme thee to pertaine vnto the ceremonies of Moles; or rather to a iust, sincere, and mortall life: & the matter is so plaine, as there needeth no question therein: yet those things, which are writtten in the seventh chapter, be yet much more manifest. The affections (saith he) which are in the members, had force by the lawe, to bring forth fruit vnto death.

But what other thing are these affections, than lusts, filthie desires, anger, hatred and enuie; in that catalog, where the weapons of the flesh are separated from the weapons of the spirit? And there is no doubt, but that all these things pertaine vnto the ten commandments. Which thing the better to vnderstand, Paule addeth;

What shall we saie then? Is the lawe sin? God forbid. But I had not knowne sinne, but by the lawe: for I knew not what lust ment, vntill the lawe had said; Thou shalt not lust. & the lawe in deed is holie, the commandment is holie, iust, and good. Again; The lawe in deed is spiritual, but I am carnall, & fold vnder sinne; for that which I do: I allow not; for the good which I would, I do not; but the euill which I would not, that I do: wherefore is not I now that worke it, but sin which dwelleth in me; for there dwelleth no good in me, that is in my flesh.

I haue a delight in the lawe of God, as touching the inward man: but I feele another lawe in my members, reitling the lawe of the mind. Oh vnhappie man that I am! Who shall deliuer me from the lawe of sinne and of death? Wherefore in mind I serue the lawe of God, but in flesh the lawe of sinne.

Wherefore shall diligent beate all these testimonies, shall exallie feie, that the apostle wholie speaketh of the ten commandments; whereof alio be plainlie maketh mention in these words.

But the works, which after ward followe in the eighth chapter; namely, That which was impossible vnto the lawe, inasmuch as it was weak, by means of the flesh, God sending his owne sonne in the similitude of flesh subiect vnto sinne, for sinne, condemned sinne in the flesh. These words 3 saie, cannot be expounded of the lawe of ceremonies; and much lesse that which followeth in the same chapter; We are debtors, not vnto the flesh, that we should liue according

to the flesh: for if ye liue according to the flesh, ye shall die; but if by the spirit ye doe mortifie the deeds of the flesh, ye shall liue. Neither came this be referred vnto ceremonies, no more than that can be, which is written vnto the Galathians: The lawe was giuen, because of transgression: for where there is no lawe, there is alio no transgression. And it is certene, that neither boasting can be excluded, neither can the promise be firme, if our iustificati should depend of the obseruation of the ten commandments, and of the moiall precepts; howeuer thou take aboue the rites and ceremonies of Moles. But much more firme is that place out of the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Romans; And if it be of works, then is not of grace: if of grace, then is it not of works. This Antithesis is vniuersall, neither can it be anye other waye applied vnto ceremonies. I will not speake of that alio, which Paule writeth vnto the Philippians; hold that he before those precepts of Moles, liued alio without blame as touching the righteousness which is of the lawe. For that which he writeth vnto the Ephesians, the second chapter; Not of works, least any man should boast; he writeth vnto the Gentiles. Wherefore those works, which be excluded from iustificati, cannot be vnderstood of ceremonies: for the Gentile obferued them not. But what will they saie of the epistle to Timothie; where, in the first chapter, we be plainlie & absolute saie to be called; not for our works, but according to purpose and grace: Alfo to Titus; He hath saved vs (saith he) not by the works of righteousness, which we haue don, but according to his mercy.

21 All these things are so plaine and manifest, that they need not anie interpretation. For there is no man so dull, but that as soon as he once heareth these things, he easilie perceiuet, howe that they can not, without great iniurie, be referred to the ceremonies & rites of Moles. But I would faine knowe of these men, why they take abate the power of iustificati from the works of ceremonies, and do so easilie attribute it vnto our moiall works. Is it not a point of good and laudable manners, to worship God with certaine appointed rites, which God hath commanded? Where not the rites & holie seruices, which before at that time prescribed vnto the people of the Jewes, commanded in the ten commandments? And without doubt, where the sabath is commanded to be obserued, there are these things contained. And euen these selfe same Sophisters, do they not at this date attribute the forgiveness of sinnes, and bestowing of grace, vnto their sacraments; as in the old testament they were attributed vnto circumcision? What manner of new conscience is this; one will to saie, that the rites of Moles had no power

power to iustifie; and an other while to grant that the same were sacraments of the old fathers; and that in circumcision, original sinne was forgiven vnto infants? But this asserne not we; nare rather we vnderstande, that anie sacraments bestowe grace: they do in deed of free grace, but yet by signification. For in the sacraments, and in the words, and visible figures is set forth vnto vs the promise of God, made through Christ; which promise if we take hold of by faith, we both obtaine a greater grace, than that was, which before we had; and also with the scale of the sacraments, we scale the gift of God, which by faith we enioyered. But I cannot enough maruell at these men, which both asserne, and also denie one and the selfe same thing.

They answer in deed, but not with anie great audibleness, as their accustomed manner is; that they bitterlie take not abate from the sacraments of the ebet fathers, and of the new testament, the strength of iustificati; but onlie from the time that the gospel was published abroad; of which onlie times as they saie the dispute is; but Paule had, to proue that the rites of Moles should be no more retained, did ascribe. But here alio, according to their accustomed manner, they are both deniied themselves, and also they deniee others. For seeing the apostle teacheth, that Abraham was not iustified by circumcision; but receiued it afterward, being now iustified by faith; vndoubtedly he teacheth abate the power of iustificati from that ceremony, euen alio in the time of Abraham, wherein it was first instituted. David alio, when he assesteth, that blessings herein consisteth, that sinnes should not be imputed; (which thing, as we now reason, is nothing els than to be iustified) speaketh he of his owne time, or of an other time? And Abacuke when he saith, that The iust man liueth by faith, and excludeth works from iustificati, (as Paule manifestlie expoundeth him) speaketh he onlie of his owne time thinke you? Vndoubtedly he speaketh both of our time, and alio of his owne time. I asse, when Paule expoundeth vnto the Galathians, in the 3. chapter; As manie as are of the lawe, are vnder the curse; and goeth on pronouncing that sentence; from thence (3 beareth you) seareth he his testimonie; Vndoubtedly, out of the lawe. He saith; Cursed be he, which abideth not in all the things, that are written in the booke of the lawe. Seeing there be the lawe to speake, and that (as Paule faith) it waspeth in a curse all those that transgresse the commandments thereof; then it followeth of necessity, that by those works which pertaine vnto it, no man can be iustified.

22 But these men lie to an other thie. For they saie, that all those which are to be iustified,

are not of one and the selfe same condition: for they saie, that some of the hebreys, & some of the Gentiles, are conuered to the faith of Christ, and become christians; againe; that some, after they haue once receiued Christ, do fall into greivous and wicked crimes, and haue need againe of iustification. Now (saie they) the state and condition of both parties is not alike: for they, which haue once possessed the name of christians, when they are fallen, cannot recover righteousness, but by good works; as by almes-deeds, by teares, fasting, confessions, and such other: which preparations & meritis are not required of them, that from inbelitie are first conuered vnto Christ. But I would first heare of these good

wise men, out of what place of the holie scripture they found this distinction. And seeing the nature of iustificati is vniuerselle one and the selfe same, and pertaineth as well to the one as to the other; why should the one come vnto it one waye, and the other an other waye? Further, why do they attribute vnto those that are fallen in this point, that they by their good works do merit vnto themselves iustificati; but vnto those which are first conuered, they attribute not the same? Are they, which haue not kept faith, when they were in the church, better than the Galathians? Certeinly 3 thinke not; For they which haue the faith, once tasted of the sweete word of God, and afterward fall from it, are in worse state then the other. And the seruant, which knoweth the will of his master, and doeth it not, is more greivously punished. Alfo; He which had said he a care ower his, and especially ouer his owne household, the same man hath deniied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel. But they saie, they denie not, but that they which are conuered from Infidels, may do some good works; yea and that if they do them, they may after some sort beare iustification, at the last iudicall (as they terme it) of congruities; but that these works are alse required, as well of these, as of the other, they denie.

But notwithstanding as all their works (as 3 haue else there taught) are sinnes; how can they do good works before God? For neuer, howeuer god woeles requirement of them, before they come vnto Christ, and are baptised with water of them, which are regenerate by Christ, can be leuee true, vnlesse he earnestly repent him of the life which he hath led: For he both gratulati lauent the sinnes and offenders of his former life, & confesseth, that he hath grievously erred; which thing if he do not, vndoubtedly he belieueth not faithfullie and true. This both Augustinne tudie of himselfe, in his booke of confessions, and in the Actes of the apostles, the Christians, when they had giuen themselves vnto Christ, did not onlie confesse their sinnes; but also burned those bakes, which before they had used

They put a difference betweene them, which were first conuered, vnto Christ, and those which were fallen from christians.

They say they are fallen from grace, and therefore they may not be iustified.

1.Tim.3.

Ad.19, 19.

Rom.6, 5.

Gal.5, 19.

Rom.7, 7.

verfe.13.

Rom.5, 3.

verfe.11.

Gal.3, 19.

Rom.11, 4.

Phil.4, 4.

Ephes.4, 9.

1.Tim.6, 1.

Purp.5, 5.

Gal.3, 3.

Abac.2, 4.

Rom.1, 17.

Iudic.10.

1.Tim.6, 1.

verfe.11.

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unto iustificacion. But I will declare that hath received the same. They are penitence in the fathers, that they attributed much to tears, fasting, almes, and other goodly works of the penitent. But these men understand not what the fathers meant in those places: for they intreated of ecclesiastical satisfactions, and not of our works, whereby God should be pacified, or the forgiveness of sinnes deserved. For the church, by so much as it lieth not the inward faith of them that fall, (for there are many, which not adding the flame of excommunication, do sometimes counterfeit some thing of conversion and repentance, thereby the rather to be reconciled, and received into the communion of the other brethren;) the church (I saie) to the end that this should not happen, would have a place of their faith, and conversion to God: neither would it admit unto the fellowship of the faithful, such as were fallen; before they had desired fastings, confessions, and almes, as witnesses of a true and perfect changing. And because these men make not this, they confound all things, and build thereupon most detestable hypocrisie.

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22 But they haue yet another faith: for they saie, that the works of Iudithes, are not finnes, although they be done without the faith of Christ. For they imagine, that there is a certaine generall confused faith towards God, which faith, they which haue, although they be leuied not in Christ; yet that they maie haue manye excellent works, which euen for that selfe same faiths sake, maie please God, and after a sort be of iustification. They giue (saie they) large almes, they honour their parents, they beare exceeding loue to their countrie; if they haue committed any thing that is euill, they are soie for it; they liue moderately, and do a great manye other such like things, & that not vnaduulicably. But because they beleeue that there is a God, which delighteth in such duties, therefore they bend their endeavour to those things, to make themselves acceptable vnto him. Further, they point out & colour their fond beuities, with a trine similitude. A fable (saie they) is a poe, being put into the earth, although often times it faile not roote, o life, yet diueth it some (once out of the earth, and do bringeth forth some leaues, and budbety, as if it liued in bodily sort: likewise, men (saie they) that are strange from Christ, although they liue not by the celestiall spirit; yet by some inspiration of the spirit, they waake those excellent works, which haue been described. But we that are instructed by the holie scriptures, do acknowledge no other faith, whereby we can please God; but one, that whi is in Christ Iesus. For, there is none other name vnder heauen giuen vnto

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Act.14.1.

men, whereby we can be saued, but onelie the name of Christ our sauour. And Paule, as often as he maketh mention of faith which iustificeth, alwaies declarerh it to be that faith, whereby we are godlie affected towards Christ, and his Gospel.

But least that Paule of himselfe, and alone should come to teach this; I will a little more deeply reapeate the whole matter. Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted vnto him for righteousnesse. But what beleued he? For, which that he should haue said giuen him, name, that onelie fad (as Paule interpreteth it) wherein all nations should be blessed, which is Christ Iesus. His testament was confirmed of God vnto him in Christ; yet, the Lord himselfe, when he spake of him, fad: I haue my daie, and called, Iob also in the 19. chapter, I knowe (saie he) that my redeemer liueth, which shall also rise in the last daie, after them which doe lie in the dust. And after the woman hee destroyed this bodie, I shall see the Lord in my flesh; whom I shall shall see, and mine owne eyes shall behold, and none other for me. This faith, expressed in those words, is in no wise generall; or confused: for in it is plainelie described the principall points, which pertaine vnto Christ. For first he is called a redeemer, wherein is published the forgiveness of sinnes. Further, his coming to iudgement is set forth, and also the resurrection of the dead; wherein, not other bodie, but euen the selfe same, which they had before, shalbe restored vnto men. There is also added the humane nature of Christ, which maie be saue with corporalities. Further, what manner of faiths I belesh pon is that, which these men ascribe Iudithes to haue: For a true and firme perswasion, and a continual constant and an assured assent vnto the promises of God, without which it (as I said) at the beginning all good motions of the mind. Who then can they saie, that these men haue faith, which lie still sleeping in idolatrie, and in most shameful and grosse finnes?

They may indeed haue a certaine credulitie, either by education, or by human perswasion, or by an opinion after a sort rooted in them: but to haue a true faith, so long as they lead such a kind of life, it is not by any means possible; vnlesse they will grant, that the works haue also faith; for they assent vnto many things, which be professe and beleeue. But that place of Paule in the first epistle to the Corinthians, wherein it is said; If I haue all faith, so that I can remove mountains, and haue not charitie, I am nothing; they will haue to be understood, not onelie of the true faith; but they also fad, that the same faith may be separated from charitie. Whobey they grant, that if it so come to passe,

Rom.2.21.  
Gal.2.20.  
Eph.1.19.

Gen.22.16.  
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Gal.2.16.

Iohn.1.16.  
Iob.23.17.

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the same faith will not profit any thing at all, seeing therefore they expound that place after this manner, who agree they with Paule, fearing this faile, that a generall and confused faith, whereby men be induced that are yet strange from Christ, can bring forth godly works, which of congruence may merit iustificacion, a please God; when as Paule faith, that euen The true faith also (as they interpret it) doeth nothing profic without charitie? But that similitude, whereby they bring of a fable; or a poe fastened in to the earth, vnder the earth, which they haue opinion. For although being dead it seemeth to liue; yet in verie bad it lieth not; and a wise husbandman seeth that the budding forth is vnprofitable; and therefore such leaues he canst plucke and destroyeth, as vaine and nothing worthy. And of the same estimation with God are those works, which these men do colour and set forth to the eyes.

24 They tuent also another fond colour, not much unlike vnto the former: [for they saie] that those works of the law are not the same without grace. For there is faie they a certaine generall grace laid forth vnto all men, and common euen vnto men not regenerate, whereby they being after a sort holpen, may merit iustificacion, and do works which please God. But in so saying, they fall into the heresie of Pelagius: for he also taught, that men without the grace of Christ, might euen by the vertue and strength of nature, and by the doctrine of the lawe waake godly works, whereby they might be iustified. Neither doth this anie thing helpe their cause, in that they saie, that they referre not these things vnto nature, but vnto grace; which the Pelagians vtterlie denied. For in works they will seeme to disagree from them, when as in verie deed they verie much agree with them: for in that they asigne a grace, whereby they can attaine vnto righteousnes without Christ, they are both against Christ, and the Mileuitane Council, and the holie scriptures. Further, in that they make grace common vnto all men, they turne it into nature; and they faie that some will use it, some will not use it. And this grace they call a preuenting grace; but that other, which is more absolute, they call an after following grace. Which diuision we denie not, so that it be rightlie understood: for we grant there is one grace which preuenteth, and another which followeth after; howbeit, the fauour of God through Christ, wherewith we are both presented to liue well, and wherewith we afterward being regenerate, are holpen and brought vp to liue well, is one and the same. For who euen bodied, but that we are preuented of God, to the intent we may be changed and renewed in Christ: yet were we not made, which

would faie, that we in our corruption and turning vnto God, be preuented the aid and helpe of God. He first teacheth us, before we can begin to loue him; he first directeth vs up by his fauour and spirit, before we can either will, or thinke anie thing that is good.

But herein is an error, if we thinke that men are induced with the grace of Christ, when they are not yet regenerate, nor renewed in Christ. Indeed there be illuminations sometimes giuen vnto them; but if those be not to beche, and if effectual as they change their minds, then serue they vnto their iudgement and condemnation, and not vnto their saluation: which thing we must thinke, that euen the finnes of them which are so illuminated do decrease. And least that anie man should be ignorant, that these meanes meaning is; it must be understood, that they ascribe that Paule excluded from iustificacion such works onelie, as are done of them by free will alone, and as be of the helpe of the lawe. But I would faine knowe of these men, what manner of works these be, which are to be done of men, in that they are not yet regenerate, nor renewed in Christ. Indeed there be illuminations sometimes giuen vnto them; but if those be not to beche, and if effectual as they change their minds, then serue they vnto their iudgement and condemnation, and not vnto their saluation: which thing we must thinke, that euen the finnes of them which are so illuminated do decrease. And least that anie man should be ignorant, that these meanes meaning is; it must be understood, that they ascribe that Paule excluded from iustificacion such works onelie, as are done of them by free will alone, and as be of the helpe of the lawe, but rather by the impulsio of the flesh, and of the diuill. Neither are they natural works; as to plain or pasture, to plough, to reape, and to faie: for as touching those things, there is nothing commanded in the lawe. Where remaineth anie honest, euill, or morall works; as, to honour the parents, to helpe the poore, to be loose for wicked acts committed: for these things are both commanded in the lawe, and may (as these men thinke) be performed by free will: from all these (saie they) Paule taketh away the colour of iustification.

But what other godly works there are three remaining: Cinquente 3 Ie none, vnlesse preuenture they vnderstand that, which be done of men alreadie iustified: for before iustification, other works haue no more helpe of grace, which we haue now rehearsed. Seeing therefore these men exclude both finnes, and also works natural, and these morall works, which the lawe commandeth; vnaduulicably they exclude all works. Let them then shew vnto what works they would haue men to be iustified, if they haue anie consideration, they would haue this fauour alwaies before their eyes; If of grace, then not of Rom.11.6.

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*Ibid. 4. 13.* wheth the wrath of God : *foz*, The lawe wrought wrath. *Sporeuer*, it augmenteth the punishments of sinne : *foz*, The lawe entered in, that sinne should abound. *It bringeth also a curse :* *foz*, As manie as vnder the lawe, are vnder the curse. *But to what end are these things :* That it might be as it were our scholmaster vnto Christ. *foz*, they which acknowledge their finnes, doe see that the wrath of God hangeth ouer them ; and feele that their finnes doe daily increase, and that they continually more and more are vnder the curse : at the length, when the spirit of God shall beate vpon them, they begin to long for Christ, that they might by him be deliuered from so great euils. And thus is the scholmaster ship of the lawe vnto Christ. *Now*, seeing it is so, how can the lawe serue vnto any man impossible : further, who will fee, when with so great cunning he doeth teach in his bookes, called *Analytica posteriora*, the nature of a Syllogisme demonstratiue : when as yet not without finding, there are scantie found, anye reasons framed with so great cunning, in anye facultie, or sciences of wise men : *foz*, seeing we are ignorant of the last & perfect difference of things, we cannot either perfect define, or make a perfect demonstration.

But yet notwithstanding Aristotle bestowed good and diligent labour : *foz*, by those his most excellent rules, he the which were vnto the least we should leuell, if anye man will succell and shew himselfe anye thing. Cicero also, when he described vnto vs his first or *De oratore*, as there neuer hath bene, or shall be, yet lately not his labour : *foz*, this at the least maie he shew, with what patience he sought to get before him, withy desired to excell in that art. So that God doeth forth his lawes, that men should alwaies haue an example before their eyes, whereby they should frame their life. Besides this, vnto men that are regenerate in Christ, the lawes of God are not vnto them impossible to be observed : *foz*, seeing that they by the spirit of God haue their strength after a sort renewed, and the rage of the flesh somewhat repressed, they maie acceptably manie things which are gratefully and acceptable vnto God. Further also, men not yet regenerate maie neuertheless, as touching outward discipline, after a sort applye themselves vnto the lawes of God. Which thing where it is exercised, publick wealth flourisheth, and the wrath of God is not so much kindled against men ; and the punishments, which God vseth sometimes, to poynt vpon open sinners, are for a time auoided.

28 And there are no final or vltimate of the lawe, which they seeme to be ignorant of, which make those obediens vnto vs. But

they, not being content with these, faile further ; that the lawe maie be kept, euen of men not yet regenerate. And if a man object the excellencie and difficultie thereof, they answer, that our righteousness, if it be compared with the righteousness of God, which is an extreme due absolute and perfect ; or if it be applied vnto the lawe, as the lawe by it selfe is considered ; it is no righteousness. But if our righteousness be so compared with the lawe, as God of his goodnes condescendeth vnto our infirmities ; after that manner we maie obserue it, and be iustified by good works. But this you must knowe is a supposititious distinction of Iohannis, whereby he to bow him the authority to moderate the lawe of God, which authority doubtlesse can pertaine vnto no mortal men. And this maie we proue both by the lawe of man, and also by the lawe of God : *foz*, it is written in the *De legibus & senatus consultis* : As touching those things, which are first in a common wealth, decrees ought to be made certaine, either by interpretation, or by the constitution of a god : namely, that it be not in the hand of anye man, or Iudge, to mitigate the lawes at his pleasure, or to transgresse them vnder the name of anye equitie. *foz*, so in diuine lawes should be made, *Lexiuregula* ; that is, A rule of lea; and all things should be conformed at euery mans pleasure.

But rather this rule is therefore giuen, that if the extremities of the lawe be set forth in anye decree, and the equitie and moderation of that extreme lawe be no where expressed, the Iudge ought to followe the equitie rather, and ought not to vfe equitie ; which equitie yet he maie then followe, if it be expressed in anye lawe. As *foz* example, All lawes agree, that if a debtor paye not his monie at his daie, and the creditor by that means sustaine losse, the debtor is bound to make the losse. And thus they call to paye the interest, or (as other speake) to paye the damage. But because we find in the *De legibus*, *De regula iuris* ; In all things, that thing is taken for a fact, wherein it cometh to passe, that by another mans means, there is a fauic while it is not done : therefore, if the debtor can proue, that the fault was not in him, why the monie was not paid, for that he had the monie, and offered the same, and that the creditor was in fault of non payment ; although the creditor sustaine neuer so much losse by forbearing his monie, yet is not the debtor bound in equitie to make recompense. *foz*, by written equitie it is counted for a debt, when the let came by reason of another. Wherefore it manifestly appereth, that it is not in the power of a Iudge, or of anye other man, to moderate lawes as he list himselfe.

And

And if the case be so in the Moynne lawes, inuented & set forth by men, what shall we thinke of the lawe of God : *foz*, it ought infinite to be more firme than the lawe of man : neither is it lawfull for vs, to faime anye equitie therein, vnto when we list it to expresse written. As *foz* example, The lawe is, He which shall shed mans blood, his blood also shall shed. Here was the extreme of the lawe, which without lesse we ought alwaies to followe ; but lesse in some other place equitie had taught, that the same extreme ought to be mitigated. But in another place it is thus written, If two goe forth together into the wood to cut downe wood, and the ax be by chance fallen out of the hand of the one, and killeth him that standeth by him ; let there be some cities of refuge, whereto this mannelele may flee, and in which he maie liue safe, till such time as the matter be tried : so that, if he can proue his innocence, then let him be let goe free at the death of the high priest. This equitie might the Iudges vfe, because it was written in the lawes of God ; yea, and it was their part also to vfe it, so often as they lawe that the matter, which they had in hand, did so require. But that it was lawfull for them, by their authority, to bend the lawes of God ; or to mitigate them ; it cannot be proued by anye testimony of the holie scriptures : naie, or the contrarie part, they were commanded, that they should not decline either to the left hand, or to the right hand ; and that they should neither add anye thing vnto the lawe of God, nor yet take awaye anye thing from it. And we need no long discourse to teach, that the lawe is impossible to be observed, as touching our aduice and strength, and especially before we are regenerate.

Pauls words in the 3. chapter vnto the Romans : That which was impossible vnto the lawe, in as much as it was weakened by the flesh, &c. Also in the same chapter : The wisdom of the flesh is enmitie against God ; for it is not subiect vnto the lawe of God, naie true, nor can be. And in the 7. to the Corintheans ; The carnall man vnderstandeth not the things, which are of the spirit of God, neither can he be : for vnto him they are foolishnes. Christ also : An euill tree (saith he) cannot bring forth good fruits. Also ; How can ye speake good things, when ye your selues are euill ? All these things do manifestly teach, that it is impossible that the lawe of God should be observed by humane strength, being so defiled and corrupted as it is. But as touching these caualities, and subtil shifts of the papists, let these sayings suffice.

29 Now let vs come to certaine particular objections of theirs, whereby they labour both

to trouble vs, and also to establish their own conclusions. The first that Adah, the vngodlike king, did, they saye, was that he the things of Elias, that he put on sackcloth, and to goe late on the ground and fasted, and weat barbare : and so that cause the Lord said vnto the prophet ; Hail thou not leene Adah humble himselfe before me ? In his daies I will not bring the euill, but in the daies of his sonne. Besides, saith they, the words of an vngodlike king, and one not yet instructed, do so please God, that they pacifie God towards him. But we see on the contrarie side, that Adah, by these facts was not instructed : first he had had that true faith, which doth iustifie men ; he would not haue a vnto him in idolatrie, and other most detestable finnes. Adah he was somewhat more at the threatening of the popple ; yet yet that which he did, pertained onely vnto a certaine outward & ciuill discipline, rather than to true repentance. But God saith, that he was humbled before him ; answer, that that was, before he was made : before that time he was before God, maie be referred either vnto the words of God, which were spoken vnto Adah, by the prophet, so that the meaning is : Before me, that is to saie, As my words ; or else, Before me, that is to saie, In the church of the Israelites. And by that fact, Adah testified, that he repented of the wicked part, which he had done : and that was a good and profitable example before the multitude. But God, which biddeth the imburden of his hart, saue that that repentance was fained and vntruthfull ; and so that cause be promoued that he would onely deferre the punishment, so that that punishment, which otherwise should haue happened in his daies, should be agayne in the daies of his sonne.

Further in this discourse, neither ought we to be ignorant thereof, that for the heaping of outward discipline, paynes are to be giuen, and most grieuous punishments of this present life are awarded, *foz*, we teach not, that all finnes are equally & vnto all cryed : all the finnes of the Amorites were full. And then at the length his wrath is wroth to be poured out, when full liues, and wicked acts, impudencie and vnto outward discipline is kept, God oftentimes giueth manie good things ; not indeed for the merit of the dees, but for order sake, appointed by God in his nature. *foz*, God, in respect of the conseruation of us, and good order of things, will, that this by a certaine conseruation, should followe of the other. But I marvel that these men meane, when out of the bookes of the Chronicles, they cite, that Roboam the sonne of Salomon did euill, in that he prepared not his hart to inquire of the Lord. They might easily haue seen, that this is nothing to this present purpose, vnlesse they be

As it is.

3

I may to terme them) table-books, which have more still in the tables, than in the books. For so oft as they find in the table of the holy books, this word, To prepare, or, Preparations, that straightwaie, whosoever it is, they snatch; thinke that it maketh for their purpose, and pertaineth unto their preparatorie works. But the holy scripture, there it had declared, that the king becom himselfe lutchlike; anoth by exposition (as it oftentimes doth) that He had not an upright heart, and ready to seeke the Lord.

Neither doth this anie thing more helpe their cause, which is written in the 16. chapter of the Psalms; It pertaineth to a man to prepare the hart, but the answer of the tongue is of the Lord. For we lught by those words to understand nothing els, than that men in deed are wont to purpose with themselves manie things; but when it the cunct a successe is in their power, but dependeth of God. Then do oftentimes appoint with themselves what they will fate in the fenat house, in the ludgetment place, before the kings, unto the loudibours, and unto the people; but that shall come to passe, that lieth in the pleasure of God. They in deed prepare the hart, but God executeth the answer of the tongue, according to his providence. Such another weightie reason they cite out of the 10. psalm; The Lord hath heard the desire of the poore, diue care had heard the preparation of the poore. But in this place these good matters make two flat errors; for first they understand not that which they speake; secondly, they cite not the place according to the truth of the becheve. For the sense is, that God bestoweth not the prayers of the poore, but according to his great goodness accomplisheth those things for them, which he had determined in their mind to befall of him: it is the preparation of the hart. For none that is godlike beareth anie thing of God, but first he deliberateth in his hart, that the same thing is to be desired; otherwise he should come rashlie into God, and should paise foolishlie. But these men, wheresoever they find in the holy scriptures, this word, To prepare; straitening they snatch it up, euen against the nature thereof, to establish lutch preparatorie.

Now let vs see what the sentence is after the Hebrew veritie; *Thaauah ananiam fahamata fahana takim libbam tachshif ozeqata*, that is, Thou Lord hast heard the desire of the poore, thou hast prepared, or thou hast prepared their harts; diue care shall here. Where we see the desires of the faints, whom the Lord heareth the desires of the faints, whom he calleth poore. And he is aduocatus cause; namely, because God prepareth their harts, to requite those things, which may serue for their lutchness, and which please God. But by whom God wooldeth such a preparation in the parts of the

faiethall, Paule teacheth in his epistle to the Romans, and he teacheth; What we should aske, as we ought, we knowe not: but the spirit praied for vs with vnspokeable signes. But God, who searcheth the harts, faith what the spirit will do for the faints. We see therefore both by Dauid, and also by Paule, that God heareth those prayers, which are by the impulsion of his spirit stirred up in them that paise unto him. We learne also of the Church fathers, and also by the spirit stirred up in them that paise unto him, that in no place there are; that there are; that they without consideration, and rashly, do not require anie thing of God. But they which profess Christ, euen as they beleeue that he is the author of their prayers: so also do they close by their prayers in this sentence; Thy will

30. But (saie they) Ezediel faith in his 18. chapter; Walk in my wayes, and make ye a new hart. And Ieremie; Be ye conuerted unto me, saith the Lord. Therefore a man (saie they) may of himselfe prepare himselfe to the obtaining of righteousness. But these men should remember, that it is no taught dealing, to cite some places of the holy scriptures, and to cure by and leave other some vnspoken. Let them and go therefore, and see what Ezediel writeth in the 36. chapter; I (saith the Lord) will bring to passe, that ye shall walke in my wayes; And I will giue vnto you a fleshe hart, and will take away from you your stonie hart. Ieremie also in the 31. chapter; Conuert me o Lord, and I shall be conuerted. Therefore Augustine verie well saith; One that thou commandest, a command that thou wilt. They abuse also an other place out of the prophet Ionas, to confirme their error; for there it is written, that God regarded the works of the Ninuities. Behold (saie they) the afflictions of the Ninuities, whereby they afflicted themselves with fastings, and cries vnto the Lord; the Lord prepared pardon. As though it beuoud not the Ninuities first to beleeue the word of God, before they could either paise effectually, or else repent them. Seeing therefore they beleeued, before they did anie works; they were iustified by faith, and not by works, which followed afterwaies. And God is said to haue regarded their works, because they pleased him.

Neither do we euer denie, that the works of men, being not iustified, are acceptable vnto God. So often as we find in the scriptures such places, which serue to attribute righteousness vnto our works; we must (according to the doctrine of Augustine) haue a consideration, out of what foundation those works proceed. And when we perceiue, that they spring out of faith; we ought to ascribe vnto that root, that which afterwards is adde as touching righteousness. And both

both folowe these men erre in their reasoning, hereby we may perceiue; for that they take vpon them to transference those things, which are proper to one kind of men, vnto another. Which thing humane lawes will not suffer to be done; for, as we find in the Code, as touching testaments of last willes; If ruffical a vnlearned man, which dwel out of cities, and haue not those of lute and learned men, do make their last willes without a solemnitie required therunto, and without a sufficient number of witnesses prescribed, they yet otherwise should be necessary; such testaments ought to be allowed. Now if a man would transference this prerogative vnto citizens, who, for that they haue their abiding in cities, haue those of men of understanding; he should erre double erre: for if their testaments be to make, they are refused; neither are they counted firme. So we saie, that the works of men iustified may please God; but this notwithstanding neither can no; ought to be granted vnto them, which are without faith, and without Christ.

Further, let vs marke the accustomed foolishness and deceitfull kind of reasoning of the aduerfaries; which the Logicians do terme, *A non causa est causa*; to wit, from that which is not the cause, as though it were the cause. For they allowes appoint good works to be the causes of righteousness; when as in verie deed, they are effects of righteousness, and not causes. For it is as though a man should faie; The fire is therefore hot, because it maketh hot; but it is cleane contrarie; for, therefore it maketh hot, because it is hot. So also we, because we are iustified, therefore we do iust things; and not because we do iust things, therefore we are iustified. Some times also they obiect, that God will render vnto ouer men according to his works; whereto, works (saie they) are the causes of our felicitie. But here also, as their twisted manner is, they are verie much deceived: for, vnles they denie some new Scammar vnto themselves; vnbouteth this word. According, significantly not the cause. But Christ (saie they) in his last iudgetment, seemeth to expresse these to be as it were causes, for the which the kingdom of heauen is giuen vnto them; for thus will he saie; I was hungry, and ye fed me; I was thirfie, and ye gaue me drinke.

But Christ doth not in verie deed rehearse these things, as causes; but rather those things which went before; Come ye blessed of my father, possesse the kingdom which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world. For the true cause of our felicitie is, because we are elected and predestinate of God to the eternall inheritance: for they which are in this number, are in their time aduocatus with faith, whereby they

being iustified, haue right vnto eternall life. But because this faith is hidborne, neither can it be seene; and that Christ will haue all men to vnderstand, that none but the iust are receiued into the kingdom of heauen; therefore heberthely be these outward works, that by them it might plainlie be perceiued, that righteousness is giuen vnto men by faith. For there is no man which can be so ignorant, but that he knoweth that there be two foundations and principles of things; the one whereby they are; the other whereby they are knowne.

Again, they obiect out of the first of Samuel; Those that honour me, I will honour; and defile me, I will despise. Here (saie they) the promise is made vnto the worke: But if they would make a distinction betweene the promise of the gospel, and the promises of the laue, they should easilie vnderstand, that that place is nothing repugnant vnto our saying. For if we could of our felices satisfie the commandments of the laue, then might it be the cause, why the promise should be giuen vnto vs; but sofoosmuch as no man is able to performe it, all men die vnto Christ, and are through faith in him iustified. Then, by a certaine obedience begun, we begin to worke; which although it be not eradicable, according vnto the rule of the commandment; yet it pleaseth God; and he of his mere liberalitie performeth the promise which was aduocatus vnto that worke. And to those conditions, which are aduocatus vnto the precepts, are not impossible; for they that are iustified attaine vnto them.

Further are these men aduocatus to cite these words out of the 35. psalm; Look vpon an iust man, & my labour, and forgive me all my iniquities; though our labours and afflictions are the causes of the remission of sinnes. But in this place Dauid, being in most grievous calamities, desirous of God to forgive him all his sins; that if he were angrie for his sinnes, the cause of punishments might be taken away. For here is not intreated of labours, which a man taketh vpon him of his owne voluntarie will; but of punishments laid vpon him by God. We see also, that diligēt, while they are beaten of the masters, do before forgiveness and pardon. If thou gaue an almes vnto one that is leprous, the leprous cannot properly be called the cause of the compassion of mercie; for otherwise all that passed by the leper, should do the same; but the true cause thereof, is the louing affection in thy mind.

But they saie moreover, that in the holy scriptures, much is attributed vnto repentance; which thing we denie not. But we, on the other side, would haue them to vnderstand, that repentance is the fruit of faith; and that no man can profitably repent of him of his sinnes, but

Pro. 16. 1. why it is said that it belongeth to man to prepare the hart.

ver. 17. the preparation of the hart of the poore.

what is the preparation of the hart.

soo preparereth the hart of the faints.

a similitude.

a similitude.

1 Cor. 5. 10. 20. is to be understood; that God immediately to iustitie men according to his works.

Mat. 5. 35.

the chylde in the last iudgetment shall make mention of outward works.

there be two manner of principles of things.

1 Sam. 2. 30.

ver. 18.

a similitude.

23. estimati-  
on of con-  
fession.  
Mant. 7. 4.

Particular  
examination.

Mant. 6. 13.  
ver. 14.

Forgive us  
our trespass-  
es: expoun-  
ded.

lede be first before. They also boast of manie things touching confession. But thereof we make a distinction; for either it is separated from hope and faith, as it was in Iudas, which confessed that he had sinned, in betraying the iust blood; and that confession is to force out from blynging anie profit, that it is a preparative unto desperation, and also to destruction. Or else it is joined with faith and hope, as it was in David and Peter; and so it is the cause, but the effect of iustificacion: for it followeth faith, and goeth not before it. The auncient confession also of the papists, is altogether superfluous; therefore we utterly condemne it: for they obtrude it, as a thing necessarie unto salvation, and a cause why sinnes should be forgiven; which they are never able to prove by anie testimonie of the holie scriptures. They violently wrest this also out of the Apolos saying: Forgive vs our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against vs. Against Forgive, and it shalbe forgiven you: Ergo (saie they) the forgiveness of inturies, is the cause why our sinnes are forgiven vs. This their reason (as the common saying is) with the one hand scratcheth the head, & with the other giveth a blowe. For if the forgiveness of inturies, should as these men would have it) deserve remission of sinnes, then that remission should be no remission; for after that hath once paid the pice, there is nothing can be forgiven them: but then hath remission place, when the pice is not paid. And as touching that place, we first before that our sinnes should be forgiven vs. And because that by benefits received, men are encouraged to hope, that they shall receive other greater benefits; therefore this is the meaning of that sentence. O Father, which hath of thy fatherly goodness, given vs grace to forgive our inturies unto our trespassours, forgive unto be also our sinnes. Now by these words is not signified a cause, but a similitude, although that it well might be not perfect & absolute. For none that is alive, would have his sinnes to forgive him of God, as he hath forgiven his neighbours the inturies that he hath done unto him. For euerie one, by reason of the flesh, and that infirmity which it carrieth about, forgiveth much lesse unto his brother than he ought: for there sticketh alwayes in his mind some offence, which although it burke not forth, yet his owne conscience is a sufficient witness unto him, that his mind is not verie perfect, and entice towards him, by whom he hath bene hurt. But the former exposition teacheth, that the similitude is to be referred, not unto remission; but unto the liberallie of God: that euen as he hath forgiven the one, so also he will bountifullie to give the other. But whereas it is said; Forgive, and it shalbe forgiven: that is a commande-

ment, and therefore it pertaineth to the laie. But upon this object, that this sentence was written in the Gospel, and not in the laie. The maketh no matter; for the laie and the Col- pell are not separated asunder, by volumes of books; for both in the old testament are contained the promises of the Gospel; and also in the Gospel the laie is not onelie comprehended, but also most perfectly by Christ expounded. Therefore by these words, we are commanded to forgive inturies none unto vs.

And forasmuch as we are bound to do that according to the precept of the laie, and that we have laie dependence of this great precept; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, with all thy soule, and with all thy strength: according to the forme thereof, we ought to forgive our enemies. Which thing, because no man hath at one time performed, neither can performe; it followeth, that we ought to do it by steps, by thome we may be iustified: afterward being iustified, we may after a sort fulfill that which is commanded: which thing we do not perfectly performe, yet it pleaseth God. And he freely giveth unto vs the promise that is added, not because of our works, or of our merits; but onelie to Christs sake. They go about also to bind our eyes with the words of Daniel, when he prophesied the king, To redeem his sins with almes. But in that place, by Sinnes, we may understand, the paines and punishments due unto sinne: for the scripture weth oftentimes such phrases of speech, which thing we never do nient. For rather we willingly grant, that in respect of the works, which proceed from faith, God is wont to forgive manie things; especially, as touching the mitigation of plagues and punishments.

33. They object also this sentence out of the first chapter of Iohn; God gave them power to be made the sonnes of God: therefore (they saie) that those, which have already received Christ, that is, have beleved in him, are not yet iustified, and regenerate, and made the children of God; but onelie have received power to be made the children of God (as they thinke) by works. And in this argument, Pighius, the great champion and Achilles of the papists, weth great offence, but yet in balne: for he weth that he of necessity, to whom power is given to have anie thing, as yet hath not the same. As though we should here deduce philosophicallie, that power encliveth not: which yet euen amongst the philosophers also is not universallie true. For when they define the word, they saie, that it is an act of a bodie natural, having members or instruments, and also having life in power. By which definition appeareth, that our bodie hath life in power; when we

114. 11.

the power  
is given  
us great.

1 Cor. 3. 1.

Mant. 8. 1.

114. 11.

methinks it hath life in ad, as in verbe died. But that word power, here significth, that the bodie hath not life of it selfe, but of another; namely of the soule. Which thing we may here also at this present asseme; to wit; that those which have received the Lord, and have beleved in him, are regenerate, and made the children of God; and yet not of themselves, but some other waie; namely, of the spirit and grace of God. For to significth this word power: although the word itselfe in that place speaketh not perpetuallie, but simpliciter, and most plainelie: for a little before he said, that His received him not. By this word [His] he meant the Father, which peculiarie professed the knowledge of the true God: but when they had refused the truth offered unto them, God would not be without a people; but appointed them to be his peculiar people, which should beleve and receive Christ. Therefore he gave unto them power, that is, a right unto a prerogative: that when they had received the Lord by faith, they should be made, and be in deed the sonnes of God. And therefore the power significth adoption and grace.

Further, Pighius, although he thinke him selfe verie sharpe of wit; yet saith not, that when he was reasoned, he spakeeth things repugnant. For how is it possible, that a man should have life in himselfe, and not live? As we see, if they in beleaving have received Christ, it must needs be, that straightwaie they have righteousness: for as Paule wetheth in the first epistle to the Corinthians; He is made of God vno vs, wise, comely, righteous, and redemption. But that need we so long a discourse? The evangelist himselfe declareth unto vs, who those be, which have received such a power, namely, Which are not borne of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And if they be borne of God, then followeth it of necessity, that they are iustified and regenerated. They object also unto vs a scruple of fear, which goeth before charitie; as though by it we should be prepared unto iustificacion, and the more easilie to receive charitie. Unto whom we answer; that such a fear without charitie, is sinne. They replye againe, and saie; that Christ commanded that fear. But God commanded not fime. And he commanded such a fear as should be in the heart, which when he said; I will shew vnto you, whom ye ought to feare: feare him, which when he hath killed the bodie, can also call the soule unto hell-fire.

And that this fear prepareth unto iustificacion, they thinke may hereby be proved; for that Augustine expounding that, out of the first epistle of Iohn; Perfect charitie casteth out feare; saith, This scruple fear is not thypostitible; for

euen as a byssie being put in by the smother, a little inwardly the head smother it: so this feare blyth smothereth it charitie. As touching the first. 3. another, that their ground is false, namely, that God hath ever in aie place commanded such a feare as is without charitie and faith; which thing, I knowe right well, these men are never able to find. But as touching Augustine, we answer; that in that place of Iohn; Herein is charitie perfect in vs, that in the daie of iudgement, we have confidence that euen as he is, so are we: in this world there is not feare in charitie, but perfect charitie casteth out feare: by charitie is not to be understood, our lone towards God, but the lone of God towards vs: for he speaketh of perfect charitie, such as we have not in this life. And the meaning of Iohn is, that after we be persuaded of the perfect lone of God, thereby both he imbraceth vs; we have confidence, that in the daie of iudgement we shalbe in safetie. And this perfect charitie of God, after we once knowe it, casteth out feare; because it sufficeth vs to feare, therefore that interpretation of Augustine, touching our lone towards God, maketh nothing to the purpose.

But suppose that Iohn spake of our lone towards God, as that place is commonlie taken; in that sense also may the words of Augustine be true, but yet not universallie, that charitie casteth out feare: for we knowe, that it oberwhelmeth in Caine and Iudas; but it so happeneth onelie in men that are to be iustified. For God wetheth this meanie; first, to purge them with great feare of their sinnes, and then by it, to bring them unto faith and charitie. In the meane time yet, we nothing doubt, that such a feare is sinne; and yet nevertheless, that feare may be called profitable; not by his owne merit, or of his owne nature; but by the cause of the order instituted by God, which will be to use it to our salvation. And this thing also we add, that that charitie, the more it increaseth in vs, so much the more and more doth it cast out feare; not onelie scruple feare, but also the feare which men iustified have. For the sooner is thoughtlie persuaded of the lone of God towards him, can never feare his owne damnation: for that doubting, whereby we feare eternal punishments, is sinne. And yet that doubt cometh at alwayes thickly in our mindes; for we never in this life liveeth so much as we ought, nor so much as we should; and by reason of this weaknes of charitie, whereby we should love our neighbours; and because of the feeblenes of persuasion, whereby we ought to live in God so long as we are in this life, we never put off all this corrupt feare.

34. This scruple fear is not thypostitible; for the same against vs; Aske, and ye shall receive;

2 place of  
John 1. 10.

charitie  
casteth  
out  
alwayes  
feare  
a scruple feare.

upon a free  
will feare  
may be called  
profitable  
but by the  
cause of the  
order.

Mant. 7. 2.

now this  
to be un-  
derstood:  
And as he  
shall saie.

ceive; seeke, and ye shall find; knocke, and it shall be opened vnto you. But they ought to remember, that praier is procured from faith, and cleane into it anelic; for otherwise they can not be heard. But 3 marcell whi they left this unpoken of; Whatsoeuer ye shall aske beleeu- ing, it shall be giuen you. For by these wordes it appereth, that whatsoever is giuen vnto that alle, is giuen vnto faith. Whereunto al- so they adde a sentence out of Luke; Give almes, and all things be cleane vnto you. But these wordes may be expounded that manner of towa, of which yet neuer a one ferueth for their pur- pose. The first toaie is, to saie, that that kind of (spech) was a taunt: as if Christ would haue said vnto the Pharisees; Ye giue almes, and ye thinke straitwaie that all things are cleane vnto you, which is not so: for we ought first to make cleane those things which are within. And then be adde, he which beleeueth, shall be sa- ued. Whi these few wordes he expelleth the hea- res, which he deliuered vnto the church. In the which wordes both faith and no woordes brought, as they call it: for Christ spake onely of the faith of the hearers, and of the word of God, which is preached. But how shall we at length com- prehend this sentence, which is neuer out of their mouth.

Mark.11.41.

now this  
sentence:  
Gue al-  
mes, &c. is  
to be under-  
stood.

Manie finnes are forgiven him, because she hath loued much; if the place be diligetly pondered, it will be an easie matter to do. We ought to knowe, that some reasons are taken of the cause; 4 some of the effects. Christ in a few wordes afterward sheweth the cause of saluation; when he saith vnto the woman; Thy faith hath made thee safe. But because that faith was hidden in his mind, neither could it be seene of those which were present, therefore putting forth a parable, he sheweth; that they loue more, which receive greater gifts of anie. And that this woman re- ceived a verie great gift, (that is, iustificacion) he sheweth by the effects; namely, because she washed his feet with hir teares, and wiped them with hir haire; because she kissed them, & because she anointed them. Which things, forsomuch as that Pharise did not, it maie be a verie great token of signe, that he had not receiued the like gift.

Ecdj.30.34.

Adm.30.9.

Theodore Beza.

The third toaie is this, which in my iudge- ment moze agreeth vnto the purpose. Christ began at dinner with the Pharisees, hegan to eate with vnwashed hands; for which thing when they were offended, Christ began to reprove their ignorance, which would haue their dishes, hands, and all outward things cleane & beauti- full; but as touching that which they had inward- ly, that is, in their mind, they were nothing careful. Therefore, he first exhorteth them to pu- rifie the hart, which is inwardlie. Which thing is done by faith; for in the last it is written; by it we purifie their harts. Afterward as touch- ing outward things, he addeth; Giue almes, and do all things shall be cleane vnto you. Fur- ther, as Theodorus Beza, a man of great lear- ning and iudgement, hath in his annotations verie well considered, Christ spake not of all manner of cleane; but of that which pertains vnto meate. Wherevnto Christ applyeth a double commandement; one is, that they should eate nothing gotten by robbery or sleaht; ano- ther is, that of those things, which are within, that is, which are contained in the dishes, some- what should be taken out for the almes of the

poze, whereby whatsoever is left might be clen- sed and sanctified. What of this there is nothing, which may further our aduertaries opinion.

35 Where are others, which thinke to esta- blish this their error; by the multitude of the hea, whereby they thinke that men are absol- ved from their finnes. But they are accused; for they understand not what those heies are, the which Christ commended vnto his church.

The preaching of the word of God, touching the remission of finnes, to be obtained by Christ, is the onely heie to open the kingdome of hea- ven. And if he which beareth his word, do also aduerse a true faith, and giue full assent vnto those wordes; then cometh also the other heie. Which these two heies is the kingdome of hea- ven opened, and the forgiveness of finnes obte- ned.

Wherefore Christ, sending forth his apostles, said; Go ye, and preach the Gospel; Man.23.39. Then be adde, he which beleeueth, shall be sa- ued. Whi these few wordes he expelleth the hea- res, which he deliuered vnto the church. In the which wordes both faith and no woordes brought, as they call it: for Christ spake onely of the faith of the hearers, and of the word of God, which is preached. But how shall we at length com- prehend this sentence, which is neuer out of their mouth.

Manie finnes are forgiven him, because she hath loued much; if the place be diligetly pondered, it will be an easie matter to do. We ought to knowe, that some reasons are taken of the cause; 4 some of the effects. Christ in a few wordes afterward sheweth the cause of saluation; when he saith vnto the woman; Thy faith hath made thee safe. But because that faith was hidden in his mind, neither could it be seene of those which were present, therefore putting forth a parable, he sheweth; that they loue more, which receive greater gifts of anie. And that this woman re- ceived a verie great gift, (that is, iustificacion) he sheweth by the effects; namely, because she washed his feet with hir teares, and wiped them with hir haire; because she kissed them, & because she anointed them. Which things, forsomuch as that Pharise did not, it maie be a verie great token of signe, that he had not receiued the like gift.

They cite also out of the epistle vnto the Ro- mans; Not the hearers of the lawe shall be iusti- fied, but the doers. But Paule in that place, when he repproued the Iewes, because when they had receiued the lawe, and boasted thereof, yet thus contrarie to the lawe; meant thereby nothing else, but that if righteounes were to be fought for by the lawe, it is not sufficient either to haue it, or to heare it: but it beoweth both in acts and dees to performe it. And this we neuer denied, but that a man maie be iustificed by the lawe, if he be perfectly and fullie accomplishe it: but forsomuch

what be  
these heies  
liken to the  
church.

Luk.7.47.  
Manie  
finnes are  
forgiven  
him, be-  
cause  
shee  
loved  
much.

Rom.13.  
Not the  
hearers, but  
the doers  
of the lawe,  
shall be  
iustified.

Phil.3.11.

What fa-  
re and trem-  
ble they  
vnto iusti-  
fication, &c.  
meaneth.

forsomuch as the same is by no means possible, we saie, that by it righteounes cannot be hoped for. That also which they obiect out of the epistle vnto the Philippians; With feare and trem- bling, worke your saluation, doth nothing helpe them. Croudredie, they which knowe that they haue all that they haue from God, are of a moderate and humble mind; and are euer more afraid of themselves: for they lie that in themselves, there is nothing that is god, but that helpe is to be looked for at the hands of God onely; and therefore Paule biddeth a godlie man alwaies to feare and tremble. But they which thinke, that it lieth in their owne power to iustifie and saue themselves, (say be they, which in this matter contend against vs) haue no- thing whereof they need to be afraid, or to trem- ble. For they boast, that their saluation consisteth in themselves; which saluation, though Paule do in this place name; yet he thereby vnderstandeth not iustificacion: for he writeth vnto those which were already before iustified. Wherefore this place maketh nothing for them. But Paule calleth saluation, a reuoluing, by which he alwaies profit, and go forwards vnto things better and better. I asse, as it were to make by their arme, and assure themselves the bixote, they obiect this out of the third chap- ter of the Apocalypse; Behold I stand at the doore, and knocke; and if anie man open vnto me, I will enter in, and sup with him. And we do fullie consent vnto them, that by these wordes is signified; that God at the beginning, calleth, directly by, and ingrateth vs to saluation; but to which no man by his owne strength can be led, without the impulsion of God: but that we of our owne accord, without the grace of God prearing and changing the mind, can open our hart vnto God, we vtterlie denie; neither can these men proue it by the holie scriptures.

26 But because we haue certaine aduer- saries, which passe verie little, or else nothing at all vpon the holie scriptures; but measure all their religion by Fathers and Councels; so that they maie rather be called Humanes, than Diuines; & Father-speakers, than Scripture-teachers; & that (which is more intollerable) they gather cer- teine exctric sentences out of the sayings of the Fathers, & contrarie them vnto the people; & the calter to obture the truth, & to blind more simple men, they adde taunting speeches; & especially, forsomuch as certeine of them thinke themselves cunning craftie men in Metaphisical speach, and haue in that kind of studie spent the greater part of their life time: for these causes (I shall be anie thing raskie and irreuerend reader, not to iudge anie thing raskie against the truth; but rather attentuelle to consider those things, which we also will allege out of the Fathers;

for; by that means he shall easilie vnderstand, that the Fathers make not so much on our ad- uerlaries do, as they do on ours. But least we should cite anie sentence out of the Fathers, confusible and raskie, we will use a method of compenious toaie; which methode, that it maie be easilie vnderstood, it shalbe good, first to put forth a demonstration, of a certeine prae of out of these testimonies of the holie scriptures, which we haue before cited; which shalbe in this ma- ner. They which be iustified according to the pre- script of the lawe, that is, as the verie lawe requirith, are iustified by woordes; But none, and especially before regeneration, do such woordes as the lawe requirith, & therefore none are iustified by woordes. The Maior, & first proposi- tion is to plaime, that it needeth no expostion: for he which doth anie thing, contrarie vnto that which the lawe prescribeth, undoubtedly com- mitteth mine, to saie, farre off it is, that he can there- by be made iust. But the Minor, of second pro- position, although it be proued by testimonies of the scriptures, yet will we expound it out of the Fathers. Then, being the conclusion is, that iustificacion is not of woordes, it must of necessity be of grace. Wherefore, we will second- lie shew out of the Fathers, that men are iusti- fied gratis, and without all consideration of me- rits. And because we reiect not god woordes, but saie that in their degree, they ought to be had in estimation, as they which by a most streit bond followe iustificacion already obtained; we will lastlie teach this also, out of the sayings of the Fathers; that god woordes followe iustificacion, but go not before. And we will especially cite out of the Fathers those places, which are founde vpon the holie scriptures.

27 And first cometh to mind Basilus, who in his first booke *De baptismo*, bitteth these woordes out of the Gospel; Manie shall saie in that daie, Lord, in thy name we haue prophesied, we haue cast out diuels, we haue done ma- nie miracles. But these men (saith he) God will not onely cast out of his kingdome, but also will call them woordes of iniquitie. Wherefore they which woordes miracles, and came to ob- taine the commandements of God, and his i- stifications; if they do it to anie other end and purpose, than they ought to be, are said to sinne; namely, because they followe not the precept of God published by the apostle Paule; Whether ye eate or drinke, or whethere ye do anie thing else, do all things to the glorie of God. And it is most certaine, that this cannot be done with- out faith and charitie; which faith and charitie, forsomuch as men not yet regenerate do want, it needeth followe, by the woordes of Basilus, that their woordes are finnes. Of the verie which sentence he writeth in his second booke

A method  
in citing of  
the Fathers.

Mat.7.21.

They that  
saye abun-  
dantly com-  
mandments  
to anie one  
and thus  
they sinne.  
1.Cor.10.31

De



De baptismo the seventh question: And purpose-  
he be demaneth, Whether anie man, so long  
as he abideth in sinne, can do anie thing that is  
acceptable before God? Whiche thing he affir-  
meth to be impossible, and that by reasons, both  
in number, and also taken out of the holy  
scriptures. First, saith he, the holie Ghost testifi-  
eth; that He which worketh sinne, is the ser-  
vant of sinne. Further, Christ faith; Ye cannot  
serve God and mammon: for no man can serve  
two masters. Paule also faith, that Light hath no  
fellowship with darkness, neither hath God anie  
agreement with Belial. The verbe same also be  
proueth out of Genesis, although he followe the  
translation of the tenth interpretors. Thus  
(saith he) spake God vnto Caine; If thou offer  
well, and diuident ill, thou hast sinned: be con-  
cent. The sense, saith he, is, If thou offer sacrifice,  
as touching the outward thing, and thy mind be  
not right, neither regarded vnto the end, which  
thou oughtest to do; then is thine oblation sin.  
With this saying agreeth that also, which Eliae  
wrote in the 66. chapter; He which killeth an  
ox, is as if he should kill a man; and he which  
sacrificeth a beast, is as though he should kill a  
dog. It is not enough to do a worke, which is  
goodlie and beautifull to the eye; but it be honest  
also, that thou apply it vnto the prescript of the  
lawe of God: which is, that whatsoever thou do-  
est, let it be done in such manner, and in such con-  
dition, as the lawe requireth. And therefore (saith  
he) Paule said; that None shall be crowned but  
he which hath wrestled lawfullie. Now it is not  
sufficient to worke, vnlesse thou worke law-  
fullie. Christ also in the Gospel faith; Blessed is  
that seruant, which when his Lord cometh, he  
shall find him thus doing. Now which worke it  
apperech, that it is not sufficient to do, but it be  
honest also: so euen so as he hath comman-  
ded. Whosoever, he sheweth out of the old tes-  
tament, that he had committed sinne, which he  
sacrifice vnto the true God out of the temple, or  
not in that place where the tabernacle was: for,  
although that were sacrifice which was com-  
manded in the lawe; yet was the condition as  
touching the place improper, which the lawe  
also requireth. And if anie man had either in the  
temple, or in that place, where the tabernacle  
was, killed an offering which had anie spot; the  
same man also had committed sinne: because he  
neglected a necessarie condition. He also citeth  
that saying in the gospel, which is taken out of  
the prophet; This people honoureth me with  
their lips, but their hart is farre from me. And he  
thinketh, that to the same end tendeth that which  
Paule writeth in the epistle to the Romans;  
They haue in deed the zeale of God, but not ac-  
cording to knowledge. And that which be in-  
tendeth of himselfe vnto the Apostles; that be

counted for off-scowings, dung, and lottes, all  
those his worke which he did when he liued vnder  
the lawe; yea and that without blame. Seeing  
therefore the affliction and scope is taken auaie  
from worke, which ought to be in them; what let  
is there then, but that they are sinners, and are  
displeasing vnto God?

And to this end he thinketh that doth serue,  
which Paule writeth vnto the Corinthians; If I  
deliuer my bodie to be burnt, and if I distribute  
all my goods to the poore, yet if I haue not cha-  
ritie, I am nothing. Wherefore vnlesse these men  
will adhaere vnto men not yet regenerate, faith  
and charitie, they must of necessitie grant, that  
they can do nothing, which is not sinne, or is not  
displeasing vnto God. And thus saith out of Ba-  
silus. Gregorius Nazianzenus, in that oration  
which he made after he returned out of the coun-  
trie, the things being ended which were done as  
gainst Maximus, saith; that There is no worke  
accepted or allowed before God, without faith;  
whereby it be done through the desire of baine-  
gement, or by the instinct of nature: in that re-  
spect that a man doth ledge it to be honest. Here  
this is worthy to be noted, that the worke which  
is done by the instinct of nature, that is, in that  
respect, because it seemeth to be honest, is dead,  
neither can it please God. The selfe same sen-  
tence hath he in his oration De sancto lauacro, to  
ward the end; and in both places he addeth; Eu-  
en as faith without worke is dead, so a worke  
without faith is dead also. And if it be dead, how  
can it (as these men would haue it) merit iusti-  
fication? Now by this we see, that these two sa-  
thers, although otherwise they were great re-  
siders of worke, and patrons of it, will yet as  
touching this thing, they were altogether of the  
same mind that we be of.

38 But Augustine most manifestlie of all Augustine  
teacheth the same, in his fourth booke against Iu-  
lianus, the 3. chapter: in which place he interpret-  
eth these wordes of the Apostle; The Gentiles  
which haue not the lawe, do by nature those  
things which are of the lawe. These Gentiles (saith  
he) are to be understood, either of the church con-  
uerced vnto Christ, who now fulfilleth the lawe, by  
the grace of the gospel. And so, that which he  
saith, By nature, is no otherwise to be under-  
stood, than that the lawe is enclined: but he mean-  
eth such a nature, as is now conuerced and o-  
uercome by the spirit which regenerateth. Els  
(saith he) if thou wilt haue those worke to be in-  
uerced of the Gentiles being yet vnder the lawe,  
thou must saie, that they by nature fulfilled the  
lawe, not in deed so much as it is required, but as  
ter a loue: neither did that outward and ciuill  
righteousnes anie further profit them, but to be  
more tolerable punishment than others; which be-  
cause casting away all discipline, liued without

1 Cor. 13.

Gregorie  
Nazian-  
zen.

lie and beastlie. For we iudge, that Fabricius is  
less punished than Castine, vnlesse peraduenture  
(saith he) the Pelagians haue prepared for  
the Fabrici, Reguli, Fabij, Camilli, and Scipios,  
some middle place, betwene the kingdome of  
heauen, and the hell of the damned: euen such a  
place (saith he) as they haue framed for yong in-  
fants, which depart without Christ. In briefe he  
concludeth, that so much as Without faith it  
is impossible to please God; Infidels can by no  
meanes haue true vertues. Which sentence the  
Pelagians do verie much, that they said, If the cha-  
ritie of Infidels be not true charitie, neither are  
their bodies true bodies; neither is the com-  
mon good which they in their fields true come.

Augustine confuted them, and sheweth, that  
this is not apt similitude: for the bodies of Infidels,  
as much as they are made by God, are  
true bodies; their come also (seeing it is his  
worke) be true come: but their charitie, so  
much as it proceedeth out of their corrupt and  
defiled will, can by no meanes be counted true  
charitie. And he addeth that vniuersall sentence,  
whereof we haue much spoken before; Whatso-  
uer is not of faith, is sinne. The same Augustine,  
vpon the 30. psalme, expounding these wordes;  
Deluier me in thy righteoules: Who (saith he)  
is samed freely? Such he, in whom our fauour  
findeh not anie thing worthy to be coloured,  
but sinneh much worthy to be condemned; in  
whom he findeth no merits of god things, but  
deserts of punishments. Whereby we see, what is  
the nature of humane worke before iustification.

The same father in his first booke and 30. ques-  
tion to Simplicianus, saith; that We are com-  
manded to liue vprightly, and that by a reward  
set before vs, that we may attaine to liue blef-  
soul for euer. But who (saith he) can liue vprigh-  
tily and worke well; vnlesse he be iustified  
by faith: where we are taught, that in men there  
might be a merit and deserving of happy and eter-  
nall life, if they could accomplish that which is  
commanded: but so far from that is impossi-  
ble for vs to do, therefore we fall auaie from  
merit. The same Augustine in his Enchiridion ad  
Laventium, the 121. chapter; The end (saith he)  
of the commandments, is charitie, out of a pure  
heart, a good conscience, and a faith vniuersed.  
The end of euery precept is charitie, and hath re-  
lation vnto charitie: whatsoeuer is done with-  
out such charitie, is not done as it ought to be  
done. Wherefore if it be not done as it ought to  
be, it cannot be deemed, but that it is sinne.

39 Chrysostome expounding these wordes of  
Paule; The end of the lawe is Christ: If the end  
of the lawe (saith he) be Christ, it followeth, that  
he which hath not Christ, though he seeme to haue  
the righteoules of the lawe, yet hath he it not  
in deed. Now these wordes we gather, that he

Chris-  
stus.  
Rom. 10. 4.

which is without Christ, may doubtlesse haue  
worke seeming to be good, which yet in deed  
cannot be iust. And straightwaie he saith; Whatso-  
euer hath faith, the same also hath the end of the  
lawe; and whatsoever is without faith, is farre  
from either of them. Whereby we gather, that  
they which haue not faith, are strangers, not on-  
ly from Christ, but also from the righteoules  
of the lawe; which herein consisteth, euen to do  
that which is commanded. And straightwaie; For  
what doth the lawe tend vnto? To make a man  
iust. But it cannot: for no man hath fulfilled it.  
But because a man might obide; Although a  
man not regenerate, cannot fulfill the lawe; yet  
if he take paines therein, and inuincible, and tra-  
uail, he may attaine vnto righteoules: This  
obscure also Chrysostome erreth. And a lit-  
tle before, when he expounded these wordes; Be-  
cause ignorant of the righteoules of God, & wil-  
ling to establish their owne righteoules; they be-  
came not subiect vnto the righteoules of  
God. Thus (saith he) he calleth the righteoules  
of God; which is of faith: because it is altogether  
of the heauenly grace, wherein we are iustifi-  
ed: not by our labours, but by the gift of God.

This selfe same thing also writeth Ambrose,  
when he expoundeth these wordes of Dauid; Blef-  
sed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven, and  
whose finnes are couered. He calleth them blef-  
sed (saith he) of whom God hath decreed, that  
without labour, or anie obseruation, shall be iu-  
stified by faith onlie. And vpon these wordes of  
Paule; Being iustified freely by his grace: They  
are iustified freely (saith he) because by the gift of  
God they are iustified by faith onlie: they them-  
selues working nothing, nor making anie re-  
compense. The same Ambrose also vpon these  
wordes of Paule; Wherefore doth hath reigned  
vpon them which haue not sinned, after the simi-  
litude of the transgression of Adam: He wote  
this (saith he) because it is impossible for a man  
not to sinne; which thing, seeing peraduenture  
he spake of men regenerate, what is it to be  
thought of men that are strangers from Christ?  
Cyprian also ad Quirinum; We ought, (saith he)  
to boast in nothing, because we haue nothing of  
our owne. I suppose it sufficientlie now appea-  
reth, that the same which we aslaime, is true;  
namely, that men before iustification can not  
frame their worke to the prescript of the lawe; &  
therefore are they sinners, and cannot merit iu-  
stification.

But if our aduersaries will saie, that they as-  
sume not, that those worke, which they call pre-  
paratorie, do merit iustification; but onlie are  
certaine preparations, whereby men are made  
apt to attaine to iustification: we may thus  
answer them; If they merit not, why do you  
saillie attribute to them that your merit of con-  
gruence?

Cyprian.

Rom. 5. 14.

Rom. 3. 14.

Ambrose.  
Psal. 51. 14.

Rom. 10. 3.

gratitie: Further, why call ye them god, seeing (as we haue taught) they neither please God nor are done according to the precept of the lawe? I aske, so much as they want their end, and not onelie are, but also are of good right called sinners; how teach ye, that men by are prepared vnto righteousness; when as they are muddy rather by their prepared, unto punishments: Therefore let them once at the length cease to adorne them with these godlike titles. For though peradventure, God sometimes by these works, bringeth men to saluatiō, he doth it, because of his incric towards them; which meritis is so great, that he will use sinnes and works also which are euill, vnto the benefit of them.

40 Now let vs see, if iustificacion be not attributed vnto works, how the same is then giuen. It is giuen freele, & it whole dependeth of the mere grace of God: for it no manner of issue, pertyeth of meritis. Which thing Origin saith, for he, vnto the epistle to the Romans expounding these works; Vnto him which worketh, the reward is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt: But 3 (saith he) when 3 desire excellencie of spend, whereas he saith, that vnto him that worketh, is rendered a debt, can kearfully persuade my selfe, that there can be anye worke, which can of dutie require a recompense of God: so much as euen this, that we can do, or thinke, or speake anye thing, we do by his gift and liberalitie. What debt then shall he owe vnto vs, seeing his grace hath preuented vs? A little afterward, he rendereth a reason of his saying; which reason Augustine oftentimes vseth, for he bringeth that place of Paule; The wages of sinne is death, but the grace of God is eternal life. For here the apple fall not, But the spend of righteousness is eternal life, which yet the nature of the Christian is required. For Paules meaning was to declare, that our wicked works brought vs to death before death, and that euertlasting death; but eternal life is not giuen, but onelie by grace: wherefore in the second part, he left out the name of spend, and of righteousness, and in the third of them, put in the name of grace. Scither so 3 greatly passe, that Augustine in another place writeth, that Paule might haue said; The spend of righteousness is eternal life; but yet would not say so, lest he should haue giuen occasion of erring. For vnboutwrele, 3 is no cause why Augustine did thinke, that Paule might haue said it; vntill peradventure by right onelie he vnderstood the works of men regenerated; so much as with those works the meritis of Christ are ioined: so it might be true, that eternal life is the spend of such a righteousness.

Further, Origin goeth on, and sheweth, that men are so iustified freele, that god works are not required to go before. For expounding this sentence; Blessed are they, whose iniquities are forgiven: The soule (saith he) whose sinnes are forgiven, must needs be in god state; for it is called blessed. Wherefore it hath the righteousness, which God imputeth vnto it, although it haue not yet done anye works of righteousness; but onelie for that it hath believed in him which iustificeth the vngodlie. Out of these words we gather manie things; first, that God, for works sake, is not made heuier vnto anye man; 2, that onelie iustificacion, but also eternal life is giuen freele; lastlie, that righteousness is imputed vnto the minds of them that believe, although no god works went before in them. Basilus, vpon these words of the 1. 16. Psalme; Turne thou vnto thy rest, o my soule, verse 7. for the Lord hath rewarded thee: For (saith he) eternal rest is set forth vnto them, which in this life haue wrestled lawfullie; which yet is not rendered according to the meritis of works, but is giuen according to the grace of the most liberal God, vnto them which haue hoped in him. Seeing these things are spoken of the works of men alreadie iustified, as touching eternal felicitie; then are they to be counted much more true, if they be referred vnto the works of them which are yet strangers from Christ. Wherefore, euen as those do not merit an eternal reward; no more can these merit iustificacion: for both these things are giuen freele.

41 Augustine in his booke *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, the 48 chapter; If by the lawe (saith he) cometh righteousness, then died Christ in vain: so also me we saie; If by nature come righteousness, Christ died in vain. 2, is speake he against the Pelagians, who assermed, that The libertie of man was so great, that by nature onelie it could do things acceptable vnto God. And Augustine warlike transsereth that by nature, which Paule spake of the lawe, and the lawe, that the selfe same absurditie follieth both the one and other; namely, that the death of Christ is made in vain. For in verbe dede, there is no cause why the lawe bringeth not righteousness; but onelie because nature is corrupt and weak: wherefore, that which is spoken of the one, maye rightlie agree with the other. The same Augustine, vpon the first chapter of Iohn, expounding these words; Grace for grace: What is grace, saith he; he answereth; Euen that which is freele giuen. What is grace freele giuen? That which is not rendered (saith he) as due: for if it were due vnto thee, then it is a reward rendered; if it were due, thou wouldest go before. And also in his booke *De predestinatione sanctorum*, the seventh chapter; Let it not man reward himselfe, as it is customarie to say; Therefore desired he to believe, because he was a good man,

man, and that before he believed: which thing seemeth to be written of Cornelius, that which he had said, when he did god works. These words are so plaine, that they haue no need of declaration.

Chrysostome in his second homilie, vpon the first epistle vnto the Corinthians; Where grace (saith he) is, there are no works; and where works are, there is no grace: wherefore if it be grace, why are ye proud? By what reason are ye puffed up? Chrysostome, according to the manner of Paule, doth to oppose grace against works, that the one excludeth the other: so farre is it off, that he will haue grace to be giuen for works. Jerome vnto the epistle to Phalemon; It is grace (saith he) whereby ye are saved, & that by no merits of works. The same Jerome vpon the epistle vnto the Ephesians, expounding these words; By grace ye are made safe, through faith, and that not of your felices; for it is the gift of God: Paule (saith he) therefore spake this, lest that some secret thought should crape in vnto vs; if by our works we be not saved, yet vnboutwrele by faith we are saved: so that in another kind, it is our ouer, as it were, & commendation of our felices, that we are saved. All these testimonies sufficientlie declare, that iustificacion is giuen freele; neither can it be gotten by anye meritis of works going before.

Now restly to declare out of the fathers, how god works are to be esteemed. Vnboutwrele they follothe iustificacion, as the fruites thereof, which spring and bud forth out of a true faith. Wherefore Origin saith in the same place, which we before cited, expounding these words vnto the Romans; But vnto him that worketh, the reward is not imputed according to grace, but according to debt: Wherefore (saith he) the rot of righteousness, cometh not out of works, but works growe out of the rot of righteousness. Which selfe same thing Augustine assermeth vnto Honoratus, saying; From hence spring god works, because we are iustified: and not because god works went before, therefore are we iustified. And in his first booke, and second question, *Ad Simplicianum*; Yea, and works (saith he) if there be anye that be god, do follothe that grace, as it is said, and go not before it. And therefore he addeth; If there be anye god: because euen the works of the regenerate, haue in them much imperfection; and vntill the righteousness of Christ, which is imputed vnto the believers, were ioined with those works, certainly they should not be good. The same father, in his 26. chapter, *De spiritu & littera*, at large handleth that place to the Romans; Not the hearers of the lawe shall be iustified, but the doers: and by manie reasons he proueth, that god works follothe iustificacion, and go not before.

So this also tendeth that, which Basilus writeth in his second booke, *De spiritu & littera*, the 7. chapter, out of the words of the 2. cor; that first it be; houth that the tree be good, and then his fruites be good: to god; and that the Pharisees were to be reprimed, which in their discourses and cups, made cleare that they were without; Make ye cleane (saith he) that which is within, and that which is without will be cleane; otherwise, ye shall be compared vnto painted sepulchres, which in deed without seeme beautiful, but within are the vncleane, and full of dead mens bones.

42 Now let vs come to the Councels, which neuertheless must be looked with choise: a judgement. We ought to receive and reuerence those councels onlie, which haue framed their doctrine to the rule of the holie scriptures. Demolishes in an oration against Andronicus that; That Decrees of the senate ought not to be made, but according to the precept of those things, which are already determined in the lawes. So in ecclesiasticall councels there ought no new decrees to be made, as touching doctrine; but of those things onlie, which are either expresse namd in the word of God, or else maye afterwarde and euidentlie be gathered out of it. First, we will begin with the African councell, where, in the 80. chapter, a cense is pronounced against the Pelagians, who said; That the grace of iustificacion is to be desired, which by grace we are the easier fulfill that which we were commanded. As if euen without grace, (although with more difficulty) we might by our fre will yett the commandements of God: when as yett the 2. cor. speaking of the fruites of the commandements, said not; Without me ye can hardlye do anye thing; but; Without me ye can vterlye do nothing.

These words are reprimed the Papists of our time, which are not ashamed to saie; that A man, before iustificacion, maye do the works, which are commanded in the lawe, and which do please God; and do prepare to regeneration. For that thing els is it, when with the Pelagians to saie; That a man maye euen before iustificacion performe the lawe, although not so fullye and easilie as after he is iustified? And that is nothing which grace preuenting; where by they put a certaine grace preuenting; where by they put a certaine grace preuenting; where by they put a certain preparatorie. For in speaking after this manner, they differ in name onlie from the Pelagians: for they are also taught, no lesse than these men do; that a certaine grace of the lawe, and of the knowledge of the will of God, and of illumination goeth before, whereby a man vnderstandeth what he ought to do. But as for the rest, they do attribute it to fre will; which thing these men do also. And that the Pelagians were

ye hat  
Councels  
are to be  
received  
of

the Afri-  
can Coun-  
cill.

Iohn. 15. 5.

of



report unto the man, who is commanded: that  
even as touching iustification, he should do  
what. And Ieremie faith; Convert vs, O Lord,  
and we shall be converted: by which words is  
declared, that unto this conversion is also re-  
quired the help of God. And by this means  
they divine the whole matter betwixt God  
and man. But Augustine, and manye other of  
the fathers, ascribe the whole act of our iustifica-  
tion unto God alone. But as touching this  
place of Ieremie, it may be expounded two ma-  
ners of waies; first, that those are the words  
of the laue commandment, and yet by them cannot  
be proved, that a man may be converted, un-  
lesse God convert him. For if Augustine thus  
saith; He saue that which thou commandest,  
and commanded that they wilt. Another expo-  
sition is this; In iustification are two inward mo-  
tions, whereof the one pertaineth unto reason,  
which as we have said hath need not onely to  
be taught, but also to be persuaded, and to be  
forced to yeld to the intent of the holie Ghost:  
the other motion pertaineth unto the will, that  
the same may be bowled to receive all those  
things which the holie Ghost promitteth and offer-  
eth. And this is the faith, by which we are iusti-  
fied, and wherey our finnes are forgiven vs.

But frequently as these things were done  
secretly in the inward parts of the mind, the  
prophet speaketh not of them, but rather spake  
of those that followe: for man, after he is  
once iustified, beginneth to be converted un-  
to good works. Wherefore he wold have be-  
lieved iustification and likewise, how behaue  
himselfe well and orderly: and being renewed  
with grace and the spirit, woldeth together with  
the power of God. In this conversion the pro-  
phet speaketh, when he saith; Be converted ven-  
tome. And God promitteth to heape up great  
benefits upon them: which is signified by this;  
And I will be converted unto you. For before,  
when he withdrew from them his benefits, and  
afflicted them with captivities, and other mis-  
eries, he seemed to be turned away from them.  
Wherefore the prophet spake not of the in-  
ward iustification, but of the outward conver-  
sion unto good works. But Ieremie, when he  
saith; Convert vs Lord, and we shall be con-  
verted, had a respect to this inward motions of  
the mind, which we have now described. But our  
men of Trier, when they thus saue, although they  
fearge that they differ from the Pelagians, yet  
in verie deed they can never please it. They saie,  
that they denie not grace, but in verie deed they  
merue such a grace as the Pelagians would ne-  
ver have denied.

45. But let us be that beggers and what pre-  
parations these men ought to iustification.  
First (saie they) a man which is to be iustified,

called, and directed up by the grace of God, be-  
ginmeth to believe those things, which are wri-  
ten in the holie scripture; then is he both im-  
mersed with the fcare of finnes, which he hath com-  
mitted; afterward looking upon the merrie of  
God, he beginneth to hope well; this hope be-  
ing conceived by louth God, which louth be-  
cometh in him a certaine detestation of finnes, and  
a purpose to live well; lastlie he receiveth bap-  
tisme, or the sacrament of penance: and here-  
in saie they consisteth iustification. For other  
things, which went before, were onely prepa-  
rations. But these men be not, that we ought  
far otherwise to iudge of baptism. For the ho-  
lie scriptures do teach, that Abraham was first  
iustified by faith in circumcission; and then he  
received circumcission, as a seale of righteous-  
nes already received. This seale same conside-  
ration, according to the analogie, must be kept in  
baptisme: for our baptism answereth unto the  
circumcision of the fathers of the old testament.  
When these men say, that faith, the feere of God,  
hope, charitie, detestation of sinne, a new pur-  
pose of honest life, are onely certaine prepa-  
rations unto iustification: they be cerce that a man  
may be perfect, before he be iustified.

Then they adde the causes of our iustifica-  
tion, and begin at the final cause; and that (saie  
they) is the glorie of God, and our salvation.  
The efficient cause, they saie, is God himselfe of  
his merie merrie. The meritorious cause (as  
they call it) they adde to be Christ Iesus, by his  
death upon the crosse, and the shedding of his  
blood: and hitherto indeed not amisse. The so-  
mali cause, they saie, is the iustice of God: so  
that iustice, whereby he himselfe is iust; but that  
which he communicateth unto vs, whereby we  
true both are counted iust, and also are so in-  
ward. By which words they understand the re-  
newing of a man now regenerate, & his in-  
forming by grace and the holie Ghost. Le-  
tish things, that they are done in a man alre-  
ady iustified, we denie not: but that iustification  
consisteth therein, we cannot grant. For Paule  
hath affirmed it to stand in this point, that our  
finnes are forgiven vs, and that they are no more  
imputed unto vs. And to confirme this, he citeth  
a testimonie out of David; Blessed are they whose  
iniquities are forgiven. And also that sa-  
ving in Genesis; Abraham beleved God, and it  
was counted unto him for righteousnes. And  
to the end he might expresse the thing more  
plainlie, he oftentimes in the selfe same place  
saith this word; Imputation. And the force we  
saie, that in that righteousnes & iustification,  
(whereby we are fathered aneto by God) cannot  
consist iustification, because the same without our  
corruption is imperfect, so that we cannot band  
therewith before the iudgement seale of Christ.

Further,

Further, they saie, that this righteousnesse,  
whereby they will have vs to be iustified, is attri-  
buted unto euery man by the holie Ghost, as it  
pleaseth him. This indeed may be; for the holie  
Ghost is the disposer & as it were the admini-  
strator in the distribution of the gifts of God. But  
they go on further, and saie; According to the  
measure of the preparation: but this can by no  
means be borne withall. For we have before  
shewed out of the fathers, and chafed out of the  
holie scriptures, that all those things, which are  
done before iustification, are finnes; so far is it  
off, that they can merit, and prepare unto ius-  
tification. Further, these men do teach, that if ius-  
tification be received, men can never be sure  
and certaine of the same: but must needs be ex-  
ercised in doubting and full of care. And when  
we object, that this is to derogate from the truth  
of the promises of God, the dignity of grace,  
they denie that to be true. For they saie, that  
they doubt not of the promises of God, but when  
they look upon their owne indispositions (as  
they call them) then at the length they begin of  
needlesse to doubt. Certainlie, this is not to  
be marvelled at: for if a man have a regard to  
his owne unworthynesse, he shall not only doubt  
of the promises of God, but also shall be mista-  
ken that he cannot be iustified.

But the holie scriptures teach far otherwise:  
for they set forth unto vs the example of Abra-  
ham, how that he, contrary to hope, beleved  
in hope; and that he, when now he was well  
nere an hundred yeeres of age, had no regard  
either to the barrenesse of his owne body, or else  
unto the barrenesse of Sara, being past child-  
bearing: & that he was not in a manner without  
doubt, but was by faith confirmed, and most  
certeinlie persuaded that God was able to per-  
forme whatsoever he had promised. This exam-  
ple teacheth vs, that we ought not to haue re-  
gard unto those things, which either may se-  
em: to hinder our iustification; but our faith  
ought utterly to be fixed in the words and pro-  
mises of God. But contrariwise, these men  
will call vs backe to our owne indispositions  
(as they call them), and will have vs therefore  
alwaies to be in doubt of our iustification. In-  
deed we ought not to doubt, whatsoever im-  
perfect our fault is in vs; and that because it  
may be daily corrected & amended: yet ought we  
not therefore to be in doubt and waivering tou-  
ching our iustification, and the grace of God.

47. Now haue we to promise the second proposi-  
tion; namely, that a man is iustified by faith:  
which we intend first to proue by testimonies of  
the holie scriptures. Paule in the 1. chapter of the  
epistle to the Romans defineth the Gospel, that  
is the power of God unto saluation, to euery  
one that beleuech. In these words is touch-  
ed

the efficient cause of our iustification; namely,  
The power of God; and the end, which is, Our  
saluation; and also the instrument, whereby it  
is received, namely, Faith: for he abeth; Vn-  
to euery one that beleuech. And this he con-  
firmeth by a testimonie of Abacuc the prophet;  
In which sentence he was so much delighted,  
that he wroth it both to the Galathians, and also  
to the Hebrewes, in the selfe same senten-  
ce. Wherein, the wrath of God was revealed  
from heauen, by reason of the knowledge of the  
philosophers, which did with-hold the truth of  
God in righteousnes, and who, at such time as  
they knew God, glorified him not as God, but  
fell to the worshipping of idols. But contra-  
rily, in the Gospel is revealed the righteous-  
nes of God; namely, that righteousness, where-  
by men are iustified from faith to faith: which  
place of scripture, we haue in his due place touch-  
ed certeinly. Upon the third chapter; Now  
is the righteousness of God (saith he) made  
manifest without the lawe, the righteousness  
(saith he) of God, by the faith of Iesus Christ,  
in all, and upon all them which beleue in him:  
and a little afterward; Wherefore, being iustified  
freely by his grace, by the redemption that is in  
Christ Iesus, whome God hath set forth to be a  
reconciliation, through faith in his blood.

Here also is not onely shewed the grace, by  
which God frelie iustifieth vs, but also Christ  
and his death is set forth, that it may manifi-  
est appeare, that he is the reconciler, and the  
mediator. Whereunto is added faith, whereby  
we receive the fruit of his redemption, for the  
setting forth also of his righteousness in this  
time, that he himselfe might be iust, iustifying  
him which is of the faith of Iesus Christ. If men  
could by their works get unto righteousnes, the  
righteousnes of God should not then in such sort  
be declared: but seeing we pre-  
sente it is communicated to vs by faith, both  
our antie preparation of works: it must needs  
seeme unto vs verie great. And amongst other  
things, which God requirith of men, this is the  
chiefest, that they should not aerie thing glorie  
of themselves. But if iustification consist of works  
(as they call them), and will haue vs therefore  
men might boast of their owne trauell & indu-  
ce: but seeing we are frelie iustified by faith, there  
is no place left for boasting. Therefore Paule saith;  
Thy boasting is excluded. By what lawe? By the  
lawe of works? No, but by the lawe of faith.  
Wherefore he concludeth after this manner; We  
iudge that a man is iustified by faith without  
works. And that I should not thinke that pro-  
position to be particular, he declareth that it is  
universal; God (saith he) is the God of the  
Iewes onely? Is he not also the God of the Gen-  
tills? Yes of the Gentils also: for it is one God,  
which iustifieth vncircumcision through faith,

L. 119. and

and circumcision by faith. Wherefore, even as there is but one God over all men; so iustification be all men by one and the selfe same waie.

Rom. 4. 48 And in the fourth chapter he saith; But vnto him that worketh not, but beleuech in him which iustified the wicked faith is imputed vnto him vnto righteousness. 49 By this sentence both works are excluded, and also faith is set forth; by which is imputed righteousness vnto men. And straightwaie he addeth of Abraham, that He is the father of all them that beleue, being vncircumcised; that it might also be addeed vnto them, and that he is the father of circumcision, not onlie vnto them which are of circumcision, but also vnto them which walke in the steps of faith, which was in the vncircumcision of Abraham our father. Afterward by the nature of the promise he sheweth, that iustification is by faith: for he saith; By the lawe was not the promise made vnto Abraham and vnto his seed, to be the heir of the world, but by the righteousness of faith: for if those, which are of the lawe, should be heirs, then should faith be abolished, and the promise made void. In these words are two excellent things to be noted. The first is, that the promise is free, neither is it ioined with the condition of works; and therefore, being faith, as a copulative, is referred vnto the promise; it must needs followe, that it is such as the promise is: and therefore it hath a respect vnto the promise by it selfe, and not to the condition of our vntowardness, or indispotion, as the holie Fathers of Trent do teach. The second is, that if the inheritance and righteousness should depend of that condition of works, then had there bene no need of the promise: for men might haue said; Why is that freely promised vnto vs, which we merite haue vnto our selues by our owne endeauour and labour? Whither is it so necessary, that we should beleeue, seeing by our owne works we can attaine vnto righteousness?

verse. 17.

verse. 18.

Afterward Paule addeth the final cause, why iustification cometh by faith; By grace (saith he) that the promise might be firme: so that by our owne works and preparations, we could be iustified, the promise should alwaies be vntrue. Neither could we appoint any certeinie of it. Afterward he putteth the example of Abraham, (who as it is before said) Contrarie to hope, beleueed in hope: neither had he regard vnto those things, which as touching his owne part, might haue bene a let vnto the promise of God, namely, His owne bodye (being now as it were dead, & an hundred years old) and the age of Sara his wife. These things iustificiently declare, that manner of faith that was, by which vnto Abraham was imputed righteousness: so that thereby we maie also vnderstand the power

and nature of faith, which iustificieth. Paule also addeth that by such a faith, is much aduanced the glorie of God. For when as nothing is attributed vnto our works and meritis, it must needs be, that the whole glorie rebovndeth vnto God. Therefore Paule faith of Abraham; He gaue the Id. 1. glorie vnto God, knowing this most fully, that whosoever he had promised, he was able also to performe. And the more to expresse the certeinie of this, he voucheth this particuler; *et hoc agnoscit, quod non erat ei signum, quod Abraham, cuius erat certum fidei assensum, imbutus esset promissa dei.* And least any man should thinke, that this was a proper and peculiar prerogative giuen vnto Abraham; the apostle addeth an vniuersall rule, and saith; that, it was not written for him onely, that it was imputed vnto him for righteousness; but also for vs, vnto whom it shalbe imputed, so that we beleue in him, which raised vp Iesus Christ from the dead, which was deliuered for our finnes, and rose againe for our iustification.

Further, out of the fifth chapter, we haue also another testimonie: Wherefore (saith he) we being iustified by faith, haue peace towards God, through Iesus Christ, by whom we haue access through faith, into this grace wherein we stand. Here are two things to be noted; the one is, that we are iustified by faith, and that by grace; the second is, that vnto this grace is not an entrance made open by preparations, or works which dispose vs; but onely by faith. In the eighth chapter he set forth, as it were certeinie steps and degrees, by which we must come to eternall saluation; Whome he had foreknowne (saith he) those also had he predestinated, that they should be like fashioned vnto the image of the sonne of God, that he might be the first begotten amongst manie brethren. And whome he hath predestinated, those also hath he called; and whome he hath called, those hath he iustified; and whome he hath iustified, those will he also glorifie. Here are reckoned by five degrees; foreknowledge, predestination, vocation, iustification, and glorification: in which, as touching our purpose, let vs consider that cometh betwixte vocation, and iustification. And that is nothing else but faith; for as much as vocation is wrought by the promise of iustification, and of saluation, the same is receiued by faith, giuing assent thereto.

49 Towards the end of the 9. chapter, there is set forth, the difference betwixte the Iewes and the Gentiles; and a reason is giuen, why the Gentiles obtained righteousness, and not the Iewes. For thus Paule saith; What shall we saie then? That the Gentiles, which followed not righteousness, haue taken hold of righteousness, which is by faith? But Israel, which fol-

lowed righteousness, attained not vnto the laue of righteousness, because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by works. What can there be more manifest than these words? For they declare, that they which will be iustified by faith, do obtaine righteousness; but those, which do aspire vnto it by works, do labour in vaine. This selfe thing he proueth, euen from the beginning of the tenth chapter, where he describeth two kinds of righteousness; the one, which becometh ours, which consisteth of works; the other, which he calleth the righteousness of God, which is taken hold of by faith. And thus he writeth; They being ignorant of the righteousness of GOD, and going about to establish their owne, did not submit themselves to the righteousness of God. Wherby it is manifest, that they which will establish their owne righteousness; that is, the righteousness of works, do fall away from the righteousness of God. Paule goeth on, and more plainelike openeth the nature of these two kinds of righteousness; Moses (saith he) thus writeth of the righteousness, which cometh of the lawe: The man, which doeth these things, shall liue by them. By these words he sheweth, that the righteousness of the lawe consisteth in works.

But of the righteousness, comming of faith, he thus speaketh; Saie not thou in thy hart, Who shall ascend vp into heauen, to fetch Christ from thence? Or who shall descend into the deepe, to fetch vp Christ againe from the dead? But what faith he? The word is nigh thee, euen in thy mouth, and in thy hart? The same is the word of faith, which we preach, which word he that beleuech in his hart, and with his mouth confesseth the Lord Iesus Christ, shall be faued. Wherby we see, that not the righteousness of the lawe, which is had by works; but the righteousness of faith is it which bringeth saluation. And this is by the latter words more manifestly confirmed: for in that there is addeed; With the hart we beleue vnto righteousness, and with the mouth is confession made vnto saluation. The latter clause touching confession, which seemeth to be an outward worke, is therefore addeed; least we should thinke, that the faith, whereby we are iustified, should be idle: for it is not a barren and barren faith, such a one as our aduersaries become that we obtrude. It hath most plentifull and most abundant fruits, amongst which the profession of godlines obtaineth the first place, and is most necessary.

verse. 10.

verse. 11.

verse. 12.

Hereto Paule addeth a testimonie out of the prophet He which beleuech in him, shall not be made ashamed. They are common words, which, contrary to their expectation, are frustrated of that, which they hoped to haue obtained: therefore the meaning is, why they be-

leuech in Christ, and by this faith wisheth for saluation, shall not be put to shame: because he shall not be frustrated of his hope. We adde also another testimonie, taken out of the prophet Ier; Whosoever doth call vpon the name of the Lord, shall be faued: in which words the promise of saluation seemeth to be altered into imputation. But Paule prebathetically saith (as I haue before obserued) that, when promises seeme to be aduained vnto works, we must alwaies runne from them, vnto the rote & foundation, namely vnto faith. So Paule in this place, when he had said; Whosoever calleth vpon the name of the Lord, shall be faued, straightwaie addeth; How shall they call vpon him, in whom they haue not beleueed? So he refresheth the whole matter from imputation, into faith. And he thus saith; Thou shalt thinke, that faith by his owne power hath arie any thing, whereby it can suffice; he againe passeth from it vnto the oile, saying; How shall they beleue without a preacher? And how shall they preach, except they be sent? Alas; Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Wherefore the better most point of the refreshment, is the word of God, the promise touching Christ, from whence, as from the fountaine, is deriued our saluation and iustification.

In the 11. chapter is set forth the Antithesis, or contrarie position betwixte incredulitie and faith; which seemeth very much to confirme that which we now teach. The branches were broken off, that might be grafted in: this was an objection of the Gentiles against the Iewes. Paule answereth; Thus fauilest well, because of vnbelleue they were broken off: but thou standest by faith. Here is giuen the reason of the fall and destruction of men; and on the other side, of saluation and continuance: namely, vnbelleue, and faith. And of the Iewes, which should one day be restored, he addeth; And if they abide not still in their vnbelleue, they shall be againe grafted in: for Gods of might to graff them in. Here we see that by departing from vnbelleue, which consisteth in beleeving; men that haue fallen are restored. Which maketh verie much against the reproch of those, which although they after a sort confess, that the first iustification is giuen gratis, vnto our owne works going before; yet vnto men that haue fallen, they grant not restitution vnto iustification, but by satisfaction and manie works preparatorie.

50 These things out of the epistle vnto the Romans. In the first epistle to the Corinthians, the first chapter it is thus written; Because the world, in the wisdom of God, knew not God by wisdom, it pleased God by the foolishnes of preaching to faue them that beleue. Because the wise men of this world (saith the apostle)

verse. 13.

verse. 14.

Rom. 10. 14

verse. 15.

verse. 16.

verse. 17.

verse. 18.

verse. 19.

verse. 20.

verse. 21.

verse. 22.

verse. 23.

verse. 24.

verse. 25.

verse. 26.

verse. 27.

verse. 28.

verse. 29.

verse. 30.

verse. 31.

verse. 32.

verse. 33.

verse. 34.

verse. 35.

verse. 36.

verse. 37.

verse. 38.

verse. 39.

verse. 40.

verse. 41.

verse. 42.

verse. 43.

verse. 44.

verse. 45.

verse. 46.

verse. 47.

verse. 48.

verse. 49.

verse. 50.

verse. 51.

verse. 52.

verse. 53.

verse. 54.

verse. 55.

verse. 56.

verse. 57.

verse. 58.

verse. 59.

verse. 60.

verse. 61.

verse. 62.

verse. 63.

verse. 64.

people by their natural searching out, could not take hold of the wisdom of God, whereby they might be saved; God of his goodness hath instituted a contrarie waie: namely, the preaching of the Gospel, which vnto the fleshly carnall fleshly: that by faith saluation should be given vnto men; but yet not to all sorts of men, but to those onely that beleue. Therefore in the second to the Corinthians, the 1. chapter, it is thus written: By faith ye stand: by which wordes we understand, that the foundation, whereby we are confirmed and established in the waie of saluation, is faith. Further, Paule to the Galatians, the 3. chapter, where he reprimandeth Peter for his simulation, whereby he seemed to lead the Gentiles to observe the ceremonies of the Jewes, thus speaketh: I shoulde being a Jew, liue after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as doo the Jewes; why compellest thou the Gentiles to liue as doo the Jewes? For we, which are Jewes by nature, and not sinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not iustified by the works of the lawe, euen we beleue in Christ, that we might be iustified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the lawe: because by the works of the lawe shall no flesh be iustified. Here we see, that the apostles therefore followed Christ, that they might be iustified by faith; which they could not obtaine by works. And afterward: In what I now liue in the flesh, I liue by the faith in the sonne of God: which is all one, as if he should haue said: As yet in dead sinne strictly in my flesh, and in it I carrie death about; but yet notwithstanding I haue life, not through mine owne merit, but by the faith of the sonne of God.

In the 5. chapter he thus writeth: I would knowe this of you, Received ye the spirit by the works of the lawe, or by the hearing of faith? And straightwaie he addeth: He which minnistrth vnto you the point, and in your which miracles, doth he the same by the works of the lawe, or by the hearing of faith? To these wordes we see, that it is faith, and not works, whereby we take hold of the gifts of God. And he addeth: Ye knowe that they which are of faith, are the children of Abraham: and that without lawe, so no other cause, but for that in beleuing they do followe and resemble him. Therefore (saith he) The scripture testifying that God would iustifie the Gentiles by faith, shewed before hand glad tidings vnto Abraham, saying: In thee shall all nations be blessed. This blessing spake not abroad vnto them, because they had their beginning of the flesh of Abraham; but because they followed the steps of his faith. Wherefore of Abraham, as touching the flesh, came not (as farre as we can read, ande cypher nature to the flesh, Edomites, and Iherusalem. Then followeth the conclu-

sion; Therefore they which are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham. But to be blessed in the Hebrew phrase is nothing else, than to receive the gifts of God; among which, iustification is the most principall. Therefore it followeth, that Vnto the Gentiles, through Christ, might come the promise made vnto Abraham, that we might receive the promise of the holie Ghost through faith. So then we see, that the promise of the holie Ghost is not taken hold of by works, as manie faime it is. Which thing euen reason sufficiently declareth: for, seeing the Lord (as it shall a little afterward be declared) had by promise giuen this blessing vnto Abraham, we must see what is referred vnto the promise as a correlative; which (as we haue said) can be nothing else, but faith: for faith iustifieth vnto it selfe the promises of God as an obiect.

51 Paule furthermore addeth, that The scripture hath concluded all vnder sinne, that the promise by the faith of Iesus Christ should be giuen to them that beleue. This is the cause why the holie scriptures so diligently shew vnto men, how they be guiltie of sinnes; namely, that they should the more be stirred by to imbrace the promises of God by faith: at the least, when they haue not good works, whereby they might take hold of them. And this understand we by that, which is afterward written: The lawe is our schoolmaster vnto Christ, that we should be iustified by faith. These wordes signifie no thing else, but that the lawe therefore sheweth sinnes, and leteyth vnto men their vnto sinnes, and sheweth by their lusts, whereby sinnes are more and more increased; that they being thus admonished, should retorne vnto Christ: and might from him, through faith receive righteousness. Which thing they undoubtedly did, of whom it was said: Ye are all the children of God by the faith of Iesus Christ. For what is to be the finnes of God, but because he haue already obtained adoption; which we obtaine onely by regeneration or iustification: And in the fourth chapter; Brethren (saith he) we are, after the manner of Isaac, children of the promise: But to be children of the promise, is nothing else, but to beleue those things which God promitteth; whereby we are made his children, according as he hath promised we should be. For so was Isaac borne vnto Abraham, not by the strength of nature, but by the benefit of the promise of God.

In the fifth chapter he writeth: We in the spirit looke for the hope of righteousness by faith. In this place are two things touched; the spirit of God, whereby we are new fashioned, and reuirted vnto saluation; and faith, whereby we apprehend righteousness. Therefore it

Idem 11.

Idem 12.

Idem 13.

Idem 14.

Idem 15.

this matter of our iustification, although there be in our minds manie other woordes of the holie Ghost; yet none of them, except faith, helpe to iustification. Whereupon the apostle concludeth, Circumcision is nothing, and vncircumcision is nothing, but onely faith, which worketh through loue. Hereof onely beleueeth iustification, of this faith I say not being dead, but liuing, and of force. And so; that cause Paule addeth: Which worketh by loue. Which yet ought not to be understood, as though faith should depend of loue; or hath of it (as they like to speake), his source; but for that, when it bursteth forth into act, and will shew faith its selfe, it must of necessity do this by loue. So the knowledge of aunc man dependeth not hereon, for that he teacheth other men; but by that means it is most of all declared. But if aunc perfection of these actions of loue and teaching rebound vnto faith and knowledge, that cometh of another cause, and not for that they depend of it, or thereof haue their source, as manie sophists haue dreamed.

Ephes. 3.

Ephes. 3.

1 Cor. 13.

Phil. 3.

Heb. 11.

Idem 16.

52 In the epistle to the Ephesians the 3. chapter, it is thus written: By grace ye are made saue through faith, and that not of your selues, for it is the gift of God. And after that, in the third chapter; That according to the riches of his glorie, he would grant you, that ye may be strengthened with might in the inward man by the spirit, that Christ may dwell in your hart by faith. He that hath Christ in him, the same hath without all doubt: righteousness: for of him Paule thus writeth vnto the Corinthians, in the former epistle, and the first chapter: Who is made vnto vs wisdom, righteousness, holines, and redemption. Here therefore it is shewed, by what means Christ dwelleth in our harts; namely, by faith. Again, Paule in the third chapter to the Philippians; That I might be found (saith he) in him, not hauing mine owne righteousness, which is of the lawe, but that which is of the faith of Iesus Christ. Here that righteousness, which is of woordes, and of the lawe, he calleth His: but that which is of faith, and which he most of all desireth he calleth The righteousness of Iesus Christ. Vnto the Hebrews also it is written in the eleventh chapter: The faiths by faith haue overcome kingdoms; haue wrought righteousness, and haue obtained the promises. These wordes declare how much is to be attributed vnto faith: for by it the faiths are said, not onely to haue possessed outward kingdoms; but also to haue erected the woordes of righteousness; namely, to haue liued holliely and without blame, and to haue obtained the promises of God.

And Peter, in his first epistle, and first chapter; By the power of God (saith he) are ye kept vnto

saluation through faith. In these wordes are signified two principall grounds of our saluation; the one is, the might and power of God, which is the one; the other is, the waie to obtaine saluation; the other is faith, whereby, as by instrument, saluation is applied vnto vs. John, in his first epistle, and first chapter: Euerie one (saith he) which beleueth that Iesus Christ is borne of God; but, To be borne of God, is nothing else, than to be iustified, as to be borne againe in Christ. It followeth in the same chapter; This is the victorie which ouercometh the world, euen our faith. To which testimony is declared, that the tyrannie of the world, of sinne, of death, and of the flesh, is by no other thing beaten downe from vs, but by faith onely. And toward the end of the selfe-same chapter, it is said: And their things haue I written vnto you, which beleue in the name of the sonne of God, that ye might knowe, that ye haue eternal life, and that ye should beleue in the name of the sonne of God.

Idem 17.

Idem 18.

Idem 19.

Idem 20.

53 Now let vs gather out of the changes, as much as shall serue for this present purpose. Mathew, in his eighth chapter, saith; That Christ exceedingly wondered at the faith of the Centurion, and confessed, that he had not found such faith in Israel: and turning vnto him, said; Euen as thou hast beleueed, so be it vnto thee. Here some replie, that, This history, and such other like, intreate not of iustification; but onely of the outward benefits of the bodie, giuen by God. Howbeit, these men ought to consider, that sinnes, which are in vs, are the causes of the graces and the afflictions of the bodie. For, onely Christ excepted, all vnto biterle desire an innocent; all other, forsooth as they are subiect vnto sinne, do suffer no aduerbities without iust desert. And although God, in nature of his calamities vpon vs, hath not alwaies a respect hereunto, (for oftentimes he sorethly aduerbities, to shew forth his glorie, and to the trial of all those that are his); yet none, whilest he is so good, can complain that he is vniuile; he deale withall; for there is none f. holie, but that in himselfe he hath finnes, which are woorthie of his life, or else of greater punishments. And where the cause is not taken away, neither is no can the effect be removed. Therefore Christ, forsooth as he belineth men from biterle of the bodie, manifesteth declareth, that it was he which should iustifie men from finnes.

And that this is true, the selfe-same euangelist teacheth vs in the 9. chapter: for when he that was sicke of the palfie, was brought vnto Christ to be healed, he saith that Christ answered; Be of good cheare my sonne, thy finnes are forgiven thee. At which saying, when as the scribes and pharisees were offended, to the

Idem 21.

Idem 22.

end they should understand, that the cause of felices being taken away, even the evils them selves are taken away: He commanded him that was sicke of the palse to arise, and take vp his bed and to walke. Wherefore it manifesteth apperantly, that Christ, by the healings of the bodies, declared himselfe to be euen he that should forgive sinnes: and that euen as those healings were receiued by faith, so also by the same faith are men iustificed, and receive the forgiveness of sinnes. And in the same .9. chapter it is declared, that Christ answered vnto the blind men, which were verie importunate, and most earnestly desired to be healed; Doe ye beleuee that I can doe this for you? And when they had made answer that they beleuee, he said; Euen as you have beleueed, lo be it vnto you.

And when our saviour was going to the house of the ruler of the synagoge, to raise by his haughtie from death, there followed him a woman, which had an issue of blood, which woman was indured vnto great faith, that he thought thus with her selfe; that if I lie might but touch the hem of his garment, he should be made whole. Wherefore Christ answered him; Doe of good confidence daughter, thy faith hath made thee whole. But this time Christ admooned confidence to faith, we have before declared in the beginning of this question, when we declared the nature of faith: for we taught, that that assent, whereby we take hold of the promises of God, is so strong, and so beuement, that the reason of the motions of the mind, which are agreeable vnto it, doe of necessity followe. In Luke also is set forth the historie of that infallible woman vnto whom the Lord thus answered; Thy faith hath made thee free: signifying that he, for his faith sake, had forgiven her his sinnes. And that the faith of this woman was verie true, she declared by the effects; in that she louded much, in that she kissed his feet, in that she washed them with his teares, and wiped them with her haire.

And in the Gospell of Iohn, the third chapter, Christ said vnto Nicodemus; So God loued the world, that he gave his onlie begotten son, for that which beleueed in him, should not perishe, but haue eternall life. And in the selfe same chapter, Iohn Baptist thus speaketh of Christ He which beleueeth in the sonne; hath eternall life; but he which beleueeth not, hath not life; but the wrath of God abideth on him. Out of which place we gather, not onlie that we present the treatise of; but also this; that they, who are strangers from Christ, and beleue not, can do nothing that may please God: and therefore they cannot merit of congruencie (as they call it, and as our aduersaries affirme the grace of God). And in the first chapter, Christ saith; This

is the will of him that sent me, that the which euen the sonne, and beleueed in him, hath eternall life: and I (saith he) will raise him vp at the last daie. And when he had before said; No man cometh vnto me, vntill my father draw him: also, He that hath heard of my father, and hath learned, cometh vnto me: afterward he added; And he which beleueeth in me, hath eternall life.

In the eleuenth chapter, when Christ should raise by Lazarus, he saith vnto Martha; He which beleueeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he liue: and he which liueth, and beleueeth in me, shall not die for euer. And in the 17. chapter; This is eternall life, that they acknowledge thee the onlie true God, and whom thou hast sent Iesus Christ. But this is to be noted, that here he speaketh not of a cole knowledge; but of a mightie and strong faith; wherefore if it be eternall life, then shall it also be iustificacion. For iustificacion and life are so iointed together, that the one is oftentimes taken for the other. And in verie deed, iustificacion is nothing else than eternall life now already begun in vs. And in the 20. chapter; These things (saith he) are written, that ye should beleuee, that Iesus is the Christ; and that in beleueing ye should haue eternall life. In the Acts of the apostles, the 15. chap. it is thus written; By such purifying their hearts. In which place Peter speaketh of the Gentiles, that they should not be compelled vnto the works of the lawe of Moses, forasmuch as Christ had without them gotten vnto them the holie Ghost, and had by faith made cleane their hearts from sins. Paule also in his oration to king Agrippa said, that he was called of Christ to be sent vnto the Gentils which should by his ministerie be illuminated, and by faith receive remission of sinnes, and lo amongst the faithles.

And these testimonies by rent we have gathered out of the new testamēt.

But if I should out of the old testamēt rehearse all that which maketh to this purpose; I should then be ouer tedious. And if there be any of so obstinate a hart, that those things, which we haue already spoken, cannot force them to confesse the truth; neither should it auite thing profit such men, if we should bring manie more testimonies: therefore a few shall suffice. And besides those testimonies, which Paule citeth out of the 15. chapter of Genesis; Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted vnto him for righteousness: out of Abacuc; The iust man shall liue by his faith: out of Dauid; Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven: out of Elsie; Euerie one that beleueeth in him, shall not be confounded: and a few to other such like. Besides these testimonies (I saie) I will cite the 50. chapter

chapter of Elsie, wherein Christ by most expresse words is painted forth. For there he is said, to haue taken vpon him our sorowes, & to haue borne our infirmities, to haue giuen his soule a sacrifice for sinnes; and manie such other things: which are so plaine, that they can be aplyed vnto none other, but onlie vnto Christ Iesus our saviour. And it is said moreover; And by the knowledge of him, shall my righteous seruant iustifie manie, and he shall beare their iniquities. These words doe teach, that Christ iustifieth manie; namely, he clea by the knowledge and perfect vnderstanding of him: which knowledge vndoubtedly is nothing else, but a true faith; and that he also in such sort iustifieth them, that he taketh vpon himselfe, and beareth their iniquities. And Ieremie in the first chapter twelfth; O God, haue not thine eyes a regard vnto faith? As if he should haue said; Although thou seest all things, and there is nothing perverting vnto man hidden from thee, yet hast thou speciall regard vnto faith, as vnto the rote and foundation of all good actions. And as touching the oracles of the scripture, this shall suffice.

Now will I answer such objections, as are commonly brought against this second proposition. And we will begin first with Pighius, because our aduersaries count him for their Achilles, or chiefe champion; and thinke, that he onely, by his subtill sharpe wit, hath pearced euen into the secretest mysteries of the truth.

And this man bleth this caualition: We are not iustified by that, from which this iustificacion maie be separated; for it is not possible, that the causes should be pulled away, or separated from their effects: But faith is separated from iustificacion; for manie that beleue, do notwithstanding liue most shamefully; so farre is it off, that they seeme to be iustified. But because he thinketh that this maie be denied; he bringeth a reason to proue, that it is not against the nature and definition of faith, but that iustificacion maie be separated from it. And he maketh an obiectiō, out of the 13. chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; If I haue all faith, lo that I can remoue mountains, and haue not charite, I am nothing. Wherby words he concludeth, that faith maie be separated from charitie; and therefore from all good works. He citeth this also out of Matthew; Manie shall come in that daie, and shall faile, Lord in thy name we haue prophesied, and haue cast our diuels, and haue wrought signes. But vnto them shall answer be made; I knowe you not. These signes (saith Pighius) can not be done without faith. Wherefore, seeing that they are not forth from the kingdome of heauen, which do not put these things; it is cleare, that they were not iustified: wherefore in them faith was separated

from righteousness.

But this he thinketh, is much more plainlie confirmed by Iohn; for he saith; That manie rulers of the priests beleueed in Christ, whid yett durst not openlie professe him. But they, which die from the confession of the name of Christ, are farre from saluation: for Christ himselfe saith; He that is ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my father. These arguments, although at the first sight, they seeme to haue some show; yet it is man more narrowly scanning them, he shall see, that that well agreeth with them, which Pighius pronounceth of his bolus; that is, These are but fights, or ghosts of the dyames of hell. Wherefore we must diligentlie ponder these reasons, and not iudge of them by the first sight.

And euen as in coines of monie, we see not so much to haue a regard vnto the inscriptions, or images; as to the goodnes and weight of the matter: so also in arguments ought we to weigh and regard, not so much the show and colour of them; as the thing it selfe, and the strength of them. I will first denie, that faith can be separated from iustificacion. And whereas Pighius saith, that that is not repugnant vnto the nature and definition of faith; we in no wise admit it: for against that opinion are all the holie scriptures, and the true sense of the definition of faith, and also the fathers.

For as touching the scriptures, Iohn saith; He that beleeueth that Iesus is Christ, the sonne of God, is borne of God: and he which is borne of God, sinneth not. For so long as faith beareth fruit in our hearts, we commit not those sinnes, which defouled the conscience, and alienate vs from God. Whol then saith Pighius, that it is not against the nature of faith, to be separated from iustificacion, and from good works; especially, seeing Iohn saith; He which sinneth, knoweth not God? This thing also saue the fathers; for Cyprian, De simplicitate Cyprian. palatum, where he complaineth of the ingratitude of his time, for that charitie, a verie good work, and such like were lauren venged; thus twelfth; No man thinketh vpon the feare of things to come, no man considereth the date of the Lord, and the wrath of God, and that vpon the vniuersales shall come punishments, and that suchlike punishments are appointed for the unfaithfull; of which things our conscience would be afraid, if beleueed, but because it beleeueth not, therefore it is licentious to be fawne; and if it be fawne, then also it is to be despise. These words declare, that with true faith is iointed the feare of God, and the fearing of eternall punishments, and auoiding of sinnes.



Ierome.

finnes. Now let Pighius go and saie, that true faith can be separated from holie motions of the mind, and from good woorks. This selfe same thing doth Ierome together with Cyrill as he firme against the Luciferians; And if (saith he) I beleuee trulie, I would cleane that hart, wherewith GOD is faene; I would with my handes knocke my back; I would with teares waite my chelices; I would haue in my booke a horoz; I would be pale in mouth; I would be at the feete of my LORD, and would loath them with toeping; and woe them with my haire: I would unblouetie cleane fall vnto the facke of the croffe; neither would I let me hold thereof, because I had obtained merite. Whereby also it is manifest, that with true faith are ioiued good woorks and repentance.

¶ But as touching the definition and nature of faith, it may easilie be proued, that it can not be separated from iustificacion. For from good woorks; that is, from his effects. For faith is io common, but a firme and vehement asseent, and that proceeding from the holie Ghost. And if a poore caraffe being condemned to die, should receiue a promise onlie at the hand of a man, that he should be deliuered, and should give credit vnto those woordes; straightwaie his mind would wholie be changed to mirth, and would begin inwardlie to loue the man that promised him such things, and would pleasure him in what thing he curr laie in his power. How much more is to be attributed to the true faith, which is giuen to the word of GOD, and is inspired by the spirit of GOD; Wherefore if that humane faith be as valuae with it wonderfull motions of the mind; how can we saie, that the true and diuine faith is naked without good woorks, and bestitude and alone? Wherefore we note plainly fe, both by the holie scriptures, and by the fathers, and by the definition and nature of faith; that it cannot be separated from righteoussnes, & from goodlie woorks. Now let vs come to Paule: he faith; If I haue all faith, &c. But holo hane Pighius, that Paule there speaketh of that general faith, which cleauey vnto the promise of GOD, and iustificacion; and not rather of a particular faith, whereby are wrought miracles, and which is a free & gracious gift of the holie Ghost; This faith is not applied to all things which are found in the holie scriptures; but onlie is a certaine vehement confidence, whereby we certeinly be lieue, that GOD will do this miracle, or that miracle. Whis faith Chrylstone interpreteth Paule in this place.

1. Cor. 13.3.

Chryl.

¶ And to vnderstand of this distinction either part might haue a peculiar name; the one they call The faith of doctrine; the other, The faith of signs and miracles. And vnto this latter faith, Chrylstone applicth these woordes; If ye haue faith as

a graine of mustard seed, ye shall faile vnto this mountaine; Get thee hence, and hurle thy selfe into the sea; and it shall be done. Neither vnboutie can it be denied, but that there is such a kind of faith; for Paule, in the 22. chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, when he reherceth by the free gifts which the holie Ghost distributeth vnto euery man, as pleaseth him, thus toucheth vnto one is by the spirit giuen the word of wisdom; and to another the word of knowledge by the same spirit; and to another is giuen faith by the same spirit, and to another the gifts of healing by the same spirit. Here we see, that amongst the free gifts of the holie Ghost is reckoned faith, and that in the third place: the which Paule would not haue spoken of the general faith, whereby we are iustificed. And if we diligeatly peruse these woordes, we shall see that Paule heareth the selfe same order in the 12. chapter of the first, to the Corinthians. For as here in the first place he putteth the word of wisdom, so here he putteth professing; and as here in this second place he putteth knowledge, so there also in the selfe same place he putteth knowledge; and as here, to also there he putteth faith in the third place; and as here the gift of healings and of miracles followeth faith, so both there the remouing of mountains. And therefore those things, which Paule hath spoken of a particular faith, ought not to be twised to the vniuersall and iustificing faith; for that is to make a false argument, which they call *A secundum quid, ad simpliciter*, to wit, from that which is in some respect, vnto that which is absolutelie. As if a man should saie, this faith may be separated from iustificacion, which is called *secundum quid*; to wit, in some respect: Ergo, the true faith, and the iustificing faith, which is called *simpliciter*, that is, absolutelie, may be separated from iustificacion. If a man should compare two fenall kinde, that he will ascribe one, and the selfe same propertie vnto either of them, he shall none be deceived.

¶ But Pighius saue, that by this cause and plain explication, all his reasoning might be owerthowen; and therefore he went about to woe it out of our hands, forgetting in the meane time, that the author and patron thereof is Chrylstone. And to inuenge it, he wroth this argument; Paule manifesteth faith, Allidem, whereby we may not vnderstand of anie singular faith. For the Apostle maketh an vniuersall proposition. But this man ought to know, that vniuersall propositions are to be decreed as abrogated vnto that matter, whereof the woordes are meant and spoken. And although this might be declared by manie examples, yet at this present onlie one shall suffice vs. Paule in that selfe same epistle vnto the Corinthians, the 1. chapter,

ver. 1.

ver. 1.

ad parallel. glint.

Eras.

Chryl.

ver. 1.

ver. 1.

ver. 1.

ver. 1.

ver. 1.

ver. 1.

faith, that He giueh thanks vnto God for them, that they were enriched in all kind of speech, and in all knowledge. And it is not verie likelie, that they were by the spirit of GOD inuened with naturall philosophie, with metaphisicall and mathematical knowledge, with knowledge of the lawe, and with other liberal sciences; but onlie with all knowledge which should pertaine vnto pietie, and vnto the gospell. For either is it likelie, that they by the power of the holie Ghost were adorned with all kind of rhetorically, logically, poetical, and historiall sciences; but onlie with those which should pertaine vnto the edification of the church, with sound doctrine, & good admonitions. Wherefore propositions, although they be vniuersall, yet are they not alwaies to be vnderstood simple; but ought sometimes to be abrogated vnto the matter, which at that time is entreated of.

¶ So like like, that which Paule faith; If I haue all faith, we vnderstand of all that faith, which serueth vnto the working of miracles. And that in this sort they must be taken of necessitie; is the woordes following do declare: for Paule straightwaie also faith; that he in that vniuersall faith, that this particular sentence is of necessitie to be vnderstood: for he faith; that if he may be doubted, holo Christ faith; that to remoue mountains, a little faith is sufficient, which is in smallnes of quantitie resembled to a graine of mustard seed, when as Paule faith; If I haue all faith, so that I can remoue mountains: as though to bring that to passe is required a wonderfull great faith. He thus roundly the question, and faith; that Christ spake of the truth and nature of the thing: for the gift of faith, although it be neuer so small, sufficeth to worke miracles, be they neuer so great. But Paule had a respect vnto the common opinion and iudgement of men: for they, when they looke vpon the greatnes and hugenes of a mountaine, thinke that it cannot be remoued without a certein incredible efficacy and greatnes of faith.

¶ Either helpe it much Pighius his cause, that Erasmus making answer vnto the schoollish doctores, reuersed this our interpretation. For first his reason is verie weak, and secondly false: for he faith, that The purpose of the apostle was to praise charitie by comparison. But that paule should that be (saith he) if it should be compared with faith, which is one of the free gifts of the holie Ghost; and map light as well vpon the which, as vpon the goodlie. For he should but colide praise a man, which would laie, that he is better than a dog or a beare. First, this is false, that Paule compareth not charitie with the free gifts of GOD; for he maketh mention of professing, of knowledge, and of the gift of tongues;

and preferreth charitie before them. Secondlie, it is locate that he faith; that if our interpretations be received, the apostle should compare charitie onlie with five gifts: for we confesse, that toward the end, he compareth it with the true faith; for Paule faith, There are three things; faith, hope, and charitie; but the chiefest is charitie. And he bringeth a reason vnto it; for it abideth, and the other shall cease. Further, it is a full comparison, as we haue faid; we begin at the free gifts, and so afterward come in order to the vertues theologically; yea rather by that, that Paule, toward the end of the chapter, compareth charitie with true faith, it is most likelie that he doth not before.

¶ But if we should fullie grant this vnto Pighius, that that faith, whereof Paule speaketh, is the general faith, whereby men are iustificed; yet neither so vnboutie he should be obtine his purpose. For the apostle going about by all manner of means, to let forth charitie, thought to amplify that same by a fiction of feining, which is a figure of rhetoricke, knowne euery body. And yet both that Paule therefore by a false proposition; for he faith a conditional proposition, which may not resolve into a categorical proposition; and yet notwithstanding is the truth in the meane time. As if I should laie vnto anie man; If thou haddest the life or life of a reasonable soule, without the life or life of the soule. Such kind of speeches also are found in the holie scriptures; as for example; If I shall ascend vp into heauen, thou art therein I descend downe into hell, thou art present; and if I take the fethers of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost end of the sea, thither shalt thy right hand lead me. These sentences are true; yet it is not possible, that a man should take vnto him the fethers of the morning. After the same manner we laie; If a man should separate faith from charitie, he should make it vnboutie; though in verie deed it cannot be separated from charitie.

¶ And that Paule in that place vseth such an exercise of speech or fiction, that euidently declareth, which he a little before faid; Though I should speake with the tongues of men and of angels, & haue not charitie, I am like to sounding brass, or a tinkling cymball. But we knowe, that anie man without charitie is no tongue; and yet not without faith. Paule should separate faith from charitie, he should make it vnboutie; though in verie deed it cannot be separated from charitie. And this exposition Basilus confirmeth in an epistle,

figura ficit.

A simile.

Pag. 139.

ver. 1.

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epistle. *Ad Necessarios*: for he saith, that the apostle minded in this place, to commend charity, and he saith, that he voucheth those reasons, not that all those things, which he there maketh mention of, can be separated from charity. Wherefore, of the former interpretation, we have Chrysostome for an author; and the later interpretation Basilus confirmeth. Let Pighius go now, and of this saying of the apostle conclude, if he can, that which he contendeth to much about.

Matt. 7.22.

18 But as touching those words of Matthew; Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied, and in thy name cast out devils, &c. Which things Pighius denieth, can be done without faith; and yet they which have done them are not iudged; seeing they are excluded from the kingdom of heaven. We make answer with the self-same solution, which we have now brought; namely, that they, whom Matthew maketh mention of, had the faith of figures, of a dead faith, but not a true and iustifying faith. *apocryphus*, I for not hold true this is; that miracles cannot be done without faith: for God sometimes worketh miracles, not for his faiths sake, by whom they are done; but either to advance his glorie, or to give testimonie unto true doctrine. *Troublesome*, Moses and Aaron, when they strove together out of the rock of strife, bowed in faith; and yet God, that he might stand to his promise, with a great miracle, gave water unto the people, and reproveth Moses and Aaron of infidelity. And Naaman the Syrian doubted of recovering his health, in the waters of Jordan; yea also, he would have gone his waie, for that he said, that the rivers of his countie were much better than Jordan: and yet notwithstanding, God left not his miracle undone. And when the dead body was cast into the sepulchre of Elizabeth, by a great miracle it came to passe, that at the touching of the dead bones of the prophet, life was restored unto it. But there was no faith there, neither in the dead corpse, nor in the bones of the prophet, nor in them which brought the dead man thither.

Num. 10.32.

1Sa. 106.33.

And yet not alwaies is it granted unto them, that desire to do miracles, that they should do them, when faith is absent: for in the Acts we read, that when the Crocodiles, which were cast out of the sea, would have cast out devils in the name of Christ, whom Paule preached, the devils answered; Jesus I knowe, &c. Paule I knowe, but who are ye? And straightwaie ran upon them. Here we see, that God would not give a miracle, when it was asked; as it is most iudicially, by twelveth and thirteenth men. *Potent*, contrarie to what in Marke the 9. chapter, that a certaine man did cast out devils, in the name of Christ, who yet followed not Christ; and when John would have reproveth him, Christ

Act. 19.15.

ver. 38.

suffered not John so to do. By this Pighius might have sene, that to the working of miracles, is not alwaies required faith. And yet, if I should grant him, that faith is of necessitie required; therunto were sufficient, either the faith of figures, or else a dead faith. Wherefore Pighius, in his second confirmation, poureth nothing: for it hath nothing in it that is sound.

19 Now let us examine his third proofe. John saith; Many of the princes beleueed in him, but they confessed him not, for feare they should be cast out of the synagoge; and therefore they were not iustified by faith. This reason is but a wretchedly reason, and not so strong, as he thinketh it to be: for we denie, that they beleeued truly. For that assent of theirs was nothing, but an humane assent: for when they saie, that by a Christ were wrought wonderfull works, and that by his doctrine was confirmed by most evident signs; they began by a certaine humane persuasion to give credit unto him. The

diuells also, for that he certeinly knoweth many things by God, assented unto the truth; and beleueed it; and yet it is not to be thought, that he by a true faith induced to beleue, and that these rulers had not the true and lively faith, hereby it is manifest, that Christ had faith too: How can ye beleuee, when ye seeke for glorie at mans hand? By which words we understand, that they, which more esteeme humane glorie, than godliue, cannot beleue truly in God. And these princes were to be punished amongst them: for they so much did set by their estimations, as the indugements of men; that rather than they would be cast out of the synagoge, they would forsake the confession of the people. They would forsake the confession of the name of Christ. Wherefore, when as the Lord saith; that Such cannot beleuee; and John saith; that They did beleuee: it is manifest, that they spoke of a counterfeit and fustie faith; which we will see, that two contradictions, make both at one, and the self-same time be true. Wherefore John spake of an humane faith, but Christ of the sincere and true faith: which true faith ought to be joined with confession, as Paule declarably saie; With the hart we beleeue unto righteousness, and with the mouth, we man confesseth to saluation. We which feare the correction betwixt righteousness and saluation; must needs also for the conuiction, which ought to be betwixt faith & perfection. Wherefore we saie, that their faith was a dead faith; but a dead faith is not a faith, no more than a dead man, is a man.

20 Although Smith, in a certaine little booke of iustification, which he wrote against me, contendeth that a dead faith is a faith: which he poureth, chaicly by this argument; for that be

where a dead faith is no faith of a man.

There is a certaine true faith, more lively than false.

There is a true faith, is no dead thing.

There is a true faith, is no dead thing.

There is a true faith, is no dead thing.

booke of a dead man, although it be dead, is notwithstanding a boie. And this god will make wonderfull delight in this his similitude; in which yet he hath interposed a figurall argument, not disarguing from his studie and skill.

For let us a little examine this notable similitude. I would have him to answer me, whether a carcase be the boie of a dead man, or whether the boie of a man: I think he will not answer, that it is the boie of a carcase, nor differ much the one from the other; and in verie deed, more than two particular kinds, which are of one, and the self-same generall kind, for they are conteinced under diuers generall kinds, from which they come next, and as it were lineally descend. I grant, that the carcase of a dead man is a boie, in the generall nature of substance, as are flowers, &c. A fish other like; but that it is in verie deed the boie of a man, I vterly denie. For death taketh away from the boie of a man the proper forme; a nature, which he had before; but it leaueh the generall nature onely, so that it may be called a boie. Cuen so, true and iustifying faith, when it is lost, or ceaseth to be a true and proper faith, it may be called, as touching the generall word, which doth betoken all kind and nature of faith, he called a certaine cold assent, synging of humane persuasion; and not such as cometh of the holie Ghost, and which hath the self-same strength & efficacy that it had before. Wherefore, if on either side be kept the self-same proportion of the similitude, this

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will in his wills, will cut safe, that either the flesh of a tree, or the branches, or the fruits, or the flowers, or the glue live unto the roots &c. And faith too.

is before either hope or charity; therefore of them it receiveth not life: for in verie deed, faith cannot be the matter of these vertues. And even as that facultie, or power of the soule, which we lue, and are quickened, which they call *Metagenetic*, giueth life to the boie, and receiveth not life of the facultie, or power, *Metagenetic*, whereby we seele; or rational, whereby we understand; the which doth followe: Cuen so faith giueth life unto the soule, but taketh not that life either of charity, or of god works. *Yolube*, *noto* *faith* *is* *increased* *by* *good* *works*.

it, I grant, that that life of faith is made so much the greater and ampler, as it hath more and better works, & more fervent charity breaking forth of it: not that it is increased by doing of manie actions, as they saie of vertues, which they call moral; but because God, of his grace & mercy, multiplieth the talent, for that was not idle; and because God by his power bringeth to passe, that faith, when it worketh through loue, is stronger than it selfe, when it doth not so.

21 But omitting these things, let us returne againe to Pighius. He, as much as lieth in him, laboureth to proue, that a man cannot be iustified by that faith, which is in Christ, and in the remission of finnes: for that faith (saith he) whereby Abraham was iustified, was not applied unto these things. For God promised vnto him onelie a plentiful seed, and possession of a countrie; and straightwaie is added, that Abraham beleueed God, and it was imputed vnto him for righteousness. In this argument, Pighius doth come and triumph in words, against the truth, and vterly berideth this our opinion and iudgement: but this is nothing else, than to beride Paule himselfe. For he, by most expresse words, affirmeth, that We are iustified by faith in Christ, and by the remission of finnes. Neither is there any thing else in Pighius, than a mere madnesse, and a wilked desire to contend. But let Paule come forth, and answer for himselfe, what he thought to be understood by the seed promised vnto Abraham. *Unbelieueth*, in his epistle vnto the Galathians, the third chapter he saith, that fed, Christ; vnto Abraham, (saith he) were the promises made, and vnto his seed. He saith not, And vnto the seeds, as speaking of manie; but as it were of one, and in thy seed, which is Christ. And this testament, I saie, was confirmed by God towards Christ. Let Pighius now yet beleue Paule, that in that fed, which was promised vnto Abraham, was Christ comprehended and meant; neither let him from henceforth with such malapertnesse, and desire of vnicitie, take vpon him to saie, that the faith, whereby Abra-

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ham was iustified, was not faith in Christ. But as touching the remission of finnes, so much as vnto vs is promised the blessing; we ought to remember, that the chief and principall point thereof, consisteth in this; that we should be recipients of Gods into fauour, and that our finnes should be forgotten vs. But Pighius goeth on manifestly to oppugne the doctrine of the apostle touching the iustification of Abraham: for he saith, that Before Abraham was circumcised, & had a testimonie of the scripture, that his faith was imputed vnto him vnto righteousness. The belted God, as it is manifest in the 12. chapter of Genesis; wherefore (saith he) according to this opinion of yours; he was then iustified: neither was his righteousness deferred, untill that byfioze which is written in the 15. chapter. It is wonderfull to see, how much he attributeth vnto his arguments; as though by them were taken awaye from vs all possibilitie to aufer.

what time  
Abraham  
was iustified.

What I beseech you letted, but that Abraham might be iustified at that first time, when God spake vnto him first; to go out of his countrey, and from his kindred: for euen in the selfe-same place at the beginning of the 12. chapter, we read the selfe-same promises, which are in the 15. chapter. for thus God promised him; I will make of thee a great nation, and will bless thee, and will make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing: I will also bless those that bless thee, and will curse those that curse thee; and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed. This doubtles in these promises is contained the promise of Christ, and the remission of finnes. And therefore there shall be no absurditie, if we saie that Abraham, by believing of those words, was also iustified. But because the scripture in that chapter did not plainlie set forth this; therefore Paule with great wisdom haue cited those words which are spoken in the 15. chap. where it is expressely written; that Faith was imputed to him for righteousness: which saying was most necessarie to confirme the sentence of the apostle; namelie, that A man is iustified by faith. But whp God would reue to the selfe-same promises, it is not hard to see; for weake is our mind, that except the words of God be repeated, and againe and againe bluen into vs, he easilie scarcely backe from faith. For doubtles is iustification once onlie taken hold of, but is of often apprehended, as we trulie & mightie assure vnto the promises of God: for seeing we continually slide, and fall into finnes; we haue need euermore; that our iustification should be renewed.

Heb. 11.

Afterward he cauileth, that in the epistle vnto the Hebrewes, are many things found touching faith; and manie wonderfull an swers

of, which haue bene obtained by it: but yet not one word spoken, that iustification is to be ascribed thereto. But this man with an vntrue point of balance twerth the words of the holie scripture; neither sufficientlie considereth what those words meane; The iust haue by faith overcome kingdoms, haue wrought righteousness, haue obtained the promises: for these are so to be resolved, that from the last effect, we must retorne vnto the first. The last is, To overcome kingdoms; the first, To worke righteousness; the first, To obtaine the promises: among which promises, are reckoned blessing, life, remission of finnes, and such other like, which serue to iustification. Wherefore that which is first made mention of, faith apprehendeth, & by it we are iustified: afterward followe god works, and therefore it is said; And they wrought righteousness: lastly, by the selfe-same faith we obtaine temporal god things, & for that cause it is said; They haue overcome kingdoms. So then Pighius falslie affirmeth, that in the epistle vnto the Hebrewes, among the effects of faith, is no mention made of iustification: for, although that word be not there read; yet it is of necessity and manifestlie gathered of those things that are there written. for we beleeue are not Arrians (as some wickedlie beleeve) that we will grant nothing but that which is by plaine and expresse words read in the holie scriptures: for we grant those things also, which are by euident and plaine arguments gathered out of them. But Pighius afterward demaundeth, why we take awaye from those words, the power of iustifying? Vnto this we can make answer in one word, that we do it, because the holie Ghost in the scriptures so teacheth vs; namelie, that Men are iustified by faith without works.

But to the end we should not so bysiedly dispatch it, he hath laid a blocke in our waye: he answereth vnto himselfe, that the cause thereof, is, for that our works are imperfect; neither stand they the lawe of God, neither also can they stand sure before the iudgement seat of God. But by this means also (saith he) we may as firme, that iustification is not of faith: for it also is imperfect; for there is no man beleeueth so much as he should do. But vnto this we answer as we haue in other places oftentimes answered; that faith, as it is a worke, iustifieth not; it hath that effect and fruit, not by any power of his owne, but by his owne, that is, by that which it doth regard, and lastly hold vpon: for from the death of Christ, & the promises of God, is righteousness deriued vnto vs. So a better reciteth almes with a leprous, weake, and sore hand; and yet not in that respect that his hand is in such sort weake and leprous. But thou wilt saie; Why do not other god works also by their ob-

In the 11.  
chap. to the  
Hebrewes,  
faith & law  
to iustifie.

faith as it  
is a worke,  
iustifieth  
not.

as faith  
is a worke,  
iustifieth  
not.

who rather  
saith than  
our works  
iustifieth.

is iustified.

the signification  
of the  
word, first  
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thing to the  
power of  
iustifying.

is iustified.

it is  
rather  
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faith,  
not  
charitie  
iustifieth.

ica (namelie, by God, for whose sake they are done) apprehend righteousness, as well as faith: I answer, that faith was to this life made and instituted by God: for euen in the bodie of a man, although it haue diuers and sundrie members; yet the hand onelie toucheth hold and receiveth. And so is easilie disclosed that common, lew, a false reason; We are iustified by faith; faith is a worke; Ergo, we are iustified for works sake. Here, in the conclusion, is thrust in this word For, which was not in the former propositions; and therefore the collection is not god further, the forme of the reason is, as they call it, *Ab accidenti*, so that it is falsitie: for it is an accident, or happeneth to faith, to be our worke, in that it iustifieth vs. Wherefore it is a fallacie, or deceitfull reason (as the Logicians terme it) of the accident.

Besides, Pighius obiecteth, that charitie iustifieth rather than faith; for that it is the nobler and more excellent vertue. But this reason we haue before confuted as ridiculous: Charitie is more nobler than faith, & therefore it iustifieth rather than faith. for nobilitie or dignitie serueth nothing to iustification. for it is all one, as if a man would thus reason; The eyes are more excellent than the mouth, and the hands; Ergo, meats are to be receiued with the eyes, and not with the mouth or the hands. Which also we see happeneth in natural things, that things which followe, are of more perfection, although they come first to life. In the child conceived, nature ascendeth, as it were by degrees, from the power of quickning to the power of feeling; and from the power of feeling, to the power of understanding; and yet both it not there of followe, that the powers of understanding or of feeling, for that they are more noble than the power of quickening, do therefore giue life vnto the child. And that to iustifie, rather pertaineth vnto faith than vnto charitie (because that the holie scriptures do teach the same) it may also be shewed by god probable reasons: for the power of knowledge, which pertaineth vnto understanding, consisteth in perceiving. And therefore they, which are taught any thing, after they once be true and, are accustomed to saie; *Accepis, o Teneo*; that is, I take it, I hold it. for in verbe bed, by knowledge a thing is after a sort receiued into the mind; wherefore it ought not to seeme strange, that by faith we are said to take hold of the promises of God, and the merits of Christ. But charitie consisteth in pouizing out, bestowing, and communicating our goods vnto others; which thing ought to followe iustification, and not to go before: for, before that we are regenerate, we are euill; neither can we be righteous, or in such sort as God will allow of it, communicate any god thing vnto others.

62 Whereunto Pighius addeth, that if so be faith, which iustifieth, suffereth not with it false halious finnes, which may spolie the conscience, & alienate a man from God; it must needs followe, that if a man which belongeth, do chance to fall into any grievous & wicked crime, he is straightwaie detrimed of faith, and ceaseth to be iustified: and thus there is a God; when as yet notwith standing we see, that wicked men do not onelie beleeue that there is a God, but also do confesse all the articles of the faith. His argument at the first sight seemeth to be very terrible: but suffer not thy selfe gentle reader to be deceived with vaine shew, examine it well, and trie it diligently. We grant that a man that is by finnes and wicked facts alienated from God, may assent vnto the articles of the faith, & beleeue that there is a God. But this god man should haue taught former, that the same is done by the motion and impulsion of true faith. There may in dede be led to a wicked man, a certaine humane persuasion, either by education, or by opinion; but can he thinke it to be much like lie. But least a man should thinke, that this that I saie, is of mine owne inventing; namelie, that a man which graciously thinke, is not a fittist of the true and iustifying faith; let him rather consider what Paule faith; for he vnto Timothy faith; He which hath not a care ouer his owne, and especially ouer his household, hath renounced faith, and is worse than an infidel. Doubtles, he which renounceth faith, hath not faith. And vnto Titus he saith; They confesse they knowe God, but in deeds they denie him. So confesse, and to denie, are things contrary: therefore it must needs be, that so much as both are spoken of the same men, they are to be taken in diuers senses. Wherefore they may haue faith, that is, a certaine humane opinion, such as it is; but yet not that firme & forceable affect, inspired by the holie Ghost, wherof we now intreat.

John faith in his first epistle, and second chapter; He which faith that he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. So then the true faith, wherof we be true in him, is not with out god works. Neither ought it to seeme vnto any man absurd, that one and the selfe-same thing may be knowne diuers waies; for the diuine also, as well as we, both knoweth and confesse many things touching Christ; whom yet Pighius boules (as I suppose) will not grant to be inuied with the true faith, whereby we are persuaded to beleeue those things which we confesse of Christ. It is possible also, that one faithful in the Spanish matters, may assent to some true, one conclusion confirmed & proued by demonstration; which demonstration if he chance after

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ward as oftentimes it happeneth) by reason of age, or some disease to forget, he will not yet for all that cease to affirm that proposition, which he before knew: but this he will do by opinion, or some probable argument; and not (as he before did) by demonstration. Therefore the knowledge of one, and the self-same thing, doth not of necessity inferre the self-same ground and principle of knowledge. And let these things be spoken onlie as it were by supposition, as though we granted that opinion, which held, that after a man hath committed anie great, heinous, and wicked fact, true faith is lost; which yet in the cleat is afterward, by the benefite of God, againe recovered: otherwise it maie be said, that si men iustificati, are also appointed of God unto saluation, faith cannot, through the committing of anie heinous crime, be utterly extinguished, but as it were fall into a sleepe, and be hidden; neither breakes out to shew this life by good actions, unless it be againe stirred up by the holie Ghost: for in such men as haue so fallen, the face of God still abideth, although for a time it beyneth not forth it self.

faith is the  
foundation  
of the last per-  
fection.

But Pighius goeth on, and saith; Faith is the foundation: Therefore it is scarce from the perfection of the building: so then it iustifieth not: for unto iustification manie other preparations are required. If by this perfection of the building, he understand the blessed resurrection, and these felicitie, wherein we shall see God face to face; we grant that faith is heere scarce from it: for we must, by manie tribulations, aduerities, and grievous labours, come to the kingdome of heauen. But after the self-same manner we maie saie, that iustification also is onlie the foundation of that eternal saluation; and that it is also scarce from the blessednes which we looke for. For the first degree unto saluation, is to be received of God into fauour, and to be regenerated through Christ: and afterward do folowme other degrees, whereby we come vnto that chiefe and fourerigne blessednes, which we looke for. But where this man thought, that faith is onlie the foundation; he hath reacht out of the holie scriptures: except peraduenture he will bring the same out of the epistle vnto the Hebrewes; Faith is the substance of things that are hoped for. But by those words is nothing else meant, but that those things, which we hope for, are by faith vpon and confirmed in our minds; which would otherwise haue, neither should they by anie means stand fast. But this maketh nothing at all to this purpose. And if in case he will cite this, saye; that, He which will come into Gods sight, ought to beleue; we haue already before answered thereto: and peraduenture we will aske afterward in one place speake somewhat more as

touching the same.

64 Well now when he by so manie meanes hath gone about to overthrowe our doctrine; let vs heare at the length what he himselfe affirmeth, and vnto what things he attributeth the power of iustification. There are (saith he) manie preparations, and dispositions required in vs, that we maie be iustified. First (saith he) we beleue the wordes of God; afterward we are afraid of this word; after we hope for mercie; then we detest finnes. To be wise, he requieth by all those things, which we before declared, vnder the name of the Connell of Trent. But lastlie he saith, that there succedeth a sincere & pure loue of God, which altogether beareth dominion in our hearts: and vnto this he saith, is ascribed iustification. I cannot inough maruell at the dulle of this man: for he affirmeth, that a man is in a manner perfect, before he can be iustified: for he which beleueth, feareth, hopeth, repenteth, and sincerelie loueth God; that wanteth he to perfection. But this man affirmeth, that a man being without Christ, being a stranger from God, & not yet iustified; is able to accomplish those things, which vndoubtedly in no wise agreeth with the holy scriptures; for they teach, that a man, before he is iustified, is occupied in euill works, and wandreth in the hatred of God: as it is manifested in the epistle to the Colossians, the first chapter: and to the Ephesians, the second chapter. But how can they, by whome are brought so excellent works, as this man maketh mention of, be the children of wrath, if how can they be sinners? How can they, as it is written to the Romans, be the enemies of God?

But omitting these things, let vs see what are the grounds of this opinion. If first he iustifyeth out of John; He which loueth not, abideth in death: and thereby he concludeth, that of loue is had iustification and life. This is all one, as if a man should saie; He which cannot laugh, is not a man: therefore, by the power of laughing a man obtaineth to be a man. But how absurd this is, euery man maie perceiue: for, to be men, we haue it of the soule indued with reason; vnto which soule, forasmuch as the power of laughing is of necessity ioined, this proposition which we haue brought, is euery true: He which cannot laugh, is not a man. So is that most certaine, which John saith; that He which loueth not, abideth in death: although he haue not life, or loue, but of faith, wherewith loue is of necessity ioined. He which hath these wordes of Christ; If ye had God to your father, doubtlesse ye would loue me: Therefore (saith he) of loue we haue the adoption, whereby we are made the children of God. But here also he vseth the self-same forme of reasoning: for they, which lou not

not Christ, are not the children of God: & yet are we not the children of God, in respect of that loue; but for faiths sake, from whence loue springeth. After the self-same manner, a man might saie; If thou wert liberal, thou shouldst alke be puerent; and this indeed is a true proposition: and yet it followeth not, that a man is by liberality made puerent: yea much rather, of puerity springeth liberality. To be wise, the arguments, and such other like, do conclude nothing els, than that iustification cannot consist without loue, and other christian vertues. And, yet it cannot thereof be rightlie gathered, that a man is iustified for these vertues sake.

Pighius addeth moreover this sentence of Christ; If anie man loue me, he will keepe my commandments, & I and my father will come vnto him, and make our abiding with him. By these wordes it appereth (saith he) that iustification followeth of loue, and the obseruing of the commandments of God: for those being observed, Christ promitteth, that he will come with his father, and abide with vs. For he meaneth, that, to reuerie and to reuerie Christ, is nothing else, than to be iustified. And we grant, that when christians being now regenerate and iustified, do loue vponrightlie, and by god works shew forth their faith; God commeth vnto them, and plentifulle pouereth in them greater gifts, and more ample grace. For God, although otherwise he be euery where; yet it is expressed, that, he commeth vnto them, in whom he is giuenly to loue new works. And siuence he daily increaseth and aduanceth his, which be haue themselves vponrightlie and godly, and faithfull: exercise the talents committed to them; it is verie well said, that he daily commeth vnto them, by reason of new gifts. And this is that kind of visiting, wherof Christ speaketh in the Gospell of John. But if we will knowe the first ascription of God, and the comming of Christ into our hearts to dwell in them, Paule teacheth it vs vnto the Ephesians: for thus he writeth; That Christ may through faith dwell in our hearts. Therefore this sentence of Christ teacheth not, that iustification commeth of loue: for iustification greatly befoze it, although not in time, yet in order.

65 Pighius goeth on, and maketh such a description of testament; that some he saith are absolute and fixe, whereby the heere may straitlye enter vpon the inheritance; other loue are conditionall, which make no heere, but by euery certaine conditions: and to this latter kind he referreth the testament of God. And therefore he earnestly affirmeth, that except those conditions be performed, none can be iustified. Where we denie that which he aduanceth namely, that the testament, temping the remission of

finnes in Christ, hath any condition ioined with it. Which thing Paule testifieth in his third chapter to the Galatians, when he thus writeth; Brethren, I speake according to the manner of men; though it be but a mans testament, yet, when it is confirmed, no man doth abrogate it, or adde any thing thereto. Now to Abraham were the promises, and to his seed: he said not To the seeds, as speaking of many; but as of one, and in this seed, which is Christ. And this Isaac, that the lawe, which began foure hundred and thirtie yeeres after, cannot disanulle the testament, before approved of God, towards Christ; that it should make the promises of none effect. These wordes most plainelie declare, that the testament, which God made with Abraham, was pure and absolute, and without anie condition of the lawe. And this do the verie wordes of Genesis declare: For God once promised vnto Abraham the blessing. Afterward was giuen the lawe, which vnto those promises should adde conditions of precepts: so that if men would be iustified, and obtaine them, they should knowe that they ought to performe and accomplish all the commandments of God. But this latter waie of iustification, although it can by no means be accomplished, cannot let, as make void the first waie. But that first waie was nothing else, but the Gospell through Christ; and that men should the more willingly come vnto it, there was set forth also the latter waie of iustification by works, that men, when they understood that they were not able to performe them, should the vnto Christ, of whome, when they being iustified enduoured themselves to loue vponrightlie, they might frelie receiue the promises set forth in the lawe.

Now let vs see what those conditions be, which this man hath adde vnto the testament of God. In the 103. psalme it is written; The mercie of the Lord is from generation to generation vpon them that feare him; & his righteousness vpon children children vpon those that keepe his testament, and are mindful of his commandments to do them. Of these wordes Pighius gathereth, that the feare of God, the mindfulnes of the testament of God, and the endeavour to performe his commandments, are the conditions of the promises of God. But here I do not a little maruell, that Pighius would as firme, that a man is iustified by loue, when as he confesse, that the holie scriptures do attribute the same vnto feare. But he will not let Pighius to be against himselfe. Wherewith if we will hearken to the scriptures in the 3. psalme, mercie is promised vnto them that hope: for thus it is written; And him that hopeth in God, mercie shall compass about. Also in another place it is written; He which beleeueth, shall not

Eph. 3. 16,  
1. Cor. 13. 13.

not be confounded; and he which calleth vpon the name of the Lord, shall be made safe. But who saith not, that all these seruices are in a man alreadie iustified; and that God hath merite vpon him? But here late all the controuersie, vnto which of these seruices shallic iustification is to be ascribed. Vndoubtedly by the testimonie of the scriptures the same must be attributed vnto faith. Pighius saith moreover, that in that condition which David named, is said that they should be minifull of his commandments. God to do them. There (saith he) is not added; To do all the commandments. God receiue a man which inuocoueth himselfe to do them, and of his merite be soughtly manie things. But this that is written; To do them, must of necessitie be vnderstood of all; for doubtlesse in the laue, which this man calleth the testament, are written all. And if God forgive vs remit a me thing, he doth it vnto men alreadie regenerate; and not vnto them that are strangers from him; and chyliden of wrath: such as they must needs be, which are not as yet iustified, but do still prepare themselves, & are bent to performe the conditions; vnto these (I saie) nothing is remitted: wherefore they are bound vnto all. And therefore Moses said, as Paule testifieth, Cursed be he which abideth not in all things which are written in the booke of the laue.

Deut.27.23  
Gal.3.12.

From  
whence  
faith hath  
his beginning.

66 Further, he maketh a contention also about the springing as it were, and binging forth of faith: and demandeth from whence it hath his beginning in vs. We in one word easily answer, that it hath his beginning of the holie Ghost. But he saith himselfe to wonder, how he grant the holie Ghost vnto a man before he hath beleue: for he thinketh that to be absurd. First, I cannot denie, how this man should so much wonder at this; but afterward I perceive, that he manifestlie teacheth and maketh with the Pelagians, that faith is of our felues; and for otherwise, if he should think that it is of God, and of the holie Ghost, he should not separate the cause from his effects. But that he may not thinke that way, without good reason, nor attribute vnto the holie Ghost the beginning of faith; let him hearken vnto the most manifest testimonies of the scriptures. Paule faith in the first epistle vnto the Corinthians; Not in the words, which mans wisdom teacheth, but which the holie Ghost teacheth; that your faith should not be of the wisdom of men, but of God. And in the same place: The carnall man vnderstandeth not the things that are of God, neither can he: for vnto him they are foolishnes; for they are spirituallie discerned. But how can the spirituaillie discerned, except the spirit of God be present? Chyliden also knowe,

1.Cor.2.14

Idem.7.4

that from *Conscience*, words that are coupled as it were in one yoke, are deriued from arguments. And to the Galatians; God (saith he) hath sent his spirit into our hearts, whereby we are; Abba; Father; by the spirit we beleue, & in believing we call vpon God; yea and The spirit himselfe (as it is written to the Romans) beareth testif. monie vnto our spirit, that we are the children of God. And vnto the Ephesians; By ye strength, & by the spirit, in the inward man; that Christ may by faith dwell in your hearts. Here we see, that that faith, whereby we embrace Christ, cometh of the spirit of God; whereby our inward man is made strong. The apostles, when they said; Lord increas our faith, manifestlie declared, that it springeth not out of their owne ableness and strength; but by the inspiration of elmyghie God.

And Paule in the 1. to the Corinthians, the 12. vers.

chapter, Vnto one (saith he) is giuen the word of wisdom, vnto another the word of knowledge, vnto another faith, and vnto another the grace of healing. And then he addeth, that it is one & the selfe-same spirit, which worketh all these things, diuiding vnto euery man as pleaseth him. And if thou wilt saie, that this place, and the foresaid petition of the apostles pertaineth vnto the particular faith, by which are wrought miracles; doubtles I will not be so much against it. And yet, if thou wilt needs haue it so, I will reason *A minor*, that is, from the lesse: for if these free gifts are not had, but from the spirit of God; much lesse can that brinnerfall & effectuall faith, whereby we are iustified, be had from else where. Further, Paule vnto the Romans; Vnto euery one (saith he) as God hath diuided the measure of faith. And in the last to the Corinthians; Hauiug (saith he) the selfe-same spirit of faith, euen as it is written; I haue beleueed, for which cause allo I speake. We also beleueue and speake, that God, which raised vp Iesus from the dead, shall through Iesus raise vp our bodies allo. Vnto the Galatians are reckoned by the fruits of the spirit; Charitie, ioie, peace, patience, lowliness, gentleness, faith, meekenes, and temperance. Faith here is numbered among the fruits of the spirit; wherefore it proceedeth of the spirit. But vnto the Ephesians he saith more manifestlie; Eph.3.16 By grace ye are saved, through faith, & that not of our felues; for it is the gift of God. And in the Acts of the apostles it is thus written; The Lord Asa.16.14 opened the hart of the woman that sold silks, to giue heed vnto those things which Paule preached. And in the 13. chapter; They beleueed, as manie as were predestinated vnto eternal life. Wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that faith in Iesus, as was predestinated vnto eternal life, was giued in our hearts by the holie Ghost: who in deed may say for all that he had of them, which he laue not; but yet as persuading onlie, and not uit.

as sanctifying them. And although into the elect he indifferently poureth in faith; yet forgiveness as he is the cause of faith, he is therefore before it both in dignitie and in order.

67 Now let vs see what absurdities Pighius gathereth out of this our sentence & iudgement. If the spirit (saith he) be the author of our faith, and vnto the instrument of the word of God, and may be also in them that beleue not; how cometh this to passe, that when as there are manie at one and the selfe-same sermon, where as both the spirit is present, and the word preached, yet part do beleue, and part beleue not? We answer in one word; that that cometh, because the spirit is not of like efficacie in all men; neither both after one and the selfe-same manner teach all men inuoluble, & in the mind. But of this will we cannot render anie cause; although we nothing doubt, but that it is most iust. If the matter be so, (saith he) the hearers will easily content themselves; neither will they put to their vnderstanding: for they knowe, that that is in vaine, when as it is vnto the dependeth of the spirit of God. This is not onelie a verie common, but also an enuious obiection. But we answer, that all men are bound to beleue the word of God; and therefore their bounden dutie is diligetlie and attentiuely to hearken thereto, & with all their strength to asseent vnto it; and if they do not, they shall then incur the punishments of the laue. Neither are they to be hardened vnto, if they shall saie, that they could not obeye it; or if they would haue gone about to haue proved what their strength could haue done; their intency; for that they were not as yet iustified, should haue bene in vaine and inane. As if a maister should bid his seruant, which is lame, to walke; and he would excuse himselfe, and saie, that he were lame, and could not go without great defectuinitie: it is not to be thought, that therefore he is excused. We are not of that mind, to thinke, that all finnes are as like: nature rather, we teach that they, which omit or neglect those outward woorks, which they might performe, and put not to their intency; and studie to do well; doo much more grieuouly sinne than they, which according to their strength and power, obserue some outward discipline. And as Augustine saith; Cato and Scipio shall be much more tollerablie belt with, than Catiline or Caligula.

But I would haue Pighius himselfe, whom our opinion so much misliketh, to declare, when he thinketh that the holie Ghost is giuen vnto men. He will answer, when as now these preparations haue gone before, when a man hath beleue, feared, hoped, repented, and sincerely loued. What thing else would Pelagius saie? As though to beleue, to loue, and such other like, do

spring of mans strength. He allegeth this also, I thinke it to make foie his purpose; Come Mat.11.28 vnto me all ye which labour, and are laden; and I will refresh you. For he thinketh, that labours, burthens, contrition, confession, and (as they call it) satisfaction, fastings, teares, and such other like, do make to the obtinement of iustification. But this place is to be vnderstood farre otherwise; Ghost calleth them labouring and laden, which were oppressed with the laue, and felt their owne infirmities, and the burthen of their finnes; and which had now long time laboured vnder humane traditions. These men being now beare, and in a manner without all hope, the Lord calleth vnto him: so; they are more apt and fit fo; the kingdom of heauen, than are other blessed and quiet men; which by their owne woorks and good deas, doo thinke themselves verie iust. God (saith Pighius) requirith woorks preparatorie; and then he promitteth not to faile them of his grace. This was vnto the opinion of the Pelagians. Against which the holie scriptures are verie repugnant: for they teach, that it is God which giue both will and strength, to performe, according to his good will; that it is God which beginneth in vs the good worke, and accomplisheth it euen vnto his owne date; that it is God from whom onlie we haue succiencie: when as otherwise we are not able to thinke anie thing of our felues, as of our felues. Wherefore it is manifest, that Pighius confoundeth the labours of God, & describeth those things which are well set forth in the holie scriptures.

68 Further, when as we saie, that vnto iustification it is not sufficient to haue an histori call faith; he saith himselfe to marvell what manner of histori call he vnderstandeth. For if (saith he) they call all those things, which are written in the holie scriptures, an histori; will they bring to vs another faith, whereby we may beleue those things which are not written in the holie scriptures? But we reiect not an histori call faith, as though we would haue some new objects of faith, besides those which are set forth in the holie scriptures, or are not out of them firmelie concluded. But we require not a vulgar or cold asseent, (such as they haue, which are accustomd to alloo those things which they read in the holie scriptures, being thereto led by humane persuasion, and some probable credulitie; as at this date the Ketoes and Turkes do confesse and beleue manie things, which loo) but an asseent, firme, and strong asseent; and such as cometh from the mouing and inspiration of the holie Ghost, which chaungeth and maketh new the hart and the mind, and draweth vnto it good motions and holie woorks. In this manner we saie, that that faith, which is of efficacie, differeth verie much from an histori call asseent. And that we are by

Phil.2.13.

Phil.1.6.

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by that faith, which we have now described, iustified; we have three manner of testimonies: the first is of the holie Chrest; Which beareth witness vnto our spirit, that we are the children of God: the second is of the scriptures: the third is of woordes. But contrariwise, they which hold and crie, that a man is iustified by woordes, haue no sufficient testimonie: for the holie Chrest testifieth not; the holie scriptures denie it: onelie woordes are brought forth; those vnto godlines and faith; such as were in times past the woordes of the old Cōmings, & are at this daie the woordes of manie, which beliae not in Chrest, and be strangers from God.

But it is worthie to be laughed at, that he hath cited also a place out of the 66. chapter of Ezech. by which onelie, though there were no more plaine than it, his cause is most of all euer throned; Vnto whom (saith God) shall I looke, but vnto the poore man, vnto the contrite hart, and vnto him that trembleth at my wordes? By these woordes Pighius thinketh are signified those woordes, whereby God is deuaile to iustifie vs. But the matter is far otherwise: for the scope of the prophet was, to detest the superstition of the Iewes; for they neglected th' inward goodlines of the mind, trusting onelie to outward ceremonies. Therefore this did God by the voice of the prophet condemn, and declared how odious it was vnto him; Heauen (saith he) is my seate, and the earth is my footstoolle. As if he should haue said; I nothing passe vpon your temple, which ye so much boast of; for Heauen is my seate, such a seate as you cannot frame to make; And the earth adorned with all kind of varietie of plants, lining creatures, heares and flowers, is my footstoolle. Where then shall be that house, which ye will build for me? And where shall be my resting place? And fraitiously, to declare that it is not the temple built with hands; All these things (saith he) hath mine hand made, and all these things are made, faith the Lord. By which woordes we learne, that God delighteth not in these things, and in outward ornaments; & sumptuous buildings for their owne sakes; but chastele requieth faith; inward goodlines of the minds, that he may dwell in them.

And who be inward faithful and goodlie, is declared by their certaine and proper notes. Whosoever is poore, and setteth himselfe to loate right counsell; and whosoever is contrite of hart, that is to saie, afflicted in this world; whosoever is of a mild and humble spirit, and not of an arrogant and proud spirit; whosoever with great reverence and feare receiveth the woordes of God; he most iustly may be numbered amongst them. These are sure tokens, and as it were the proper colours of faith and true goodlines. Afterward the prophet

declareth, how much God esteemeth the woordes of men that beliae not; and are not as yet regenerate, though the woordes be neuer to goodlie to the hearer. He which killeth an ox (saith he) it is all one, as if he should kill a man; and he which sacrificeth a sheepe, as if he cut off a dogs necke; he that offereth an oblation, as if he offered (swines flesh); and he that maketh mention of incense, as if he blessed iniquitie. All these kinds of oblations and sacrifices were commanded, and appointed in the lawe of God; which yet being done of an vncleane hart, and one that is estranged from God, were counted for most grievous finnes. Wherefore Pighius hath nothing out of this place, whereby to defend his error; but we by the selfe same place do most aptlie and most trulie confirme our owne sentence. For this is a notable and sharpe dispenser, which bringeth for himselfe those things which make to plaine and manifeste against himselfe.

But he snatcheth at this also out of the 66. psalme vnto the Iherusims; that He which cometh vnto God, ought to beleeue, that there is a God, & that he rewardeth them which seeke vnto him. By these woordes it seemeth, that the woordes conclude, that iustification is given vnto them who seeke God; by good woordes. But he ought to haue made a distinction of this that seke God, which thing Paule also saith; to wit, that some seke him by woordes, & other some by faith. This distinction Paule theweth; neither leaue he vs spoken what followeth of it: for thus he writeth vnto the Romans; Israel, which followeth after righteousness, attained not vnto the lawe of righteousness; because they sought it of works, and not of faith. Therefore they which seke God, to be iustified of him by faith, as the apostle teacheth, do attaine vnto that which they desire: but they which will be iustified by woordes, do fall awaie from iustification. And that God rewardeth woordes, which are done of men regenerate, and by which they haue forward to the crowne of eternall saluation; we denie not. But that pertaineth not to this question: for at this present the contention is not about this kind of woordes; but onelie about those things, which are done before regeneration. Those Pighius lay bovrth to pisse, that they haue their reward, and to be merited (after a sort) of iustification. Neither, but this anie thing helpe his cause, when he affirmeth, that this kind of merit redoundeth not vnto God; or maketh him debtor vnto vs, or is equal vnto that which is rewarded; for these things, although vnto him they seeme to serue onelie to extermiate the dignitie of merit; yet do they utterly take awaie all the nature of merit. For; whosoever good thing men do, yea euen after iustification, the same

is not properlie theirs, for God woortheth it in them. Whosoever also, all that, whatsoever it be, was alreadie before vnto God; neither can we do anie thing that is good, or giue anie thing vnto him which is not his. Therefore we must take awaie all merit, not onelie in them which are not as yet iustified; but also in them that are iustified.

But Pighius, the easilier to persuade, putteth forth a similitude of a certaine maister, which hath manie seruants; vnto whom, to the end they should the more diligentlie and speciallie accomplishe some worke, which he setteth them to do, he appointed a reward. Who (saith he) will denie, but that those seruants, which specialle and diligentlie haue finished their worke, haue deserved the reward that was promised? We will by this examine what may be concluded by this similitude. If by seruants we vnderstand men regenerate in Chrest, we will grant, that God setteth forth prizes & rewards, whereby we are stirred vp to liue hollielie. Yet their will we denie, but that such may be said to receive a reward: but yet we will not grant, that they trulie and properlie merit the crowne of eternall felicitie. And certaine of our writers, to declare, that this thing pertaineth vnto the iustified, do use a similitude, not of a maister and his seruants, but of a father & his children. For fathers are wont oftentimes, with some certaine condition to promise a gowne, a cap, or monie vnto their children; which although otherwise they would frelie giue vnto them, yet with some condition they do it, to quicken their endeuer: as for example, that they shall haue this; or that thing, after they haue once thoughtlie leamed this or that booke. Here no man, that will speake as he should do, and properlie, will say, that these children, when they haue finished their worke, haue deserved the gifts which were promised vnto them: for the father frelie and of his free liberalitie giueth; & bestoweth the same vpon them. But Pighius entreateth of seruants, that is, of men not yet regenerate. But that vnto such are by God set forth aie rewards of good things, I maruell out of what place he can declare it; or whereby will he pisse, that the woordes of such men, seeing they are yet, as we haue taught, finnes, can please God: And seeing the matter is so, vnto them is set forth, not a reward, but a punishment. Whobeth, to make the thing more plaine, let vs compare children and seruants together. Children, though they do nothing, yet they enter vpon their fathers inheritance; onelie if that they will receive it: but seruants, though they labour neuer so much, yet they haue no inheritance with the children. This is to plaine, that it needeth no further declaration.

But to twise from us that which we do asseme; namely, that if woordes be required vnto iustification, the honour of Chrest should be diminished, as though his merit alone could not be sufficient to reconcile vs vnto God; & (saith he) do take awaie nothing from Chrest; but do leaue vnto him his honour whole and safe. But I beseech the, how dost thou take awaie nothing, when as thou requieth woordes vnto our iustification; and so requieth them, as thou saith; But he thus expoundeth his owne faultie rode, that Chrest, in that order of his, is a sufficient cause: as if he should haue said; If we speake of the reconciliation, and of that sacrifice, whereby we are reconciled vnto God, Chrest onelie is sufficient. But we cannot be prepared, and be made apt vnto that benefit, but by manie woordes. I cannot doubtlesse but maruell, where is become the wit of this so great a Sophister. As though they foolishly, against whom the apostle disputeth, cuer said, that woordes are required vnto iustification, as an outward principles or grounds. Whobeth, they they also went about the same which Pighius doth; that woordes are certaine purgings, and preparations of the minds. Further, who saith not, that a general proposition being true, it is lawfull to apply vnto all the particular propositions thereof, that which is either affirmed or denied in it: Wherefore, seeing Paule denieth, that a man is iustified by woordes, he excludeth all kinds of woordes, in what order soeuer they be put. But Pighius saith further, that God requieth these woordes, that he maie frelie impute vnto vs iustification. Whosoever is, after they haue once thoughtlie in the holie scriptures, that shall see, that this man is sent direclie repugnant vnto Paule: for he is in the epistle to the Romans faith; Vnto him which worketh not, a reward is imputed according to grace. But Pighius faith; Vnto him which worketh, God imputeth righteousness frelie. But to impute frelie, and not to impute frelie, euerie child maie see, that they are contradietorie.

But weigh gentle reader, this reason of this contrarie by causes. These woordes, which he speaketh of, either profit to iustification, or els profit not: if they profit not, why callst thou them preparations? For amongst causes are reckoned also causes preparatorie. But if the will say, that they profit, and are in verie deed causes preparatorie; with what face can he asseme, that he placeth awaie nothing from the honour of Chrest; but appointeth him to be the whole and absolute cause of our iustification? But peradventure this two membered argument, a man will turne vpon vs, touching these woordes which follow iustification. For (he will saie) either

verfe. 2.

Ibidem. 1.

It merit is taken both from the iustified and not iustified.

It is sufficient.

Heb. 11. 4.

Two sorts of humilitie seke God.

Rom. 9. 30. and 10. 3.

It is sufficient.

It is comparable to the children and seruants.





Gen.3.18.

promissio  
understood  
two maner  
of waies.

for he vnto the Galatians thus writeth; And God gaue vnto Abraham by the promise. And there is no doubt, but that vnto vs it is giuen, after the selfe-same maner that it was vnto Abraham. But this is to be knowen, that this word Promise, is taken two maner of waies: either for the thing promised; and so it is not to be doubted, but that we are iustified by the promise, that is, by Christ, and by the forgiveness of finnes, which is promised vnto them that beleeue: or else it is taken for the verie wordes of God, in which he through Christ promisseth vnto vs remission of finnes. And in this maner also we maie be said, to be iustified by the promise: for although the cause of our iustification be the mere will and merite of God, yet is not the same offered or signified vnto vs, but by the wordes of the promises, and by the sacraments; for these haue we as sure testimonies of the will of God towards vs. And so, vnlesse faith be wanting, whereby we apprehend the things that are offered, we are iustified by the promises.

A place in  
the 22. chap.  
of Genes.  
recompens.

vers.19.

74 Afterward Pighius, to proue that God attributeth more vnto works, than vnto faith, citeth a place out of the 22. chapter of Genes. There is described that excellent worke of Abraham, that he refused not to slay his onlie sonne, & to offer him vnto God: and therefore God said vnto him from heauen; Because thou hast done this thing, I haue sworn by my selfe, that in blessing, I will blesse thee; and in multiplying, I will multiply thy seed, that it shall be as the starnes of heauen, and as the sand of the sea. It shall possesse the gates of his enemies, and in thee shall all nations be blessed. Behold here (saith he) are promises giuen for works sake, and there vnto is added a most faithful oath; but there is no mention at all made of faith; wherefore (saith he) God hath more regard vnto works, than vnto faith. This speaketh he with a wide mouth; but according to that poetrie; The mountains will be brought a drey, and out will spring a fliete moule. For if you aske what I thinke as touching this matter, I will answer, that it is a notable and most excellent historie; whereout that cannot yet be gathered, which this man exclaimeth. First, there is no mention made of iustification: what serueth it then to that matter whereof we now intreat? So often as anie thing is called in controversie, we must run to such certeine and assured places, in which the selfe-same thing is intreated of: and not vnto those places, wherein it maie be answered, that they intreat of another matter. Of this nature is that place which Paule citeth, as touching this thing; Abraham beleueed in God, and it was imputed vnto him vnto righteousness.

Gene.15.6.  
Rom.4.3.

But as concerning this historie, I willingly

grant, that Abraham by that worke obtineth a certeine more ample benefit, than he before had by faith: but he is not in substance, or number, or quantitie of the promises; but in a sound and firme certaintie. For although he doubted not, but that whatsoeuer things he beleueed, God would faithfully render vnto him; yet afterwarde when he had done those excellent deedes, he was more fully persuaded of the veritie of his faith, and confidence of the promise, and strength of the righteousness imputed vnto him. I do notie not, but that, by that excellent worke, Abraham obtained these things. What is then here, that Pighius should boast of? What new thing is here promised? What covenant not heard of before, or new oath is here set forth? Nothing is here repeated, which was not before made mention of. For the covenant, which is here made, was before obtained; and partly in circumcision was appointed; and partly in that sacrifice, wherein it was commanded, that the beasts should be divided, partly on the right hand, and partly on the left: as though they which should sweare, and make the covenant, should passe through the middle. For that matter (to touch it by the waie) was also used among the men of Athens, as Demosthenes saith: wherein he is in oation against Aristocrates. For, sayeth he, we can not denie, but that Abraham was iustified before: For euen before it was said, Abraham beleueed God, and it was imputed vnto him vnto righteousness. And fixing the matter is so, although afterward were added some promise; yet will that make nothing against vs: for we denie not, but that those works which followe iustification, are both good, and also do please God; and are of him, although freely, yet with great and ample gifts recompensed.

Now resteth onlie to declare another waie, how to understand this cause; because thou hast done these things, &c. And this pertaineth vnto the certaintie, whereof we before made mention; which (as we haue said) is from the effects, and (as they use to speake) *A posteriori*, that is, from the later. The which that you shall not thinke to be of mine owne invention, you may read Augustine in his questions vnto Cornelius: for he diligently pelseth these wordes; Now I knowe thou fearest God. What God (saith he) ignorant of this before? Had he anie need of this trial, when as he is the searcher of the reins, and of the hart? Nothing lesse (saith he); for here this word [I knowe] is nothing else, but, I haue made diueto knowe, or, I haue made plaine and manifest. Wherefore he is not rendered a reason of the promise by the cause; but after the selfe-same maner vniuocally, by which it was said of the first woman; Manie finnes are forgiven hir, because she hath

Gen.1.1.

loved

Expositio  
noua  
in  
Genesim.

loved much: of which place we haue so largelie before intreated, that now there is no need at all of anie expectation.

75 Pighius hath scraped an other objection out of the 18. chapter of Ezechiel; If the wicked man (saith the prophet vnder the person of God) shall repent him of all his iniquities, and shall do all my commandments, I will no more remember all his iniquities. Here (saith Pighius) we see that iustification, which is the forgiveness of finnes, is not promised vnto faith, but vnto perfect repentance, and vnto the obseruation of the lawe of God. And here his businesse to arise, as though we must needs giue place. But this argument, if it be more narrowly considered, is both balne and trifling: for we easilie grant, that a man perfectly repent him of all his iniquities, and do all the commandments of God, shall haue iustification by works. None of vs euer denied this. But here lieth all the matter, here lieth a hard worke, to find such a one, who being not yet iustified, hath performed this. And where I praye you master Pighius, is that your interpretation, wherein you shall beleeue, that God required not that we should performe all the commandments; but that he of his merie remitteth manie things? For here you haue brought a most manifest testimonie against your selfe.

But to returne to the matter: sojourn much as man neither performeth, nor also can performe those things which are set forth, both of the prophet, and of the lawe: what resteth there then, but that he should come humble vnto Christ; and hauing through faith freely received iustification of him, should by grace, and the spirit, not giuen vnto him, perseuerie repent, (so much as this life will suffer) and with an obedience (such as in this life we may begin) to obey the lawe of God. Intreating of this argument, there came to my remembrance the old philosopher Antisthenes: for when a certeine glorious young man, which was one of his scholars, boasted that he had a ship laden with excellent merchandize; and when it were arrived, he would giue vnto him an excellent gift. This long was common enuie in his mouth, that he was troublesome to him who heard him; inasmuch that Antisthenes brought him forth into the market place, and in a certeine shop asked a few elles of cloth. Which cloth when Antisthenes had in his hand, not hauing paid the monie, he made a protest to go his waie: the Merchant called him backe againe; the good fellowe (saith he) before thou depart paie me my monie. When Antisthenes seeing him the young man; This man (saith he) will paie you so (one as his ship is arrived).

Then to will I answer vnto Pighius; When

you shall thew me one, which being not regenerate, by his owne strength repenteth him of all his iniquities, and obserueth all the commandments of God; we will saie, that he is iustified by his works. But when will this ship arrive? Wherefore, let him cease to boast of the worke of the lawe: for those works, whatsoeuer they be, whether they pertaine vnto promises, or vnto precepts; we will after this manner interpret. But he saith mocke, that Christ also saith; He that doeth the will of my father, shall enter into the kingdom of heauen: but the Lord said not (saith he) He which beleueeth. Yea, but I saie that in another place he did, and maketh no mention of anie worke; for; This (saith he) is the will of my father, that he which seeth the sonne, and beleueeth in him, hath eternal life. Let not Pighius then from henceforth denie, that the Lord euer spake this. But least any man should thinke, that the scriptures speake things contrary; I answer, that these two sentences are not repugnant, but agree verie well together. Pighius, by the will of the father, understandeth a great heape of good works; but Christ saith; This is the worke of God, that ye beleuee. And after this action of beleueing, do followe manie other good works: wherefore the holie scriptures are not repugnant one to another. And Pighius his argument is left weak, and of no efficacy.

But Pighius, for that he saith himselfe by god with Gods word, because so oftentimes is read in the holie scriptures, that Man is iustified by faith; he therefore saith, that that is to be understood of a liencie and strong faith, which hath other vertues ioined with it: as though the euer spake of anie other faith. If he saith this (that he saith) before the life, same thing that we beleuee: wherefore saie after the contention; and the controuersie being ended, let vs all agree in one. But Pighius cannot abide, that this agreement should take place: for afterwards, when he would expound how we are iustified freely, he saith, that that is nothing else, but that God will freely impute vnto vs our righteousness, the works of faith, hope, and charity. What haue we here to doe? Doubtles it seemeth vnto me, that this man doth not with a sound iudgement read the scriptures; but doth with a corrupt affection twist them at his pleasure. For where works are, there Paule denieth that there is a free imputation; for these two are repugnant one to another: wherefore in that Pighius goeth about to ioint them together, doth he not frame most manifestlie to be against the apostle?

76 Thus much of Pighius; vnto whom our Smith, the ciuill wise man of Greece, and the first wise man of England ioined himselfe as companion, as Theocritus vnto Hercules. But

Smith as  
the ciuill  
wise man.

P. 141.

in

in verie ded be bringeth nothing else, but that which he hath dwaien out of the sinke of this man, and other such like. First he saith, that faith is not for the remission of finnes; and that therefore we fondle faie that iustificacion is had by it. For the faith (saith he) whereby christians are discerned from no christians, is in Jesus Christ: which thing also (as though it made mudy to the purpose) he goeth about to proue by the holie scriptures, and by a testimonie of Ieron. But I would haue this man to answer me, if euer he learned the Hebrew tongue, what is the signification of this name IESVS? Unproued, amongst all the Hebrews, this word *Iescha* signifieth, To saue: wherefore IESVS may in Latine rigbly be turned SERuator, that is, A sauiour. But if (which thing I thinke true) he be ignorant of the Hebrew tongue; yet he ought at the least, to haue beloued the angel, who so interpreted that name; Thow shalt call his name: (saith he) IESVS, for he shall saue his people: from their finnes. How then can faith be in: CHRIST IESVS, vnles it be also touching the remission of finnes, through Christ?

Afterward he is not afraid to cite that also, out of the epistle of Peter; Charitie couereth the multitude of finnes: Which (saith he) for causes of finnes is here ascribed, not vnto faith, but vnto charitie. He that will haue a fit are to cug the knots asunder, let him attentiuely consider the holie scriptures, and diligetlie see from whence those places, which are cited in the new testament, are taken out of the old. This sentence of Peter is had in a manner, out of the 10. chapter of the 14. verses: for there it is thus written; Hatred stirred vp reprofull speeches. For when a man hateth, he discouereth, & publisheth abroad his faults, as much as in him lieth: but contrariwise, charitie hideth and couereth the finnes of his brother. For they which truly loue one another, are wont to defend one another; and to cauer one anothers faults, so much as they see by conscience they may. And this is a most true sentence of Salomon. Wherefore Peter going about to exhort christians vnto charitie; to witte and aptly beowen this sentence out of Salomon. But Smith not vnderstanding, or considering this, supposeth that Peter thought, that remission of finnes is gotten by charitie: wherby he is most foolishly deceiued, as oftentimes he is wont to be.

But passing ouer these men, let vs remember, that if at any time the fathers saue to attribute rightcoulnesse vnto works; the same is not to be vnderstood of that rightcoulnesse, which God frelie imputeth vnto vs through Christ: but of that inward rightcoulnesse, which is rooted in vs, which we get and confirme by leading continuallie an vpright life. For if those things,

which they speake, do manifestly pertaine vnto the rightcoulnesse imputed, that is, vnto the remission of finnes; we must alwaies (as we haue before taught) run vnto the foundation of god works; namely, vnto a liuelie faith in Christ: which rules, and such like, if our aduersaries would consider, they would neuer so impudently and obstinate defende so manie lies. Although, if I should speake any thing touching Pighius, forsoomuch as I see, that he is neither of wit, nor vnlearned; I cannot saie that he is earnest, and from the heart iustice touching this matter; but when he had once taken the matter in hand, he toketh these things for pastime and pleasure.

How to prosecute that order, which I haue begun; let vs come vnto the fathers; and see how much they make on our side. And vnboubtedly, for this matter, we shall not need any great number of testimonies. For euen as to vnderstand what taste the water of the sea is; it is not needfull that a man drinke by the whole sea; euen so, to vnderstand what the fathers thinke touching this, we shall not need to go through all the writings. Irenaus, a most ancient author, in his 4. booke and 3. chapter against Valentine, writeth somewhat touching this matter, although briefly. And I suppose, that he for this cause wrote by hisleife of it; because this truth was in those first times so confessed & detested, that it was not of any man called in doubt. Yet yet by that little, which he hath, it may manifestly be vnderstood what his iudgement was: as the saying is; that Protagenes knew Apelles, by the draught of one line onelie. Irenaus therefore saith, that the old fathers, euen those also which were before the latins, were iustified by faith. For first, when he had spoken of Abraham, he ascribed from him vnto Lot, vnto Noe, & vnto Enoch. And afterward he addeth a reason, why in these men times the latins were not iustified: because (saith he) they were alreadie iust, vnto whom the latins were not giuen; for the iust haue the latins written in their hearts.

But peraduenture you will carelesly admit this testimonie; because Irenaus in that place, when he speaketh there of Enoch, saith, that he was sent a legat vnto the angels: which may seeme to be apocryphall, so not to be counted of, as of found authenticke. But I thinke the same is cited, not so much out of any apocryphall booke, as out of some old tradition: for manie things were as it were by hand deliuered vnto the ancient fathers, that are not to be related; so that they were not repugnant to the holie scriptures. After this, if for that cause we reiect this testimonie, why do we not also reiect the epistle of Iude? For he also citeth a sentence of Enoch, Iude, 14. that God shall come with thousands to iudgement.

ment. But whereas Irenaus saith, that Enoch was a legat vnto the angels; I suppose that it may be thus vnderstood; to saie, that those Angels were men, such as were princes and great kings, as such as were borne of the familie of Seth; so in Genesis. The sonnes of God are said to haue scene the daughters of men, that they were faire. Peraduenture Enoch was sent vnto them by God, to reprove them: and thus much of Irenaus.

Tertullian in his booke of baptisme saith, that faith hath a perfect securitie of saluation. Wherefore it is not we alone that haue brought in a particular faith of the remission of finnes. Neither ought any thing to moue vs, that in that booke he defendeth most manifest errors touching baptisme; and exhorteth men to deserue baptisme, till they come to ripe age, and not to make hast vnto it before they marie.

For so long we allow not these things; yet in the meane time, whilst he intreateth heretofore, he hath manie things, which ought not to be concerned, which were at that time receiued in the church. So Cyprian, when he intreateth of rebaptizing of hereticks, when they returned vnto the church, hath yet by the waie manie true and bright testimonies which we cannot reiect; although in the verie state of the question we vterlie disagree fro him. And what father (I praye you) is there, amongst them all, which in some one place defendeth not some matter that is not to be allowed; and yet ought not all their writings to be contemned? For there is no power granted so faire, which hath not in it some rotten canell.

How let vs come vnto Origin. He, in his first booke vpon Job, (if it be Origins words) thus writeth; All things, which men do, whether they be in virginicie, or in aduenticie, or in chastitie of the body, or in burning of the flesh, or in distribution of their goods; all these things (I saie) they do gratis, that is, in vaine; if they do them not of faith. In this place, whereas he saith gratis; all men vnderstand that he signifies in vaine, which thing vnbuiltlike Pighius, and his companions will not admit; for they will haue these things to be certeine preparations vnto iustificacion. But that Origin is by christliche words against them, those words which followe do more plainelie declare: for thus he writeth; that all holines & rightcoulnesse, which a man doth without faith, he doth it in vaine, and to his owne destruction. And he citeth this sentence of Paule; Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. I am sure, that neither Pighius can deny, but that Origin in this place maketh on our side, and that he in that sense vnderstood these words of Paule; Whatsoeuer is not of faith, is sinne. Which words yet he crieth out that we

are accustomed to abuse, although not anelie Origin, but also Augustine, Basilus, and other fathers (as we haue before taught) expound those words after the selfe same manner. Wherefore he doth vniuulie and impudentie accuse vs. But if he will saie, that we must not so much regard, what interpretations the fathers giue; but must see, whether the place in the text may be so taken: therein he will commend him; for he glablie admit appling from the fathers vnto the word of God. But he ought to haue remembered, that it is not the point of a god man, to reprove that in others, which he doth himselfe. Wherefore he should suffer vs also, on the other side, when the matter so requieth, to appeale from the fathers vnto the scriptures.

But as touching the verie matter, we haue alse there declared, that that sentence of Paule, as it is written in his epistle, is so to be expounded; that of it may be inferred, that the works of men not regenerate, are finnes. Origin afterwards addeth; Of whom shall he receive a reward? Of him thinke you, whom he sought not for? Whom he hath not acknowledged? In whom he hath not beloued? He shall not (saith he) receive of him a reward, but iudgement, wrath, and condemnation. If these things be reuocied vnto Iude works, who will denie, but that they are finnes? Afterward he bringeth a similitude. Euen as (saith he) he which buildeth without a foundation, loseth his labour, and hath onelie trauell and sorrow: euen so it is with him, which will build up god works without faith. And euen as vnto him which he leueth, all things are possible, that he may find refreshing at his hand in whom he hath believed: vnto him that beleueth not, nothing is possible. Like as the earth, without the sunne, bringeth not forth fruit; so, except the truth of God, though faith, doth shue forth in our hearts the fruit of god works springeth not forth. For so (saith he) that all whole piers, wherein Noah was saued from the flood, for that the sunne shined not forth, the earth could bring forth no fruit. Thus much hath Origin in that place, which we haue now cited; wherby we conclude, that faith formeth and maketh perfect all god works which followe: and not that it (as these men I knowe not who haue feigned) taketh and boyroeth his forme of them.

The same Origin, vpon the fourth chapter vnto the Romanis, thus reasoneth; If he which beloueth, that Jesus is Christ, be borne of God; and be which is borne of God, inneth not: then it is certeine, that he which beloueth in Christ Jesus, inneth not. This kind of argument is called Sorites; is allowed of the Logicians; for the Stoicks were wont oftentimes to vse it. The former propositions of this argument cannot be

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Mark, 13

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be denied; for they are taken out of the holie scriptures. But he addeth afterward; And if he finne, then it is certaine that he belieueth not. This of necesse followeth of the former conclusion: for if euery one which belieueth, fineth not; then doubtles whosoever fineth, be- lieueth not. Let Pighius now go laugh; for that we say, that by grievous finnes true faith is lost, or is laid a slepe, that it hath not his force in working and operation. And let him aggrauate the matter as much as he can, that which fineth grievously; neither belieueth that there is a God, nor allo the rest of the articles of the faith. Origin both thinketh and writeth the selfe same thing that we doo. And he saith more- over, that A taken of true faith is there, where finne is not committed: as contrariwise, where finne is committed, it is a token of infidelitie. Again, he addeth in the same chapter; *For per- adventure that, which is said of the apostle, To be iustificd by faith, seeme to be repugnant to that, which is said, that We are iustificd freely, (for if faith be offered first of a man, he cannot seeme to be iustificd freely: we must remember, that when faith it selfe is given of God: and this he pouerth by manie testimonies.*

But this thing our Pighius cannot abide: for he denieth vs, as often as we say, that faith is had by the grace and inward working of the holie Ghost. For he saith, that it is wonderfull, that the holie Ghost should haue his abiding, and worke in them, which doo not as yet beleue. The same Origin upon I. c. i. c. i. in his third booke, and third chapter; The holie fide (saith he) representeth our faith: for if thou shalt offer faith to Christ, as a price to the rans, without spot offered up for a sacrifice; thou shalt receive remission of finnes. Here also we haue expre- scible, that remission of finnes is obtained by faith; by that faith (I say, which is directed vnto Christ, who was deliuered vnto death, and mani- fested for vs. There can be nothing more mani- fest than these testimonies, which Origin hath brought for vs. But these men are so obtinate, that they will not be led from the opinion, which they haue once taken in hand to defend; al- though thou bring neuer so great light vnto this, least they should seeme to aunc of theirs to haue defended an ill cause.

Cyprian.

79 Cyprian, before these things, which we adore speake, touching the continuation of faith vnto a good life, writeth also in his third booke to Quirinus; that faith onlie profiteth, and that we are able so much to do as we do beleue. The first part of this sentence pertaineth vnto the third article of this question; but the latter ser- ueth verie much for that, which we are now in hand with. It is a wonderfull saying doubtles, that so great is the force of faith, that by it we

are able to do what we will. And yet did not Cyprian thinke it sufficient, absolute to po- nounce this; but he hath also confirmed it by manie and sundrie testimonies of the scrip- tures. As touching Basilus and Gregorius Na- zianzen, that shall suffice, which I haue before cited. Chrylosome in his sermon which he both intitleth *De fide lege natura*; & *spiritu*, saith; that Euen faith is of it selfe able to save a man. And for example he bringeth forth the thefe, who (saith he) onlie confessed and belene; but woche (saith he) alone cannot save the woche, with- out faith. After that he compareth woche with- out faith, with the relics of dead men: for dead carcases (saith he) although they be clothed with pre- tious and excellent garments, yet they ob- taine not heate by them; so (saith he) which want faith, although they be decked with glo- rious woche, yet are they by them nothing help- pen.

And the same father, upon the epistle vnto the Romans, upon these woche of Paule; But the righteounes, which is of faith; Thou shalt (saith he) that this is chiefe particular vnto faith, that we all treading vnder foot the com- plaint of reason, should inquire after that which is aboue nature; and that the infirmite of our cogitations being by the vertue and power of God cast auaie, we should imbrace all the pro- mises of God. Here we see, that by faith we ob- taine the promises of God: and although by it we ascent vnto all that which is contained in the holie scripture; yet it peculiarie hath a regard vnto the promises of God. This is also to be con- sidered, that he saith, that the infirmite of our cogitations, in beleuening, is by the vertue and power of God cast auaie: for this maeth against them, which contend, that this is done by humane power and strength; as though we had faile of our selues, and that it should go before iustificacion. The same Chrylosome, upon the 29. chapter of Genesis, in his 54. homilie; This (saith he) is the true faith, not to giue heed vnto those things, which are seene, although they seeme to be against the promise: but onlie to consider the power of him that promitteth. Let them well consider this, which will haue vs to haue a regard, not onlie to the power and pro- mises of God; but euen chaglie to our owne pe- rissions. And expounding these woche in Ge- nesis; Abraham beleued God, and it was im- puted vnto him vnto righteounes: Let us also (saith he) learne (I beseech you) of the patriarch of God to beleue his sayings, and to trust vnto his promises, and not to search them out by our owne cogitation; but to thew a great gra- titude: for this can both make vs iust, and also cause vs to obtaine the promises. Here also are two things to be noted; the one is, that we are

Chryl.

Luk. 23, 41.

Rom. 10, 6.

made iust by faith; the other, that by the same we obtaine the promises; which two things our aduersaries stoutlie denie.

The same father, upon these woche of Paule vnto I. timothee; Of whom are Hymeneus and Alexander, which haue made shipwracke as concerning faith; so (saith he) he which once faileth auaie from the faith, hath no place there for he may traie himselfe, so whether to repaire; for the head being corrupted and lost, what we can there be of the rest of the bodie: are woche dead without faith. Here is to be noted, that this is an argument *A minori*, that is, from the lesser vnto the greater: for he saith, that woche are more dead without faith, than is faith without woche. The same author, in his sermon *De verbis apostoli*, upon these woche of the apostle; Haueing one and the selfe same spirit of faith: for it is impossible (saith he) yea doubtlesse it is im- possible, if thou line in puretie, not to waunc in faith. Vnto this we see, how great a coniuncti- on Chrylosome thought that to be, betwixen faith and good woche. The same father, ex- poundeth these woche of the apostle; Doo we then destroye the lawe by faith? God forbid, naie rather we confirme the lawe: so (saith he) as (saith he) a man beleueth, straightwaie he is iustificd; therefore faith hath confirmed the will of the lawe, whilist it hath brought to an end enen that, for which the lawe bid all things. How then dost thou Pighius saie, that faith is onlie the foundation, and therefore is verie farre from the perfection of iustificacion? Vnto what purpose is that, that after faith he putteth in manie degrees and means, whereby we come vnto iustificacion? For Chrylosome speaketh farre otherwise, that a man is iustificd straightwaie, so lone as euer he belieueth.

1. Tim. 1, 19.

Rom. 8, 21.

So lone as a man be- lieueth he is iustificd.

John. 8, 24.

John. 8, 24.

1. Tim. 1, 19.

graffed in: If faith (saith he) could graffe this, when thou wast a wild olue tree, into a good olue tree; it can refoxe them into their owne good olue tree. Here also, the power to be graffed into Christ, by iustificacion, and the power to refoxe them which are cut off, is attributed vnto faith.

I could now passe oner to Ierom, if there were not somewhat, which calleth me backe a- gaine vnto Chrylosome: for the selfe same man twiteth, that faith onlie is not sufficient vnto saluation. And such sentences are of- fensives read in the Fathers, which our aduer- saries continually vsit against vs: although (to speake the truth) such an obiection is not the thimblebat of Entelus, nor so greatlie to be fea- red: for it may easilie be answered in one way. For he saith not, that faith is not sufficient vnto iustificacion; but onlie vnto saluation: for faith is of it selfe sufficient vnto iustificacion. But after we are once iustificd, it is not inough to the obtinement of saluation, to faie; be- leue: we must put to also an holie life, and good woche; for by them, as it were by certaine de- grees, God bringeth vs to felicitie. And after this manner we maie interpret all the senten- ces of the fathers, which seeme to tend this way. And their woche (as sometimes it happeneth) as we will not beare such an exposition; then as we me- it is most right) we will appeale from them to their writing in another place more foundle, and more catholike: as also that woman in an- cient time, which appeled from Philip be- ing damne, vnto the selfe same Philip being sober.

So Ierom, upon the epistle vnto the Gala- thians, upon these woche; And we knowing that man is not iustificd by the works of the lawe, but by the faith of Iesus Christ: he saith, that All the fathers were fauon were fauon same faith in Christ, by which we are now at this date iustificd. And this sentence he confir- meth, by citing in of manie examples. First he reckoneth by Abraham: for of him he saith John. 8, 16. Christ thus spake: He sawe my doie, he sawe, and reioiced. After him, he maeth mention of Moses: for of him he (saith) it is thus written in Heb. 11, 26. the epistle vnto the Hebrewes; that He counted the reproches of Christ, greater riches than the treasure of Aegypt, and chose the refusing to be in the court of Pharo did chafe rather embrace the crosse of Christ. And he addeth, that Iohn the euangelist, in his 12. chapter most manifestly teacheth; that all those things, which Eliae hath put in writing, touching the glorie of God when he sat in the Lamb sitting upon an high throne lifted vp, are to be vnderstood of the sonne of God. He addeth moreover, out of the epistle of Iude,

The transla- tion of Chry- some.

John. 8, 16.

Ierom.

All the fathers were fauon were fauon same faith in Christ.

John. 8, 16.

Heb. 11, 26.

1. Tim. 1, 19.

1. Tim. 1, 19.

1. Tim. 1, 19.

1. Tim. 1, 19.



Leo.

The fathers  
were iustified  
by the faith of  
the same promise  
to which  
we believe.

iustified by faith, and are made partakers of the divine nature, by the participation of the holy Ghost. Leo, in his 13. sermon of the passion of the Lord: The fathers (saith he) believed together with us, that the blood of the Son of God should be shed. Therefore, there is nothing (saith he) strange in christian religion from the things which were of old signified; neither beloved men, who have lived before us, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, for whom they did love. This, and many other like testimonies, do confute those cheslie, which dare say, that Abraham was indeed iustified; yet not through faith in Christ, but by faith touching earthly promises. Albeit this author may seeme to make against vs, in that we saie, that true faith is not found wthout charitie: for in his sermon *De collectione elementarum*, he thus writeth of faith; He knoweth that God is denied, not onlie in words, but also in deeds, hath taken awaye charitie from many, from whom he could not take awaye faith; & possessing the field of their hart, with the roots of concupiscence, he hath spoiled of the fruit of good works, those whom he hath not despised of the confession of their lips. These words, if they be deeply considered, make nothing at all against vs, for we speake of a true, sound, and liuelie faith. But Leo understandeth onlie a certaine outward profession of faith: for when he would render a reason, whereby it might appear that faith was not taken from them; he mentioneth onlie an outward confession of the lips: which we also grant may consist without charitie; and be oftentimes boasted of of manie men, which neuertheless are most wicked. And after this manner I suppose are to be expounded such like testimonies; if anie happen in the fathers.

Gregorie.

Ag. 10. c. 4.

Gregorie Bishop of Rome, in his 19. homilie upon Ezechiel: We come not (saith he) to faith by works, but by faith we attaine unto vertues; for Cornelius the Centurion came not by works unto faith, but by faith he came unto works: for it is said; Thy prayers and almes. But how praised he, if he believed not? But now he came to be knew not that the mediator was incarnate, by which he came unto a more full knowledge. Whereby I would have our aduersaries to know, that faith necessarie goeth before all good works; for they affirme, that mayall works, which are, some of Ethniks, and of men not yet believing in Christ, are good; which thing is in this place of Gregorie confuted. The same author, in his second booke, and 25. chapter of his morales, (speaking of the same matter) thus writeth; Certeine faith be first gotten in our hearts, all other things, whateuer they be, cannot be added by god, although they seeme good. Beda by the 2. chapter of Iames; We onlie believe

Beda.

with trulle, which by working exerciseth that which he believeth: for faith and charitie cannot be separated alunder. And this shall suffice as touching the fathers. But what the African, Melitarius, and Araucian council do touch, concerning iustification, faith, grace, and works; we have before at large declared in the former article. This onlie I will now adde, that our aduersaries, when they saie that God doth offereth his grace unto all men, and giveth his gifts unto men that desire them, and take hold of them, and forgiveth finnes to them that do that which they ought to do; for so much as in the mean time they omit the inspiration of the holy Ghost and the power of God, which dwelleth in us, and the inward persuasion of the mind, and also those things which are most cheslie required in this matter: they are most manifestlie against those counsels, which we have now cited. Holubert, I cannot leave unspoken, that in the council of Mentz, which was celebrated under Carolus Magnus, in the first chapter is cited Gregorie, who thus writeth; He believeth trulle, which by working exerciseth that which he believeth.

83. Forasmuch therefore, as we have now hitherto spoken as touching this article; namely, that men are iustified by faith in Christ, and have confirmed the same by scriptures, and have overthrowne the objections of our aduersaries, and alleaged testimonies of the fathers, to confirme our saying: let us now come to the third article. Wherefore we saie, that iustification consisteth by faith onlie. Which saying all those places of scripture do promise, which teach, that we are iustified freely, and that which affirme, that iustification cometh wthout works; and those also, which put an Antithesis of contrarietie between grace and works; all these places (I say) must trulle conclude, that we are iustified by faith onlie; although this word [onlie] be not read in the holy scripture. But that is not so much to be wondrous, for the signification of that word, is of necessity gathered out of them. Further, this also is to be noted, even as we have already before taught; that we affirme not, that that faith, whereby we are iustified, is in our minds without good works: though we saie, that the same onlie is it which taketh hold of iustification, and remitteth our finnes. So the eye cannot be without a head, haines, pet, liuer, and other parts of the bodie: and yet the eye onlie apprehendeth colour and the light. Wherefore they, which after this manner reason against vs; faith (as ye say) iustifieth; But faith is not alone; Ergo faith alone iustifieth not: they commit the fault of a false argument. As if a man should thus conclude; Onlie the will iustifieth; But the will is alone in the mind; Ergo not the will alone iustifieth.

The third  
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As faith  
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As faith  
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As faith  
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iustified.

Smith.

Of the  
faith of  
the  
fathers.

Gen. 15. 19.

Num. 15. 19.

Ecc. 1. 19.

witheth. Here even little children may see the fallace of deceit, which they call of composition and of division. And is it not a foule thing, that so great Iudges should not see it?

But here Smith (the light foolishly of divinitie) seteth himself against vs. He of late cried out, even till he was hoarse, that we falslie affirme; that those places of the scripture, which testify that we are iustified Gratis (that is freely) should signifie all one with this, to be iustified by faith onlie: for this word Gratis, is not all one with *Solus*, that is, Onlie. I do not Graunt what he saies, which without this good matter could not understand this adwerbe so much used! Holubert, this Grammaticall Aristarchus, leant that he should saie without some reason to plaie the role: It is written (saith he) in Genesis, that Laban said unto Jacob; Because thou art my kinsman, I shall thee therefore serve me Gratis? Here (saith he) put this word, Onlie, and thou shalt see, what an abominable kind of speech it will be. And in the booke of Iudges; The people said, that in Egypt had cate fishes Gratis: and in the Psalm; They have hated me Gratis: Here (saith he) cannot be put this adwerbe, Onlie; Wherefore we say, and verie weaklie conclude, that because in the scriptures a man is said to be iustified Gratis, he is therefore traitwaie iustified by faith onlie. But this sharpe witteid man, and one so well exercised in the concordance of the Bible, should have remembered, that this word Gratis, signifie without a cause, or without a reward and price: and therefore we right lie saie, that iustification consisteth of faith onlie; because it is said to be given Gratis. For if works here required, there should be a cause, or reward, or a price to the obtaynement of righteousness. But forasmuch as Gratis extendeth all the things, of that word is rightlie and trulle inferred, Onlie faith.

And those places, which this man hath alleaged, are not hard to confute: for Laban saith, Shall thou serve me Gratis? that is, without this reward that I should give thee some thing; which is onlie to take, and nothing to repaie. And the Israelites, when they said that they did cate fishes Gratis; meant, that they did cate them without any price paid. And that saying; They have hated me Gratis, is nothing else, than without a cause, or without any my default. So that if this word Gratis take awaye price and merit, (forasmuch as Paul saith, that we are iustified Gratis) we must needs understand, that it is done without any our price or merits: which doubtlesse might not be true, if works should be required, as causes and merites. And because we once brought a place out of the epistle to the Galatians; But seeing we

knowe, that man is not iustified by the works of the lawe, except it be by the faith of Iesus Christ: And of this article (Except) conclude, that iustification consisteth of faith onlie; this man therefore according to his wickedness, rageth, and saith, that this word, Except, is not all one with Onlie. For he saith, that Ioseph in Genesis faileth unto his brethren; Ye shall not see my face, except ye bring your youngest brother: and Christ (saith he) saith; Except ye have the flesh of the sonne of man, ye shall not caule him in you. Who (saith he) will saie, that there is had onlie by eating of the sacraments: Wherefore (saith he) these things cannot be expounded, by this word Onlie. Yes doubtles, but they maye: for in Genesis, what other thing meant Ioseph, than to admonish his brethren, that they should upon this condition come, come againe into his sight; to wit, if they brought their youngest brother with them: And Christ in the first of Iohn, intreated not of the eating of the sacrament; for he had not as yet instituted it; wherefore by this word, To cate, he signifie, to believe. And he saith, that they which are of full age, herein onlie hate him, if they cate his flesh, and drinke his blood: that is, if they believe that the sonne of God was delivered for them, for the remission of their finnes; and that this is the onlie waie whereby they maye be saved.

84. But Smith addeth, that from iustification is not to be excluded, hope, charitie, and other good works. I grant indeed, that those are not to be excluded from a man that is iustified, holubert I do not attribute unto them the power of iustifying. For that which Paul saith; that A man is not iustified by works, should not be true, if we should be iustified by any kind of works: for if a man should saie, that an artificer wrought with his fingers, and afterward should grant that he to that wrought which he doth, weth his fingers, he were foolish to be laughed at; although being counted, he would saie, that he excepted onlie the little finger; and not the thumb, or forefinger, or middle finger: for he which useth these fingers, without doubt useth his fingers. But why doth this man saie, that hope and charitie are not excluded? Because (saith he) even ye your selves will have vs to be iustified by a liuelie faith, which certeinly is not without hope. We grant that these vertues are alwaies joined wth true faith; but yet in them put no part of our iustification before God. In this argument is a fallace or deceit of the accident: for unto those things which are adjoined, is attributed that which is proper to the same, whereunto they are joined. As if a man should saie, The sunne is round and high; Ergo, the roundnes and height of the sunne do make us knowe, that those which then doth Smith exclude from iustifica

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11. c. 19.

Gen. 43. 5.

Iohn. 6. 53.

Rom. 3. 20.

2. Tim. 1. 10.

as fallace  
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iustifica

Iustificacion, when as he includeth hope and charity: <sup>3</sup> I suppose further, that he excludeth outward works, satisfactions, almes, and such like. But with that face can he be said to teach, seeing he appointed and defendede works preparatorie?

But this sharpe twitted man thinks, that he hath trilmie escaped, for that he saith, that these things are not of necessitie required to iustificacion, and that onlie they are profitable to iustificacion if they be present. But this is twosome to be laughed at: for we have before most plainly taught, that all works which are done before iustificacion, are finnes; so far is it off, that they can serue anie thing vnto iustificacion. And if they should by anie means profit vnto iustificacion, our glorying should not then be excluded: for we might glorie, that we had done these things, by whose helpe and aid we were iustificed. But of this (saith he) we cannot doubt, for that they were done by a certaine grace of God preuenting vs. But this is the chiefest thing to be marked, that those men attribute a great part of such works vnto free will; and therefore, in that behalfe, at the least, we may glorie. Neither also shall that be true which the apostle saith: What shall thou, that thou hast not receiued: and againe, Why doest thou boast, as though thou hadst not receiued? Here some of them answer, that we cannot glorie of this libertie of will; for that we haue it not of our owne: for it is God, which hath inbued vs with this facultie, & gaue vs free will, when he created vs.

But this is not sufficient to take awaie glorying: first, for that this were to sit vnto the common grace of creation, which thing the Pelagians did; and by that means there should at the least we be left vnto vs a good vnto of free will, whereof we might glorie. For although we haue the same of God by creation, yet the right vnto thereof is ours; namely, to ascent vnto God when he calleth vs, & to apply our felues to god works, which of God are set forth to vs. And therefore vnto to take awaie all glorying, it is needfull that we euer beare this in mind, which Augustine doth admonish vs in this booke *De fide et op.* littera, the 24. chap. that the will & election of well doing, is of God; not onlie because he hath by creation given chace and free will, but also for that by the persuation of things he hath made vs both to will, and to beleue; and that not onlie by the outward preaching of the gospell, but also by inward persuation. For he doth not onlie stirre by the hart, but also persuadeth, dabbeth, and boweth it to beleue. <sup>3</sup> Grant in deed, that it is the office of the will, to will and to enuoyce that which God offereth; for we do not will by vnderstanding, or by memorie; but by will. And yet for all that, I doubt not, but that it is God which maketh vs to will, and to follo-

god things.

85 Further, our aduersaries thinke, that although works concur vnto iustificacion; yet that not withstanding true, which the holie scriptures teach; that we be iustificed gratis: because (saith they) those works are given of God, and are done by grace. If this refuge might helpe, then had not Paule done well, when as he toke awaie from ceremoniall works, the power of iustifying: for a Jew might saie; Our fathers, which in the old time were circumcised, and performed other obseruations of the lawe, did not the same by their owne natural strength; but by the grace of God, both helping them and stirring them by there vnto. Wherefore, if other works which were commanded in the lawe, could profit vnto iustificacion, to merit it (as you speake) of congruities; why could not ceremoniall works do the same? Neither will this anie thing helpe, to saie, that Paule taketh not awaie from them the power of iustifying; but onlie after the coming of Christ. For he manifestly speakech of Abraham, which was iustificed by a faith, and not by circumcising; and he weth a testimonie of Dauid, of whom it is well knowne that he liued vnder the lawe. But whereas this man saith, that charitie and hope cannot be excluded; I would gladly knowe of him, whether the works of these vertues be iust or no; I know he will grant that they are iust. What will he then answer vnto Paule, who vnto Titus saith: Not by the works of righteounesse, which we haue done? But I knowe these mens fond desires; they answer that such works are excluded, if they be done by the lawe, and by free will, without grace. But what needeth to exclude that which cannot be; for who will either lose God, or hope in him without grace? Further, in that manner to euer they be done, they cannot ferue to iustificacion: for we are iustified by grace, as it plainly appeareth by the holie scriptures. But betweene grace & works is so great contrarietie, that Paule saith; if of grace, then it is not now of works; and if of works, then it is not of grace.

Neither ought these men to be so much displeased for that we use this word Onelie: for we neede not conclude it, of that which Paule saith; first, that We are iustified by faith; and afterward answereth, Without works. Who aptly vs thus conclude, I will declare by a similitude. In the first chapter of Deuteronomie (it is thus written: Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God, and him thou shalt loue. Here (as you see) wanteth this particle Onelie; yet because it there folloiweth; Thou shalt not go after strange gods: the seuerente interpreters haue thus turned that place; Thou shalt feare the Lord thy God, and him thou shalt loue, and him onelie thou shalt serue.

serue. These men, of the first proposition being affirmative, that God is to be worshipped; and of the other being negative, that strange gods are not to be worshipped; concluded, that God only is to be serued. Whole ambiguitie should not be of so great weight with me, but that Christ himselfe hath cited that place in that sort: for thus he rebuketh the diuill; Depart from me Iordan, for it is written; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him Onelie shalt thou serue. Here we see, that to dispoose the twoythingging, which is giuen vnto a creature; this particle Onelie is necessarilie: which although it be not had in the Hebrew, yet it is necessarilie gathered out off it. For, when as we also reason after this manner, why should these men be so much of fended?

86 Let them consider also, that the best, and the most ancient fathers did not dislike that word. It is a thing ridiculous to see, with how cold toles, and poore shifts Smith goeth about to preuent and answer them. First he saith, that they ment nothing else, but to repecte merit, that they should not waie insolent. But let Smith in one word, according to his good wisedome, answer me; Whether the fathers spake this trulie or falselie. If they spake it trulie, then make they on our side. And why doth this man to much impugn it? But if falselie, this god end nothing helpeth them, to repecte the insolencie of men. For, euen as Euill must not be committed, that good may inlue; so false doctrine must not be auctored, to suppliant other false doctrine. But this man vnboudbredite, is so farr befinnes himselfe, as he saith, that this is lawfull for the fathers to do. For in his booke *De vitiis*, which not many yeeres ago he set abroad, he saith; that Augustine *De bono viduitatis*, whereas he wryteth, that Their matrimonies, which had vowed a vowe of virginite, or of sole life, are true marriages, and not adulteries; wryte the same for no other end, but to perswade Iuliana the widowe (vnto whom he wryte the booke) that marriages in generall are not euill. And for a Gods name be confesteth, that Augustine fetcheth sayth one false doctrine, to ouerthrowe another false doctrine.

And with the like wisdom, in the same booke he seigneth, that Clement Alexandrinus wryote, that Paule had a wife (which he thinketh) to be most false; onelie to proue that marriage is good and honourable. And if it be lawfull to mingle true things with false, and to confound all things; when then shall we beleue the fathers: What thing can at anie time be certaine vnto vs, but that we may be deceived thereby? Further, he seigneth, that Paule excluded from iustificacion onelie the works of the lawe. But this we haue before abundantly confuted, and

haue taught, that the reasons of Paule are general. And the fathers saue euen this also: for Augustine, in many places affirmeth, that Paule intreateth not onelie of ceremoniall works, but also of morall works. But because the authoritie of Augustine is, I knowe not how suspected vnto our aduersaries, let vs see what Ieron saith. He vnto Celsiphon against the Pelagians, by on these words; By the works of the lawe no flesh shall be iustified, thus wryteth; Because thou thinkest this to be spoken of the lawe of Moyses, and not of all the commandements, which are contained vnder this one name of the lawe, the selfe-same apostle saith: I consent vnto the lawe of God. There are others also of the fathers, which teach the same: but I now ouerpasse them. Let it suffice to shew, that this other feigned inuention of Smith is baine and trifling.

87 Thirde he saith, that they ment to exclude works (as he calleth them) penall; that works (I suppose) which repentant men do. But to shew how ridiculous this is also, shall need no long declaration. For first such works were required of men; not that by them they should be iustified before God, but onelie to approue themselves vnto the church; that is, least they by a feigned and dissembled repentance should seke to be reconciled. Further, it is not likelie, that Paule spake of anie such works; for they were not at that time in vse. And Ambrose, when he excludeth works from iustificacion, hath here vnto once or twise a respect. For we ought not so much to consider, what one or two of the fathers haue saie, but what agreeth with the holie scriptures. Smith addeth moreover, that it is certaine, that God requirith much more of vs than faith; for in Marke, it is thus wryteth; Repent, and beleue. Here (saith he) vnto faith is adioined repentance. And in another place; He that beleuech, and is baptised, shall be saved. And he addeth also, that in the epistle to the Ephesians; The church is said to be sanctified by the washing of water in the word. And that Peter in his third chapter of his first epistle saith; that Baptisme hath made vs saue. And that Ieron also thus wryteth vnto the first chapter of Esaie; The washing of regeneration both onelie remitt finnes. Whereof (saith he) iustificacion, and remission of finnes is ascribed, not onelie vnto faith, but also vnto the sacraments.

As touching the first, we grant; that Christ requirith more of vs than faith; for who doubteth, but that the will haue men that are iustified to true vpphille, and to exercise themselves in all kinds of vertues; other wise, they shall not come vnto eternal saluation; yea, where, these are fruits of faith, and effects of iustificacion, and not causes. But as touching the sacraments,

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Rom. 7, 16.

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Mark. 11, 15.

Mar. 16, 14.

Eph. 5, 25.

Peter. 3, 21.

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1. Cor. 4, 7.

The Pelagians did vnto the common grace of creation.

Rom. 11, 15.

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ments, we have manie times taught, how iustification is to be attributed unto them; for they are in the same respect unto iustification, as is the preaching of the Gospell, as the promise concerning Christ, which is offered unto vs to saluation. And verie oftentimes in the scriptures, that which belongeth unto the thing, is ascribed to the sacrament or signe. And because baptism promiseeth remission of finnes by Christ, and signifyeth it, and sealeth it in them which are washed; therefore Ierom, of all other sacraments, attributeth this unto it onelie. Wherefore the words of the fathers ought nothing to moue vs, when as they write thus; that faith alone is not sufficient to saluation; so they vnderstand this, of that eternall saluation, unto which we come not, except some fruit followe our faith. But of their sayings we ought not to gather, that a man is not iustified by faith onelie. And though at anie time, the berie same fathers come to refferre their words unto iustification; yet are they to be vnderstood, that their meaning was to expresse the nature of the true and iustificing faith; for it in verie deed is neuer alone, but hath our hope and charitie, and other good woordes, as companions. Sometimes also by iustification, they vnderstand that righteousness, which sticketh in vs; the which iustification out all doubt, doth not consist or depend of faith onelie.

88 They thinke also, that this maketh against vs; for that Paule writeth vnto the Romans; By hope we are made life. Neither do they see, that hope is there taken for the last regeneration, which we hope we shall one day obtaine in the heauenlie countrie: for the apostle a little before spake of it. And vnbondredly, we possess that saluation onelie in hope, not as yet in verie deed. If there be anie peradventure, whom this most iust and most true answer will not suffice; let him followe the interpretation of Origin: for he vpon that place saith; that Hope is there put for faith; which is no rare thing in the holie scriptures. But they have found out yet another fond deuise, whereby (as much as lieth in them) they do go about to qualifie this word Onelie, which is so often viced of the fathers; namelie, that faith onelie hath the beginning, and as it were, the first degree of iustification; which afterward is made perfect and full, when other good woordes come vnto it. But how beane this is, Paule himselfe sufficiente teacheth: for he doth not onelie saie, that We are iustified by faith onelie, but also he addeth, without works. Further this also maketh against these men, which is written in the booke of Galatians. To knowe God is full rightconnesse. In which place it is a point to see, how Smith wryting himselfe, first he dares not denie the sentence, for he

countheth that booke for canonical: but as he is of a Garpe wit, at the last this he denieth; that God is not knownen by faith onelie, but also by loue. But this euer would he saie, but onelie this man? Vnbondredly, by loue, we do not knowe but we do loue. And that which is spoken in the booke of Ecclesiastes (which yet with me is not of so great authority) Christ himselfe hath most manifeste testified in the Gospell, saing; This is eternall life, that they knowe thee, the onelie true God. Although of this saying also of our saviour, Gardiner the Bishop of Winchester, denied of late, I wot not what; namelie, that to knowe God, is not properlie eternall life, although it somewhat helpe forwarde thereto. But forasmuch as neither the fathers, nor Paule, nor Christ himselfe can satisfie these men; there is no hope that we shall anie thing puenale vnto our reasons. They adde moreover, that the fathers saie, that onelie faith iustifieth; that is, it is the principallest thing whereby we are iustified. I confesse in deed, that Onelie sometimes signifyeth Principall. But this lenie cannot agree with Paules purpose: for if charitie be compared with faith, charitie (as Paule saith) is more excellent and better. Wherefore, if both of them iustifie (as these men will haue it) then should charitie haue the chiefe part, and not faith. And this also is a great let vnto these men, which I have oftentimes spoken of, that Paule so acerbeth iustification vnto faith, that he saith; Without works. But Augustine (saie they) vnto Simplicianus writeth; that By faith we begin to be iustified. Vnto this we maie answer two manner of waies; first, that that beginning is such, that in verie deed it hath the verie full and whole iustification. So that Augustines meaning is, that we are iustified so some as we haue faith. If it is thus, then not, we will saie (as the truth is in deed) that Augustine meant of the righteousness which sticketh in vs.

They cite also Ambrose, vpon the fifth chapter vnto the Galatians; In Christ, &c. For (saie they) we haue need of faith onelie, in charitie to iustification. Behold (saie they) vnto iustification we haue no lesse need of charitie, than of faith. But they are far deceiued: for by those words Ambrose meant nothing else, but to make a distinction betwene true faith and vaine opinion: therefore he saith; that we haue need of faith onelie, namelie, that which is joined with charitie. But Ierom vpon the fifth chapter vnto the Galatians, saith; that It is charitie onelie, which maketh cleane the hart. What other thing else shall we here answer, but that this his saying (if it be sharple and sincerelie vnderstood) is false? for it is faith also which purifieth the hart, as it is written in the Acts of the apostles. And Paule

1 Tim. 1. 5. Paule vnto Timothee saith; Charitie out of a pure hart, and a good conscience, &c. By which woordes it is plaine, that the hart must of necessity first be pure, before charitie can come. Wherefore we will interpret that sentence by the effect, and as touching our knowledge: for then it is most certaine, that we are regenerate, and haue a cleane hart, when we be indued with charitie. After this manner also haue we before expounded this; Manie finnes are forgiven him, because he loued much.

89 And by the selfe same meane also, may that saying of Augustine, in his booke *De natura & gratia*, the 38. chapter, be answered vnto; It is the charitie of God (saie he) by which onelie, he is iust, whosoever is iust. But this seemeth also to best vnto me, to vnderstand such sayings of the fathers to concerne that righteousness, which abideth and sticketh in vs: for that consisteth not onelie of faith, but also of all vertues & good woordes. Now, because amongst all vertues, charitie is the principall; therefore the fathers sometimes attribute righteousness vnto it onelie. And that which our aduersaries haue most vniuersally blarped, to expound this word Onelie, for Principall or chiefe, we may in take not of that iustification, which is had by imputation; but of that which we attaine to after regeneration. Wherefore, in this our proposition, we exclude not from a man that is iustified, hope, charitie, and other good woordes: but this onelie we saie, that they haue not the power, or cause, or merit of iustifying. And when we saie, that a man is iustified by faith onelie; we saie nothing else vnbondredly, but that a man is iustified onelie by the mercie of God, and by the merit of Christ onelie: which cannot be apprehended by anie other instrument, than by faith onelie.

90 Neither must we giue place to our aduersaries, not to vse this word Onelie, though they erie out neuer so much, that of it springeth great offence; and mens minds are by this persuasio on somewhat weakened in the exercise of vertues. For by sound doctrine we doe easilie remedie these discomforts: for we alwaies teach, that it is not iustification, or true faith, which wanteth the fruits of good life. But we see the subtle and craftie deuile of these men: for if we should saie, that a man is simple iustified by faith, leauing out this word Onelie; straight waie they would adde of their owne, that a man indeed is iustified by faith: but yet he is no lesse iustified by hope, and charitie, and other good woordes. For this verie cause the Catholics, in times past, would not permit vnto the Arians this word *quodammodo*; that is, Consubstantiall, of Of like substance: because they would frantwaite haue said, that The same indeed, by appellation

or name, is God, like vnto the father, and in a manner equal vnto him; but yet not of the same the selfe same nature and substance. Wherefore they did with faith and naile defend, and keepe still this word *quodammodo*, that is, Consubstantiall, of Of one and the selfe same substance, as a word most apt to expresse the truth of that controvercie. Which they might also for good right do; and therefore, for that they saue, that that word was of necessity concluded out of the holie scriptures: out of which also is most euidently concluded this our word Onelie; it is thought of vs a word most meet to confute the errors of those, which would haue iustification to come of woordes.

91 Moreover, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, counted this our proposition to be absurd; and against it, amongst other arguments, he viced this, the which to me doubtlesse is verie dangerous, that it is so gratefull chiefe of some of his paradoxes; The righteousness (saie he) that is giuen vs of God, whereby we are iustified, pertaineth to all the faculties and powers of the mind, or rather to the whole man; therefore we are not iustified by faith onelie: for that pertaineth onelie vnto the higher part of the soule. Here (gentle reader) that thou be not deceiued, lieth hidden a double fallacie or deceit. For first, grant, that that righteousness, which is giuen vnto vs, pertaineth vnto the whole man, and vnto all the powers and faculties of the mind: shall it therefore followe, that that righteousness, which is offered of God, is not apprehended by faith onelie? Vnbondredly, the meate which we cate, is distributed into all the members, and into the whole boile; and yet it is receiued with the mouth onelie, and not with the whole boile. Further, the distribution is not about anie righteousness, which is fastened and sticketh in vs; which in verie deed is dispersed in the whole man: but about iustification, which is the forgiveness of finnes. But this righteousness hath no place nor seate in our minds, but in God alone, by whose will onelie our finnes are forgiven vs.

92 But now, forasmuch as this article hath bene sufficiente defended, against the cavillations of importunate men; we will omit this, and by this declare, that the ancient fathers did not mislike of this word Onelie, the which our aduersaries to gratefull hum. Origin, vpon the Origin, epistle vnto the Romans, vpon these woordes; Thy glorying is excluded. By what laue? By the laue of deeds? No, but by the laue of faith. For we suppose, that a man is iustified by faith without the works of the laue. The iustification (saie he) of faith onelie is sufficient, that a man onelie beleeuing should be iustified, although he haue done no good worke at all. And for example,

It is as touching the teaching of the fathers.

The righteousness which sticketh in vs consisteth not of faith onelie.

Rom. 8. 3.

Rom. 8. 3.

Will. 153.

Onelie, sometimes signifyeth Principall.

Why we require more than faith alone.

We must not define this word Onelie.

It is more ample.

A simile.

The righteousness which is in God, not in vs.

Rom. 3. 27.





delivered, were at rest for a while. But after Alexander Magnus came, the Macedonians grew unwilling to endure. After them came Pompeius, Crassus, Herod, and at the last Vespasianus and Titus, who battered over the walls. Also the church of Christ had his external princes, partly wicked, and partly good, in respect of civil life; but yet verie weak. Wherefore our estate can never be in good case, unless Christ reigne in vs. The kingdom of heaven (as Daniel in his 2. chap. saith) is that, which is neuer destroyed. Therein is peace, not for a moment of time, but for ever: for in the psalme it is said; In his daies shall righteousnesse spring, and abundance of peace, so long as the moone endureth. And in Ecclesiastes; And of his peace there shall be no end.

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Dan. 2. 44.

Psal. 72. 7.

Eccl. 9. 7.

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Mat. 10. 40.

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ling one an other & excusing. Out of this place diligentlly examined, we have a description of *conscientia*, and *confscientia*. Conscience, God, according to his goodness hath ingrafted these knowledges in our mind, to instruct us in stead of a Scholemaster. And the conscience seems to be as it were a law; and it hath this property also, that it stirreth the mind forward, which the law doth not alwaies. *Clarke* applyeth therefore this shall call it a living lawe, which crieth, priceth, beeth forward, and drineth us to good things. And because the affeats of feare and sorrowe, of repentance and desperation, are naturallie provoked in our minds, by reason of this accusation of our consciences; the Poets feigned *Furies*, which did sometime drive men unto those extremities, that they made a double themselves: even as the holie scriptures testifie to have come to passe in Iudas and Achitophel.

Mat. 27. 1. 5. Sa. 17. 23. Chrylost.

These words, that the conscience to be his part: as right, he frames to the word of God.

An excusing of Conscience. The conscience is a sufficient schoolmaster to convince us.

Rom. 1. 25. Augustine.

A limitation.

1. Cor. 3. 1.

We must not be here of the lawe.

to receive the heresie of the Persecutians, and of Simon Magus, while they persuade that all sense and feeling of sinne must be repressed; because imperfect men are troubled with the motions of conscience: and those they saie are true consciences in Christ, and raised up from the dead, which have no more feeling of sinne: and theyUDGE, that whatsoever they do, or attempt of which kind so ever it be, they please God. Wherefore, when such kind of assurance and wickedness is found to be in them, they denie them not at all; but saie, that to them they be no sinnes, because they account them not for sinnes: but to such they saie they are accounted for sinne, which by reason of their infirmities doo thinke them to be sinne.

### Touching the choise of Meates, In the 1. Cor. 8.

10 The matter then which we have in hand, Look at the first, is to write somewhat touching the choise of meates. And first it is to be understood, that choise taketh not place in euerie thing; but in those things onlie which cannot otherwise be done. Wherefore we will make a distinction of actions; that some be necessary unto saluation; and other some indifferent: of meane actions, those things be necessary which God hath commanded; and vnto these we do them, we shall be shut out from God, and from Christ. In this kind of things there is no choise, herein are neither the occasions nor the offences of men to be regarded. For Christ saith, that He came not to send peace, but sword and fire: he came to set the father against the fenne, and the daughter against the mother: he said moreover, If thy right eye offend thee, pull it out, and cast it from thee: and the same commandment also be gane of the right hand and of the foot. By which words he declared, that those things which we shall or seeme more dear unto us than either our eyes, hands, or feet; we must cast awaye from vs, lest we should be therebye atwaine from the will of God. And in like manner did Christ auoid touching the Sabbath, which were offended at his doctrine; Let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind: and he made no reckoning of the offence which they made.

But the meane actions must be understood, either according to the doing, or else according to the sense, doctrine, and knowledg which we ought to haue of them. If we speake of the doing of them, we must vnderstand the rule of charity, least we attempt any thing that maye offend our weak brother: of which thing the apostle hath written at large to the Romans. And as touching the sense and doctrine, it is necessary for vs euermore to profess and iudge, that these indifferent things, through the grace of Christ,

are free vnto vs; and that we abstaine from them in no other respect, but for their sakes that be weak. Which thing we see right well that Christ did, when he paid the tribute money: for he was king and God, even the true Messiah, as in being right he was free from paying of tribute; but this libertie he would not use, least he should haue offended others. Wherefore, he taught in the meane time, that it was free for him to do it; when he demanded of Peter, whether tributs were want to be exacted of bond men, or of them that be free. Those that be weak, must be taken and taught; and that they maye hear the more attentiuely and willingly, it is god that a man humble himselfe to their weaknesse, so long as we shall perceive them willing to be instructed: but if we find them vntreatable, and obstinate, and therefore to heare the reasons wherefore out of the scriptures, and that they be contempters of the word of God, we must let them go; neither must that, which is holie, be giuen vnto dogs: neither is it necessary to care for the offending of them.

But while we apply our selues to them that be weak, we must haue a regard vnto the multitude of the faithful. Among whom, if some should take offence at the dissembling; and that the example should be laid hold on, as though it ought in any wise to be done; and for that the church, Christian libertie might be hazarded: thou must take heed, that thou submit not thy selfe any further, least perhaps some corrupt opinion arise of thy dissembling. Paule circumcised Timothy, when he saith that it might bring vnto the weaker sort: but (as we read vnto the Galatians) the lawes were not circumcised Tirus. For the false apostles were ready which would haue used that example, to thrust vnto the Gentiles the ceremonies of the law, as necessarye to saluation: for they feared, that out on euerie side, by what means they might spoile the church of hir Christian libertie. And the same Paule, who polled his head at Cenchrea, at Jerusalem, (saying, as he said, a vowe, and had taken in hand the purifying of the Jews, according to the lawe, because he iudged, that the same would profit them that were weak) would not abide that Peter should do as he did; but (as we read to the Galatians) refused him to the face: for the dissembling of Peter was hurtful vnto the greater damage of the church. Neither was it thought good, that so manye of the Gentiles should be offended; to the intent there might be regard had of those that came from Jerusalem. For there was danger like to ensue, least through the authority of Peter and Barnabas, there might be held an opinion; whereby it should be thought, that the Gentiles, which were converted vnto Christ,

were to be compelled to keepe the ceremonies of the lawe.

11 Having made this preface, we will now speake of the verie choise of meates. And first it is to be agreed vpon, that all meates are now in their owne nature free vnto Christians, so that nothing be added, to make them unlawful: otherwise, if meat be free before vs, which may be thought either to nourish or stir vp lust; it behooueth that, which sinfully himselfe pious thereunto, do forbear it. Likewise, if there be any man of imperfect health, and there be meat set before him, whereby he perceiveth his health to be hurt; he must not fulfill his appetite. And also, that we must auoid superfluitie, and so much cost; least that be spent, which might haue bene giuen to the poore, and employed to better uses. As likewise, if there be present any of the weaker sort, which may be offended with some kind of meates; as in times past the Jews were converted do abhorre flesh strangled & blood. Pagan, if it had ben convenient for the Gentiles to haue abstained, because of the weaknesse of them that sat at meat, if it had bene told them in the midst of their feast, that the meat left before them, had ben offered vnto idols; as Paul witnesseth at large to the Romans, & to the Corinthians. Let passe, that in the abstinence, manye kinds of meates were forbidden: and there is no doubt, but in those daies the lawe was to be observed. There might also be added, the respect of ciuill or politike government: all which things pertaine not to the nature it selfe of meates, but vnto the circumstances which happen.

12 And that all meates, in their owne nature, are free for Christians; the scriptures do plainlie teach. Christ (as we read in Matthew) saith; Euerie thing that entereth into the mouth, defileth not man. And if so be it were not discribly by eating, no more should it be discribly by fornicating. And the apostle witnesseth; Meates for the bellie, and the bellie for meates, God shall destroye both it and them. Therefore, seeing meate is a thing temporall, and to be destroyed, and which pertaineth vnto the bellie, not to the mind; it cometh to passe, that of it selfe it causeth nothing vnto righteousness or vnrightheadness. And a little before; Meate doth not commend vs vnto God: for neither, if we eat, shall we haue the more; neither if we cate not, shall we haue the lesse. Which words Erasmus vnderstandeth, and therefore he wrote; If it be as the apostle teacheth, how cometh it to passe, that at this date we are in nothing else so lone lodged, as more easilye condemned? Wherefore proceedeth it, that there is at this daie so manye iudgments concerning meates? In the same epistle it is written; Whatsoever is sold in the market, eat ye, making no question for conscience sake.

Superfluitie is much cost must be avoided.

Sometimes we must abstaine from offents sake. Act. 15. 20.

Rom. 14. 13 1. Cor. 8. 10. &c.

Abstinentie for ciuill government.

All meates of their owne nature are free for Christians. Mat. 15. 11

1. Cor. 6. 13.

1. Cor. 8. 8.

In the same 8. chapter.

Erasmus.

1. Cor. 10. 25.

But

Col.2.16.

In the late  
many kinds  
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are forbid-  
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verfe.18.

verfe.10.

1.Tim.4.5.

Titus.2.15.

Rom.14.14.

Heb.3.9.

Afts.10.15.

But more plainlie in the second chapter to the Colossians; Let no man condemne you in meat and drinke, or in a peece of a holie daie, or of the new moone, or of the Sabbath daies, which were shadowes of things to come : but the bodie is of Christ.

Those things, which he spake hitherto, do be-  
long unto the ceremonies of the lawe, and to the feast daies of Moles. Immediately he passeth to other obseruations, not proceeding from the lawe, but from men : where he addeth ; Take ye heed, that no man beguile you of the victorie by humbles of mind, and worshipping of angels, aduancing himselfe in those things which he neuer sawe, puffed vp rashlie with his fleshlie mind, and holdeth not the head, whereof all the bodie being furnished & knit together by ioints and bands, increaseth with the increasing of God. And if ye be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world, why as though ye liued in the world, are ye still held with traditions ? As, Touch not, Taste not, Handle not : all which perish with the vsing, and are after the doctrine and commandments of men : which things in deed haue a shew of wisdome in voluntarie religion, and humbles of mind ; and in not sparing of the bodie ; which are things of no value, seeing they pertaine to the satisfieng of the flesh.

These words do most manifestlie testifie, that the place must be understood touching the superstitious obseruation of mans inventions. And in the first epistle to Timothee, it is written ; In the last daies man shall fall awaie from the faith, and shall giue heed vnto spirits of error, and doctrines of diuels, which speake lies thorough hypocrisie, & haue their consciences burned with an hot iron, forbidding to marrie, and commanding to abstaine from meates, which God hath created to be received with giuing of thanks by them which beleeue, and knowe the truth : because euerie creature of Gods good, and nothing ought to be refused, if it be received with thanks-giuing : for it is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer. And to Titus ; Vnto the pure all things are pure, but vnto them that are defiled and vnbeleeuing, nothing is pure : for their minds and consciences are defiled. Also vnto the Romans ; I knowe, and am perfectly persuaded, that by Christ nothing is common but vnto him, which shall saie it is common. Vnto the Hebrewes ; It is an excellent thing to establish the hart by grace, not by meates, which haue profited nothing. And in the Acts of the apostles, it is said vnto Peter, when he refused to eate of those creatures, which were let be done from heauen ; That which God hath sanctified, doe not thou call common. All these testimonies declare, that euerie kind of meate is now thorough Christ made lawfull and pure.

13 But against these things much is objected. First, concerning that which Christ saith ; That which entereth into the mouth, defileth not a man : they answer, that the question was then, whether meate received with vnlawfull hands could defile a man : And seeing the question was private, they saie, that which was answered, ought not to be vsed in such sort, as it should be understood of all meates in generall. For if (saie they) Christ had answered, that generally no kind of meate do defile, then should we also make things offered vnto idols lawfull : neither should it be a fault to drinke poison ; and they had not shuned, which in the primitive church had eaten blood, and flesh gramine. Whereunto they answer, that an occasion was given vnto that sentence of Christ, through a private question ; Whether he be contaminated, by receiving meate with hands vnlawfull : but the Lord when he denied that, made a general answer. And that Christ in that place speaketh generally, the cause, which he addeth vnto his sentence, doth make it plaine ; for That which entereth into the mouth, is let downe into the bellie, and is cast into the draught. Which being incident to all kind of meates, it cannot be denied, but that his sentence was general. Wherefore Christ promised, that meates do not pollute ; forasmuch as they do not touch the mind, nor abide in vs, but are digested, and so auoided. Neither is hereby meant, that meate offered to idols, or poison, are lawfull : for we are bound by the lawe of God, to auoid such things ; I meane by the precept of charitie, not by the commandments of men. For the circumstances do cause, that sometimes we must abstaine from sundry things ; either because there followeth offense in them that be weakie ; or else because the health is impaired.

14 But they saie againe, that they also do not ascribe, that meates, in their owne nature, are vnlawfull : but because the church hath commanded, that the faithful fast should, vpon certaine daies, restraime themselves from eating of flesh, to the intent the flesh may be bridled. Wherefore, if we obeye not, they asseme that men are defiled : not as though meates were euill, or vnpure ; but because men deale intemperate, by violating the ordinance of the church. Vnto this we saie, that it is not sufficient to grant, that meates in their owne nature be not euill and defiled : for both the Scribes & the Pharisees had longer thought, though they were neither Marcionites, nor yet Manichees ; for they allowed of the lawe of God. Wherefore they were constrained to confesse, out of Conuells ; that All things, which God hath made, are verie good. But Christ bygeth this, that they did not well, in ordering of such decrees : and declared, that it was not will

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done, to take such careful heed about washing of hands, and in the meane time to suffer the commandments of God to be contemned and neglected : because they made a religion and worship of God there, where God had made none. And yet neuertheless, that lawe of the Pharisees, although it now seeme frivolous, might haue a goodly pretence thereto : as so should saie, they would by the washing of hands, as by a signe, haue men to be admonished of the puretie of the mind, which they ought to procure through praiers and repentance. And if so be they themselves had kept themselves cleane from sinnes, then should they might haue said in their synagog or church, that they had power to obeyne such signes. Wherevnto, Christ condemned all these things, as humane traditions ; neither would, that by transgressing of them, the mind should be polluted.

Wherefore how hapeneth it, that the poppish lawes, touching meates, are not through this sentence of the Lord abolished ; so that men might understand, that they be of no force, to make such as transgresse them to be guiltie of sinnes ; And if they minded by their decrees, to provide against wantonnesse, and loosenesse of life ; they should also haue made the like decrees touching wine, in the which (Paule saith) is exesse. Furthermore, how is it possible, that all mortall men should be holpen by one and the selfe same lawe ; seeing some are found weakie and feeble, and other some be strong and industrie : Is one manner of food meet for all sorts of people ; Wherevnto, who hath commanded the bishops, concerning these things, to make lawes, which they hold to be ; as in comparison of them, they neglect the lawes of God ?

15 They obiekt further, that the places, which I haue cited, do concerne meates, which were forbidden by the lawe of Moles : so that, to ascribe them to the choice of meates, now vied in the church, it is scarce anie lawfull dealing. To this I neede confesse, that some things in those places do appertaine to the meates which were forbidden by the lawe, but not all : for (as we haue declared) the apostle in the epistle vnto the Colossians, speaketh also of another affliction of the flesh ; not detested out of the law of God, but superstitiously detested by men. Wherefore he saith, that those things were done by the visions of angels, and by the commandments and traditions of men : which things cannot be spoken of the old lawe. And he added, that those things had onlie a shew of the lawfulness in the verie letter : touching the apostle would not haue spoken, concerning the lawe giuen by God. Wherevnto, those things which be reprehended, he saith that they make to the hurt

Eph. 6.10

All men can  
be holpen  
with by one  
and the selfe  
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lawes.

Col. 2.18.

An expre-  
sing of the  
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of the bodie : so as the fleshly should be forbidden to be filled with as much as is needfull. Which thing was not commanded in the lawe of Moles, naie rather (as we read in Deuteronomie) so they would abstaine from things proferred, it was lawfull for them to eate as much of anie other flesh, as their hart desired : for so doth the scripture speake. Further, whereas it is said in the epistle to Timothee, that it will come to passe in the latter daies, that meates shall be forbidden : it is shewed, that these things must not be understood, as concerning the Jewish ceremonies ; for those were obtruded vnto the church, not in the latter, but in the former times. Further, he saith, that these men shall giue heed vnto the doctrine of diuels ; which things agree not with the lawe of God.

Wherevnto, because we confesse, that some of them are understood of the ceremonies of the lawe ; we will now declare, that those things also, after a lawfull sort, may be applied by vs, to reprehend the choice of meates, which at this date is vied. Because if we be not bound to that choice of meates, which in times past God ordeined ; much lesse shall we be constrained, by the humane traditions of bishops, to put anie holiness or religion therein. If it pleased God through Christ, to let vs at libertie to his owne lawes, and to make all meates free ; why haue hypocrites attempted to bring christians into bondage ?

16 They are wont also to saie, that where the apostle intreateth not of the meates forbidden in the lawe of Moles ; he sheweth, that it would come to passe of the Manichees and Marcionites, that they would forbid sundry meates, as though they thought them vnlawfull by nature, because they were made by the euill gods. Wherevpon they inferre, that all those things pertaine not to them ; seeing the church by hit lawes (as they saie) onlie provided for the moderation of exesse and riot. But let these men consider, that those things, which they vse allege, not onlie make against the hereticks, whom they haue named, but against themselves also. For the Lord in the Gospell of Matthew, did chariticall impugne the lawe made by the Scribes, for the not eat. of bread with vnlawfull hands ; wherein they put religion and worship of God, which brought vnto superstition : euen as at this date these men thinke it a holiness and seruice of God, to haue abstained from flesh, egges, milke, and such like things. Furthermore, the apostle vnto the Colossians hath euidentlie expresse, that those commandments and traditions of men, not onlie respected voluntarie worship ; but also of an humbling and hurting of the bodie, that the flesh should not be filled. Which things signify nothing else, than abstinence and mortification of the bodie, which you pretend.

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Mat. 23.5.

Col. 2.34.

the Eneides and Montanis of deined their fastings, and their eating of de meats for the taming of their flesh: holobert, the true church hath disallowed the laies of fasting which they made. And as it is set down in the Ecclesiastical historie; the flesh laies made for fasting, are attributed unto Montanus. For nallie, they earnestly affirme, that all which was said to Peter in the Glas of the apostles (namelie that he should not call that common, which God had sanctified) is allegoricall: so that by unclean beasts, there was shewed unto the apostle the Gentiles, unto whom the holie Ghost would have him to repaire. He denie not, but that there is an allegorie in that place, speciallie such a one as taketh not away the storie. In like manner, as Abraham had two sonnes; albeit in the epistle to the Hebrewes, the fourth chapter, they be called two testaments. The kingdome also of David figured the kingdome of Christ, albeit the storie of David was true. So in this place, the Gentiles are shewed to be sanctified, so that now it might be lawful for the apostles to repaire unto them; and that was signified in the living creatures; otherwise unclean, the which were let before Peter. But there-withall is understood, that those kind of meats be sanctified, in such sort as they be now free for Christian men: which thing they men themselves are forced to confesse, seeing they denie not, but ever since that time, the meats forbidden by the laies of Moles are lawful. And that Peter spake touching the pureness of the laies, no man doubteth.

An allegorie is not to be admitted, but yet not so, as it can take away the truth of the historie. Ga. 4. 22. Phil. 3. 17. Act. 4. 25.

17 But passing over the scriptures, they now alledge the Fathers, which set oftentimes make mention of this choise [of meats]; namelie extolling abstinence in their treatises. In verie deed I grant; that I have read verie manie things among them, touching continencie, and mortification of the flesh, of fastings, and of the disallowing of some delicate and dainty meats: holobert I have not read in them, that there ought to be any laies ecclesie and religious, in the choise of meats; so as for the neglecting of the same, men should commit sinne, and incur danger to be separated from the kingdome of heaven. Neither did they so much attribute to abstinence from flesh, as our men currie where would have to be attributed without it. Spirdion a verie good Bishop (as we read in the Tripartite historie) in a certaine time of fasting, let shewes flesh before a stranger; who for custome sake abhorring the same, and saying that he was a christian; Spirdion answered; Because thou art a christian, therefore thou shouldest not eat, and thou oughtest to holie, that Vnto the pure, all things are pure, &c. Here I perceive there was a custome to

the fathers affect not that there should be had ecclesie and holie times for the choise of meats.

Spirdion, who for custome sake abhorring the same, and saying that he was a christian; Spirdion answered; Because thou art a christian, therefore thou shouldest not eat, and thou oughtest to holie, that Vnto the pure, all things are pure, &c. Here I perceive there was a custome to

abstine from some sort of meats, but yet not withstanding, such as should not preclude against christian libertie.

Also Augustine, in the second booke of his church manners, bingereth in Eleutha a Manichee, who did rate no flesh; but in the same time did use most delicate dainties, and confections of spices, and precious things; neither drank wine, but had other delicate drinks: specks out of fruits, which might be compared unto wine, and hadle carried in in pleasantness of taste. And the other part he compared with this man a Catholike, which fasteth unto till nine of the clocke, that is, untill the evening tide; taking a few small herbs dress with lard, a sodden with flesh, either powdered or dried in the smoke, and to content with these small dainties of wine. Then Augustine demandeth, whether of these two, being I see kind of diet, have the greater abstinence: and he gave sentence on the behalfe of the Catholike. Whereby it apareth, by the judgement of this man, that flesh maketh not abstinence to be the lesse, so to scime the more contemptible.

18 Thus he to alledge Eusebius, in the first booke of his historie, when he sheweth the acts of Attalus, and of Blandina, that the christians were bound to abstine from flesh. Holobert, when he should have translated it, Bloud; translated it, Flesh. For at that time the christians as yet abstained from bloud, by the decree of the apostles. Here, and touching flesh to be void of meats, thou hast an historie in that place cleare contrary, which there thou maist read. Also they cite Theophilus of Alexandria, in his booke called The Paschall, which Ierom turned into Latine. But how much I may attribute unto this Theophilus, I knowe not: he was a great enemy unto Chrylosome, whom by force and tyrannic he chased away, and deposed from his bishopricke. And Chrylosome himselfe, in a certaine epistle unto the bishop of Rome, complaineth grievously of him; and gave testimony against him: but of him I will no longer now dispute.

This onlie I saie, that he in that booke holobeth wine and flesh all one, as touching abstinence. Therefore he not onlie inuiceth against intemperate men, which did rate flesh, as such time as they should have fasted; but aduertise also, that they void wine. So that, if these fellows be desirous to receive him in one thing; namelie, they not also imitate him in the other; namelie, in forbidding wine. Speciallie, seeing there be divers sorts of flesh that binde not heat and lust, as wine doth. And in an epistle to Demetrius, (whether the same be Ieroms, or any other mans) it is said; that The eating of flesh, and drinking

there was a custome to abstine from certain meats by a free custome, Augustine, a comparison of gentiles and Spaniards, with a meece Catholike.

The fathers were not to be understood to understand nothing.

Augustine, Terullian, the expresse words of Ierom, the words of Ierom, the words of Ierom.

Theophilus of Alexandria.

Gen. 1. 3.

Ieroms.

1. Cor. 1. 3.

Aug. 1. 3.

1. Tim. 4. 3.

drinking of wine is granted, but by a more perfect judgement, men are dissuaded from them, as from marriage. In the verie which place thou saist, that these two, flesh and wine, are joined together. And in the old lawe, drinking of wine was forbidden the Nazarenes; but so was not the eating of flesh. And Paule said, that in wine there is excellē: which thing thou shalt not find to be spoken as touching flesh. The Fathers commended the abstinence from them; but they loate no tyrannous laies concerning them. Now at this date they excommunicate men for this matter; and oftentimes they put them to death which eat flesh upon the daies prohibited.

19 But they complain, that unless this be done, the discipline of fasting is broken. Which thing I perceive not, seeing fasting was ordered to this purpose, that men should be all the day without meat, untill night. Neither, when fasting was ordered, was there any precept touching, with what kind of meat men should refresh themselves, now when the daies was once past; so that their suppers were moderate, and without delicatensse. Augustine, in treating of the god that cometh by fasting, saith; I demand not of thee from that meat thou abstainest, but with what meat thou art delighted: thou maist find manie, which be more delighted with the eating of fish, than of flesh. He, and Terullian accusethe Marcion, because he thought fish to be the holier meat. And in the 18. booke of the tripartite historie, there is mention made of sundrie kinds of fasting in Lent: for some fasted onlie three weeks before Easter, some five weeks, and some seven. Again, there were some which abstained from all living creatures. Others did eat fish; unto the which other some joined birds; for that, according unto Moyses, they take their beginning of the water, as fishes did, and were created all in one daie. For nallie, there were of them, which fasted untill the ninth houre in the daie, without making any difference of meats.

Ieroms also (as it is declared in the Ecclesiastical historie) saith, as touching the daies of fasting; that there were no certaine ordinances; some fasted the whole Lent, some three daies, some two, and some fasted one daie onlie. Therefore thou seest, that in times past, the order of fasting had no daies appointed, nor yet shoole of meats prescribed; as at this date they will have it to be. In the old lawe, fasting was commanded to be onlie one daie once in a yeare, where in nothing should be tasted untill night: in which place it is not described, with what kind of meat they should feed. And in Augustines confessions we read, that the eating of flesh made not good men any thing the lesse acceptable unto god. And he maketh mention of Elias, who be-

ing hidden, was fed by the ravens with flesh. And Iohn Baptist in the wilderness did rate cuts. But on the other side, Elias being beguiled with the most simple dale of pottage, sold his birth-right.

20 Among the Fathers they continue all what is to ledge Gregorie of whom I make no verie great account; for he was the first that brought in manie superstitious things. Touching the Fathers that went before him, I thinke it hath bene spoken sufficient. Albeit the same Gregorie by shoy of Rome, (as we find in the decrees, the 4. definition, and in the chapter, Denique) writeth unto Augustine Bishop in England; that The late men were wont when in the time of Lent to be verie heinous of flesh, to fill themselves immoderately with the same; and he judgeth, that the priests and deacons at the least ought to refrain. But unto others he durst not appoint a Lent. His commendement to laies; least peradventure any worse thing should happen. They urge vs also with Councelle, whose decrees are nevertheless not alwaies bene firme: and how little the bishops of Rome have regarded them, it map apere; in that verie manie, both publicke and private doe obtaine licence for monie, to eat egges, butter, and milke, upon their fasting daies; when as it was otherwise ordained by those decrees. The latter Popes of Rome have made most fewer lawes concerning these things, as they that made it but a small matter, to laie manie fines to catch the simple people. All these things were ordained; but yet there is no cause why we should therefore grant them to have bene void. These traditions of men are pernicious, because (as Christ taught) at length they make the commandmentes of God to be of none effect.

The Lord commanded, that we should haue one God, and that we should not adune any besides him; at this date the worshipping and invocation of saints is confirmed by traditions. God forbid images; at this date they be received into churches by the decrees of bishops. God commanded that parents should be had in honour; the tradition causeth, that children sett any light by that authority, do the due monasteries. God willeth that our neighbours should be holpen; but through these traditions, men go from helping of the living, to helping of the dead. The holie scriptures declare, that there is but one mediator towards all our wickednes; but by tradition we are taught at this date, that he suffered for original sinne, and for those finnes which were committed before baptism; but that it is necessarie for vs concerning finnes done after regeneration, to receive them by our owne works. Thus are the





We must  
not go to  
the Pope  
for licence  
to eat meat  
fornidden.

men, to go either unto the bishops, or Pope, to obtaine licence to eat meats fofbidden: for seeing they sell them under their bulls, or charter warrant; it were a waile to further their gains; and to confirme their tyrannie by our accesse unto them. They have no care to make them strong, which be weake; but rather on the other side, by their terrours, thundersbolts, and excommunications, they endeavour to make them weak which be strong. Therefore there is no cause why we should obey them.

This cite of  
abstaining  
from flesh,  
came from  
the Ethio-  
picks.

Dan. 8.  
Daniel and  
his fellows  
must not be  
taken for an  
example.

Leuit. 17. 13.

Students  
must live  
berie time  
perpetually.

The  
Spoken  
of Charte-  
house.  
From  
whence  
the  
liberty of  
Spoken  
is gone.  
Gen. 3.  
Seeing the  
flood, they  
did eat no  
flesh.

and it was performed: for in the desert he would eat the same, as we read that it was done. Whereby we understand, that it was verie well said; that Man shall not live by bread onlie, but by Deut. 8.3. euerie word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God: that is, by euerie thing which God hath commanded. Therefore we ought to ground the consideration of all our commodities upon the word of God.

The philosophers make their resolution to far forth as the power of nature extends: howbeit, this power must be reuoced by goodie men unto the word of God; which doth not onlie adorne our tables with fruits, with come, and with herbs; but also furnishest our hitchen with flesh, our storehouse with wine. These things must be thought upon, when we vse the things of this world. These things gave God after the flood; partie to them that his wrath was appeared to waite mankind; and partie, because the earth perhaps being corrupted by the water, brought not forth so wholesome fruits as it did before. Thus the philosophers acknowledge not; but we, because we believe that they had their beginning by the word of the Lord; therefore, so often as we looke on our meats, our apparel, our food, our house, our wife, &c. such other like things, which serue our turne; we should remember & confesse the same to depend upon the word of God.

This libertie did God somethat reuerie afterterward in the law of Moses, where he put a difference betweene meats cleane and uncleane. But for what cause he did this, it is not needfull in this place to discourse. Howbeit, this I will adde; that before the flood, men did kill beasts for sacrifices; as it is shewed of Abel; but they did cate none of the flesh that was offered. But after the flood, they did not onlie offer by sacrifices; but they themselves also did eat of the sacrifices. Which seemed to be a singular benefit of God; as though he wold touchfast to call them to his owne table, and admit them to the communion with himselfe. And before the flood, the cleane cattell for sacrifice were distinguished from the uncleane. Therefore Noah by the commandement of God, brought into the arke more cleane beasts than uncleane. To conclude; after the coming of Christ, the ancient libertie and choise of meats, which the lawe had fofbiddon, was restored: wherefore it ought not vnder colour of religion, to be restored againe by the popish bishops, or by the church: Yet do not those things, which we haue alleaged, limit either Spargitacres; or publike auoulprie; but that they may sometimes appoint a choise of meats upon iust consideration.

¶ Touching apparel of the Ministers of the church, looke in the 34. 35. 38. 39. & 40. epistles, in the end of this booke.

The

## The sixt Chapter.

Of vovs in general; also of the vow of the Nazarets, of Iephtha, and of the Rechabits.

Item. 18.  
The libe-  
ration of  
this name.



After these things, let vs take somethat concerning a vowe. The Greke word *vow*, or the Latine *Votum*, doth signifie one thing but two, namelie, The praier and desire, wherewith we be inflamed, when we praie for anie thing; or vse the verie things that be desired. Further, it betokeneth a promise of offering something unto God. And this ambiguitie of these words, in euery tongue, hath not happened by chance, or without consideration, as some after shall be shewed. The Hebrewes call a vowe *Neder*. But herof grew the custome of making a vowe, that this was felted almost in the minds of all men; that if at anie time they did praie earnestlie unto God, for anie thing to be giuen them, they in like manner promise to offer something unto him againe. For by such manner of means, their minds do seeme to be bounde one to another; namelie, by gifts: because those things, not onlie helpe them, to whom they are giuen; but do also honour them. For they be giuen as a testimonie of vertue and excellencie, in which second respect, they may be offered unto God, that be made thereby be honoured of vs.

Arileto, in his *Metaphysics* said; that Gifts do no lesse satisfie the ambitious, than they do the courteous; for they desire them, thereby to be enriched; and they to be honoured. Whereby, euen the Lord (who specially requirith of vs to be iustified) said in the lawe, that men should not come empty handed vnto him: for so much as he iudgeth it vntoworthy, if his people should appeare empty before him. This selfe same was a custome among the Romans; so that it is read almost euerie where, what the Curie and the Decie voted, for obtaininge of victorie. Among the Greeks also, there were vowes oftentimes vsed. And, in the 18. of Platoes booke, intituled *Phaedon*, that as yet in the time of Socrates, they used to performe a vowe, of sending a ship well rigged, euerie yeere vnto Delos with gifts and sacrifices; and that by a vowe, which Theues had bound himselfe vnto, when he went into the Isle of Candie, to take the monster *Minotaurus*. Vpon which this also was among the Hebrewes, it is no need to recite. So that, in praier and desiring anie thing

of God, men were wont to vowe something vnto God, least they might come to be vntoworthy towards him.

Now then we define a vowe, to be a holle promise, whereby we bind our felues to offer some thing vnto God. And a vowe (as we haue said) hath alwaies some praier ioined therewith; for obtaininge at the leastwile of some thing at the hands of God. Therefore, that ambiguitie of the word happened not without cause: for the Hebrew and Latine tongues; for seeing these things be so ioined together; it might easilie come to passe, that the word which signifie one thing, made sometime be referred to another. And hereby we maie perceiue, that the knowledge of both these, as well of offering, as also of demanding anie thing of God, is necessarie for vs which profess godlinesse. But let vs returne vnto the definition, wherein the generall word is, *Vow*; for it is called A holle promise. Therefore comes, that as touching the calling of it holle, we are in felo words to saie, that it belongeth vnto iustice. For whatsoever is holle, is also iust; but not contrarie: for iustice is that, whereby we pay to euerie man his owne; and they, to whom these things be payed, are either God, or man. That facultie then, whereby we pay vnto all men their owne, is called iustice, and hereup the name of the generall word; but when we pay vnto God we obdience, now is this after the iudgement of Plato, in his booke called *Euthyphron*, to be referred vnto holinesse.

And a man may plainlie see, that euen in the holle scriptures, those things which are called a devoted vowe, are called holle; and that which ought to be payed vnto God by vs, is obdience; and that is of two sorts. One is profession; and to whom it is offered; but after this manner we can giue God nothing; seeing by these things he is made nothing the greater, nor doth increase in anie respect; Thou art my God (saith the prophet) for thou hast no need of my goods. And in the Gospell of Luke; When Luke 17. 10. we haue done all vnto him, we are vnprofitable seruants. Another kind of obdience there is, which appertained vnto reuerence; euen as seruants homilie their maistres. But this seruile and obdience towards God, herein consisteth; that we shew our felues ready and diligent towards God, in the executing of that which he hath comanded, which God both boundeth alis desired to loyge by vs; And this is the sanctifying of his name; the which God can satisficent performe by himselfe: but to be referred to our owne commoditie, and singular profit.

¶ But that we maie knowe what manner of things must be offered vnto God; and that be offered therein vnto God.

What

things must

be offered

therein



wherefore  
God did in-  
stitute this  
law to the  
Nazarites.

were so inclined to chose unto themselves cer-  
taine kinds of life; by means whereof they  
might easily fall into superstition. Therefore  
God would after this manner blesse them. As  
though he should have said: Whereas ye are thus  
pious to your owne inducements, and to intent  
new waies of too thynpings, yet shall ye not be  
that ye list your felices, but ye shall do that  
which I prescribe vnto you; and so by making  
the lawe of a Nazarete, he kept them in boing  
their dutie.

But what is the meaning of these things?  
They ought to keepe their haire growing, un-  
till the end of their vow: for then, while they  
were offering sacrifice, and burning the flesh  
in the fire, they cut off their haire, and burned it  
in the same fire; and from that time forward  
they were free, and returned to their old manner  
of life, which also was common vnto other. Wher-  
fore make it an allegorie, that when the haire was  
grown, vertues also ought to increase  
in the mind. But me thynke, there may be  
poynted at other cause, namely, that men should  
refraine from too much trimming and decking  
of their bodie: for the clipping of the haire doth  
serue vnto the fastenesse and trimming  
of the bodie. For Pauls faith in his epistle vnto  
the Corinthians, the 11. chapter, that For men  
it is a shame if they let their haire growe. Al-  
though other reasons of other men are not to be  
continued. Cyrillus also, and Procopius, vpon  
the booke of Sambers do saie, that These things  
were instituted by God, to the intent he might  
call men backe from the idolatrous rites and  
worshipping of the Chylniks, that that which they  
gave vnto idols, the Iewes might vouchsafe to  
be bestowed vpon him. So that, whereas such men  
sacrificed vnto idols, he would that they should  
rather sacrifice vnto himselfe: not that God so  
much regardeth sacrifices, but because he would  
withdrawe them from idolatry.

Well read, that the Chylniks sometimes suf-  
fered their haire to growe; because they would  
afterward consecrate the same either vnto the  
Nymphes, or vnto Apollo: wherefore Apollo  
was by them called *ἡνίοχος*, that is, A nou-  
risser of the haire. And Theleus, as it is  
written in Plutarch, went to Delphos, there to  
dedicate his haire vnto Apollo. And yong men  
also in Rome, when they were past their child-  
hood, offered their haire and beards vnto some  
God. Sophocles writeth, that Orestes put his  
haire in the tumbles of his father. Where might al-  
so be reuered an other cause, which would be im-  
pertinent. It behoued the Nazarites alwaies to  
be pure; and although they were not of the tribe  
of Leui, yet they behaued themselves all that  
time, as though they had bene priests of the

Leuit. 21, 5. tribe of Leui. And in the 21. chapter of Leuiti

cus, the Leuiticall priests were forbidden to  
poll their head: which thing also may be pre-  
scribed by the first chapter of Baruch; Ye shall see verse 32.  
(saith he) priests in Babylon, with their heads shau-  
en, and their garments cut: and there were the  
priests, of idols. So then we see by the com-  
mandment of God, that the priests of the hee-  
nynes had not their heads shauen.

8. In the booke of Sambers, the first chapter,  
God calleth the haire of the head a crowne, or  
(as other translate it) a separation. But contra-  
riwise the Papists call their shauing of the head  
a crowne: thus they inuert all things as they  
list themselves. But what shall a man saie to  
them? They passe not what they do, they will  
haue lights and censuring in the temples: and if  
thou aske them whie they answer, Because God  
viced them in the old testament. But in the old  
lawe priests had beards: they men will haue  
none. They suffer the haire of their head and  
their beards to growe. Albeit at this daie there is  
a great contention among them about a long  
beard; because the Councell of Carthage, in the  
44. chapter, is sundrie waies alleged: for in  
some copies it is written; *Comam non truant,  
nec barbam*: that is, Let them not suffer the  
haire of their head, nor yet their beard to growe.  
But in other copies it is read; *Nec barbam con-  
deant*; Neither let them cut their beard.

Whether of these two sayings will these men  
followe? For they will not suffer to haue a long  
beard, least (as they saie) any part of the sacri-  
fice should peraduenture sticke in it. Of holie  
men! They sell that their sacrifice for this be-  
cause; and then they carefullly prouide, least it  
should sticke in the beard. Is not this to draine  
at a gnat, and to swallowe downe a camel?  
Howbeit, some of them, least they should seeme  
not to do verie wisely, and with some conde-  
ration, do saie, that the cutting off of the haire,  
signifieth, that a priest must cut off all superflui-  
ties. Such is the religion of these men, to haue  
the signes, when as they haue not the things sig-  
nified. But I rather ascribe that shauing of our  
Papists, to an ouercurious trimming of their  
felices. For Suetonius in the life of Otho, saith,  
that he was wont oftentimes to shauo his  
beard, and to behold his face in a glasse, whether  
the same were trim enough. I will not speake  
of others, which viced not to shauo their haire;  
but rather plucked them out, that their skin  
might be the softer.

The next thing was, that the Nazarites  
should abstaine from wine; not only from  
beere, but also from binger, from grapes, and  
from strong drinke. This strong drinke called  
*Sicera* (as Ierom writeth to Nepotianus) was a  
kind of drinke much like vnto wine; which was

The Coun-  
cell of Car-  
thage.

why the  
spelling  
differs

from the  
other

Suetonius.

what kind  
of drinke  
was *Sicera*?

made of wheate, or of aples, or dates, or else of  
other fruits. Further, they were forbidden to  
eat huskes of grapes, or hernils, which should  
be taken out of the wine presses. They were  
commanded also, that they should not drinke  
*Nischar*, which was nothing else, but the wa-  
shing of the grapes: for the wine being pressed  
out, there was water poured vpon the grapes  
that were pressed, which when it was boyled, re-  
tained some tast of the wine: this we call the  
second wine. But the Chaldean interpretation  
callesh *Sicera*, No wine. And it is manifest e-  
nough, while the Nazarites were forbidden to  
drinke both wine, and strong drinke; for these  
things both trouble the head; and sicke by men  
vnto lust, as Salomon giueth advertisement in  
the twintie chapter of his Proverbs; Wine mak-  
eth a man to be scornfull, and strong drinke  
cureth a man to be vnquiet, and whoeuer is  
deceiued thereby, shall neuer be wise. Pauls  
is, in the first chapter to the Ephesians, saith; he  
not drunken with wine, wherein is excess: but  
be filled with the spirit. Moreover, the priests  
in the old lawe were forbidden to drinke wine,  
because they came to holie seruices: therefore it  
behoued the Nazarites, because they were like  
to priests, that they should abstaine from wine.

The third thing was, that they should not vi-  
olente themselves with any mourning for the  
dead: for as though tole we be ouermuch puffed  
up, so are we sometimes greiuously trou-  
bled with heauinesse and mourning. But God  
wills, that his ministers should be void of af-  
fections, especially of the vehement sort of af-  
fections; seeing by them men are more greiuous-  
ly troubled than is meet. And yet were not  
these obseruations any merites, wherein they  
placed righteousness; but there onely rites and  
ceremonies, whereby, after a sort, men were kept  
in their dutie. For the vow of a Nazarete,  
was a certaine separation from other men.  
But what they did in the meane while, it is not  
prescribed; howbeit, many thinke, that they  
were commanded to inuolue themselves to the  
contemplation and knowlege of the lawe,  
and to worship and call vpon God truely.

For the first of his speciall wordings  
would teach the people by his example, that  
the Philosophers wrote, that a man must earnestly  
measur, that he may be able to behold his  
things; and with his knowlege to comprehend  
the nature of all things. But this they saie can  
never be, vnles the affections be tempered in vs,  
otherwise we be verie oftentimes carried away  
with rage and lust. Therefore God would haue  
his to be void of these affections; namely, of  
mourning, pleasure, too much care and thought  
about decking of the bodie: for these do not a  
little but the tranquillitie of the miny, and the

Christ  
commen-  
deth vnto  
vs.

Light 8.

Leuit. 19.

3  
Mourning  
for the  
dead.

For the  
first of his  
speciall  
wordings

spirituall cogitations thereof. Therefore in the  
lawe, he as it were taught his people to haue  
preparation to higher things, least they should  
with vntoward fete, haue accesse vnto holie  
things. Therefore he taught them, which he intead with  
the knowlege of God, ought to prepare and  
make ready themselves, before they come to  
the hearing of the word of God, or to the recei-  
uing of the sacraments. Ieremie in the fourth  
chapter, verie well admonished vs; I vnto vp  
your fallow ground, and sowe not among the  
thorns.

And they vowed this kind of vow (as we  
haue said) for a certaine time; either for a yeare,  
or for a month, or as euery man thought it  
most profitable for himselfe. For the natures of  
men are oftentimes changed, and the flushe of  
godlinesse some waere cold; therefore it must  
by some means be refreshed. Therof arose the  
departures, which the fathers vied into solitarie  
places for a time. So they, which gaue out the  
publike lawe, when they were tired with busi-  
nesse, kept themselves secret manie times in  
their priuate places; and manes: not for idle-  
nesse, or sluggishnes sake, but to refresh their  
minde, and that they might retaine the most  
prompt and better prepared to accomplish man-  
ners. And the noble Christians, being wearied  
with pleading of causes, sometime went into  
the countrey, to heare, to talke, to read some-  
what, to meditate in their mindes the exortations  
that they had made and heard before: and so to  
returne againe more perfect and ready to the  
pleading place. So the Nazarites for a certaine  
time departed from the companie and fellow-  
ship of other men; that they might afterward  
returne the better and purer to execute the state  
whereinto they be called.

Christ also, in the night time departed vnto  
the mountaine; but in the daie time he returned  
vnto the people. And when the apostles were  
returned, whom he had sent forth to preach, he  
lec them away for a little while into the desert,  
that they might there rest & refresh themselves;  
for this cause perhaps I ent was first institu-  
ted; that men, which all the yeare had bene occu-  
pied with ciuill busines, might that season at the  
least vnto giue themselves to deuotion. Like do  
the popish bishops pretend. But admit that it  
was first instituted for this cause; let them pon-  
der thereto it is now fallen at the length: doubt-  
less vnto more superstition, whereby there is  
no other thing offered vnto the people but choice  
of meats, old wines fales, vnprofitable songs;  
and pilgrimages, which commonlie they call  
stations, verie pagane and idolatrous. In  
the meane time, there is no mention made for  
the diminishing of conuolutes, lust, lecherie,  
and other wicked acts. Further, it were con-  
uenient,

Luca. 21, 37.

Mark. 6, 31.

while a  
man is  
in the  
world.

uerient, that men, though so long a fast should become the better; but after Calter they are become come much worse.

10 But returne we to the vow of the Nazarites, Chap. xxi. of the Acts of the apostles, he polled his head in Cenchrea: and in the 21. chapter, he was persuaded of the elders to do so. There, there he (saith he) four men, which have a vow, thou shalt be with them. There the shaving of the head declaredly, that that vow pertained to a Nazarite: for as it is written in the lawe; If it had happened, that the Nazarite, in the time of the vow, which he had taken upon him, had defiled himselfe over the dead, or by any other meanes, the vow was broken. And it was the Nazarites dutie to come unto the tabernacle, and to declare unto the priests that had happened; to poll his head, to offer sacrifice, and to begin againe the vow of a Nazarite; for what he had before observed, it was taken to be vnclean, and of no force. So Paul (as if some thing had happened unto him among the Gentils, where he had borne constant) should be purified in the temple, as though he should haue begun the obseruation of his vow againe.

Num. 6. ver. 6, 9, 10.

A feign'd denie of the v. apostles concerning Spornes.

to helme came the dawning of children the fire.

Gen. 1. 25. First, it is against the creation of man, seeing it was said unto the first parents; Increase and multiply. Further, it is against the saluag, which Paul teacheth; He that cannot containe,

let him marrie.

They vow pueritie also. But what manner of pueritie? Forsooth to live by begging. As of goodly body, when they will be maintained by the labours of other men? Without doubt this is against charitie, seeing Paul saith unto the Ephesians; He which did leale, let him leale no more; but rather let him labour with his hands, that he may haue wherewith to giue vnto him that suffereth needfull. But thou wilt saie, that of the spornes there be some which are rich. I grant that; but they also do contrarie to the word of God, wherein it is commanded; that He which laboureth not, should not eate. Besides this, they do vow obedience. But vnto whom? To certaine men. When as Paul plauieth wittily; He ye not made the seruants of men. But they saie; I hold of Francis; I of Dominike; I of Bener: whereas Paul would not suffer that the christians should saie; I hold of Paul; I of Apollo; and I of Cephas. Wherefore then do they saie, that they agree with the Nazarites? Let vs diligentlie examine euery thing. The Nazarites shaued not their haire, but these men shaued it. The Nazarites did binke no wine, but these men glut themselves therewith. The Nazarites came not to funerals, but these men before nothing so much as the funerals and obsequies of the dead. Holbeit, these things I will surpasse: this onelie I adde; although in the Jewish religion, the vow of the Nazarites was the principall vow, yet were they not forbidden to marrie. In other vowes (saith Origin) they gaue either a shepe, or a goat, or an ox, or some other thing; but in this kind of vow they offered themselves; and yet their state agreed well enough with matrimonie.

11 As touching Samson, he became a most strong young man. Who would haue thought, that the same should euer haue to passe? The parents were not commanded to instruct him in the art of warfare, or to send him forth into warfare. Upon wouldest thou rather haue thought, that his bringing up should haue bene as a sporne, than as a soldier. But God was minded to shew, that all the strength, which Samson was to haue, should be serued from his spirit. And in that he should be a Nazarite all his life time, as Samuel also was; that was particular, and aboue the common institution of others: by the deed I meane, and not by the right of vow to the parents. Samson ought to haue obeyed, although he had not vowed; because the word of God came betwene. Holbeit, touching Hanna the mother of Samuel, it may be doubted, how it was lawfull for hir to vow for hir son; for it may seeme some will be leaues, some should be bound by the vow of the parent. It was demanded in the time of Bener, whether

Against the vow of Spornes.

Eph. 4. 28.

1. Thes. 3. 10.

1. Cor. 7. 3.

1. Cor. 7. 4.

Origin

1. Iudg. 13.

1. Sam. 1. 11.

1. Iudg. 13.

1. Iudg. 13.

ther the children, whom their parents offered vnto Spornes, might marrie, when they came vnto mans state. Gregorius Magnus, writing to Auguline the bishop of England, answereth, that it is vnterly vnlawfull. Which saying is verie hard against the word of God; for Paul saith; that it is better to marrie than to burne; and He which cannot refrain himselfe, let him marrie. In the third council of Carthage, whereat Auguline was also present, it was decreed; That children being offered vnto the church, when they came to mans state, should either marrie, or else vow chastitie. This also was seuerie enough; for who maie require this of that age, being vnfaisfull of things, and ignorant of hir owne strength? But this I speake, to the intent it maie be knowen, that there be decrees contrarie vnto decrees.

But to returne to the matter, I saie, that Hanna might vow for hir sonne; for as touching the performing of the vow, she might easilie provide, that so long as he should be brought up by his parents, he should not binke anie wine, nor cut off his haire, nor be at anie funerals. But after he came to lawfull age, it was Samuels owne part to obserue these things: indeed, not in respect of the vow, but because of the obedience which he ought vnto his parents. For children ought to obiey their parents, in all those things, which are not against pietie, and the word of God. So the Redubites (as it is in Ieremie) when they obeyed their father Ionadab, who commanded them to binke no wine all their life time, nor to dwell in cities; for the same cause were commended of God. Holbeit, Hanna, in leile she had had a peculiar inspirati on from God, could not haue vowed, that Samu el should all his life time minister at the taber nacle of the Lord: forsooth as the laue of God discharged men from the ministrie, after a certaine space of yeares; namely, in the fiftie yeare. But whereas I saie, that it was lawfull for Hanna to vow the vow of a Nazarite, for hir sonne; it seemeth not to stand with the definiti on of a vow, which is thus brought by the spawler of the sentences: A vow is a testification of a willing promise made vnto God, touching things appertaining vnto God. But a vow, which is vowed by the parents, for the sonne, can not seeme willing. For sooth; it is willing, because the parents vow not by compulsion, but of their owne accord; especially, when they command no vngodlike thing, or contrarie to the word of God.

12 Some do gather by the historie of the Iudges, that Samson was sanctified in his mothers wombe; the verie which thing also is belaued, both touching Ieremie, & also Iohn Baptist: and they will haue him so to be sanctified, as he after

ward committed no bradlie sinne (as they call it.) But this is false, and vaine: neither is, sanctific in this place anie other thing, than to appoint one to the execution of some certaine worke. Samson therefore was sanctified, that is, appointed of God to deliuer his people. So was Ieremie ordained to prophesie, and Iohn to be a voice of a crier in the wilderness. Neither is it brought to passe, by this kind of iustificati on, that these men neuer sinne; for, Euerie man that is a heretick, and (saith Salomon) There is no man that sinneeth not. Further, what shall we saie of Samson? Did he neuer sinne? Was surely he fell, and that grieuoulie. Paul also, who vnto the Galathians faith, that he was separated from his mothers wombe, and yet did he persecute the church of God. Otherwise the children also of the christians are faine to be holie; forso much as God is not onelie our God, but also the God of our seed: according to that which Paul becometh the Countinians; Your children shall be holie; and yet nevertheless no man can doubt, but that they afterward fall, and grieuoulie sinne.

13 One thing remaineth to be spoken of: When the father voweth, and the sonne desireth to performe the vow of his father; what if the vow should be against the health of the sonne? Perhaps he shall fall into some sicknes, & that it behooveth him to binke wine, or cut off his haire; what is to be done in this case? I haue else where declared, that the precepts of God are of diuers degrees; so that some be greater, and some of leile weight. As touching God, that is the commander, all are equal and like one to another; but as concerning the things, which are commanded, there is some difference. Wherefore the leile precept must giue place to the greater; for which cause Christ said out of the wordes of the prophet; I will haue mercie not sacrifice. For as though God vnterly contemned sacrificies, which he had commanded; but because he respecteth more esteemed mercie. And Christ also of the Colof of Marthew, the 5. chapter admonisheth; that if thou offerst gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath somethings against thee, thou must go first and reconcile thy selfe vnto thy brother, and then returne and offer thy gift. Whereby he declaredly, that he will altogether haue the leile precept giue place to the greater.

So that we must thus answer vnto the questi on; God commandeth the Nazarites to abstene from wine, he also commandeth euery man to defend his life by good means. Here, then as the sick man cannot hope both the precepts; it is most that he preferre the greater, before the leile. Thus also did the Redubites, the sonnes of Ionadab befree themselves. For although there

1. Ier. 1. 17.

1. Ier. 1. 17.

Rom. 3. 23.

1. Kim. 8. 46.

1. Iudg. 1. 14.

1. Gal. 3. 23.

1. Gal. 3. 23.

1. Cor. 7. 14.

1. Matt. 9. 13.

1. Oie. 6. 6.

1. 1. Iudg. 1. 14.

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Ier. 35.

father commanded them, that they should not dwell in cities, neither dwelt anie alone; and were also commanded by God, because they obeyed the precepts of their father: yet at the very same time that Ieremie byate these things of them, they dwelt at Jerusalem, contrary to the commandment of their father. For the Chaldeans had wasted all their lands; therefore they perced, that there was then no place left for their fathers commandment. But in opposition it is contrary: for if the father be sicke, the some is to bound by religion, that he may not in anie wise helpe him.

*Of the vow of Iephtha, in the 11. of Judges, verse. 34.*

whether Iephtha in burning himself.

14 Here may a man alke the question; whether Iephtha sinned, in burning, and in performing his vow: The question is hard, because it pertaineth not unto the right, but unto the fact. We knowe, that in those daies it was lawful to vow; but what is to be thought of this act, nothing can be gathered by the words. It may be, that he so vowed by the inspiration of God, which being a particular example, it ought not to be extended to imitation: as of this kind there be verie many in the holie scriptures. Some there be which affirm, that Iephtha did not offer his daughter in berie dead, but onlie punished her with ciuill death; namely, in separating her from the common conuersation, so that she lived onlie vnto God, by giuing her selfe to prayers onlie, and by lining apart from the companie of men. And they seeme to affirme that was the vow Cherem: howbeit no such as that by the maiden should be bound to be killed; but that the should live as dedicated vnto God, and continually giue her selfe to his seruice. And euen as such as house dedicated by the vow Cherem, could not be reuoked to the first owner: so (saie they) this maiden being once dedicated vnto the Lord, could not returne vnto her old state.

The vow Cherem.

David Kimhi, in defending of this sentence, bringeth these reasons. First he weigheth the words of Iephtha: Wherefore cometh forth of my house, shall be the Lords, and I will offer it for a burnt offering. This letter *an*, being a continuation copulative, (as we see in our commentarie) he thinks doth make a proposition alternative: as if it should haue bene said; *3* it be such a thing, as may be sacrificed, it shall be sacrificed; but if it be otherwise, I shall be the Lords, and be dedicated vnto him. Further he saith, that the maiden desired space to beuail her soule or life. Therefore it seemeth, that she wanted onlie this; to wit, that the should want

a husband and children: but if she should haue bene offered vp, it beuailed her chaste to lament for her life. Lastly, he saith, that the words of the boye declare it: for it is not said, that Iephtha sacrificed her; but that he did as he vowed. *3* If he had killed her, it would haue bene written; And he offered her a burnt offering to the Lord.

Of the same opinion is Rabbi Leui Ben-Gerson: and he addeh, that it is written in the Rabbi Leui Ben-Gerson. And the knew no man. As though it should be understood hereby, what kind of sacrifice that was. And he thinketh, that Iephtha builded a house for her, where she should live alone: and he permitted her fellow virgins once a yeare to go and visit her, and to beuail her virginity to gather with her. And afterward he addeh, that a man so dedicated, ought not to liue without a wife; because the man were bound vnto the wife. Samuel, although he were bound vnto the Lord by the decree of his mother; yet had he a wife and children. But a woman being so dedicated, might not marrie; because it was necessarie that the should serue her husband, who remaining anie wither, she was to go together with him. And therefore it is written, that Iephtha did to hir according to his vow; & the knew no man.

15 Of the same mind is Lyranus: and there be among the new writers some of great learning, which followe this interpretation. But Lyranus pondereth these words; And the spirit of the Lord came vpon him: and saith, that that spirit would not haue suffered Iephtha, to haue committed this murder. Besides, he saith, that it is written, that there were two monthes space giuen, so that he might aske counsell of the priests. And it is not verie likelie, but that he asked counsell of so weightie a matter; or else that they told him that he might redeeme his vow. Neither it is probable, that this Iephtha appointed to doe anie thing rashly; seeing the epistle to the hebreues calleth him holie. If thou wilt saie, he did vnto her, as he had vowed, but he vowed a sacrifice, and to offer whatsoeuer met him: they will answer; he vowed indeed, but vpon this condition; so that it were lawful. *3* When his daughter met him, either he learned, or else he understood that it was not lawful. Therefore if he had killed her, he had not accomplished his vow, but should haue dishonoured himselfe. But on the contrary part it seemeth wonderfull, that he was so abused, and he tare his garments. If the maiden should not haue bene offered vp, further, to what end should the virgins haue lamented here? For if she should not haue bene daine, there seemed to be no cause of mourning.ouer this, if her virginity was to be offered vnto God, it should haue bene giuen with a willing mind.

And, and in the rendering of votes, this is chaste

whether must he chaste be offered up, or no.

Deut. 17. Exod. 23. 25

Ier. 37.

Gen. 22.

Iosaphat. Chrysol.

Ierom.

chaste to be regarded: that they must be paid chaste, and with a willing mind. Whereunto Iephtha had no example in the scriptures, where by it should be lawful for the father to bind his daughter by a vow, to keepe her virginity: but contrariwise, God promisseth abundance of children vnto the offerers of the laue, in the seventh of Deuteronomie, and 22. of Exodus. So then, that which God promisseth in thee of a great benefit, the same might not be hindered by a vow. Moreover, the arguments of the Rabbins are slender and weak; as afterward shall be more abundantly declared. Paule writeth in his first epistle to the Corinthians, the seventh chapter; If the father shall firmly determine in his hart, hauing power ouer his owne will, to keepe his virgine vnmarrid, he dooth well, &c. Therefore writeth he; Hauing power ouer his owne will: If the maiden her selfe will, the father may keepe her vnmarrid; so that the consent. But Iephtha knew nothing of his daughters will, when he vowed: and then he ought not to thinke his vow to be ratified, when his daughter came out to meet him. And if this kind of vow should not be firme in the new testament, much lesse was it of value in the old testament; where the vow of virginity was not knowen. But of this matter I haue spoken more in my booke of votes.

16 There were others which thought, that Iephtha did in berie dead offer the maiden, which in those daies should not seeme so new and unaccommoded a thing; for God required of Abraham that he should offer his sonne. And such a vow was thought of manie to be acceptable vnto God; and that opinion also did passe vnto the Church: wherefore this sentence is often times spoken.

*Sanguine placidus ventos, & virgine casta, that is, With blood, and with a virgine peace, The winds ye haue appeas'd certaine.*

There are twooks of poets, which make mention of Polyxena and Iphigenia; and also histories of the Curti and the Decii. And vnboughtlie with this exposition agreeth the Chaldean paraphrast, which among the hebreues is almost of the same estimation and authority that the holie scriptures be. And that paraphrast saith, that the maiden was sacrificed; and reponeth Iephtha, because he asked not counsell of the high priest. And hereto doe all the ancient Rabbins agree, which alowd blame the high priest; because he of his owne accord went vnto Iephtha. Iosephus also is of their opinion. Allo Chrysostome writeth manie things of this matter, but altogether farre from the historie: he followeth allegories, so that there can be in a manner no certaintie gathered out of him. But Ierom disagreeth with himselfe: in his epistle to Iulia

nus, he saith, that Iephtha was numbered among the saints; because he offered his daughter. But in his first booke against Iovinian, he writeth, according to the mind of the hebreues; that because he made an euill vow, he by the gift of God perced, that he did amisse in killing of his daughter. For there might haue met him either a dog, or an asse, which to haue offered had bene vngodlike: and thus in one place he praeth that, which in another place he dispraiseth.

17 Ambrose saith, in his third booke *De virginitate*; that the maid was in berie dead offered in sacrifice: and he writeth, that Iephtha vowed not before the battell, but in the fight, and in the very time of conflict, when the successe was doubtful. And he addeh; I do not allow the murder, but I see a commendable feare, that he would not violate the promise, which he had made. And he saith moreover, that this act is to be compared with the toght of Abraham: for when Abraham was about to kill his sonne, the Lord cried out vnto him; Now I knowe thou art charituous louest me. And he concludeth, that after the same manner Iephtha may be praised; because he did the deed by his example, that the oracle of God, wherein he commanded that votes should be performed, was to be preferred before children; yea, although it were his onlie begotten child that should suffer. But he demandeth, whether God haue a respect to persons; seeing he let Abraham from offering of his sonne, but hindered not Iephtha: Whereby that God accepteth persons; but saith, that it was necessarie he should declare vnto Abraham, that he belighted not in humane sacrifices. Afterward folloved the laue, which in Deuteronomie, and 12. of Exodus, forbiddeth the offering vp of children. So then, the will of God was already declared, both in Abraham, and in the laue also: wherefore there needed no new oracle, or new prohibition, further. he noted, that in Iephtha there was no such perfection, as was in Abraham: for Abraham kept not, rare not his garments, declared not the face of two monthes; but stratibale went, and Isaac folloved him. It is no marvell then (saie they) if God prohibited not Iephtha; for much as he would punish his trifling offit.

And in his third booke *De officiis*, the twelfth chapter, he writeth; I will neuer be persuaded, but that Iephtha vowed vnboughtlie: seeing he afterward repented. And he addeh, that he intended aloweth not the fact: but he saith, that in a godlie feare he fulfilled his vow; howbeit, in such sort, as he appointed his posterity to laiment it. The saith further; I cannot accorde the man, because it was necessarie for him to paie ment, that which he had vowed. But it is a miserable that which he did (which is paid to the more necesse) (saie they) which is paid to the more thing,

Ambrose.

Ibidem. 17

Deut. 12. 21

A. D. 11.

thing, which he will not have to whom they ob-  
scure it. And ſtraightwaie he ſaith: All promiſes are  
not to be kept: for God himſelf hath ſometimes  
altered his will. By which words he alloweth  
unto the place which is written in the 4. chapter  
of Moſes. Wherefore Ambroſe is altogether of  
that mind, to thinke, that the maiden was offer-  
ed, and for that cauſe (as I have ſaid) preferreth  
her before the two Pythagoreans. And after he  
ſaith in his exhortation unto virgins. She paid  
with hir blood the unblooied vow of hir father.  
And upon the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, the  
15. chapter, he ſaith: In a thing which could not  
be acceptable, he was found faithfull, offering his  
daughter as he had ſollicitly vowed. And a-  
gaine, The act is not to be allowed, but the per-  
formance of faith is brought forth for an example.

18 But theſe words of Ambroſe muſt not be  
lightlie be paſſed over: for they cannot abſolute-  
ly be allowed, and as he hath ſpoken them; how-  
beit I have brought them, to ſhew his opinion  
to be, that the maid was offered out of all doubt.  
But in his words this I ſhall note. That he affir-  
meth a certaine goodlie fate to be in Iſaiah,  
whereby he was led to performe his vow: fur-  
ther, that children were not to be preferred before  
religion: that Iſaiah was found faith-  
full in that thing which could not be acceptable  
to God: laſtly, that his perſeuerance of faith is  
ſet forth for an example to followe. As touching  
the firſt, I knowe not how that may ſeeme to be  
a goodlie fate, which ſaitheth a man to be killing  
of his owne child. For he calleth it three or four  
times murder. In dede there be certaine affec-  
tions ingrafted in vs by God, yet unto vir-  
tues and to well doing. A ſcare to begeth ſinne,  
an anger that we make puniſh wickednes, is a  
ſong. Wherefore ſcare, when it is applied to be-  
come, may be called goodlie; but if ſerue for vice,  
it cannot ſeeme goodlie; naie rather, it hath a cer-  
taine manner of vngoodlines. Wherefore the in-  
deuour of idolaters might be praieſed; for we ſee  
them labour carnellie about the wooinghipping of  
God: but becauſe they applye not themſelves to  
the ſincere wooinghipping of God, their indeuor  
cannot be called goodlie. So, when that fear of  
Iſaiah ſaith him to commit murder, how could  
it be goodlie? For thou wilt ſaie, that by pericide  
or murder he meaneth not the ſinne or the wick-  
ed act, but the ſacrificing of his daughter: I  
will anſwer, why he ſaith that he alloweth not of the  
act: vngoodlie, if he cannot allow it, then he  
perceiuech that ſinne is therein.

But in that he ſaith, that the loue of children is  
leſſe to be eſteemed than religion: that is true:  
but that was no religion, but a ſaſily, vngod-  
ly, and raſhy vow. Neither is the loue of chil-  
dren leſſe to be eſteemed, than ſuch vowes. And

lie he ſaith, that he was found faithfull: but what  
ſhall ſeeme there in that, which could not be ac-  
ceptable unto God? For ſeruant ſhould be ſaid  
that which I ſayd him, may be therein ſeeme faith-  
full: But in that he calleth the immutable mind  
of Iſaiah, conſcience; in my iudgement he er-  
reth: ſeing the ſame was rather a confidence,  
whereby he would needs performe that which he  
had vngodlie vowed; neither can perſeuerance  
in a ſinne euill thing be called confidence.  
He attributeth unto him a ſcare, which alſo  
calleth a goodlie ſcare: yet afterward he ſaith,  
that he repented him. If he repented him, he did  
againſt his owne conſcience; and againſt it no  
man ought to doe; For whatſoeuer is not of faith,  
is ſinne. Further, if he repented, why did he not  
amend his fault: For if a ſinne thing had bene  
raſhly done, that ought to haue bene amended.  
If God (as he ſaith) doe ſometimes change his  
purpoſe, why then is it not lawfull for vs to  
change our opinion that is not right. Afterward  
he ſaith, he cannot but commend Iſaiah. But  
what will he ſay: An vncircumciſed vow?  
But that ought rather to be blamed. Will he  
praiſe the performance of the vow? But that  
he calleth pericide, neither may it be praiſed.  
Wherefore I ſaie, that Ambroſe affirmeth, that  
the maiden was vngodlie offered in ſacrifice:  
and yet are not all his words to be allowed.

19 So ſo he heare that Auguſtine opin-  
ion is touching this matter. In his 29. queſtion  
vpon the booke of Judges, he ſaith: that out  
of this place the enemies of the old teſtament  
take occaſion to ſlander God the creator of the  
world: for they call him both an euill and a  
cruell God. Such were the Manichees, Valen-  
tians, Marcionites, and ſuch like peſtilent rable;  
ſeing: laſt he ſaith he delighted in the blood of  
man, how can he be but cruell? Auguſtine an-  
ſwereth; So far is it off, that God reſeaſh in  
the blood of man, as he reſeaſh not in the blood  
of beaſts: onlie he ſuffered for a time, that ſacri-  
fices of beaſts ſhould be offered, to the in-  
tent he might inſtruct men by little and little.  
But what the ſacrifices of the ſoyl-fathers ſigne  
ſied, which might ſerue for their inſtruction; I  
declarely not in that place: howbeit, I will  
ſhew the ſame in ſeu ſayds. Firſt, there was  
ſet forth in thoſe ſacrifices, that the reward  
of ſinne is death: and that did he after a ſort ſer-  
uile, which brought the ſacrifice; namely, that  
he had deſerued to be killed, but that by the goodnes  
of God his death was transferred to the ſacri-  
fice. By this means were the elder fathers in-  
ſtructed to be aware of ſinne. Afterward, thoſe ſac-  
rifices directed the minds of men vnto Chriſt;  
and they were certaine viſible preachings of  
him: and they taught, that Chriſt ſhould be the  
ſacrifice, that was to take away the ſinnes of the  
world;

world; and vnto which our death and damnati-  
on ſhould be transferred.

So then God of himſelfe delighted not in  
blood, but by this ſchool he taught his people:  
yea, and if he had bene delighted in ſacrifices,  
he might haue required to haue them leued of  
men. For what ſhould haue letted him; or what  
might haue beene done vnto vs, if he would  
haue had ſacrifices of men offered vnto him?  
For at one time or other, man muſt of neceſſitie  
die: therefore it had bene no grieuous  
thing to haue presented him for a year or two;  
neither ſhould he haue done a ſinne inuirtue  
unto vs, ſpeciallie he vnderſtanding that he ſhould  
liue vnto him for euer. Vngodlie in this  
thing no man might accuſe God of crueltie.

But now, ſeing he hath remoued all theſe ſa-  
crifices, he manifeſtly teacheth; that he deſtyneth  
to reſt, neither in the blood of men, nor yet in  
the blood of beaſts. Vpon the firſt booke of men, when  
they were bound vnto him, he would not haue  
them ſacrificed, but redeemed with a price; which  
he would not haue done, if he had taken a  
pleaſure in blood. In the 12. chapter of Deute-  
ronome, he ſaith: The nation which I will di-  
uide before thee, do ſacrifice their ſonnes and  
daughters, but ſee that thou doo not. But  
Auguſtine demandeth further; Whether there  
be a ſinne laughter of men, that is acceptable vnto  
God? He anſwereth that there is. But what  
laughter? When men (ſaith he) are killed for  
right conſcience ſake: not that the death of mar-  
tyrs is of it ſelf pleaſant God, but becauſe that god-  
lineſſe and faith towards God is both declared  
and alſo preferred thereby. And the death of  
Chriſt is pleaſant God, that it redeemed the whole  
world.

And the death of Chriſtians, which they ſuffer  
for the name of Chriſt, may after a ſort be called  
a ſacrifice. Therefore Paule, in the ſecond to  
Timothee, the laſt chapter ſaith: Iſaiah ſaith  
of himſelf, I am ſacrificed, &c. That is, I  
ſuffered he calleth his death an immolation or of  
ferre ſacrifice. And in the ſecond chapter to the  
Philippians, *ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῷ*  
*ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀνδρῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀνδρὶ*, that is, If I  
be now offered vpon the ſacrifice and ſeruire  
of your faith, And yet ſuch ſacrifices make not  
ſatisfaction for ſinnes: for that both the death of  
Chriſt onlie. But the death of martyrs pleaſeth  
God becauſe the cauſe is acceptable. Auguſtine  
was baptiſed of Ambroſe; and being wounded  
laſt affected vnto him, he followeth (where he  
maie) the opinion of him, as of his teacher:  
freely, but ſometimes more warrely. In dede he  
compareth Iſaiah with Abraham; but he putteth  
a difference, which Ambroſe noted not. Abraham  
(ſaith he) had the word of God to warrant him  
for the ſacrifice of his ſonne; ſo had not Iſaiah:

naie rather, he had the lawe againſt him, that  
he ſhould not ſacrifice him. And in Abraham it  
was not the laughter that pleaſed God, but the  
faith. Further, there is a great difference; for a  
man to doe a ſinne of himſelfe, and to haue a  
will to doe thoſe things which he commanded  
him. And Auguſtine ſaith vnderſtandeth, that  
Iſaiah loved an humane ſacrifice, not being  
beguiled, but willinglie. Whatſoeuer (ſaith  
he) ſhall come forth of your houſe, I will offer it  
for a burnt offering, &c. Doe we thinke that  
beaſts would come forth to meet him, as he  
ſhould returne home? After in dede he ſe to go out  
and meet with ſuch as haue the victorie, and to  
reioiſe with them: therefore he vowed an hu-  
mane ſacrifice.

20 The ſcripture ſaith onlie make menti-  
on of this act, but paſſeth not the ſame. Cuen  
as alſo it is mentioned in the ſcriptures, that  
Iudas did lie with his daughter inlaw; howbeit  
that is not allowed. So there can nothing be ga-  
thered by theſe words, where the ad of Iſaiah  
ſhould be praieſed. Further, Auguſtine thinke  
that Iſaiah, that God would puniſh the rath-  
neſſe of the fathers, vnto, by the death of his  
daughter. But there be two places (ſaith he) that  
let me from the blaming of Iſaiah. One is, that  
in the epiſtle to the Hebrewes, he is numbered  
among the ſaints: and it is written, that The  
ſpirit of the Lord was vpon him. Howbeit, yet  
thoſe holie men which are reckoned in the epiſtle  
to the Hebrewes, neuer ſinne: For vngodlie, their  
finnes are ſet forth in the holie ſcripture.  
Gedeon, who is among that number, a little be-  
fore his death made an Ephod, which was the de-  
ſtruction both of himſelfe, and alſo of his houſe.

The ſecond place is; The ſpirit of the Lord came  
vpon him: yet this letteth nothing, but that he  
might afterward fall. But thou wilt ſaie, that  
Iſaiah had the victorie: but with Gedeon there  
deed nothing well after that act. And, Ge-  
deon (ſaith he) did before after a ſort tempt God,  
and yet he had the victorie. On this wiſe ſaith  
Auguſtine. But I would ſaie otherwiſe: for I  
agree not with Auguſtine, to thinke that Gedeon  
tempted God.

So then I would anſwer after this maner:  
David committed adulterie, and ſtraightwaie af-  
terward obtained the victorie, and take the ci-  
tie Rabſath Ammon in the ſiege whereof the cauſe  
was to be ſlaine. Saul perſecuted David: I  
in the meane time there were meſſengers ſent  
to him from the Philiftines; he leauing David,  
went to the warre, and obtained the victorie.  
Moſes ſmied at the waters of ſtrife. The people  
alſo had ſinned many waies, and yet they ob-  
tained the victorie againſt Sihon and Og, being  
moſt mightie kings. Therefore we will grant,  
that Iſaiah was numbered among the ſaints,





rit of strength, and of warlike knowledge. Neither can all, that Lepta afterward did, be said to have come from the same spirit. Spoucouer (saith Lyranus) there was two months space betwixt, wherein he asked counsel of the priests: and they gave him counsel to keep his daughter a virgin. But the ancient Jews rather affirmed, that he was so stubborn, as he would not also counsel of the priests: and for that cause he is blamed by the Chaldean paraphrast. Neither is it any new thing, that men sometimes sinne, because they thinke that they have no need of counsell: and that both most commonlie happen unto princes. For they have a haughty minde, and loftie stomach: and therefore thinke that they have counsell enough. But he is numbered among the saints. To this both Augustine answer also, that others were in like manner numbered among the saints: the which nevertheless did sinne grievously. As likewise he saith; 3 he had sacrificed his daughter, he should not have sinned, but he had broken his vow. Thus 3 he grant: and it is no marvell that he erred, seeing he was a man, and might fall. And thus far of the vow of Lepta.

Of the Rechabites.

25 Who the Rechabites were, and of what stocke, lineage, and kindred; it may be perceived out of the second booke of the Chronicles, the second chapter: where we find, that they were Ciniui, that is, out of the posteritie of Iethro, the father in lawe unto Moles. First, they were called Ciniui; afterward of the famous man Rechab, they were called Rechabites. And as it is written in the 35. chapter of Ieremie; This Ionadab instructed his children in certaine excellent precepts; first, he commanded them that they should drinke no wine; Secondly, that they should not till the come fields and vineyards; Thirdly, that they should not dwell in cities; but that they should in chariots wander about the forests and pastures, and should perpetually be in chariots in stead of houses. Moles instructed the Ciniui, that they would go with him, and that they would shew him the waye though that desert: and he promised, that he would bestow upon them that of god which the Hebrews themselves should have at their coming into the land of Chanaan. Wholbeit, it appeareth hereby, that they would not make claime to any part of that inheritance; but that they wandered about through pastures, forests, and grones: which thing the children of Israel permitted them to do, seeing they were allied unto them.

But so long as Ionadab was a man both wise and goodlie, let us be therefore he gave this

charge to his posteritie, according as we read in the 35. chapter of Ieremie. Which we commend not these things unto them, to the intent they should be instructed by them; but because they might serve them for a certaine outward discipline. Of the which ordinance, although many causes might be alledged; yet will 3 bring one lie this. The first is, the opinion of the Hebrew writers, who thinke; that this Ionadabs mind was to provide an easie and commodious living for his posteritie. Which thing David Kimhi expounded on this wise: They which possesse (saith he) vineyards, or fields, and have also houses planted in places certaine, must of necessity enter into sundrie calamities. For the peevish profits, as well of fruits, as of wine, do sometimes prosper into wretchedness; or else otherwise are altogether taken away: by means whereof, husbandmen being deceived of their hope, are afflicted with hunger, and live in sharpe penurie. Sometimes also the aire is corrupted, or the husbandmen are ill intreated by the robberies of their neighbours. These evils may this people easilie eschew, by ranging to and fro in their chariots, thither soever they will. For by this means they avoid the evils, which are imminent and followe after god things, where soever they be: which they cannot do that have their habitations fixed into vineyards, sowne fields, and into houses which be certaine.

And for this cause they saie, that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob embraced this kind of life. And in deed we read, that the 3, when they were oppressed with famine in some place; did repaire unto better and more fertile places. Sometimes they went downe unto Egypt, sometimes to Gerar, that they might there be fed and sustained, when the famine else where worsed great. Furthermore, that same trade of keeping cattell had continued among the Rechabites, as ween from their old ancestors. For Iethro the father in lawe of Moles, had herds and flocks of cattell; and he sent his daughters to feed them, and to keepe them: wherefore they would not be content, generate from their ancestors. And moreover, we are not ignorant, that they which inhabit cities, do become tender and effeminate: but they which live in the countrie, be (for the most part) strong and lustie: whereby it cometh to passe, that in the mustering of soldiers, the greatest part is appointed out of shepherds and husbandmen; but soldiers are seldom taken from among the artificers and meanest people of the citie. Wherefore Ionadabs mind was, that among his posteritie should be kept in sound state, the strength and courage of the bovie.

He in like manner forbade them to drinke wine, the superfluous life thereof would hurt the bovie,

Why some have charged his charge to his children.

The call. mites of husbandmen.

As people of another changing their habitation with the feeding of their cattell.

Gen. 12. 1. and 22. 1.

As Ieremie says that we should be content with our calling. Citizens are familiar, and common among them.

The life of the Rechabites.

End. 12.

3

Hom.

A place of Desolation as weeding the weeds.

body, and the mind made voides: and therein (as the apostle werneth) is wantonness. Wherefore God commanded in the lawe, that the priests should drinke no wine, at what time they should enter into the temple to do holie service. Also it was a determination among the Nazarenes, that they would utterly foregoe the use thereof. And in so much as all these be things external, and indifferent; it becometh the children to obey their father: which must otherwise have bene, if he had commanded them any thing, which had bene against the word of God. For parents and princes must be obeyed; but yet, (according to the common power) *Vtque ad auras*, that is, so farre forth as it be not against conference, and true religion. When the father of the Rechabites had commanded these things, he added a promise, That your life may be long. Which may be referred, not onlie unto a continuous and easie life, (the which we have now declared out of the opinion of the Hebrews); but also unto the divine promise, which God thought good to ioine unto the commandment of obedience of children unto their parents. For so this is lone to be goodlie and holie.

Furthermore, there is brought in a double comparison: for God is compared with Ionadab the Rechabite; who notwithstanding that he be inferiour to God, yet were the commandments of God neglected, when as those things which Ionadab gave in charge, were better religiously observed. In like manner the Rechabites are compared with the 3 Jews: for they in kinred were Israelites, but these were Israelites and strangers associated; by whom nevertheless, not onlie the lawe of God was retained, but also the commandments of their father with great reverence observed. And if we shall make a reckoning of the time, this ordinance of the Rechabites induced will nere the space of 300. yeares: for in a manner so much space do we reckon betwixt the leue and Joachim the latter, or Zedekias the king of Iuda, in whose times Ieremie prophesied. But if thou shalt demand, where Ieremie found these men; seeing they led not their life in the citie: They themselves make answer, in the chapter now alledged; that by the host of Nabuchadnezzar (which besieged the citie, and destroyed all those parts with his armie) they were constrained to enter into the citie of Ierusalem: howbeit, they did not there either buye or build themselves a house, but they hired a lodging.

27 The last cause of these precepts may be given in manner of an allegorie: as if Ionadab would admonish his issue of the principall inducement, whereunto they should be bound, while they lived here; namely, of obtaining the heavenly habitation. Wherefore it is written in the epistle

when it appeareth by the building of Salomons temple, there were certaine by-places without the temple, wherein were the lodgings for the priests, which executed their office according to their course. And when Ieremie had bought them thither, he commanded that the cups and cruets full of wine should be set before them, and he intreated them to quinke: which they refused, affirming that it was not lawfull for them; because of the ordinance which their father made. But here Ieremie might have seemed to allure and provoke them to breake the commandment of their father: which if he had done of his own motion, he were not to be defended or excused; for so much as prophets are sent, not to be a snare but to set forth god and holie works. But what Ieremie did, he did not of his own mind and accord; but by the commandment of God, who right well knew, that the Rechabites would not drinke. So as the thing was borne on this wise, because the obedience of the Rechabites might open and by assured testimonies be approved; and that the pride of the Hebrews might be suppressed, who thought themselves alone to be goodlie and holie.

And if we shall make a reckoning of the time, this ordinance of the Rechabites induced will nere the space of 300. yeares: for in a manner so much space do we reckon betwixt the leue and Joachim the latter, or Zedekias the king of Iuda, in whose times Ieremie prophesied. But if thou shalt demand, where Ieremie found these men; seeing they led not their life in the citie: They themselves make answer, in the chapter now alledged; that by the host of Nabuchadnezzar (which besieged the citie, and destroyed all those parts with his armie) they were constrained to enter into the citie of Ierusalem: howbeit, they did not there either buye or build themselves a house, but they hired a lodging.

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1 Kings 1. 6.

Ieremie instructed the Rechabites to drinke wine.

A double comparison of god with Ionadab, and the Rechabites with the Jews.

How long the ordinance of the Rechabites endured.

3

to

Heb. 1. 13. that was  
wanting by the continu-  
all peregrination of the  
Rechabites.  
1. Cor. 5. 6.

to the Hebrews, the eleventh chapter; that the fathers of the old law wandered about, as strangers, and had no country made by men; but they sought the heavenly habitation, which was made by God. And Paul saith; While we live here, we are strangers from the Lord. We have here no permanent city, but we seek for one to come. These things be verie good causes, why Ionadab was persuaded to command such things unto his children. God witnessed by leecmie, that he would faithfully punish the Hebrews for their disobedience and contumace; but contrariwise, he comforted the Rechabites; because their obedience pleased him; There shall evermore (saith he) be some of their stocke before me. Whereby it appeareth, that they were not all blaine; or led a waile into captivitee. There be of the interpreters, which referre that word *Liphe-ne*, unto the worshipping of God, and unto the holie ministration. Wherewith this cannot be convenient for the Rechabites; because they were not of the tribe of Levie, nor yet of the familie of Aaron; name rather, they were strangers from Israel, and of the kindred of the Madianites.

But some will answer me; that, the priests and Levites, did oftentimes contrarie marriages with them; and therefore the children, which were begotten, and which did minister in the temple, were by the mothers side said to be Rechabites. But me thinketh that this exposition is not of necessity; because the Hebrew word is not alwaies referred unto the holie ministration; but they also are said to stand, and be conversant before the Lord, whom he favourith, whom he defendeth and maintaineth. This also I will not passe over, that Ieron, in his epistle to Paulinus, *De institutione monachi*, and else where writeth; that the Rechabites in old time were the fathers of Spaniards. This perhaps might be true, concerning those Spaniards which lived in the daies of Ieron; but if this Father might peradventure come againe, and see our Spaniards, he would pronounce them to be far unlike to those Rechabites. For they bled to drinke no wine; but these Spaniards of ours be lustie drinkers; neither doe they desire to have their wine overlaid, but they count that which is the strongest, & most excellent. They possessed no houses; but these build a wile such houses, as may suffice to be compared to kings palaces. They possessed excellent vineyards, and most fruitful fields; yea, and to conclude, they inhabit (I will not faile over-run) cities. Therefore, what have they as the Rechabites had? Doubtles, nothing at all. But letting these things passe, I thinke good to admonish the reader, that among the Greeks there is extant this title of the 70. Psalm; For the children of the Rechabites, which were the first fruits of the land, captivitee. For this is not in the Hebrew; and

from whence the Greeks derive it, I know not; yet do I thinke, that the Rechabites were therefore called the first fruits of the captivites; because while they wandered through the plains and fields, it is likelie that they were the first, which were taken, and afflicted by the beast of the Chaldaeans.

But here ariseth a great doubt, whether Ionadab did well, thus to bind his posteritie to precepts, and to charge them with heane commandments. Certainlie, wine, lands, houses, cities, and vineyards, be good things; the which God hath made for the use of man; why then should he have his posteritie to abstaine altogether from them; especiallie, seeing to great severitie is sometimes repugnant unto charitie. Also, there may happen a weakness of health, and such an infirmite of the bodie, that wine must be used; even as Paul counselled his Timothy, hereunto I answer, that the causes, as I shewed before, which led this man to institute such things, were honest; but yet this he must allow, that the observance hereof was not commanded by him with such severitie, that there could be no exception therein. For notwithstanding the precepts of men, but those also, which God himselfe hath made, must be seasoned and tempered by the lawe of charitie, according to the rule appointed by God; I will have mercie, and not sacrifice. Undoubtedly, he commanded sacrifices; but yet, if at any time they were a hinderance of shewing mercie unto our neighbors, they were to be laid aside for a time and season. So then the precepts of Ionadab were to be understood, that they should not bind his children, if by chance anye necessitie had vigor; which necessitie (as it is commonlie said) is the mother of dispensations, or relaxations.

For this cause are the Charter-house Spaniards to be blamed, who for stricte proofes of abstinence from flesh, as if one should be at the point of death, they would not minister the same unto him. Wherefore, when anye Rechabite had need of wine, in respect of his health, he might use the same, notwithstanding the commandment of Ionadab; even as now also, because they were compelled by necessity, they went into the cite of Ierusalem, and were not accused of disobedience. Yea, and God testifieth with them on this manner; Because ye have obeyed the voice of your father, and have fulfilled all things that he commanded you, &c. He saith, that they sinned all things, when as now nevertheless they were abiding in the cite. Besides this, Ionadab did not to command, as though he thought these things in their owne nature to be unlesse, the use of which he forbade unto his posteritie. This was the penitence of the Manichees, which thought, that wine, flesh, and other like things were

whether Ionadab did well to bind his po-  
steritie to these things  
or no.

1. Tim. 5. 23.

Col. 3.

the first  
fruits of the  
land.

1. Cor. 5. 6.

Gen. 22. 3.

the first  
fruits of the  
land.

were unlesse: as those that were created by some call god. So did not Ionadab thinke, but forbade them to his posteritie, for the causes now alleged. Furthermore, the Rechabites were not bound by vow to performe them; but they once abstained, because they would obey their father.

And because the commandment, whereby wine was forbidden, might seme at the first to be somewhat stric; therefore it must be considered, that the condition of all countries and regions is not all one. For to refrain altogether from wine in this climat of ours, it would be a great discomfort; for the most part of men; neither might it be abidden. But it is not so in Syria, or Palestine, where men are troubled with great heate; and the waters there are verie excellent; and are not unpollutable to be drinke; for which cause, both there are and may be in that place men in great number abstaining from wine. And that thus it is, the lawe of God concerning the Nazarites, convinceth it: the which lawe utterly forbade them the use of wine, all the time wherein they were bound by their vow. And we are not to be lesse, that God would beale so hardlie with his Nazarites, to charge them with things intolerable. So then, seeing the precept might be unborne, upon a cause of necessity; and that it was no difficult thing to be observed in those regions; Ionadab in making of such a precept, is to be borne withall. Whereunto may be added, that such a precept was verie convenient for them; for they were wandering people, and ran about in chariots, together with their herds of cattell, using milke for their meate, and waile in steed of drinke. So then he commanded them nothing, but that they were accustomed unto; and yet nevertheless, in so strict a discipline, he forbade them not to marrie. But contrariwise, the Spaniards do abundantly enioie all pleasures, and thinke that they have performed all goodlines, if they abstaine from marriages.

But we ought to remember with our selves the verie good cause of peregrination of these men: for all god men traell not into strange countries for one and the selfe-same purpose. Some there be, which oftentimes leave their countrie; because they may not worship God there, after the sincere and lawfull kind of worshipping; yea, they are grievously troubled, if they endeavour themselves thereunto. So Abraham was called out of his land, and from his kindred, least he should still have proceeded in contaminating himselfe with his fathers in idolatrie. And so was it of Chus; that if they have persecuted vs in one cite, let vs live into another. But there be others, which although they be not hindered at home from true

goodlines; yet will they visit those places, where in they thinke to attaine more profit, and be more instructed in things divine and necessarie for salvation. For which cause Plato is commended, because he trauelled to the Aegyptians; peregrination com-  
mendat.  
Grecia; he went also into divers nations, as though he had followed busidene fleeing from him. So likewise is the Quene of Saba commended in the holie scriptures, which traavelled from so farre countries to hear Salomon. After this manner the Kenites in the first of Judges, followed the people of Israel: for although at home they knew and worshipped one God, whose piety also their father was; yet nevertheless they desired to be still more instructed, and more absolutely to receive the lawes, the ordinances and worship of God.

They also are verie much to be commended, that traell into strange countries, onlie for the intent to profit others; as to deliver them from the miseries, wherewith they be oppressed. After which sort the Poets have reported that Hercules traavelled through the world, that by his force he might subdue wicked and cruel men, which miserable afflicted mankind. Neither did the Apostles for anye other purpose traell throughout the world, but to deliver men from the power of the devil; and by the preaching of the Gospel, to lase them from the chains of errors. Christ also for the selfe-same cause, would traell and tourne among men, that by his doctrine & death, he might deliver mankind from eternal destruction. So as the Kenites may be numbered among these, for they also joined themselves in the societie of the Israelites, to help them through the desert: for they having good knowledge of those places, might be a great helpe unto the Jews. These counsels are plainlie iudged to be god and honest, for whose cause traellings, which are toilinglike taken in hand, are honest and praise-worthy. There may be other causes also of traelling, which as they are not allowable to be used; so are they nothing comparable to these, either in pain, or in toilingness. Wherefore, let godlie men, when they traell into other countries, have regard (as much as is possible) unto these causes, which I have now mentioned. And as God appointed not these Kenites of the fruit which they crept, but made them partakers (and that plentifullie) of his people; even so, seeing he is now the same God, which he was then; we must believe, that he will not suffer himselfe to depart from his accustomed manner, and perpetual goodnes; so that we observe the iust causes and reasons, that should move us to traell abroad.

1. Kings 10. 2.

Hercules.

Iere. 35. 19.

whether the Rechabites had the office of the priest-hood, and how they were said to stand before the Lord.

A comparison between the Rechabites and Spaniards.

Psalm 78. An interpretation of the 70. Psalm.

Seneca.  
what is be-  
haviour vs  
to take heed  
of in peres-  
grinationem.

10 But in that matter we haue neede to be  
uerie warie and circumspect; namely, that (as  
Seneca in his 150. epistle to Lucillus, verie well  
admonished) we trauell from our felues: that  
is, that we late aboue our towked affections, be-  
cause changing of places doth little profit, if we  
carie about with vs the same affections which we  
had before. yea, and it maketh much of all to the  
renewing of goodlines, that we should be stran-  
gers to our owne felues: for what profit had  
come vnto the Kenites, by the good lawes, honest  
manners, and pure religion, which the Idume-  
ites professed; if they would haue had their owne  
with them, and haue abidden in the same, where-  
in they were conuersant before? So then, they  
which do trauell into other countries for studie  
a goodnesse faith, ought not to determine with  
themselues, to beholde cities, buildings, tuers,  
fichels, vineyards, woods, plaies, and manners of  
men: for all these things, although they some-  
what delight the beholders, (as children which ta-  
king pleasure in euery new and strange thing do  
maruell thereat) yet are they to little or small  
purpose at all.

The summe is, that about all other things  
they shoulde onlie to be bettered in goodnesse  
and learning. For if they shall but small re-  
gard this, they shall be rather idle than to wan-  
der, than to trauell. Let them not therefore re-  
tinue with them any longer those culmes, which  
they auoid: yea, and about all things let them  
wander far from the ignorance of God, from  
the unskillfulness of the holie scriptures, from  
corrupt affections, & from wicked and pernicious  
examples. This is the iust cause of trauell-  
ing which the Kenites, by their example do de-  
clare vnto vs. If the Lacedemonians had had a  
regard vnto this, they would not by their lawes  
haue forbidden traouling. But I perswade my  
selfe, that here to they had respect, that they noted  
it to come to passe for the most part, that their  
conuention by traouling abroad, learne of  
strangers, whom they go to see, not their bet-  
ters and wisest, but to suffer their vices and  
errors: and likewise being infected with ma-  
nie diseases, they returne into their countrey, where  
they beseech their citizens with a certaine pesti-  
lent contagion. Which certeinly no man doubt-  
eth to be a great vyle and discomfort to the  
common-weale. And yet we maie not therefore  
conclude, that all traoulinges are hurtfull: for  
there can be found no tye, no people, no anie  
publicke weale in the world, which hath not ma-  
nie things vnperfect, both in their manners, & in  
their landes, which may be amended and corrected  
by the sight and knowledge of others. Lycurgus,  
which made that lawe, professed much by travel-  
ling into strange countries. yea, and the De-  
cemuiri of the Romans, went themselves into

The Lacede-  
monians  
forbid y  
trauelling  
abroad.

The com-  
monitie  
that com-  
munes by pe-  
grinationem  
Lycurgus

The De-  
cemuiri

Greece, to the end they might knowe the lawes of the  
of that people: by means whereof, they did  
maruillously prouide for their owne common-  
weale.

## The seventh Chapter.

Of Marriage, and Sole life; especiallye of  
Ministers.

**I**t is now a thing too  
this to be noted, that ma-  
ried folkes are not despi-  
sed of God: for of them  
he hath chosen, some to  
be prophets, and some to  
be notable. For Elsie  
was commanded to go  
vnto a prophete, which both conceived, and al-  
so brought him forth children. Ezechiel also was  
maried. Therefore that Syricus of Rome, and  
his fellows must not be hardened vnto; when  
they say the whole ministerie vnto married  
folke. And this reason forsooth they bring, name-  
ly, because it is written by Paule: that They  
which be in the flesh cannot please God: and be-  
cause in the old lawe it is commanded; Be ye ho-  
lie, for I am holie: and againe; Ye are the tem-  
ple of God, or of the holie Ghost. Vnto these te-  
stimones now alledged, if they might serue anie  
thing for their purpose, then vndoubtedly shoulde  
they declare, that no men which be married, can  
please God: neither that anie may be counted  
holie, vnlesse such as be of single life. The temple  
of God, or of the holie Ghost, shoulde be re-  
strained to the clergie alone. But how vaine  
these things are, all men perceiue to well, that  
they neede none of my labors to expound them. For  
what sayeth not, that the tenters now alledged,  
are not spoken particularlie to one man or to an  
other; but are pronounced to all the faithful? It  
was the manner of the Ethnikes, to haue their  
prophetesses either virgins, or else such as were  
of sole life: as it is written of the Sibyls. And  
also appointed certein priesthoods vnto vir-  
gins, but yet to virgins onlie; namely, the Vir-  
crifices of Vesta, and also of hir that was called  
Bona Dea.

2 Neither must we be care, that those mar-  
ried folke, which were by God taken to the offi-  
ce of prophesying, or to the holie ministe-  
rie, should forsake their wiues: neither do  
no Chast were authors, that anie man should  
diuulse himselfe from his wife. Celibacye in  
maried, that Paule permitte them they are ma-  
ried, to be sometimes a funder; whereby they  
might more conueniently giue themselves to  
prayers and fastings; but this he permitte not,  
vnlesse it be with both their consents, & that for a  
short

The mar-  
ried men  
which be  
called to  
the minis-  
terie  
shall not  
forsake  
their  
wiues  
1 Cor. 7.

and Sole life.

that time; and he willet them to returne to  
their old state, left by the temptation of Satan  
they shoulde be ouerthrowen. So then this saying  
that they bring, is not sufficient to proue the ne-  
cessitie of sole life for ministers; seeing the aduer-  
saries gather more out of the same, than can be  
gathered. For there the apostle saith, that some-  
times it is lawfull to abstaine from coming  
together. But these men take it to be a comma-  
ndement to all sorts of ministers, to be euermore  
unmarried: which argument is both weak, and  
unprofitable; as the act of Loghe manifesteth  
clearly.

Cele will grant indeed, that it is mete for mi-  
nisters sometimes to keepe them selues conti-  
nent, and that oftener than other men; but yet  
not continuallie. This they obiect; If other men  
moderate themselves now and then, because  
they may fall to praier; what shoulde they do, whose  
dutie is alwayes to applie themselves both vnto  
prayers, and to the administration of the sacra-  
ments? I answer: first, that we much maruell  
at them, which alledge these things; seeing the  
greatest part of the clergie do almost neuer  
cease; they distribute the sacraments verie si-  
lence, and fearfull once or twise in a yeare do  
celebrate their most shameful and abominable  
masses: but in the meane time they com-  
mit whoredome, and pollute themselves with  
vulgarities. And they censure that they cannot mar-  
rie, because of the ecclesiasticall degrees, which  
they haue taken vpon them. Vndoubtedly the  
reasons alledged do nothing at all further these  
kind of men.

3 Moreover, we must consider, that the words  
which Paule there speaketh, belong not to conio-  
in fasting, or to common and vsuall prayers: for  
otherwise it would be lawfull for no man, either  
to marrie, or to haue a wife, so long as he  
were commanded to praye without ceasing.  
And there be sometimes certein solemn pray-  
ers, and fastings appointed; either for the anoi-  
ding of calamities, which hang ouer our heads;  
or for the choosing of ministers of the church,  
or for such like necessities in which we much (with  
the prophet and the apostle) a council and exhort  
the husbands to depart out of his chamber, and  
the wyde out of his bed. But I would gladly be-  
se of these new matters, and most severe censo-  
rs, that they did a good while since in the church  
of Rome, which they alone of all other so highly ho-  
nour: that I sawe was done, when Christians  
did euery daie communicate; as Ierom and  
Augustine write to be done in their time? Vir-  
doubtedly they did communicate, and yet they  
had wiues. Further, what did the high priest Aa-  
ron, and his successors in the old testament;  
whose office both moyning & evening was, pre-  
petuallie to minister at the tabernacle? For as

Sometimes  
lawful  
and pious  
fasting.  
1 Cor. 7.

They com-  
municate  
to Ierom &  
Augustine  
1 Cor. 7.

yet were not the turnes of priests, distributed by  
David, Salomon, and Ezechias: had they not  
then wiues? Yes truely, and begat children.

But they saye, that it becomen the same then to  
be done; for inuice as the succession of priesthood  
was then by the propagation of the flesh; neither  
might the priests be there taken of anie other  
tribe, than out of the tribe of Leuie: but now  
that we are loosed from that lawe, and that we  
may euery where haue ministers of the church,  
it is mete that they be without wiues. I will  
asse the men: Who was the author, that the  
high priests, and other priests in the old time,  
shoulde be continued by carnall propagation?  
Except they grant God to be the author, I would  
maruell: I will therefore conclude, that they  
make themselves wiser than God, who is most  
wise; who also suffered, and willed priests to be  
matrimonie. He might haue taken priests out  
of euery tribe, and haue commanded continen-  
cie; but he would not do it: yet these men are  
that they tell vs, whether there were ministers in the  
primitive church or no? Vndoubtedly there  
were; yea, and those had wiues: and yet neuer  
thelesse, they both taught and ministered conti-  
nually. What they had wiues, the hystories de-  
clare, the canons testifie, and especiall those  
canons of the apostles; wherevnto our aduer-  
saries thinke we must looherly leane. I will  
therefore read, that he is accursed, which teacheth  
that a priest ought to despise his wife.

4 I am not ignorant, that there be certein  
wilde heeds, which by triling wits do so  
auoid the place alledged, as though it shoulde on-  
ly be vnderstand touching meat, and drinke, and  
clothing; of which things, they say that a priest  
not seuered from his wife, ought to prouide  
him: as though the wife is not more commended,  
from whom marriage duties is taken awaie, than  
if she be neglected as touching meat, drinke  
and apparel. The Council also Gangrene  
decreed, that he is accursed, which putteth a dif-  
ference betweene the oblation of a married priest,  
and the oblation of others. Where also, least they  
shoulde be thought to saie nothing, they saye  
that I sawe is taken for him that was once be-  
fore married, and not he which is presentlie mar-  
ried; which they thinke hapneth, when either the  
wife is dead, or else if they be separated the one  
from the other. But grant which of these two  
waies thou wilt, yet a clergie man cannot be  
called a married man; for they are married folke,  
which both liue together, and are not separated  
one from an other.

But that the ministers in the primitive church  
had wiues, and had the life of men, the hystorie  
of Nicolaus the deacon sufficiently declareth.  
And hereby it is easilie proued; for if ministers

The mini-  
sters of the  
primitive  
church had  
wiues and  
also them.

The Car-  
none of the  
apostles  
holo him ac-  
cursed, that  
teacheth  
that a priest  
should de-  
spise his  
wife.

The council  
Gangrene.

who be  
married  
folkes.



The reme-  
dy thereof  
afterward  
is not on-  
ly for the  
wooke of  
marriage.

afterward it were otherwise ordered; that both not more ripen the woork of marriage, than some certaine rest offereth to be granted unto the priests. Furthermore, Augustine saith, that this appointment of companies and turnes, is not enough to psonne this matter. For in his questions upon Leuiticus, the 8. question, he disputeth singularetie of this; how the high priest was able euery daie, both morning and evening, to offer a flower sauer.

For the question be (saith he) of sickness, and impairments of health; a man may saie that he might haue bene preferred by the fauour of God from being sicke. But what shall we saie of procreation of children? For seeing hee was made impure, by means of the act of generation; he might not haue access vnto the ministrerie. And that hee abstained from the companie of his wife; that were a hard saying: forasmuch as the high priests both married wiues, and also begat children. Either (saith he) the incense offered was sometime intermitted (which thing the sense of the scripture seemeth not to beare, seeing this kind of ceremony was commanded to be done continually, and euery daie) or else he saith, it might be attributed to a certaine peculiari holines of the priest, that he should not be defiled by the woork of matrimonic; as if to be that hee chiefe, above other men, enioied that prerogative. Wholbeit, Augustine in the second booke of his Hexaetations, seemeth to haue found out another solution to himselfe, and saith, The late commandeth, that after the act of generation, the man should be impure until the evening; then hauing washed his garments, hee shall become cleane at the evening, when as all the whole daie hee had bene impure. Wherefore, the high priest in the morning, after hee had ministered, might inuener to haue children, and then was hee vnclane until the evening; at which time his garments being washed, and purification being vsed, hee was become pure, and in the evening might minister.

Nowe last here, that Augustine saith not vnto that distribution of the priests into turnes and courses; because such kind of orders were not anciently distinguished: yet hee agreeth with Ambrose, that the woork of matrimonic doth defile the husbands. But in the time of Ambrose (as hee himselfe toucheth) there were but a few ministers, and they were to minister euery daie. In these daies, when as the multitude is so great, and that there be found an infinite number, which facilely doe so foure times in the yeere execute their holie function, and do in a manner neuer baptise or administer the sacrament; what hinderance haue they by this rule of Ambrose, but that they may marrie wiues, when they burne and haunt the companie of

harlots? Epiphanius against the Valesian heresies confesseth, that there was a canon and tradition, touching the sole life of ministers: but hee himselfe confesseth, that it was not observed in his time, when as in the ministrerie there were manie, which begat children in matrimonic, whom neither hee condemneeth, nor yet iudgeth to be deposed. But he saith, that the same was done; partly, because the discipline of the canons waied cold; and partly censureth them, because of the multitude of beleuers, and small number of the ministers. These men, vnboughtly standing they begat children in matrimonic. In like manner Paphnucius obtained in the councell of Nice, that the ministers were not separated from their wiues. Whereupon it remaineth according to his iudgement, that they which execute the woork of matrimonic, may minister: and it followeth most euidently, that the same tradition, seeing it was mutable, and sometime toke no place in the church, proceeded not of the woork of God.

Nowe these resteth to consider of the second point, touching Ambroses woords; namely, howeth to execute the woork of matrimonic, did in the old lawe make a man impure; so that he ought to abstaine from holie ministrations? There is a place cited out of Leuiticus, the 15. chapter, where the sacerdoties thinke this matter to be intreated of; howbeit, they vnderstand not that sentence. For the woords in that place concerne onelie the issue of seed, which one is adde; whereby not onelie the husband is contaminated, but the wife also which shall sleepe with him in the same bed: in like manner as it was of a womans naturall disease; for not onelie the woman was polluted, but euen when sooner shee did touch either hir, or his garments, or the bed whereon shee lay; so as they cannot psonne anie thing by that phrase. But if so be that they, which be ignorant in the Hebrew, will not giue me credit; let them read the translation of Munster, and the interpretation of Cardinall Caietan. But they are wont to cite out of the booke of Samuel, that Abimelech the priest be- came of him; David the seer-bearer, became of him; whether his young men were cleane from women? vnto whom Dauid answered, that as touching women, both he and his seruants were cleane enough; because they had bene there daies separated from women. They say also, that it is not credible, that the priests became of harlots, and haunting of the companie of naughty women; by reason of the holines of Moyses; and further, because in Israell harlots were forbidden. Wherefore (they saie) it appeareth, that hee demanded of the use of lawfull wedlocke,

The small  
number of  
ministers  
in the time  
of Ambrose.

where  
the woork  
of matrimo-  
nic did  
make a man  
impure.

Else if  
he should  
be so  
impure,  
how was  
he able  
to giue  
lawe in  
a synode.

Why be  
thee de-  
manded  
as touching  
marriage.

Here do I consider, that it was not lawfull for laie and prophane men, to eat of those lawes of seuerall degrees deuto vnto God; but ife- cretant necessitie constrained them: for in such a case, this precept was to be observed; I will haue mercie, and not sacrifice. But the case that Dauid had bene vnclane; if so be that the priest would haue done iustlie, should hee not haue given the holie bread vnto him? Would hee haue suffered him to perish for hunger? No surely, hee would haue giuen him. Yet he neuerthe- lesse demanded concerning cleanness, that if perhaps hee had acknowledged himselfe to be vnclane, he might at the least, wife haue had a desire to be purged by sacrifice, if hee could not inforce it indeed, least the lawe of God should seeme altogether to haue bene contemned; how- beit, Dauid answered, that both he and his were cleane, whether they were pure from women, because men might easily offend in that vnclanness: for that by reason of their monthlie disease, not onelie the woman hir selfe was impure; but also he that had touched hir garments, best, least, or ought else of hir, might easily incur the danger of vnclanness. Wherefore Dauid saith, that hee neither kept companie with vnlawfull women, neither had hee touched anie thing of theirs being vnclane; for that space of these daies. Hee changed (saith he) our garments when we departed, and the vessels of the young men be- came; to wit, those wherein the lawes are to be carried. For there might haue happened an in- stant foote of defillings of the vessels.

So that it is not of necessitie, that either the answer of Dauid, or the demand of the priest should be vnderstood touching the mere contami- nation with a lawfull wife; seeing therein by the lawe is not found anie vnclanness. Vnboughtly, manie causes might be alledged, wherein that contamination might happen by the means of coniunction: as if a woman haue bene vn- cleane after hir monthlie disease, or after an is- sue of blood; or else after hir child-birth, and such like; then a man might haue valuen vnclan- nesse to him, after what sort soeuer hee had tou- ched, either hir, or anie thing of hers. Where- fore, seeing there may be manie causes of this polluting, if thou onelie alledge one cause, and thinke thou hast brought vs a firme argument, thou shalt fall into a paralogsme, or false argu- ment. And these men are chiefe to be reprobate- ded, seeing they let us with that cause, which (as we haue declared before) they cannot psonne by the lawe, that it made in cleane wife and vnclane vnder the old lawe.

But let vs grant for this time, that in those daies there was some contamination

mentioned in the lawe; which neuerthelesse might not be psonne by the scriptures: yet it followeth not therefore, that time was there committed. Now then, if it be not psonne, that time was therein; how can it be, that the same action should debarre men from holie functions? The monthlie issue made a woman vnclane: but yet who is so farre deuiant as to say, that that disposition of the bodie is sinne? Hee that had touched a dead bodie was defiled: shall we then saie, that they which buried dead bodies, committed sinne? And at this day, should not the sacrament be giuen vnto them after such han- dling of a dead carcase? And to speake of the fead which passeth away in sleep, the Canonists, and also Augustine deneth the same to be sinne of it selfe; and yet neuertheless, by the lawe it made a man vnclane. Now that meanes therofe shall we saie, that the lawfull coniunction of man and wife can remove men from holie func- tions; especially, when as Augustine beareth manifest record, that it be bled for procrean- on sake, it is without sinne? vnto whose saying I haue also added this; that it must not be counted sinne, when it happeneth to be done for auoiding of fornication, seeing we are thus persua- ded by the holie Ghost: whom if we make a per- suader vnto him, it were wicked and detrac- ble. Seeing therfore it is no sinne; so can it not be anie let to the holie ministrerie.

But if men to delight to followe and tread in the steps of the priests of the old time, wherefore our sacrificers (seeing they are to minister daily) binke vnto euery daie; when as the Lord commanded in the lawe, that going into the sanctuary, they should neither drinke wine nor strong drinke? But these men, if there be anie wine more excellent than other, that commands them to be prepared for themselves. If they will saie that the lawe of Moyses is now abrogated; why do they now go about to call it againe, as touching the vnclanness which at that time was taken? Wherefore let vs perswade them, that they will not so much stand vpon that vn- cleanness of the lawe; which neuertheless (as I haue said) they cannot psonne by the lawe: I haue now onelie shewed of that, to the intent the vniust cause of contention may be known. If they would haue the lawes of Moyses to be still in force, let them embrace euen of them: but if they confesse them to be abrogated, why do they reuaine this one more than the rest? Further- more, if they inuener to drawe these woords of the apostle, to extend to their daily ministries, let them be iust and perfect lawes euery daie; but and if they will execute themselves, that they will be content with temperate diet, let them also rest themselves in the moderate vse of ma- trimonic, when necessitie shall require.

As hee saith  
contaminat-  
ion was not  
sinne.

1. Cor. 9. 9.  
If they doe  
they not  
perpetrate  
sinne, as the  
apostle  
saith.

Neither do I denie, but that it maie be in the use of matrimony, that kin of some exerce maie befall, so that the bounds of temperance be not obscured: this I willingly grant; but yet therein shall I adde, that this cometh unto that action by chance, as they call it, by accident. For, of this verie thing we have oftentimes experience in eating and drinking; therein there is no due measure continuallie obscured: and yet for all that, our aduersaries would not abstaine from holie functions, the one next after such exerce hath chanced. Also I would not, that the things which I have spoken, should be understood, as though I condemn of disalloto of married ministers, and other men, for restraining themselves otherwhile; especially, when as the sacraments are either to be ministered or received: so that the conscience perswade hereto, that it maie be done without breach of charity. I marvell that some have bene so bold, to reason out of Pauls words on this wise; It is good for married folles, because of water and fasting, to abstaine the companie one of ano: ther for a time: Therefore it shall be better, if they abstaine for a long time; and againe; It shall be best of all, if they temper themselves for ever. Seeing thou most manifestly offendest, if thou reason on this sort; This man can beare ten pound weight; wherefore he can beare thientie pound weight; if he can beare thientie, he can beare fortye, and so will go on, untill it be infinit: who would not see, that these things be ridiculous: There must be a consideration had of our infirmities. Where be some which are able to abstaine for a time; yet if they should be constrained to doe the same perpetuallie, for a long season, they should find it intolerable.

In 1.Cor.7.8

Chastitie commandeth unto all men.

It belongeth unto temperance.

Chastitie is the gift of god.

of heaven sake, Christ speaketh verie plainlie; which must be understood not onlie as concerning the bodie and outward impuritie, but that we must also live with a chaste mind. Of this which gift two things we ascribe; first, that it is not in our owne power; secondlie, that it is not equally bestowed by God upon all men. For the establishing and confirming of these things, I take upon me the choise of a sole person, the which I have enter into, and some others refuse. When we enter into it, either it is of our owne strength, or by God; if thou wilt saie that it is of our owne strength, then art of Pelagius opinion; but if thou saie that it comes of God, thou agreest with vs; and it wilbe evident, that a sole life is the gift of God. Perhaps thou wilt saie, that it cometh both of God, and of vs; because God helpeth, and we are willing. Where will I demand, what that is in this choise that thou countest to be thine owne; whether thou saie that it is to thine owne, as it is not of God; or else whether thou meane that thou hast the same will of God? The first thou canst not saie; Paule is against it; What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast received, while dost thou glorie, as if thou hadst not received? But if thou shalt grant that thou hast it of God, thou shalt not understand, that it lieth not in thine owne power. And seeing others doe not choise that which thou hast taken upon thee, we be manifestly taught, and evidently admonished, that it is not given unto others which is given unto thee. Further it shoud seeme rather, that it ought to be, that the gift of eternallie calling unto faith in Christ and eternall saluation, should be common unto all men; rather than the gift of single life. But that is not granted unto all men; therefore neither ought this to be accounted common unto all men. That the other is not common unto all men, it is a thing most manifest; for so many as all men are not perfect; all men are not borne of faithful parents, all men are not admitted to beare baptism, all are not unto the preaching of the Gospell; And some are caethed quicklie, least confessions should change their harts; and others are left to themselves, who in process of time become dull, and so perish.

And among those, which doe heare all one regarding, all are not bosome by God: whereupon Christ saith; No man cometh vnto me, unless my father shall draw him. We which would it asperely plaine, that there be some, which are not bosome. Wherefore Augustine saith; If thou wilt not erre, I would not have thee to iudge why God bosome one man, and yet diswaith not another. And yet for all that, is not for will taken away; for whether a man be bosome, or not bosome, there is no violence done;

Augustine is the calling of effectual grace, not yet the gift of single life common to all men.

Will.4.1.

John.6.44

Augustine

done; onlie compulsion is an extreme thereto, as we have taught before. Besides this, sole life is called a grace, or a free gift of God; and of graces it is written in the first epistle to the Corinthians, that the holie Ghost distributeth them as he will. But and if that those graces, whereof the apostle there speaketh; as prophetic, wisdom, knowledge, tongues, &c: were more profitable unto the church, and tended more to edifying, than doth sole life, and yet were not given unto all men; why would we have sole life to be granted unto all men alike?

Perhaps some man will saie, that all men also might haue those gifts, so that they would beleeve; for Christ saith; If we had faith as the grain of mustard seed, the verie hills should be obedient to our voice. And unto the Romans it is written; That these gifts are given to euery one according to the measure of faith. Therefore, two things we may saie; namely, that this faith is not the same, whereunto we be justified, which is common unto all beleevers; but it is the faith of miracles, not granted unto all men. Yet also, if these sentences be understood of the faith, whereby we are iustified; needst thou the argument should be feeble, because all christians, which beleeue in Christ, haue faith; howbeit, not of themselves, but rather of God; and those graces doe not accompanie euery degree of faith. And according as the holie Ghost doth giue the same unto men; euen so doth he distribute sundrie degrees of faith. Neither is it our felices, which appoint the measure unto our faith; but God, as he will, doth temper the same. But the first answer is weaker: for we see, that the wicked, which be strangers vnto Christ, and destitute of a iustifying faith, haue sometimes such graces, as they shew forth miracles. Finally, as God hath predestinated euery one of his elect to the end of eternall life, so hath he also predestinated the means, which may bring them vnto the same; and that to euery one as was convenient.

Well se in the members of the bodie, all members as Galen De v'sa partum witnesseth) haue not all one sort of powers and instruments. And that we be members in the bodie of Christ, the scripture doth most manifestly teach; therefore we must not saie, that all men haue attained to abilities and gifts alike. Paule doth testifie the same, who speaking of sole life, singeth in the word [gift] when he saith; Euerie man hath his gift: and he addeeth thereto [proper] so that one hath it after this manner, and another after that. And Christ, in the 19. of Matthew; All men cannot receiue this fauening, to whom it is given: he that is able to receiue this, let him receiue it.

Neither doth [can] in that place signifie

1.Cor.7.

1.Cor.12.

2e. ad. Rom.

1.Cor.12.

Rom.12.3.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

2e. ad. Galen.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

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1.Cor.12.

1.Cor.12.

To will, as some do imagine; if we shall desire gentle breath the text of the scripture. It is written in the eighth chapter of the booke of Ecclesiastes; No man can be chait, vnto the day of his death; whereby that scripture teacheth, that there be some, vnto whom it is not given. And this is a marvellous furtherance to our commodity, that we be rather governed by the will and appointment of God, than by our owne. Neither doth the same thing make a little to the extolling of the maiestie and preiudice of God towards his people. Augustine in his 19. chapter De v'sa partum videlicet, writeth; that it is vs to will, but our will is sturred, that it may arise; it is cured, that it may be whole; it is enlarged, that it may be capable; it is filled full, that it may haue. And in that place he maketh speciall mention of the gift of continence. But who will saie, that the wills of all men be euer enlarged, and full; seeing we still fee to marie that be feeble, and fallen downe? The same same Augustine, in an epistle vnto Maximus; Augustine. For; who separateth thee? Thou wilt answer; O good will, my faith, my righteousness. And wilt thou not immediately heare that which folloiweth; What hast thou that thou hast not received? If thou hast received, why dost thou glorie, as though thou hadst not received?

But these men, when they affirme that the gift of sole life is offered vnto all men; and that all men, if they will, may accept the same; do of necessity fall into those answers, which Augustine in that place condemneth. For if I denie me of hym that is in sole life; Who hath separated thee from him, which is in matrimony? If we followe them, they shall not haue what esse to answer, but, O my faith, my chaste. Saie therefore to him as folloiweth; What hast thou that thou hast not received? Why dost thou glorie, as though thou hadst not received? Augustine De the same faith v'sa partum, the fourth chapter; I would all men to be as I my selfe am, but euery man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that. Who then giueth these things? Who distributeth as he himselfe will, to euery one his proper gift? Forsooth it is doth God, vnto whom there is no iniquitie. And it is either impossible, or else most hard, for men hereby to knowe by what equitie he maketh some men after one manner, and some after another manner; but that by equitie he doth it, it is not fit for any man to doubt. What hast thou therefore that thou hast not received? O by what penitencie dost thou lose him the life, of whom thou hast received more? Here we understand, that it is God, which maketh some after this manner, and some after that; further, that he which lieth low, hath received the more. Which two things, if thou confer one with another,

Augustine.

Augustine.

Augustine.

1.Cor.12.

Idem.

De the same

Augustine.

1.Cor.12.





those things, which men by their owne rashnesse doe willingly lay upon themselves. Is it your owne licentiousnes (saie they) for if you would, no doubt, but you might receiue from you the burning and things, which ye alledge for an excuse.

Here we demand againe of them, that when a man doth that, shaking off all doubtfullnesse, which other men do not, whether he haue that which he hath of himselfe, or of God? Beware you fast not; Of himselfe: for then shall thou discover thy selfe to be a Pelagian. And if thou saie; Of God: then of necessitie thou confessest, that there is something in him, which is not granted unto other men; and that is euen the same thing we speake of. Certainlie, a miserable thing is the desiring which they make of vs, when we saye to name the word, Gift, Of Vacation: and they saie, that these be deames and imaginations of our owne. Doubtless, these men should knowe, that we are not ignorant, that the Schoole-doctors haue not spoken of this wile: howbeit, the faithfull, and such as be verie godlie and sincere, haue not bene ashamed to use these termes, which the holie Ghost hath spoken in the holie scriptures. The name of calling is used by Elsie, in like manner by Ieremie, and the other prophetes: in the new testament it is used, in the 8. 9. and 11. chapters to the Romans; also in the 7. chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; in the first chapter to the Galatians, and else-where in other places, which would not be overlong to recite.

And in like manner touching gifts, which neede we to doubt; we haue Paule in the 11. to the Romans. And Christ saith; Saue they to whom it is giuen. In the same 7. chapter to the Corinthians, it is said; Let euery one abide in that state, whereunto he is called. And in the 11. chapter to the Romans, he ioined these two wordes together; The gifts and calling of GOD are without repentance. Neither do we faile, that the gift of sole life is of that sort, that by it all temptation can be taken awaie: for we knowe that we ought to praye, to chastise the bodie, to bring the flesh into subiection, yea, euen they which are in matrimonie; much more they which were sole in life. But we saie, that those temptations are not to be feared, whereby either we are overcome, or our mind so darkened, as we are unable to execute those things, which we ought to doe; or else to be defiled, as we call not upon God with a god and pure conscience. For if he be without them, which after this manner be afflicted, to sicke rebellie by matrimonie: otherwise this is nothing else, but to sicke against God.

But the chaires, whereby manie of our aduersaries be tied, are intolerable, and the lust of lechery: for they fire the yoke, the labour of bringing up children, and the government of

household; and giue themselves to nothing else, but to brooding by of riches, to pride, and proud galleie.

Perhaps thou wilt demand, how these gifts that be knowne in temptations: Wherein, at least thou shouldst thinke, that 3 being a deuil in my owne head, thou shalt heare that Augustine saith in his booke *De sanctis virginibus*, 44. chapter: The secret gifts of God, which are not knowne, vnlesse temptation make feare, do declare vnto euery man what he is. Also in the 45. chapter; Doubtlesse, except temptation be present, there is no demonstration made of this gift. Hereunto also agree the scriptures; for the apostle saith; It is better to marrie than to burne. And Christ saith; He that is able to receiue, let him receiue. The which sayings, if they be examined, doe call vs backe to the searching out of temptations. It seemeth also, that the fewe rall states of our vocations are to be considered: for some of them are verie much repugnant vnto matrimonie; such are the state of traveling, wandering abroad, nauigations, and such thing like: wherein it dooth not easilie appeare, to what purpose thou shouldst enter into matrimonie; seeing thou canst not attend thereupon. So long therefore as these vocations that be necessarie life is come for thee, perhaps by the word of God, and that maner, thou canst not shake them off, sole life is commanded thee by God.

Moreover, thou must weigh the inclination of thy mind; especiallie, whilset thou shalt be at quiet from the heat of temptations: for seeing, so manie as are of Christ, haue the spirit of GOD, therefore manie times we haue intempestuous and prouocations of minds. Furthermore, be aware that thou haue not a desire vnto an vnpossible, idle, and lister sole life: sole is not a delicate, vnchaste, and lister sole life; spaire out, let the end of a sole life haue respect to the vnrepairable cleauing vnto God, for the labours and sinning in his seruice, for the preaching of the Gospell, for a man to people his whole night and day in prayers, studies, and good works: otherwise thou mightest be reckoned among the foolish virgins. We be not of Louinians mind, that matrimonie is to be accounted equal vnto virginie; or sole life: I speake not in respect of the bowlines of the degree; but because of the commodities, and fester causes of withdrawing of the mind. And thus we preferre virginie, to what other things be of equalitie: but if there be found greater faith and charitie in matrimonie, I will not make any account at all of virginie. Wherefore Augustine in his booke *De virginitate*, saith; We saie, that better is a modest and obedient married woman, than is a proud and stubborne virginie.

Neither doe we inuge of sole life, that it is in

these doctes, as it was heretofore among the Iewes and Ethnics, of no honest reputations; for Cicero in his booke *De legibus*, writeth; For; be ye that none doe lead a sole life. Christ remoued away this ignominie of sole life and barrennesse, when he saith; He that is able to receiue, let him receiue. The same is also confirmed by the wordes of Paule; It is good for them that be vnmarried, so to continue: I would haue all men to be, euen as I my selfe am. The summe of all the reasons is, that euery one should faile with his owne vnto, according as he is inspired by the holie Ghost; and as the gift is allotted vnto him. We adde also, that these gifts are not perennall: for he which had need of matrimonie, at a certeine time, perhaps being more grieved in peeces, and his wife being now dead, shall haue no more need to marrie. And he perhaps, that was sometime able to liue a single life, shall haue need to be married. It is therefore the wisest waie for a man not to intangle himself with wotues: let a man hold fast his libertie, and cast not him selfe into that, from whence he cannot be wotued out without some ignominie. An vnpure and defiled single life is chedie to be avoided; because it suffereth not a pure and sincere calling by the name of God; for when the conscience is polluted, no man dare list by his ries vnto God; neither doth he desire with an effectual faith; those things which be pious for. Neither do thou lo understand me (as I haue already admonished) that I preferre virginie in respect of it selfe before matrimonie; otherwise that that it wanteth more the cares and troubles of this present life.

### The eight Chapter.

Of Repentance; where also is treated of Sacraments.

Now, as it is written in the epistle to the Romans, hath death for a reward; and all the retriue of death: it bringeth also confusion therewith. They which sinne, are made ashamed in themselves, and with others: wherefore, after some great griefes do folloie, which afflict the spirit, disquiet and after a sort kill the mind. Furthermore, there followeth a confusion, so as they be greatlie ashamed, if they remember their finnes; or else if their finnes be recited by others. They which be impatient of those cuils, would faine be beligered: they attempt manie waies, but haue no successe. Hercules, when he

had killed his sorine, and Iphitus his host, was for disquiet in mind, as he was desirous to be purged by sacrifice; he came to Athens, and was admitted to the sacrifice of Ceres, Oracles, when he had killed his mother, came into the countree of Taurica, and would be purged by sacrifice. Of Nero it is reported, that after he had killed his mother, and had committed other detestable crimes, at the length could not sleepe; and being haunted with furies, he desired to be purged by sacrifice. By wotues and summe waies were they purged; namely, by fire, by water, and sometimes they used egges, brimstone, tuitcheras, and sundrie perfumes. Thise (saith Ouid) did be purge the old man by fire, thise by water, and thise by brimstone. Thise (saith Virgil) did be wash his fellows all with cleane water. Palesse (saith Luenaal) he will purge himselfe with a hundred egges. But forasmuch as they were manie inuentions, they posited nothing.

There is one purgation, which is set forth to vs by faith, which hath repentance ioined with it, by this men are purged, and be at rest. Terullian saith, that God consecrated this repentance in himselfe: for when he had punished men by the fount, he repaled his sentence, and said that he would bestrofe the earth no more; so mans fate is; and it repenteth God of the euill, which he would haue brought upon men, so that they repent them of their wickednesse. Not that repentance in beie ded hath place in God, whereof we haue spoken else-where. Touching the originall of repentance, it is said, that the same began in paradise. GOD called our first parents to repentance, and added therewith a promise; to wit, that their seed should tread downe the serpents head. This preaching of repentance hath bene continue by all the prophets: at length it came to Iohn Baptist, who was the bawning and mourning starre of our sauiour. Christ and his apostles preached repentance; Repent ye, for the kingdom of heauen draweth nigh. What we understand the kingdom of heauen, we vnderstand the newnesse of life, heauenlie actions, and regeneration.

So both Cod gouerne vs, by his spirit and word, which thou dost doe appen by faith, do repent; there remaineth, that the old life be put awaie. So as the fountaine of repentance, is the fountaine of the goodnesse of God, and the kingdom of heauen in Christ to be manifested, and to apprehend it by faith. And wotue: both they remaineth followe: for Christ calleth vs vnto a new life, not to nourish sinne in us, which it becometh worse before vs to mortifie. The thing is not to be vnderstood, that men maie first repent, and by the merit of repentance haue remission of finnes. First it is appenched by faith; afterward follooth a found repentance. The outward signe of taking

Cicero.

Christe remoued away this ignominie of sole life.

Augustine.

Christe remoued away this ignominie of sole life.

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the repentance was a purging of the gentile.

Gen. 8. 21

Iere. 18. 8.

The originall of repentance.

Gen. 3. 9.

and 11.

Mat. 3. 2.

Mat. 4. 17.

Luc. 24. 47.

What we understand the kingdom of heauen, we vnderstand the newnesse of life, heauenlie actions, and regeneration.

Mat. 4. 17.

What we understand the kingdom of heauen, we vnderstand the newnesse of life, heauenlie actions, and regeneration.

Mat. 4. 17.

What we understand the kingdom of heauen, we vnderstand the newnesse of life, heauenlie actions, and regeneration.

Mat. 4. 17.

What we understand the kingdom of heauen, we vnderstand the newnesse of life, heauenlie actions, and regeneration.

Mat. 4. 17.

The names of gift and calling.

Fai. 49. 1.  
Ier. 1. 17.  
Ier. 1. 18.  
Rom. 8. 3.  
Rom. 8. 12.  
Rom. 11. 29.  
1. Cor. 7. 10.  
Gala. 1. 15.

Rom. 11. 29.  
Mat. 19. 11.  
1. Cor. 7. 10.

Rom. 11. 29.

the gift of sole life is not meant all temptations to be taken as want.

what temptations are not to be begun.

The chaires whereby the aduersaries be tied.

Mark.1.4.

Touching the names of repentance.

Certain descriptions of repentance.

2.Pet.3. 22.

Repentance called the second table.

hing upon vs a new life, was baptisme: therefore Marke calleth the baptisme of Iohn, The baptisme of repentance, vnto the remission of finnes. This is the voice of all those that preach the gospell; they be voices crying in the desert: for how manie sooner be without Christ, are the desert. The voice is, that the kingdome of heauen is offered vnto them which beleue. Now it becometh that they repent them, that they renounce their old life; for repentance is the crosse and gibbet of the old man.

2 Before we do proceed any further, let vs speake of the nature of the word. The hebreues haue this word *Shub*, which significth To turne, & to be conuerted; from whence they haue deriued the two nouns, *Shuua*, & *Shua*; that is to late, Inuerſion, and Conuerſion: when our minns being changed, and loken ſequeſtered, a new courſe of life is taken in hand. The Grecians called it *μετανοεω*, *μετανοειν*, and *μετροειν*: thereof cometh *μεταμελεια*, and *μετροεις*, which is a certaine changing of the mind, ſo that in deed of an euill mind, we eſtablish a good. The Latines vſe the verbe *Penitere*, deriued of *Pain*; that is, Paine; becauſe the things which we haue committed, are greuous and bitter vnto vs. After theſe Etymologies of words, let vs ſee what deſcriptions there be of repentance. They are written in the fourth booke of the ſupper of the ſentences, the 14. diſtinct. The firſt is aſcribed vnto Ambroſe; Repentance is to lament for the euils that are paſt, and not to commit againe things to be ſorrowed for. The verbe ſame in a manner ſaith Gregorie the biſhop of Rome; Repentance is to beuaile the ſins that are paſt, and not to commit any more to be beuailed. By others it is ſaid, that to leaue off ſinning, is true repentance. And others haue ſomewhat otherwiſe deſcribed the ſame; namely, that repentance is a vertue, whereby we beuaile and detest the euils committed, with a purpoſe of amendment, & a will to commit no more any ſuch euils as are to be lamented. They which fall euery day, are compared by ſaint Peter vnto a dogg returning to his vomit; & vnto a ſow which reſtretcheth againe to her mire. Repentance by Auguſtine is ſometimes called reuerſe, being a puniſhment vpon him ſelfe, becauſe he is ſorie that he hath ſinned. Theſe deſcriptions be fine without ſome. Neither will I paſſe it ouer, that repentance is called the ſecond table: which we read in Ieron, vpon the 16. chapter of Ezechiel, and in the decrees *De penitentia*, diſtinct. 1. in the chapter *Secunda tabula*. And in this ſort they vnderſtand it: At the beginning, they ſaie, that men failed proſperouſly, that ſhipwacke was made by the ſinne of Adam, that regeneration by baptiſme is the firſt booke, vpon which we ſwim on; and that if men fall againe

after baptiſme, repentance is the ſecond booke. Others do otherwiſe interpret it: howbeit I do not much weigh the ſame.

Now that we haue placed things on this a definition, let vs come to a plaine definition, which containeth all the cauſes. We may therefore, in my iudgement, ſaie: that Repentance is a change of life, which a man, with great ſorrowe for his finnes committed, willinglieth taketh vpon him, through faith, vnto the honor of God, and to the obtinment of his owne ſaluation. Now it ſhall be declared particularlie. The generall word is Change; and changes according to the philoſophers, are of manie ſorts. For if it be vnderſtood in ſubſtance, they ſaie it is a generation; if in quantitie, they call it an increaſe and decreaſe; if thou go from place to place, they name it a local motion. If this change be made in qualities, in paſſing from one contrarie to another; this fourth change they call an alteration. Wherevnto belongeth repentance: we do not caſt our mind no; our bodie from vs; but there is made a certaine alteration in qualities, from blacke to white, from a corrupt to a ſincere life. Touching the ſubieſt thereof, we are to conſider, that the whole man is changed in reſpect of qualities; but eſpecially the will, in which part of the mind repentance is ſaid: for in the power thereof conſiſteth the rule & government of other powers. Others haue ſuppoſed, that this repentance is placed in the angry part; becauſe it concerneth an high & loſtie matter. Wherefore the will admitted this change, not ſeuerable, but beneuolent; in ſuch ſort as there is great ſorrowe for finnes committed. Paſſion of ſorrowe is a certaine aſſent on: therefore I did not ſaie that it is a ſorrowe, becauſe it is done with reaſon. For withſtanding, this ſorrowe is ſomewhat preſent, it helpeth it to be together: as appeareth in the ſeuenth chapter of the ſecond to the Corinthians; 2 Cor. 7. Godlie ſorrowe worketh repentance in you, & 10. vnto the honor of God: for ſome may ſorrowe in reſpect of their owne loſſe.

We ſee here now, that from faith, which is the gift of God, proceedeth the efficient cauſe of repentance. As God giueth faith, ſo alſo doth he giue repentance; otherwiſe, if there be no faith, repentance were not available. But faith otherwiſe is a true faith, and otherwiſe it is but a temporall faith; ſuch as the faith is, ſuch is the repentance that doth inſue: if it be a true faith, true repentance followeth. Of what times then muſt we repent vs? Doubtes we ought to remember of all finnes: ſo as Tertullian rightlie ſaith in his booke *De penitentia*; Whether it be in word, or in deed that we haue offended, he ſaith, that euen he, which by his iudgement hath appointed puniſhment for all thoſe things, hath alſo provided

Change in the generall word of repentance.

The ſubieſt thereof.

2 Cor. 7.

It is the efficient cauſe of repentance.

Of the nature of faith.

2 Cor. 7.

A briefe declaration of the nature of repentance.

Distinction of the nature of repentance.

Of the nature of repentance.

2 Cor. 7.

promiſed pardon through repentance. Some of thoſe things, which be placed in the definition, belong vnto the generall word; and ſome pertaine vnto the differences: the generall word is Change, the difference is Alteration of life. Another difference is, that it be willinglieth taken in hand; for there be ſome things done, which we be not willing vnto. Another difference is, it may be taken in hand for finnes committed. The ſpiritual cauſe is conuerſion and change; the materiall cauſe is the will it ſelfe; the objects are the finnes for which we ſorrowe, and the vertue which we ſtrive to attaine; the efficient cauſe is faith and God; the end is the honour of God, & our owne ſaluation. Thus the definition being declared, let vs come to the diſtinctions.

1 Tertullian diſtinguiſhed repentance into good and euill: he ſaith it is euill repentance, if we regret our felices of the deede that be done well; namely, of almes-deeds, of forgiuing our enemies, of receiving the ſacraments; but it is a good repentance, when we change vnto better. It is ſaid to be either good or euill, in reſpect of the end wherevnto we refer it. Another diſtinction; one kind of repentance is rude, and with out ſome; and another is perfect and abſolute. Whereby ſhall we gather this? Becauſe that it is the will, which taketh in hand, and that the ſame in his owne nature is blind; it becometh that vnderſtanding be before. What ſhine in the will, which be without Chriſt? ſometimes there appeareth in them a certaine humane hope, the which the philoſophers ſaie is a life according to nature. They read the Ethicks of moralls of the philoſophers; they ſee Ideas of forms of vertues: when their vnderſtanding be ſet in a bold of this hope, they perſeue how far off they be from the ſame; and for that cauſe they finding themſelves by experience to be blinded, are ſtirred by with a certaine repentance.

Lactius teacheth, that a certaine young man that was lewd and loſe of life, at a certaine time being diu with himſelfe with drunken companions, and wearing a garland, ruſhed into the ſchole of Xenocrates. But the philoſopher being not diſquieted with their coming in, proceeded in his treatiſe: he ſpoke ſo earnestliſh of temperance, that by little and little the words entered into the hart. This young man laid aſide his garland, and began to diſpute of philoſophie. Howbeit, ſuch a manner of conuerſion is not altogether to be commended: it may be commended in his mind. But it is nothing at all commendable, whereof we ſpeake; which ought to be according to faith, and towards God; as Paul, witneſſeth in the twentie of the Actes, that he preached repentance towards God, and faith in Jeſus Chriſt. There be others, which bring

forth this rude and imperfect repentance in another ſort. When it is taken in hand by the will, and the ſame followeth reaſon; there muſt needs be ſome thing, which ought to gine light vnto reaſon. They haue a generall faith or opinion, that God is both a reuenger of euill, and a rewarder of good. They alſo beholde that, which he hath commanded in the lawe: when they perſeue that they be commanded to do ſuch things as they do not, they be ſtirred with feare, and after a ſort repent themſelves.

Some bring a place out of the 26. chapter of Eſaie; We haue bene with child of thy care, verſe. 26. and haue brought forth the wind of ſalutation, But it maketh not to the purpoſe; howbeit, true it is, that repentance with ſome is begun in this ſort. This may be hurtfull: for whileſt it haue ſome helpe beſides, it breedeth deſperation. After this ſort did Cane, Judas, and Eliu repent themſelves. Seeing the manner ſtandeth thus, then in the elect children of God faith is added, ſorgueſnes is preached, and they embrace the ſame through Chriſt; then both true and perfect repentance followeth. Where the will vnderſtandeth this repentance, Chriſt himſelfe lighteth the vnderſtanding with the remiſſion of finnes: then cometh the holie Ghoſt, by whom ſtrength is giuen to caſt off ſinne; and the fruits of repentance do followe, that in ſted of wicked acts, good deeds are ſhewed forth. The holie Fathers ſaie, that this is to do repentance: and the holie ſcriptures doe declare the ſame. In the ſecond of the Actes, when they which heard of remiſſion of finnes, through Chriſt, were picked in their hearts, and euen then it reported them; yet notwithstanding Peter ſaith; Repent ye: wherefore he requirith that fruits ſhould followe.

5 This diſtinct repentance ſome do teach; ſome others teach in a manner that it quie aſaie; and theſe men muſt be conſidered. They ſaie, that it ſeemeth to be a ſolitarie, ſeruent vs of thoſe things, which be alreadye done. The finnes are alreadye paſt, we cannot helpe it, but that we haue ſinned: therefore we muſt not be diſquieted. The reaſon is worke. True it is, that euill works are paſſed and gone: but that nothing of them remaineth, that is not true. The remembrance of them, and the conſcience remaineth; in like manner the guilt, that is to ſaie, the bond to euerlaſting puniſhments, there remaineth alſo the deſolomitic of the mind, and of the powers thereof. Further, we may ſaie that reaſon otherwiſe conſidereth theſe men words. It was ſaid vnto a certaine philoſopher, that he ſhould not lament for his child that was alreadye dead; becauſe he could not helpe it with lamentations: naie rather ſaith he; Forſothe this moſt of all, that this cannot otherwiſe be. Cuen fo ſhould godlie men for

Repentance ſignifying a ſeruing of God.

True repentance.

What is to do repentance.

A conſideration of them that take away repentance.

What remaineth of ſinne when it is paſt.

A ſimilitude.

2 Cor. 7.

roove,becausethy haue sinned: and that thou it cannot alter,be it, but that they haue violated the lawes of God. Others saie; Seeing God both rightlie be euen our finnes, and directeth them vnto those ends, which he will haue, why should I forbeare, because I haue sinned? These men speake not truely. Although that sinne is entered in,that grace might abound; yet faith faile,we must not therefore remaine in sinne. If God will vs sinne, shouldst thou say that cause cometh sinne: It is the propperte of God to rule all things: do thou what is commanded thee. This argument doth not to much touch vs, as it doth those, which let downe a bare permission: for God permitteyth not against his will. Further, there is brought an example: A certaine Nun was mother to the Baiter of the sentences and Gratianus: when the laue them to be true faith notable men, she said that she could not repent: vnto whom his confessor said; Oriele forsooke thou,becausethou canst not forsooke.

6 There haue bene fowre, which would quite haue taken awaie repentance. Such were the Nouatian hereticks, and the Puritans; who alone would seeme to be wise. Their opinion offended euen Constantine himselfe: for as it is reported by Socrates, in the Ecclesiasticall historie, in the first booke, and tenth chapter; and by Sozomenus, in the first booke, and 22.chapter: when the Council was holden at Nice, he called vnto him Aecius a Nouatian bishop, and asked of him, whether he thought that it was well decreed concerning Christ beinge of one substance with the father, and as touching the keepinge of Calice: He allowed it. Therefore then (saith the Emperour) dost thou not communicate with others? He began to declare that had happened in the tyme of Decius the Emperour. Some had fallen, and would haue bene afterwarde receiued, but the bishop put them backe. Set vp a ladder (saith the Emperour) and climbe thou alone into heauen: thereby noting his pride, that he alone with those of his tribe would be in heauen. Some iudge that Constantine the Emperour foragreat fauour of repentance is some speciall cause. Sozomenus in the second booke, and fifth chapter, reporteth, that the Greeks had iudged ill of Constantine: that they said he was cruell, that he had slaine manie of his kinde, and among others his sonne Crispus; that beinge diuorced, he toke counsell of Sopater the philosopher, whether he might be purged; and that the same Sopater said, that there was no purgation for these crimes. Wherevpon he toke counsell of the chistian bishops, who said, that he might be purged by true repentance, and so: this cause he embraced the chistian faith. Sozomenus reporteth this: but he contenteth it, as a thing deuided in diuision and

hated of chistian religion.

First he saith; that Constantine himselfe from his tender age was brought vp in chistian religion, and dwelt at that tyme in Britaine, and in Gallia. But it is not probable, that Sopater (which taught in Greece) did come into these countries. Furthermore, he ioined his sonne Crispus partaker with him in the empire: this both manie latentes testifie, being let forth in the name of Crispus and Constantine, and he liued vnto the twentieth yere of the reigne of Constantine. But admit it were thus, and that Sopater conferred with him, or wrote vnto him. He might not saie, that in the countries of the Chynhis there was no purging; for there were manie, as before I haue declared: therefore he answered, that Constantine fauoured repentance as a chistian, and one that was expert in the holie scriptures. It is to be noted, that the Nouatians perceiued not that fell sentence in Ezechiel; In what houre soueraine men shall be sorrowfull, I will no more remember his finnes. Further, that they condeore not the example of David, Ezechias, Manasses, and of Peter, who after his fall held his place in the apostolihie: neither that they marked, that the Lord said vnto Peter, when he asked him how oftentimes he should forgive his brother; I saie not to thee feuen times, but feueente times feuen times. Seeing these so manifest testifinies be certant, how can the Nouatians denie repentance vnto them which be fallen: It seemeth, that they are moued thereto by two places in the epistle to the Hebrewes, the tenth chapter: Vnto them (saith he) that sinne willingly, after they haue receiued the knowledge of the truth, there remaine no more sacrifice for finnes, but a certaine fearefull expectation of iudgement. But here it is not spoken of euicr kind of sinne, but of time that is peculiar, and after a sort vnto fall: when as men relata faith, and do although they alienate themselves from Christ, and let themselves against him.

This is the sinne against the holie Ghost, which the sinne God do punisheth, as it shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, nor yet in the world to come. It is expounded better by another place in the 6. to the Hebrewes; It is vnpossible that they which be once lightened, and haue tasted the heauenlie gift, and haue bene made partakers of the holie Ghost, and haue tasted of the good word of God, if they fall awaie, should be renewed by repentance. That is not to be understood of euicr falling, but of that whereby all is renouenced, and faith forsaken. Therein is no remission, because thereof can be no repentance: for if it be come man to haue faith, which must haue light, and if that faith be utterly renouenced, they are not renewed by repentance. These men

men haue put no difference betwixt fallings, and those renouencings which seeme to belong vnto sinne against the holie Ghost. Some fell in persecutions, but insauable in their mind they renouenced not faith; outwarde they did sacrifice, as bth Marcellinus the bishop of Rome; and Peter, which with his mouth denied Christ: because they had insauable the rot of faith, therefore there was place to repentance. They returned to the church, the bishops said that they had not utterly renouenced faith, without the which repentance might not haue bene. But the Nouatians by no means gaue them peace. A truth in deed it is, that sinne against the holie Ghost hath no remission, because it hath no repentance, seeing faith is utterly renouenced. They which haue abused faith, haue sinned most grauously; but when they haue done repentance, the church receiue them. But thou wilt saie, that they do but faime: the priest hath respect to those things which be done, but he feardeyth not their hearts. E. cecolius Sophista, when as the emperours at the beginninge were not chynhis, he also was an aduersarie vnto religion; afterward vnder Constantine he fauoured the same; againe, vnder Iulian he recanted, and afterward vnder Ioanlian he returned againe: he lieng at the temple gates said vnto such as entred in; I read vpon me, which am fait without fauour. An vnconstant and changeable man was he, and yet the church receiued him. Therefore those places being well vnderstand, helpe not the Nouatians.

7 We brought in a double distinction of repentance. There followeth another, which hath bene found out by the papists: the same do the doctors of Colen teach in their Antididagma [so intitle]. They saie that one sort of repentance is to be prayed vnto the Chynhis, and another vnto them which be fallen after baptism. This do they saie, because they would escape the arguments, which shew, that saluation by Christ cometh gratis. They saie, that the Chynhis must be so washed to saluation, as they may be leane in Christ, therein are not required teares, fastings, and other satisfactions: but if they repent, they haue free remission of finnes. But if they become chynhis, and fall into finnes, another waie must be vsed; namely, that by fastings, by almes, deues, and by other satisfactions they maie haue remission of finnes. To confirme this, they bring a place to the Romans: The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. It is ment (saie they) as touching the first repentance, namely, that that calling is without repentance. They bring Ambrose, that he so vnderstandeth that place. But they speake fallie: for if it be true repentance, it followeth followeth after it; neither can there be repentance in them, which come vnto Christ

without fauour. How can they say that moone and confesse that they haue sinned? In the 2. epistle to the Corinthians the 7. chapter, it is said; that Repentance worketh godlie sorrow in vs: that so it is, the Niniuites declare, who hearing the preaching of Ionas, repented in sacke cloth, &c. read in the 2. chapter of the Acts of the apostles, that the Hebrewes, when they had heard the preaching of Peter, were pricked in their hearts. Augustine gulleth, because he was baptised, and was by little come vnto Christ. Iud in manie figures and teares, as apertly by his booke of confessions: and that was his first conuersion.

Touching Ambrose, and the place alledged out of the epistle to the Romans, I need not much to saie: for in that place there is nothing spoken as touching the repentance of man, but of God. He had shewed, that God chose the Hebrewes; and that therefore it was not credible, that he had altogether related them. If Ambrose speake otherwise, let him looke to that himselfe. As he it is, that in the primitive church, when they came vnto baptism, they were not wont to be tried of the bishops by teares and sighs; but they did onlie instruct the. by mouth; they required not paynes of repentance, as they did afterward, if they had fallen. But at this date that repentance will these men haue: they speake, when as all infants be baptised; none vnconuoluted, whereby finnes are freely forgotten through faith; but onlie that which hath remission of finnes, by wayes of satisfaction, by almes, deues, by oblations, and by those things which tend to their owne gaine. Therefore their distinction, which they haue made, is ridiculous.

8 Others saie, that there is one kind of repentance, which is priuate, another publicke, and another solemne. Priuate repentance is that, which is priuate alone: publicke is that, which is openlie done: the solemne is that, which onlie the bishop inuolmeth, and the same is done with great pompe. They exclude sinners from the church, as Adam was diuorced of paradise: when a yere is come and gone, they will haue them to be presented in the great weeke. Whereof both the Baiter of the sentences maie mentioun in the 4. booke and 14. distinction. Origin also in the 25. homilie vpon Leuiticus, seemeth to speake of the same: he saith, that it was seldom granted. The Canonists speaking of solemne repentance, would that it should therefore be had, because others might be terrified: and they will that the same be done but once onlie. They admit not them anie more to the holie orders, who haue thus solemne done penance: neither do they grant it to clergie men & ministers of the church. Why they would not efformes reuelus this solemne repentance, the Baiter of the sentences bringeth a reason; namely, least such men;

Rein. 5.1.

As saith the  
of 10. Loms  
barnus, and  
of Gratianus.

the Noua-  
tian heret-  
icks,

As confesse  
tion of the  
Romans  
brethren.  
Ezech. 32.

As Sam. 11.  
Kin. 23.11  
King. 23.11  
Mat. 26.69.

Mat. 18.11

Heb. 10.4

Constantine  
fauoured  
repentance.

A fourth  
distinction  
of repen-  
tance.

Cen. 3.13

why solemne  
repentance  
was not  
after res-  
tored.

medicine should become of small estimation. Which reason Augustine in a certaine epistle to Macedonius seemeth to allegoe. This Macedonius was gouernour of a prouince, and it happened oftentimes, that Augustine and other bishops made intercession for heretikes. Among other things, he wryteth vnto Augustine, that he maruelled if they could do well; albeit alie then as after repentance once done, they were not inioined thereunto againe. Augustine answered by wryting, that the common repentance was not denied vnto them; but this most humble repentance was not reuelow, least it should growe contemptible.

Augustine.

The cause why certain times were preferred to others in penitence.

In his *Enchiridion* vnto Laurence, the 65. chapter, he sheweth also a cause why certaine times were preferred to repentance: not because the Lord is slacke to forgive him that is true penitent; but men vnderstand not this: he is to be received into the church; they knowe not well, whether he be penitent or no: a temporal probation is prescribed. Vnto they should be handled by the people at such time as they viced solenne repentance. As noted in Augustines treatise vpon the 61. psalme, toward the end.

They which had done solenne repentance were excluded from the holie ministration, and why?

Ierom.

The cause.

He describeth a certaine man, which bring a churman, inclined himselfe vnto magicall arts: this man (saith he), so fell from the church, as he now saide, that it is not man which committeth adulterie, but the flatter of Venus: that man committeth not murder, but the flatter of Mars: this man deceiveth manie, he now returneth vnto the church, and desireth reconciliation. A long time (saith he) he knoeche before Caesar, and as yet is not received: marke him well, and consider of his actions, and as you find him, so let me. But therfore they would not admit them to holie orders, which had done solenne repentance, the reason is allegged. If to be that they should be afterward in the ministration, their wickednes being called to mind, they should be of no reputation, when as it becometh the ministers of the church to be had in reuerence. Furthermore, with what face can they chafte wickednes in others, when they them selves be guilty of the same? In this small outward ceremony, they will seeme to be wise & careful; but in giving them orders, they neuer thinke of aule such thing. Why doo they give orders vnto such as be wicked, and who as yet haue not repented? Albeit Ierom against the Luciferians, affirmeth, that solenne repentance in bishops ought to be received: which the Luciferians denie. Certainlie we reade it to be oftentimes done, that the bishops, which came from the Donatists, were received againe into their owne dignities. Onelic hande were laid vpon them, so that the canons, touching solenne repentance, are not kept; and now at this time are

cleane groue out of bre.

9 There followeth another distinction. They fit his saie that one repentance is a vertue, and another is a sacrament: for they saie that the vertue is selfe of repentance doth abide in men for ever, and that the sacrament is received for certaine times. And this vertue being morall, they saie must be referred vnto some one of those four capital vertues; namely, vnto iudice, (for the honor is referred vnto God) then vnto a reuenging iudice, because they seeme to punish in them felues the wicked acts which they haue committed. Wherbeit it is not proper, a reuenging iudice, as they teach: for often times he taketh reuenge against his will, vpon wronging his nee.

For when they compare the vertue of repentance with a sacrament, they saie, that after a sort it is the cause of forgiveness of finnes: which the spasser of the sentences testifieth in the place before allegged. Against this, they set a sacramental repentance, whereof they make three parts: Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction. Albeit Pighius differeth from them, saing; that it is not proper to a part, but a sequele: perhaps because he saue the parish priest absolute the penitent sinner, before he did that which he was inioined to do. But where leave they men absolucion, which thus diuide repentance into parts; seeing the same neuertheless is the principle thing? Thomas Aquinas, in a certaine place saith, that the same may seeme to be the forme: and the other parts to be as the matter. Absolucion is the preaching of forgiveness of finnes: it is that heie whereby the believers are loosed. He heie which bindeth, is that, whereby they saie that vnbelievers do remaine in their finnes. It is certaine, that that preaching of forgiveness of finnes is comprehended in faith: Christ saith; Beleeue my sonne, thy finnes are forgiven thee.

10 As concerning this distinction of repen-  
tance, there is a doubt, that it appereth not plain-  
ly, whether repentance be a sacrament: all they  
saie that is one. For the easier vnderstanding  
of it, let vs see what a sacrament is. A sacrament  
signifieth a secret and hidden thing: for them  
craments are propounded vnto the people, all  
men knowe not what they meane. They are  
plain vnto such onelic as be well entered into  
religion:

religion: that is to saie, vnto belouers. Let the  
Christe come, he shall be water, bread, and  
wine: but what the same is, he shall not perceiue:  
the faithful man shall vnderstand what they  
meane. The Gracians call it *mysterion*. A mysterie  
the Latines *Sacramentum*. A sacrament, a signe,  
or oth. And this which we call *Sacramentum*,  
came first from warriors, and was a bond be-  
tweene the soldier and the captiue, and againe,  
betweene the captiue and the soldier. Sacra-  
ments are tokens, whereby God is bound vnto  
vs, and we vnto him. Thus much of the names.  
As touching the definition, some saie that a sa-  
crament is the signe of a holie thing. But after  
this manner we shuld haue infinite sacraments:  
for all good actions are significations of an holie  
thing, that is, of faith, hope and charitie, which are  
hidden in vs; seeing in the Baptisme, they haue  
manie croppings, gestures, and vestiments, all  
which be sacraments. Wherfore they haue con-  
structed the matter in an other definition, & said,  
that it is a visible signe, of an inuisible grace: &  
that it is a visible signe, and hath not relation to  
certaine holie thing, but to inuisible grace onelic.

Where  
meaneth  
the be-

the defini-  
tion of a sa-  
crament.

Of the mean-  
ing of the  
word sacrament.

Of the other  
things had  
to do with sa-  
craments.

Whiche  
definition  
is false.

What a sa-  
crament  
signifieth.

Furthermore they, and especiallie the spasser  
of the sentences, haue added a wicked saing:  
that they be not onelic signes and representati-  
ons, but also the verie causes of grace. If they  
would saie, that they were certaine visible in-  
struments, which God vseth, as he vseth the out-  
ward word for the stirring vp of faith, they  
should not speake amisse; but to saie that it is the  
cause of grace, they speake not well. Besides,  
what would they do with matrimonic? A yet  
will haue it to be a sacrament, and yet they saie  
that there is no grace giuen vnto men thereby.  
They would haue the sacraments to be fruit  
in number; but from whence they haue them,  
they are not able to declare by the holie scrip-  
tures. The elder fathers had but two sacra-  
ments. The elder fathers they make mention of re-  
pentance. These things Augustine wryte vnto  
Iulianus, in his third booke *De doctrina christiana*,  
the 16. chapter. Ambrose, in his booke *De sa-  
cramentis*, in the tenth of these two. Wherfore of  
necessitie they men must either confesse, that  
they haue forgotten the sacraments, or els that  
there was not received so great a number. In  
that age, what they forgot it, we cannot saie; see-  
ing they compiled a whole treatise of that ma-  
ter. Therefore this multitude of sacraments  
was not received at that time.

11 But let vs come to the defining of it.  
Pighius also defineth a sacrament, and saith, that  
it is an effectual signe ordeined by God, where-  
by is signified vnto vs a certaine kind of effect  
of the helpe and grace of God, which is present  
at all times, so there be not some thing to let  
in them that use the same. Whereas he saith, to be

grin twill, that it is a signe of rite instituted by  
God, that is true; for it is not in the power of  
man to ordeine sacraments: they be testimo-  
nies, as (or some part faile): scales of the will of  
God: and it is not the part of man to counterfeite  
the holie scriptures. Furthermore, they leaue out of  
the holie scriptures: Christ asked the scribes &  
pharisees, from whence the baptisme of Iohn  
was. If they had said, Of Mose, it had seemed tri-  
tulous: for seeing sacraments belong to the na-  
ture of faith, it is meet they should be ordeined  
out of the holie scriptures, from whence faith it  
selfe is taken. And men, which of their owne au-  
thoritie go about to institute sacraments, do  
make themselves to be gods. To deale after this  
sort in religion, were to worship God with con-  
mendations and traditions of men: which  
Christ hath forbidden.

A litle, seeing that Man is a licer, and so is de-  
clared in the holie scriptures to be; the things  
which are instituted by him, haue in them no per-  
fect truth: wherfore sacraments must not be in-  
stituted by men. He saith moreover, that by this  
signe is signified to vs some rare effect; because  
he will comprehend manie sacraments; he will  
not reframe it to one effect; namely, to the re-  
mission of finnes. He saith, that the effects are  
diuers; as the remission of finnes offered, which  
is offered in baptisme, and in the Eucharist: be-  
sides, he sheweth other effects of the word of  
God; that in matrimonic should be an insep-  
arable coupling together; in the holie order  
should be a power of gouerning the church; and  
so of other things: vntill there be some let in  
them that vse those things. This he saith, to shew  
the efficacy of sacraments. For in that some do  
receiue the sacraments, and obteine not the ef-  
fects; that happeneth, because they come vnto  
them without religion and faith. If the folloio his  
definition, he thinketh that he is able to compre-  
hend manie sacraments. But on the other side,  
they which saie, that the grace of the forgiveness  
of finnes is signified by the same, doo they them-  
selues onelic to these two; namely, baptisme  
and the supper of the Lord.

12 As to define a sacrament, we may saie; that  
A sacrament is a promise of God, touching  
the remission of finnes through Christ, signified  
and sealed by the institution of God with an  
outward or visible thing; to the end that our  
faith should be lifted vp in vs, and we to be  
more and more knit vnto God. This (saith)  
unto me to be a full definition. A two things it  
containeth; namely, an outward grace, and a  
thing signified; wherfore I placed it first,  
with the outward grace, to the end that it  
should be first, and so the promise of God, and  
so said; that it is the promise of God, and is  
contentant about the remission of finnes throu-  
gh Christ. For the sacraments, which be in  
the

that is  
in soch, not  
in men to  
institute sa-  
craments.  
Mat. 23. 19.

Phil. 1. 6.  
Rom. 8. 4.

Another  
definition of  
a sacra-  
ment.

the holie scriptures, do theſe make mention thereof. Furthermo, this promiſe is ſeald: why ſaying the ſcripture ſheweth, calling circumciſion a ſeale: for the ſacraments are certaine tokens and ſeales of the promiſes of God. But ſo far as theſe outward inſtruments be elements, they cannot of themſelves have therewith to ſignifie and ſeale: therefore it is added: By the inſtitution of God. The end is, that our faith may be ſtirred up by the holie Chriſt, which power the outward things have not in them to themſelves; the holie Chriſt beſtows theſe inſtruments: and faith tenderly unto that end, that we ſhould be the more knit unto God. The cauſes ye have. The ſmall cauſe is the ſignification and ſealing. The matter, which is ſealed, and whereabout it is conuerſant, is the promiſe of God, touching the remiſſion of finnes. The efficient cauſe is the inſtitution of God. The final cauſe is, the ſtirring up of our faith, whereby we may be ioined unto God. And I allow of that, which is commonlie ſaid; Sacraments be viſible wordes; they ſtir vp men by the ſight & other ſenſes. Rightlie ſhould Chriſtians ſay; If we were ſpirits, we ſhould not have need of theſe inſtruments: but we be compounded of a ſpirit, and a bodie; the ſenſes of the bodie do ſtir up the minde.

we by the outward thinge the ſubſtance touching the number of ſacraments.

1. But if we proſecute this definition, we exclude marriage, repentance, orders, confirmation, and annointing; as I will particularly declare, after I have ſaid this one word, that ſome will here ſay: Why do ye ſeake for a knot in a ruſh; or make a doubt of a thing that is plaine? Theſe men would coſe theſe ſeven with the name of ſacraments: what have ye to do therewith? It is not the name that we much ſtand upon, but it is the matter it ſelfe. We knowe, that it is lawfull for Chriſtians to uſe the name, ſo that there be no ungodlines hidden under it: but let us ſee that they ſhould have to be ſignified by this word. They ſay that a ſacrament is a viſible ſigne of an inviſible grace; and they adde it to be the cauſe: ſo that they make theſe ſacraments of theirs to be the inſtruments of ſalvation. Then, if they will receive it, we ſay, and cloſe them under this kind of ſpeech, it is ungodly. If men there can be no viſible elements overlaid, let them either change this phraſe of ſpeech, and ſay, that a ſacrament doth not ſignifie theſe things, and then we will grant unto them: or elſe, if they will ſtill uſe this kind of ſpeech, let them addiſe from the name [of ſacrament]. The ſpauler of the ſermones ſaith, that The ſacraments of the old lawe were not propertie ſacraments; becauſe they brought no grace. It is a deſervable thing to take away this propertie from the inſtitu-

tions of God, and to attribute the ſame unto the inventions of men. To make the matter more plaine, conſider ye that there be more things required in a ſacrament: firſt cometh the outward element, then is added the word of promiſe. Auguſtine ſaith; Let the word be added unto the element, and it is made a ſacrament. The third is the commandement of the Lord, that it ſhould be done. As touching the element, that is received into the bodie, ſeing it is an outward thing: but the promiſe is received into the ſoule. The word muſt come, that the element may have a ſignification to ſignifie this thing.

If it be ſo, let us hearken diſpute of the ſacraments, which we have excluded. Concerning the holie order; there the impoſition of hands is the viſible ſigne: this we reject not; it comes to hence the word of God. Paule ſaith unto Timo. 1. Tim. 5. 22. Lay not thy hands ſuddenly upon anie man, when he ſaith that it muſt not be done ſuddenly, he meaneth, that it muſt be done grauele and conſiderately. Further he ſaith; Sit vp the grace, which is in thee, by the putting on of hands: to ſhew we acknowledge the outward ſigne. But what promiſe is there? None ſurely, as touching the forgiveness of finnes. When miniſters are made; the power of prebending the word of God is promiſed unto them; they give power to make Chriſt, and that rightlie indeed to make him, ſo far as in them lieth. They ſay, that in the ſupper Chriſt obeyed his apotles; and they attribute more unto that thing, than unto the word. Further, they have added bannin; but Chriſt did not anoint his apotles. Whereover, they thinke that by putting on of hands, they have power to give the holie Chriſt. But Auguſtine, in his third booke De baptiſmo, againſt the Donatiſts, and 16. chapter, ſaith; that The ſame putting on of hands, is nothing elſe, but praying for a man: as much to ſay, as they do commend him unto God. Wherefore, the ordering of miniſters is no ſacrament, in ſuch ſort as hath bene ſaid: for therein is no mention made of the forgiveness of ſins, which is the onelie promiſe that true ſacraments do ſeale.

14. Let us alſo ſpeake of repentance; for they tranſferred this putting on of hands, even unto repentance; but God did not command it. Yet the ancient fathers did it, as Cyprian in manie of his epittles doth teſtifie. This was no other thing, but to praye unto God for him, that the word be him ſtrengthened in that purpoſe. There were others; which ſaid, that lamentation and ſighings are a viſible ſigne in them, which be penitent; but this ſigne represented a change of our purpoſe; even an inward repentance; howbeit, do theſe reſpects it ſhall not be called a ſacrament, becauſe it doth not receive anie promiſe. The inward things, which ye

that we promiſe is no ſeale.

ſaie are ſignified, are not the promiſe of God touching the remiſſion of finnes; but they teſtifie a ſorrowe. Better ſaid they, which called the impoſition of hands the outward ſigne, and that the remiſſion of finnes is the thing ſignified; howbeit, that is rather ſignified by the word of the Lord, than by the putting on of hands. That ſigne is a ſigned thing: it is not in the word of God, that it ſhould be given unto them which be penitent.

Touching confirmation, we muſt underſtand, that this was the beginning thereof. When men were baptiſed in their infancy, and had not made confeſſion of their faith, it was decreed, that after they were come to a riper age, they ſhould be called unto the biſhop, and ſhould openly profeſſe their faith; then did the biſhop put his hands upon them; that is, he prayed for them, that they might perſiſt in the true faith. It was a more outward policie; but it was not commanded to be done, therefore it was no ſacrament; it was without commandement.

In the tenth of Marke, Chriſt put his hands upon the children; but he required not a profeſſion of their faith. The apotles put their hands upon them that were baptiſed, that the inviſible gifts of the holie Chriſt might deſcend upon them. But at this daie theſe things are not done. They which confirme, do not give theſe graces unto men: when the thing is ſealed, they reſtaine the graces. They ſay ſo; I ſigne the with the ſigne of the croſſe, and confirme the in the croſſe of ſalvation. In the name of the father, &c. What word of God is there in theſe things? Whereunto they have added alſo. Further, they have attributed more unto their owne rite or cuſtome, than to baptiſme. Baptiſme is done of currie preſt, but confirmation is given by the biſhop onlie. Howbeit, Ieron contra Iuſtinerian, ſaith; that The biſhop doth put his hand upon them that be baptiſed; that it is committed unto them for the honour of church, and not through the neceſſitie of commandment; therefore confirmation is unneceſſary, unleſſe it may be kept in ſuch ſort as it was uſed at the firſt. Whereover, the biſhop giveth a blow unto them, when he confirmeth; their meaning ſaith ſo, to teach them, whom they confirme, that they be more triſtle.

15. Annointing of the ſicke is no ſacrament. In the 6. died Chriſt gave oile unto the apotles, in the 6. of Marke; becauſe they ſhould heale the ſicke. But theſe men have not the power of healing. If the thing be away, why do they bring the ſigne? Beſides this, the ſigne of healing was not oile onlie. The napkins and partiets of Paule, and the ſhabdo of Peter healed men. Chriſt took ſpittle and butt, and annointed the eies of the blind man; why do they not therefore call theſe

Annointing of the ſicke, is no ſacrament.

John. 13. 12. Mark. 6. 7. Luke. 9. 17.

things ſacraments: This annulling hath not the word of God to warrant it; ſeing the promiſe is of healing, a thing that is ſurely not errant; what do they with their oile? They pray for them (how ſaith) that their finnes may be forgiven them (as ſaith James). What need is there of oile for this matters? It is not a ſuperfluous thing. The braſen ſerpent, while it had the power to heale ſuch as loved thereon, was rightlie obſerved; afterwards, when that power failed, they would not kepe it rightlie: even ſo, ſeing the oile of healing hath no longer his effect; it is a ſuperflition. Furthermore, therein they call up on the dead, and ſite a ſtrange thing. There remaineth to ſpeake as touching matrimoine. Where there is no outward token commanded by God. In ſome place they give the right hand one to another; others give a ring; but this is not God commanded, therefore it is no ſacrament. Some men will ſay, that the conſumation it ſelfe betwene man and wiſe is a ſigne of conſumation with the church. I grant that it is ſignificative; if they be all ſacraments, which reſpect Chriſt, we have an infinite number. Alas! betwene the kingdome of heaven & the earth therefore be a ſacrament: So doth a grain of muſtard ſeed. A vine, a dove, ſhepherds, and ſuch like, do reſpect Chriſt; ſhall they therefore be ſacraments? Why this means there ſould be as manie ſacraments, as there can be brought ſimilitudes, which betoken Chriſt.

But Paule unto the Chriſtians, calleth a ſacrament, a myſterie. In verie deed, that which is ſignified in matrimoine, is a ſecrer thing. In ſacraments the thing that is hiddden, particie is the thing ſignified; a particie it is in the viſible ſigne; becauſe it hath the power of ſignifying given to it by God. In matrimoine, the myſterie is referred unto that which is ſignified; namely, the conſumation of Chriſt and his church. The Apoſtles ſometimes uſeth this word [myſterie]. In the 1. to the Romans; Brethren, I tell you a myſterie, be not wiſe in your owne ſelues, &c. In the ſecond epittle to the Corinthians, the 15. chapter, intreating of the reſurrection; I ſhew you a myſterie: we ſhall not all die. In the third to the Chriſtians, he nameth the calling of the Gentiles a myſterie. In the firſt chapter to the Colloſians, he ſpeaketh of a myſterie hid from the beginning of the world. In the firſt unto Timothy, he 3. chapter; Truſte great is the myſterie, that God is made manifeſt in the fleſh. We ſpeaketh not of ſacraments, as we now ſpeake of them. But be theſe things paſſe; that promiſe hath matrimoine; Even the procreation of children; and that it is a remedie for fornication. There is no mention made of the remiſſion. If we therefore, that promiſe was not onlie under the goſpell; but under the lawe alſo, and before the lawe.

Numb. 11. 9.

That matrimoine, is no ſacrament.

Mat. 23. 33.

Ibidem 31. John. 15. 1. John. 10. 7.

Eph. 5. 32.

verſe. 31.

verſe. 15.

verſe. 3.

verſe. 26.

verſe. 16.

lative. How then do they call it a sacrament of the new lawe? Cuen in the same sort may they speake of repentance. Repentance was in time of the lawe, and before the lawe; why then do they call it a sacrament of the new lawe?

16 They be not all of one mind. Gracianus, in the first cause, the first question, in the chapter *Arianus*, at the end of the chapter, seemeth to desire repentance to be a sacrament. The alldoghty a reason; namely, because it is often renewed. The reason appeareth to be fond, for that means the action of the Lawes super should be no sacrament, because it is often repeated. But if thou diligently examine his words, he seemeth to compare the repentance of private men, with that forlemne repentance we speake of, the which onlie he seemeth to ordaine as a sacrament, and the other not: for solemne repentance was not renewed. But let Gracian go. Merle Dionysius, which of some is thought to be Areopagita, he knowledgeth but three sacraments; namely, Baptisme, the supper of the Lord, and Ordine. He seemeth to grant Anuolung: in his Hierarchie, the minister is bought, which annuolung a dead bodie. Gregorie, in the first cause, question the first, in the decrees, in the chapter *Multis*, seemeth to acknowledge but three sacraments; namely, Baptisme, the supper of the Lord, and Anuolung. Barnard added another, that is, the washing of feet: yea and in his sermon *De carne Domini*, he saith, that this sacrament must be retained in the church. The sacrificing priests, which consecrate salt, do adde one; in the name of the holie Trinitie, be thou a healthfull sacrament, to chase away the diuell. What saye they to manie things? They whi appoint seuen sacraments, distinguishing the holie order into seuen; namely, deacons, deacons, and priests; others haue added the office of a bishop, and the office of singing psalmes: so that the number of sacraments among them is vn certaine. Let them not complaine of vs, that we diminish the number; we rather ought to complaine of them, for increasing the number.

17 Repentance was diuided into that which should be a sacrament, and that which should be a vertue pertaining to iustice. We haue said that it is no sacrament: now let vs consider of the other member, so that it is no vertue. That in the holie scriptures is not acknowledged, as a certaine vertue, the which is a quality of the mind, and is a great while idle. They denie the same, because it is the commendement of the Law, that we should repent: but repent we cannot alwaies. Therefore they say, it is a vertue in the mind, which in due time hath that which belongeth thereunto. These things are not proved by the scriptures, nor by the fathers, nor by

the canons. Christ said; Repent ye: there is required an action, not a certaine habit. Ioh. saith; That the life of man is a warfare vpon the earth. Ioh. 3. it is no habit but an action. Barnard saith; he that goeth not forward in the twice of the Law, and profiteth not, such a one goeth backward. The same father saith; When thou forsakest the desire to become better, then thou ceasest to be good. The life of goodlie men is said to be a certaine way, a path, a race; there must be a going, not a standing still.

In the 2. to the Corinthians, the 3. chapter, it is written, that we be transformed into the image of Christ, from glory to glory: because this is a hard thing, he addeth; Euen as it were from the spirit of the Lord. Wherefore they, which thinke vpon those things, that concerne their calling, are said to repent, because they do abstaine from sinne: as for anie thing that they do go forward in their location, they are truely penitent. In repentance there is forgoiue into Godward: but we ought sometimes to reioice with them that reioice. Those things cannot be done together. These things are not repugnant, because they haue sundrie obiects. We may reioice in God; and forgoiue in our selues. We haue lamenting mingled with reioicing, and reioicing with lamenting. They saie that sometimes we must sleepe, and then our actions are broken off. An Aristotle saith; During the time of our sleepe, although we be hapie, we differ not from miserable men: Let vs call to mind the saying of Paulus; He that eateth, eateth unto the Lord; and he that eateth not, eateth not vnto the Lord, &c. Also; Whether we liue, or whether we die, we be due the Lords. In like manner we may saie; he that slepeth, slepeth vnto the Lord. And Paule saith; Whether ye eate, or whether ye drinke, or whatsoeuer else ye do, do it vnto Gods glory. So manie we saie of sleape: for we obiect the Law, who hath he ordered our nature. If we obiect this, we sinne not. By this, all the works of goodlie men are repentance; for they alwaies depart from euill, because their works be certaine reioicings, and new obiects of God to be desired vnto him; and if they be not, yet they ought to be. And for this confection the goodlie do alwaies praye; I haue gone astray like a sheepe &c. Ioh. 1. I haue beene as a lost sheepe. Forgive me O Lord, I beseech thee. Be mercifull vnto me a sinner: and such like. These be the bodies of goodlie men in all their actions; I mean as touching continual reuolung. Therefore let vs leane that idle vertue vnto hypocrites and doctricall diuines: but we knowe that it is commanded vs to repent.

18 How let vs go forward, and consider of the parts of repentance. Those men haue made their parts of repentance, to be contrition, confession, and satisfaction; but both trull and trull, we will afterwarde saie; and therefore will shew the true parts of repentance, and saith. By named two; namely, forgoiue for the multitude of finnes that be past; therein we are after a sort comforted, and soe afraid. But by faith we imbrace the comfort of remission of finnes; and they saie, that they do this for instructing sake. Others denie that faith is a part of repentance; but they which affirme it to be a part, alledge this cause speciallie; because in repentance there is most done as touching the forgiveness of finnes, and that standeth most of all by faith. Therefore, if we shall not alwaies apply faith, repentance can not stand. Others saie, that this is no good argument; namely, repentance without faith is impossible. Therefore faith is a part of repentance. For then should be the part of the finger of the Law, and of Baptisme. This will no man saie; why then is it rather made a part of repentance? Further, they saie, that the holie scriptures, when they make mention of repentance, and of faith, do speake as of two distinct things. Christ saith; Repent ye, and beleeue the Gospell. Paule in the 20. of the Actes, saith, that he preached repentance vnto the Ephesians, and faith in Christ Iesus. These two he let done as distinct and several things.

3 my selfe, vpon the consideration of each part, would saie; that faith is no part of repentance, but is ioined thereto. We see in a man, that the soule and the bodie are ioined together, yet the bodie is no part of the soule; no yet contrariwise, the soule a part of the bodie: in like manner must we saie of faith and of repentance. The same thing do we see in the sinne; therein is a figure of a bodie round, and like vnto a globe, and also light and shining; and yet being ioined together as they be, neither is the figure a part of the light, neither the light a part of the figure: euen so faith and repentance are ioined together in them that be goodlie; and yet is not one a part of the other. Faith, hope, and charitie, be three vertues, alwaies ioined together; and yet is not one of these vertues a part of the other, but they are seuerall. How then shall faith be ioined with repentance? It is as it were a beginning thereof, as I haue said; and it is met for the same to giue light vnto the mind of him that is penitent. And when the mind hath imbraced the goodnes of God, and the remission of finnes through Christ; then followeth a renewing, so as we lay aside our old life, and take a new. Therefore faith is not a part, but a certaine entrance into repentance:

and repentance is a consequent ioined vnto it as an effect. 19 In my iudgement, there shall be two parts of repentance; the one, a going backe from euill; and the other, an access vnto god. And this is rightlie said; for seeing repentance is assigned to be a changing, and that all changing consisteth of two ends, or limits; namely, from whom, and to whom: it followeth also, that repentance hath these ends pertaining thereto. And certeinlie, this is the rule of contraries; that when the one is retained, the other followeth: let naughtiness be renounced, holines must needs folloio. And the holie scriptures reckon in this order. Elsie faith in the first chapter. Beye washed, be ye cleane, put away the cull of your hands from out of my sight, cease from doing wickedlie, learne to do well, And in the psalme; Depart from euill, and do good. The apostle Paule giueth a testimonie of those parts, and he would haue vs euermore to call abate the old man, and to put on the new. Be ye renewed (faith he) in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, which is made according to God, in righteouse and holiness of truth; faith Paule vnto the Ephesians, the fourth chapter. Wherefore faith is alwaies ioined with repentance: otherwise, repentance should be vnprofitable.

20 How let vs examine those three peccifical parts; contrition, confession, and satisfaction. As touching contrition, it is toioit to be handled by the Schole men (as they saie) that it is a forgoiue received in the will, by reason of finnes. And in verie deed, whosoever hath diligent consider of this part, shall perceive the verie cause to be whole repentance, whose beginning is faith. But these men do hold far otherwise: they seeme to haue taken the name out of the holie scriptures. In the 1. psalme it is read; A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit; a contrite hart. In the 147. psalme; Who healeth them that be broken in hart, and bindeth vp their contritions. Elsie in the 66. chapter faith; that God will haue respect vnto them that be of a humble and contrite spirit. They acknowledge it to be a metaphor; and they saie, that the man which is a stranger from Gods, as it were stricke and obdurate in his purpose: for obtaining of saluation, they saie that it beuolunt him that his hart after a sort should be broken, and that he should use this contrition. Howbeit, because they make it a part of a sacrament, they adde that therein must be the purpose both of confession, and satisfaction; how trulle, it shall after ward be declared.

Where they, abiding in the same metaphor, haue put a difference betwene attrition, and contrition: for some hard things are so broken, as attrition, they

the true parts of contrition.

verse. 16. Psal. 34. 15. Eph. 4. 23. Eph. 4. 24.

Of contrition.

Psal. 51. 19. Elsie 66. 2.

the difference betwene contrition and attrition.

Dionysius.

Summe of the number of sacraments.

Barnard.

whether repentance be a vertue.

Mat. 4. 17.

verba.

whether faith be a part of repentance.

Mat. 4. 17.

whether we be broken in hart, and bound up our contritions.

verba.

whether we be broken in hart, and bound up our contritions.

Rom. 14.

whether we be broken in hart, and bound up our contritions.

Mat. 4. 17.

whether we be broken in hart, and bound up our contritions.

whether we be broken in hart, and bound up our contritions.

whether we be broken in hart, and bound up our contritions.

whether we be broken in hart, and bound up our contritions.

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they be funded into small pieces, and some to be handled, as they be brought into dufl. The more perfect of these, they haue called contriti- on; and the other attrition. Augustine, upon the 36. psalme, toucheth this matter; he (saith he) he is said to be contrite, that punisheth himselfe for his offense committed, and executeth a most seuerie iudgement against himselfe. And he doth claime in what thing this contrition consisteth; When we perccut (saith he) that the laue in our members striketh against the laue of God, and leadeth to captiue into the laue of sinnes, whether we assent therunto, or make much of it, we must erie with the apostle; o vnhappie man that I am! I wish shall deliuer me from the bodie of this death, &c. he that crieth on this wise, doth after a sort beake or consume himselfe. And he taketh a familiarity of physicians, unto whom he flye being the parts of a mans bodie, which stand by, and are out of our sight, to see, to mend them, do beake them; as they as it were put them out of sight againe, and make a new wound, to the intent that those disordered members may be corrected and healed. These are (saith he) of acorrupt hart, we be of a crooked hart we in a manner can allow of nothing that God alloweth of, his commandments please vs not, we complaine of him; wherefore there is no other remedie, but that these wicked harts must be rent in sunder. And nothing else doth pur knocketh of this signifi- cant; not that your bones haue offended, but your yelues; God bindeth by your contriti- ons. Seeing men are on this foie, if he boueth them to bend their eyes unto the word of God, and vnto the promises, which are tied vnto the sacraments, and then there returneth a perfect health. Thus saue Augustine. All these sayings of this are verrie well spoken.

But the Scholome-men turne things upside  
downe, some of them faie, that contrition is an  
act of charity, whereby we defeat finnes, becauſe  
of God. But they might rather haue faid, that it  
is a motion of my mind though faile, whereby  
we deſire rightconline, and defeat finnes. But  
they would attribute all vltiole into charity, as  
though we ſhould be iuſtified by our owne  
woolies, or merites : for they would, that there  
ſhould be a certaine deſerving and diſpoſition  
unto iuſtification, as forgueneſſe of finnes, as  
though men by theſe things, make themſelues  
ſanctified and forgueneſſe, inſtead of ſancti-  
fication and forgueneſſe, which is of Gods  
gift. They are diſtinguiſhed by theſe things. And  
they are diſtinguiſhed by contrition from iuſtifi-  
cation, in ſuch that Caietanus the Cardinall  
ſaie, albeit that this contrition ſhall be ſufficient,  
and that the ſpecial helpe of God be preſent, yet  
the forgueneſſe of finnes is not ſo ſpeedily gran-  
ted. God expreſſeth ſuch a time, as he thinketh  
good. And while he affirmeth theſe things, he ſa-  
theth awaye all certaine of ſaluation and iuſti-

fication: for admit one be as contrite as he can,  
yet is there no satisfaction, and forgiveness of  
sinnes. The holie scriptures teach vs otherwise.  
Ezechiel saith; In what houre so euer a sinner  
shaile foroyfull, I will not remember his wicked-  
nesse anie more. **Wherby, this must be**  
**vn-derstood of contrition apprehended by faith;** for  
otherwise that forsoewing furthereth nothing at  
all vnto faith.

21. They *say*, that if a man be tormented for his sinne, but yet onlie because of the punishment which hee feareth to suffer; this man is not contrite, but terrified. This would I call neither contrition, nor yet attrition, but sinne; because hee conceiveth not of faith. For if it were of faith, it would be directed unto God; For what loquer is not of faith is sin. *Whose* these men be, by their dispositions (so for they call them) but to believe, that a man, by his owne mere naturall power; and strength is able to do some thing whereby he may please God to iustifie him; This is most contrarie unto truth; for men, as their strength and power is blinded, can do nothing, but that which pouereth God to curse and condemne us. But thou wilt say; *Why* this meanes we shall please unto sinne, because he preach repentance unto the wicked. This is a wicked reason: when he preach repentance in the name of God, we require the law to come of faith; and not of our owne naturall strength onlie. Sound repentance is allowed by God: but that repentance, which these men feare, cannot otherwise do, but putt up us, and fraught them with a certaine vniuersall confidence of themselves. Altho we may saye, that They being ignorant of the right usefullnesse of God, &c. Perhaps some of them have a zeale of God, but not according to knowledge.

If that he meant to be attraction, which is not of  
 faith, I state and affirm that it is **sinne**. This is  
 to be a bad thing, but yet may the same  
 be payed by many places of the holie scrip-  
 tures. **Quid dicit** That an euill tree cannot bring  
 fourth good fruit. **Euill be the trees, when they**  
**haue not faith,** neither be they regenerated; and  
 therefore they cannot bring forth anye good fruit.  
 Likewise be faith; That a man, out of good trea-  
 sure bringeth forth good things, and out of euill  
 treasure euill things. **Againe** If diuine eye shalbe  
 created, how great will the darkenes be? **But**  
**in these men,** which as yet be not lified and re-  
 generated, all things be darke. **Againe** The  
 world hateth me, because I tellle againe of it; that  
 the works of the same are euill. **Why** they be  
 without Christ, be of the world, and are euill  
 be euill. **Paule** said of himselfe, I knowe that  
 in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing.  
 That which is borne of the flesh, is flesh. **Ther**

*Contrition.*

men, for so much as they be not borne a nei-  
there is no let or impediment, but that they  
may be called flesh.

And God faith in **Genesis**; My spirit shall not abide in man, because he is flesh. In the **first chapter**; The imagination of mans heart is altogether evil. And in the **eight chapter**, it is added; From his childhood, and from his infancy. And unto the **Romans it is said**; The flesh is enmity against God.

6. And vnto Timothy; Such kind of men are said  
to be captiuated, and bound vnto the will of fa-  
tan. In the epistle to the Romans, they are said  
to be sold vnder sinne. In the second to the Co-  
rinthians, such men are described; Who be with-  
out Christ, strangers from the Common-weal-  
of God, without hope in the world, and without  
God, strangers from the testament of promise.  
And in the same epistle, the fourth chapter; the

men are laid to walke in the vanity of  
mind, in the darknes of the hart, &c. And y<sup>e</sup>  
will they haue, that such kind of contritions, and  
attrings should please God. The epistle to the  
Hebryes saith, that it is vnpossible, without fa-  
ith to please God. Unto the Ephesians, we are fa-  
it. ther to be dead in sinne. And what can dead m-  
bing for: their regeneration, that they shoul-  
dine againe? They be the children of wrath, a-  
13. Whatfoeuer is not off faith, is sinne, as the faith  
apostle hath most manifeſtly testified. The  
3. will shall be sufficient, to shew that this  
attribution is sinne.

23 The same *Scotus* proceedeth further, the fourth of these, distinction 1. 4. quest. and faith; that sometimes a man of his own more natural gift, (once aided by the common influence of God) is able to repent him of his sinnes, and to detest him, by considering how farre it is against the love of God, how farre it hindereth his salvation, and how great punishment and paine of everlasting damnation bringeth. This he calleth attrition; whereby if the stirring grace of God be added, which I propose this ex, he saith that contrition done, and that remission of sinnes and iustification is obtained. But whether that grace be true faith; or with forme delate, they be all agree; or to the whole matter is made uncertaine. First, as touching the time, beare me certaine not, at what time they are to be excused into grace. Further, the cause of the degree required; because they knowe not whether they be true contrite; or no. And they be that a man, which is true contrite, should be sinne, more than anye hateful and detestable thing. They make him that is attrite, to be sinne; but not with so great extremitye, as be true contrite and detestable thing.

And they put a difference betwene these

Martyr. Cap.8. Fag.215.

two, not inbred according to the technique of  
forgiveness; for sometimes it may be, that a man  
will forgive more for his own sake, than for  
offending of GOD. But a distinction must be  
made by some equal consideration; and there-  
fore they sitting only on this foot, that the moti-  
ve may be made through grace, and for GODs sake.  
Further, that there be a present purpose of not  
sinning, although all the pleasures of the world  
should be offered. But this thing hath not be  
which formerly onlie for punishment sake:  
for if sinne onlie be taken before eyes, and the  
punishments taken away, when the punish-  
ments be removed, he will make a choice of his  
owne pleasures. Considerable, there men deli-  
ver manie absurdities: for they place charity  
before iustification, and remission of finnes.  
Christ being murdered to thee, that the woman,  
which was a sinner, had obtained remission of  
her finnes, therefore the same by the consequents;  
His finnes be forgiven her, because she loved  
much. They turne it, and make the anteced-  
ents; as she loved much, therefore his finnes are  
forgiven her. But what iudge they of that attri-  
bution, which they have desired, which is done on-  
lie for punishment sake, and by the infinit of  
nature: They saie, that it is good, because it is  
the waie unto iustification; so that there be no ac-  
tual exception, whereby they saie: Chiefly that  
punishment were before mine eyes, I should  
surely sinne.

23 There be some also among them, being called Nominals, who were of the opinion, that a purpose not to sinne is not necessarie requir'd in contention; and they dare bring to the bar, that in the holie Scriptures there is no mention made of such a purpose. But yet the name of repentance should have admonished them: for what is repentance, but a change of the mind, whereby we proceed from will unto good, so far as the infirmities of man will suffer. And it becometh, that there can be a desire of righteousness, Ezecchiell 14; If so be he shall repent himself of his wickedness, and shall keep my commandments, he shall live. And Christ required of them, that they should not sinne, and keep his commandments, that they should not sinne and die. Wherefore these men do but cavill. And the verie detestation of sinne ought to have respect, not onlie unto the time that is present and past, but unto that also which is to come: therefore we must exclude these sort of men. Some of them say, that it may be, that there is attrition, which cometh of mans owne naturall power, with the common influence of God; so that a man may be desirous, that he hath offered even for Consue. Chappe one it; for if it can be forsworn for offending a certaine sinne, therefore is it not also lawfull to grant it in humane actions, that men may naturall forswear; but this is not the way to true repentance, but only a way to the more sinne.



bicaufe they haue offended God, whose goodnes they might acknowledge in his creation, and in the multitude of his benefits?

So that there men put a difference betwixt con-  
trition and attrition; not by reason of the ob-  
iect, for that the one repenteth because of God,  
and the other for the efficacy of punishment: but in  
respect of the efficient cause, for that they will  
then haue it to be contrition, when the grace of  
God promoueth the same. The one they deriue  
from our owne naturall ability, and the other  
from grace which presently. What will they  
haue them to be done, when a man is attrite:  
Let him come (saie they) to the sacrament of attri-  
tione, and then that imperfection of attriti-  
on shall be taken away; and hee shall please God  
by vertue of the keyes: alwaies prouided, that  
he haue thought himselfe to be contrite, and  
haue lost all biligence; otherwise absolution  
can nothing profit him. But to what end weale  
these men so subtilly: that they forsooth by the  
sinesce, can fearfully diuerse at any time, whe-  
ther he do it for Gods sake, or else for feare of pu-  
nishment. Ye that hearely these things; how  
shall he know? Can attrite man be become  
a contrite man, faie they, by the power of the  
keyes. Where? If he be all biligence. How shall  
he vnderstand this? Surelie he will neuer be  
that biligence: so great is the infirmite of our  
strength.

But these Nominals be, that be which apply all diligence, shall receive forgiveness of sinnes, euen before he goeth to confession; otherwise that he be iudged into desperation, if he haue not the helpe of a priest. If this would faile, that contrition it selfe is penitence, so that if t'rying faith; they should speake rightlie: but as concerning those attritions of theirs, which be done by the force and strenght of man, which were not before the repentance of Caire, Saule, and Iudas; we be so farr from allowing of them, as we faie, that it is no other thing, but a doubting of the forgiveness of sinnes. They make the promises of God to be of none effect, and they call be vnto vouches; whereas Paule calleth vs vnto Grace without vouches. He that cannot perswade himselfe herof, maketh God a liar. Terullian, in his booke De penitentia, faith; that God hath s'worne, and that we must giue credit vnto him for his othis faile, whom we ought to beleeue, though he had not s'worne. For repentance cometh not in as a price, whereby we buy iustification. And as we haue faile, when we speake of repentance, we must vnderstand that repentance, which Christ stirreth by vs, whereby (as Ioei faile) our hearts be rent, and our garments; which kind of repentance hath not the true sorrowing indited therewith. Some doubt whether the saints in heauen haue repen-

tance with them; because in that place is neither  
tears, nor yet sorrow. In the Apocalypse it is  
said, that God wipeth away the tears from the  
eyes of his chosen, entire repentance taketh no  
place in them; indeed in will they detect sinnes.  
But unto vs in this life, repentance is given  
together with sorrow. Thus much of the first  
part.

24. **They** adde confession to be an other part. But the word hath diuers significations; Whereof it must be diuided into his proper significations. **To confesse** is to acknowledge, and to set forth the benefits of God: vnto this confession the faints doe vtout one an other. An other confession there is of finnes, and the same also is offenders foies. One is ciuill, whereby fault is but guiltie, confesse before Iudges those things which they haue committed. This confession is a twofold of iustice. Iohas said vnto Achan; Give the glorie vnto God. There is an other confession, which is done in mind before God: when he acknowledgeth that he haue finned; and this is verie necessarie. **In the 3. psalme**, Dauid saith, My sinne haue I made knowne vnto thee; I will confesse mine vniuerisounesse that is against me. **In the 5. psalme**, Haue mercie vpon me, o God, according to thy great mercie. **In the ninth of Daniel**; We haue sinned, we haue done wickedlie. **In the first of Iohn**, the first chapter; If we confesse our finnes, God is faithful to forgive,

gint.

In the ancient church (as appereth in the 7. 6. of Irenaeus) God would haue this confession to be made in the church; by the priest, before the church, in the feast of Purification: the priest laid his hand by the gate, and confessed the finnes of the people. Eldras and Nehemias made such confessions for the people. *Eldras. 6. Nehem. 1.* Forgiue vs our debts: wee confesse our felicitie to be debtors before God. This confession is comprehended in contrition; for we cannot call by on God, unless we acknowledge our felicitie to be miserable. There is another confession, which is done before men: as when a man remembreth that he hath hurt an other man, he confesseth that he hath offended; and this he doth to make him amends: which thing our sauiour commended to be in the first chapter of Matthew. There is also a certaine confession of an unlawful and publike sinne, which offendeth the whole church: as when men that be fallen into heresie doe openlie condemne the same heresie. Some confesse their finnes unto their friends, and unto learned men; to the intent they may haue counsell and consolation. *Mat. 18. 15.* *Eldras. 6.* *Nehem. 1.* *Mat. 18. 15.* *A confession of heresie becometh* *ver. 13.*

25 Lastly there is a papisticall confession, for  
which they contend, to wit, that it is necessarie to  
saluation to reckon vp all our sinnes vnto the  
priest: they affirme it to belong vnto the laboe  
of God.

Cod. The Canonists saie, that that lawe was  
 decreied by the bishops; others thinke, to flint  
 the strite by a reason betwene both; name-  
 ly, that to confesse finnes unto the manifeir, is  
 the lawe of God, but that the manner and time  
 are added therunto by the bishops constitution.  
 But we heare the reasons which lead them to  
 affirme a iurisdictional confession to be warranted  
 by the woys of God. Christ (saie they) sent the  
 aples vnto the pfects, that they shoulde vnde-  
 re the pfects; wherefore they which be defiled with  
 spiriual leprosie, must go vnto the pfects. The  
 ray of Lazarus, which was raised vp from  
 death, that he was bound with graue cloathes;  
 Christ commaundeth him to be loosed; so they  
 which be raised vp from the death of sinne, must  
 be loosed. They which came vnto Iohn Baptist,  
 confessed their finnes. In the 19. of the Actes,  
 the Chaphians which beleued, were named; they  
 not onely repented, but they also laid open their  
 finnes; they brought forth their superfluous  
 robes. In the list of Iames; Confesse ye your

sinnes one to another. They saie that the keyes  
 Mat. 18. 18. are giuen to the ministers, that whatsoever they  
 loose, shall be loosed. But how can they loose,  
 verif. 27. they knowe not the faults: In the 27. chapter  
 of the P.owers it is commanded; Look vpon  
 the countenance of thy cattell: but how shall  
 the face of the cattell be knowen vnto the pa-  
 stor, unless he examine all their doings: Last-  
 lic, it is no newe deuise in the church, it hath  
 bene in force of long time; therefore, it must  
 not be thought to be anye deuise of man.

executing of the benefits of God. Their office  
 they may do, without any acknowledgement  
 of particular finnes, either of this person, or  
 of that: a commandment they have to forgive  
 finnes, but not to take knowledge of them. **W**  
 heretofore the whole state of salvation would  
 be made vicerine, no man should be sure of a  
 full confession. Christ faith, That Alluigement **Iohn. 8. 32.**  
 is given vnto him: whither will they pierce  
 of particular finnes, as to asigne certeyne wages,  
 and penance for particular faults: as for  
 deadly sinne, fewen penance: **S**o great  
 account they make of their owne decrees, as for  
 the breach of them they exclude men out of the  
 church, and consequente out of euershalving salu-  
 tion. **G**od faith in the prophet Esai: **Esai. 43.**  
 I am he, who do forgive finnes, and besides me there is **verse 11.**  
 none other. **T**he sorrow, firing this matter, is to  
 indicate, and as it were to say, that he is  
 it that we take the life of: from such men  
 heauen foote think that they do vertue well, if  
 they do make themselves subiect vnto such ty-  
 rannie

26 As concerning their argument of the  
leproyes, we saie, that it is most fable : and it seemeth  
marcellous, that at this day they claime  
not to them selves the knowledge of outward  
leprosie, seeing the priests in old time had  
the knowledge thereof by the commandement of  
God. But they saie that it is an allegoric; and  
that the sinne of the mind is called leprosie. But  
an allegoricall argument is not of strength : in  
allegoriese euerie man dallies, as it seemeth

Act. 19, 18.

Iam. 5, 6.

Math. 5, 31.

Matt. 18, 18.

Pro. 27, 31.

they had sinned, but the confession was openlie done, not whispered in the eare. Altho there is a speaking of confession before baptism, what is this to auricular confession? For the papists iudge not that men should confesse themselves before baptism; wherefore this place is interpret.

In the Acts, the Ephesians came, they shewed their doings how they were beguiled by Satan; they brought forth their superstitious bookes that they might be burned. The bearing truthes was publicke; what maketh this unto auricular confession? James saith; Confesse your faults one to another, and praise one for another, that you may be preserved. Two things he would; first, that men should poynt out their infirmities into the bosome of some good men, by whom they might receive consolation, counsell, and helpe of prayers. Further, if one man had hurt another, they should forgive one another, acknowledging their owne infirmities, and should not iustifie themselves. So Christ teacheth in the last chapter of Matthew, that if a man had offended the whole church, he should doe in like manner. If James had spoken of auricular confession, it should behove the priests also to confesse themselves to laie men. Touching the heires; Whatsoever ye shall bind upon earth, it shall be bound in heaven: ye might say, that they themselves should first agree as touching those heires, and afterward let them dispute with vs. For of the heires euerie man feareth what he will: some appoint them to be the heires of knowledge; others of power; others, of iurisdiction. Unto vs they be nothing else, but the preaching of the Gospell, whereby the ministers yocmie forgiveness of finnes unto them that repent. What will they saie, which confesse manie of their ministers to be vnlearned, who knowe not how to be the heires rightlie? What shall they do, which repaire unto them, and doubt whether they be well the heires of knowledge?

In knowing, thou shalt knowe the face of thy cattell. This commandement is profitable, because it teacheth how men should ouer their substaunce, after the right forme of a good house-keeping. If God haue giuen wealth, let them not suffer it to perishe; let them use their owne goods, let them absteine from other mens. And seeing these temporall goods, which be granted unto vs, are so vnstable; and that the crowne, that is to saie, the glorie of woeke doth not abstaunce in duce, there had neede more care and diligence be applied. These men passe to our vnto priests, that they should knowe the face of their sheepe; that is to saie, that they should examine all their acts by priuie confession. After what manner are these things obserued? The bishops doe carelesse heare aie confessions, they referre

them ouer vnto the order of begging friers, while they in the meane time will be passioes, and eniole the wealth. They heare no confessions, naie rather they hire verie able men to heare them for a peece of bread: wherefore they giue an ill interpretation. Further, they do not obserue things according to their owne interpretation. In the 28. chapter of the Psouertes, it is written: He that hideth his finnes, shall not prosper in the land: but who so acknowledge them, and forsake them, he shall obtaine mercie. According to the interpretation of these men, that confession should haue bene in the old testament: for if they will proue such a confession by these places, of necessitie the same must haue bene at that time. But it is spoken of that confession, whereby we confesse our finnes before God, and desire pardon: the which in that place is promised.

They said, that in the church there hath bene a continuall use of confession; whereby they concluded, that the same spozing was Christ. This is false. In ancient time, there was a kind of confession in the church; but the same was the confession of twiced men: it pertained nothing vnto this kind. It was lawfull for the bishops to receive the penitent persons, and to aduise them into the church without that confession: yet they did it not by reason of the prescript cautions, or pious which were prescribed, least they might be deceived. It seemed dishonorable vnto them, that he which had committed so grosse a sinne, should be received. They feared, least the church should haue bene euill reported of. First, this thing is proued by the historie mentioned of Sozomenus, the which 3 will now better expound. He saith, that confession came by the constitution of bishops, speciall of them of the West part, and most of all of the Romane bishops; but not of the Nouatian bishops, which admitted them to no repentance that were fallen after baptism. And the contents thereof was, that there should be ordeined in the church one penitentiall priest. But these men saie, that this is giuen to all sacrificing priests, after that they be consecrated by the bishops: onlie he heard them, which came to him, & taking knowledge of their finnes praied for them; and intreated them for a certaine time vnto praier and fasting.

But because a certaine noble spatrike, which was vnder the hands of these penance-giuerers in the church of Constantinople, had withoute done vnto hir by a beacon; that thing did verie greatly displease the people: wherefore Nectarius did abrogate that confession. He baning taken god deliberation, did thinke he might do this; all the bishops, which were in that church, consigned vnto him, Nectarius for this cause

The next

of confession

confession

was not counted an heretike, nor yet depose from his office. So then it appereth, that the same confession was not alwaies in the church, nor received of all sorts. If Nectarius may seeme to be but of small authoritie, who neuertheless was of verie great authoritie; let vs heare Chrysostome his successeur, who also allowed of his iudgement. Upon the 51. psalme, in the second homilie, he writeth, that he requirereth not that we should declare our finnes vnto any man, but vnto God in our hearts. And in his treatise of the incomprehensible diuine essence, against the Anomai the first homilie, he commandeth that they should confesse their sins vnto God. Upon the epistle to the Hebrewes, and in a manner euerie where he repeateth this thing. And if that Nectarius did abrogate confession, for one whoosome committed, which was openly known; what ought to be done at this daie, when it is the nurse of ribaudrie?

Wherent, least the Gracians alone might seeme to haue bene twice, let vs heare what they of the Latine church haue written. Leo the pope, (as the spatter of the sentence is testifid in the 17. distinction; and it is also read in the decrees De penitentia, distinct. 1. in the chapter Quamuis.) Although that that publicke confession had bene of old, he saue that the same was a dangerous thing: for he saith; Where be manie things which are not expedient to be spoken openly; neither do men to willingly declare them, because of their enemies, least they should be upbraided, and least they should be aduised to their anner in place of iudgement. Wherefore he remoueth this disallowable custome of publicke repentance. It is sufficient that they come vnto the priest, who may praie for them, and tell them priuie of their faults. Thou seest therefore, that in stead of that publicke confession, he doth institute a secret and priuate confession. Ambrose is cited in the first distinction De penitentia, in the chapter Petrus: and it is read in his tenth booke, 22. chapter vpon Luke; Peter (saith he) wept and sorrowed, because he erred as a man; 3 find not what he said, but 3 find that he wept. He shewed that he had remission of finnes, not by outward confession. The spatter of the sentences, in the 17. distinction affirmeth Ambrose to haue said, that he had not read (yet that it was not therefore proued, that Peter was not confided. But Ambrose would attribute much vnto faith and contrition.

The spatter of the sentences addeth; Perayer repentance was not then instituted: and Nectarius, yet Christ had already said, that he would giue the heires, &c. If that place proue a necessitie of confession, it was now instituted. The same spatter of the sentences, and also the decrees De penitentia, distinction the first, in the chapter Per-

Nectarius

20. in the beginning, do lying Presbiter, in the second booke, and seventh chapter De vita contemplatiue, who maketh the matter to be free. Iohn, who was the Cloister of the decrees, at the beginning, in the first distinction De penitentia, examineth the question, whether confession be vnto the laue of God, or whether it be inuenered by men; And he saith, that it is an ecclesiastical tradition; adding, that the Greeks allowed not of such a decree. But Secus inuenered against him, and will haue it to be a part of Gods laue. Touching the Greeks he saith, that it is vncertaine, whether they confesse, or no: that if they doe not, they degenerate, as they do in other things.

Therefore we conclude, that finnes must be shewed vnto God himselfe: not to the intent we should put GOD in mind of them (for he knoweth our hearts), but that we may knowe our owne felices, and fix our owne meries; the which being thoughtfull considered, we may the more feruently implore the grace of God. Paule faith; Let a man trie himselfe. He saith not; Let him be tried by others; because if we would iudge our felices, we should not be iudged. Where is also a certaine paine to be gathered and considered by the histories. Spontaneous, or sole life, was verie much in use, at the time that the variations of the church first began; that which necessitie brought in use, began afterward to please; and so they thought them felices goodlie, if they did live in solitarie places. Where haue bene some, which for the space of sixtene, twentie, or thirtie yeeres liued sole, as they haue no man: where did they confesse their finnes? Wherefore the first church knewe not of that priuie confession. They bind all men by their decree: what then will they do with him that is vnder: when they will not receive confessions by willing; they will saie, he shall beate by signes. Can the priest vnderstand this? How shall he like out the circumstances? Admit that a man speake in strange language; they will saie: he might be dealt by an interpreter: as though a man would also disclose his mind vnto interpreters.

Whereas they would haue a man confesse all his finnes; they be fond men: for, who can tell how oft he offendeth? Ieremie faith; Corrupt and vnsearchable is the hart of man, innumerable things doe there lurke in his hart. They fate all, that he must doe as much as in him lieth; but he is neuer certaine whether he haue sined that diligence that is required of him. They saie; Let him repent of his negligence; but how shall he knowe? Either they will call men into desperation, or else will make them hypocrites: as if they shall believe that they haue done a thing.

E. C. II.

that finnes must be confessed vnto God.

1. Cor. 11, 28

and 31.

The first church knewe not of that priuie confession.

All men can be confessed according to their decree.

So man can confesse all his finnes, yet he knoweth not what he doeth.

Psalm. 9, 33. Certaine direction is confused.

ver. 13.

Mar. 4. c. 25.

Spanne ca-  
ses refered  
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ops.The writte  
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come by se-  
cret confes-  
sion is not  
taken ac-  
cuse.L. 2. 3. 4. 5.  
1. Sam. 1.  
ver. 14. 4. 5.  
11. 12. 13. 14.

he should be persuaded they have not done it. Saie rather let them ready to do better. God, as did that Publicane in the 18. chapter of Luke. We knowe the waie of forgiving finnes; there is one manner of waie for all men, we must not denie other formes. Let vs acknowledge that we haue sinned. Christ saie; Thy faith hath made thee whole: he requieth not confession. They saie, that a man by confession is kept backe from twiue offences: but if we be moze allowed to confesse our felues before the priest, than vnto God, that is not to be allowed. The chiefe fault (if we haue anie sparke of faith) cometh through the remembrance of the presence of God. There be manie, which can contemne sacrifice. It is true shame, if we admit God into our hart. They saie, it becometh that confession be heard, because it is the precept of God. Shew the precept, bring forth where it is. It becometh (saie they) that there be confession, because men be not certaine of their contrition. But of confession they will be as doubtful, as of contrition; they will remedie one doubt by an other. So man (saie they) can iudge of his owne cause: here is no iudgement, when remission is done by the word of God; the sinners haue onely the execution of an other mans benefit. God answereth not saie they; whether he will forgive finnes: it becometh that he answer by the priests. He answereth by the oracles of the holie scriptures. We will adde an other fault of theirs; they haue certaine cases, which be referred, so as each one cannot be absolved of euery man, for euery manie. The Pope will haue manie things to be dealt in by himselfe, and not to be remitted by others in the 17. distinction, in the chapter *Hi. 1. c. 1.* The bishops haue referred manie cases vnto themselves. In the *Extraganaganes de sententia excommunicationis*, chapter *17. c. 1.* the offense of setting fire vpon places, is referred vnto the Pope, or vnto the bishops: so it is of homicide 22. cause, question eight, chapter *Pe. 1. c. 1.* and in the chapter, *Si veniens*, Christ referred nothing to himselfe; he commanded his apostles, that by their preaching they should remit finnes: but with those men all things are directed vnto gaue. We take not away the vtilitie, which might come of confession, which is done vnto a godlie and learned man; nameilie, that men should be instructed, and haue consolation: so that it be left free vnto men. Wherefore, if such a confession that is free, and doth not bind men to the numbering of their finnes, be retained in anie place; we make no (sforme) for the same: so that they appoint it not a peculiar waie, of dipping of God. If anie man thinke, that he receaue a commoditie thereby; he ought not to speake ill of such a helpe.

29. Not setting that part aside, let vs come

vnto satisfaction: manie things are written and deniued of the same; I will cut off as much as I can, and be briefe. Let vs speake of the word. A satisfaction, among good authors, is to appease himselfe to anie man in doing of dutie. Cicero, in the first of his familiar epistles; I satisfie all other men, in all dutie, or rather pietie towards thee, but my selfe I satisfie not. Aconius saie, that A satisfaction, is to do as much as doth suffice an angry man to reuengement. But the scholae-men, of whom we spealle make mention, haue spoken otherwise of satisfaction. The speaker of the sentences, in the 15. distinction, faith out of Augustine, that A satisfaction, is to cut off the causes of crimes and finnes, and no longer to yield vnto their suggestions. Others haue said, that it is a recompense of a tynying that is done, according to a tith equalitie; when we repaie so much as we haue taken awaye of an other mans goods: and their meaning is, that men, by certeine works, should repaie so much as they ought to suffer for sinne. And while they will institute a satisfaction of that kind, first they take vpon them to affirme, that the fault indeed is forgiven vnto men, and the punishment also, in respect of eternitie: but yet that there remaineth some things to be suffered of them, for the satisfieng of God. Pea and they saie, that confession was therefore ordeined, to the intent that the priests should vnderstand what they ought to laie by for God. And they alledge reasons; nameilie, that God doth indeed of his great mercie forgive men their finnes, yet not without tifice.

And although Christ hath made recompense by his death, yet that God will not haue the satisfaction of Christ to laie together, vntill it be as touching them, which together together with the death of Christ, that is to saie, which with certeine actions will together with Christ satisfie for their finnes. The testimonies that they bring are these: in *Deuteronomio*; Let the measure of Deut. 4. the stripes be according to the manner of the offense. In the Revelation of Iohn; Even as much as the hath glorified his selfe, and hath liued pleasures, so much torment appoint ye vnto him. Iohn said; Bring forth the fruits of repentance. In the first chapter to the Romans; As you haue giuen ouer your members to serue vncleannes, and from one iniquite vnto another, so now giue your members to serue righteousness. And all they thinke, that their opinion is most of all confirmed by the words of Christ; Whatsoeuer ye shall bind on earth, shall also be bound in heaven, &c. For they vnderstand [Loosing] not onelie as touching finnes, but also, as concerning punishments. And they saie, that this certifying punishments, was commanded to appointing of punishment was commanded to the priests; that whatsoever they haue set before

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without error of the heie, should be established. That the punishment still remaineth to be suffered, the fault being remitted, they conuince by the example of Dauid, who sinning twiue, had the fault forgiven him: yet that there were punishments remaining for him to suffer. And that there is no doubt, but Moses had his sinne forgiven him, yet that the punish- ment remained; nameilie, that he should be- fore he entered into the land of Chanaan. Af- terward they stand at contention among them- selves, whether this penance imposed after con- fession, ought to be rendered vnto God by inno- cence, or may be also performed of the residue. Scotus affirmeth it; Because (saie they) that these be onelie punishments, and temporall things, whether they be done by one that is iustifie, or by another, so they be done, it sufficeth. Others denie this, and saie, that no works can satisfie God, vntill they be acceptable: but the works of them that continue in sinne, please not God, therefore they make no satisfaction. They leaue the matter vnperfect; but yet in effect they a- gree, that a man may make satisfaction to God for finnes. They distinguish the satisfaction of Christ, from our satisfaction; they ascribe vnto him the greater perfection: For (saie they) he was God; man, and was one person; and the diuinitie was by the humanitie. But men, though not so fullie, do satisfie notwithstanding, through the grace that is bestowed vpon them.

They conclude, that the actions of perfect men do merit of condignitie; so as the punish- ments, which should haue bene suffered, are ta- ken awaye. They saie, that Christ satisfied for the fault, and that satisfactions are in force for the residue of punishments. If thou demand; How can ye satisfie, when as all your actions be al- ready bound vnto Christ? They will answer, that God might haue borne a man, so that all his aas should haue bene of dutie; yet that hee would not, but of his owne goodnes left manie things at libertie. Neither vnderstand they, that saying God commanded, that we should loue him with all our hart, with all our mind, and with all our strength, that there is nothing more for vs left at libertie. They proceed further, and say, that We be able to satisfie God for punish- ments, even in those actions, which be comman- ded by the lawe of God; because he indeed com- manded these actions: but we be loathes ouer our actions, when we do them with a free will, we satisfie God with a free action. And they saie, that we not onelie may satisfie for our felues; but for others also: as in ciuill matters, one man may paie for another. And to the intent they may seeme to cloke their opinion by scrip- tures, they bring a place to the Colossians; I

reioice in my sufferings for you, and supplie that which wanted of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his bodie, which is the church. They saie, that Paul was a man, and said, that with his sufferings he fulfilled that, which was want- ing.

They adde; We saie not, that there was anie thing that wanted in the passion of Christ; but because we are the members of Christ, the good things that we do, are said to be Christs. From hence bad pardons their original. They saie, that the Pope is the disposer of the sufferings of Christ, and of the blood of the martyrs, and of the labours of other saints. Vndoubtedly they make a great gaue thereof: for the matter is brought to that passe, that they communicate of their owne works vnto others, which be of their owne compaie. Pea, and they saie, that it may be, that a man may first satisfie for ano- ther man, before he satisfie for himselfe. But Paul saie, that he supplie those things, which were lacking vnto the passion of Christ, because it becometh, that the same should be prayed by the Gentils: this was not Christ by himselfe; he was minister of the circumcision: but this could not be done without afflictions. And Paul foretold not in them, but faith, that he reioiced in them. For without asking they saie, that some- times it may be, that satisfaction is not required to be made for these punishments; but they are straitly remitted, nameilie, in baptism. For; that they saue, that the primitive church appointed not publicke confession vnto those which came to baptisme, they frame this reason; Because (saie they) in baptism, the death of Christ worketh by it selfe, without our will, but not in res- pectance.

I maruell how these men dare utter such things: as though they, which come vnto bap- tisme, come not of their owne accord, and pro- fesse their faith willingly. They saie, that therein is no need of dispositions; that it is sufficient that there be no hindrance; that is, that we be not delighted with the act of sinne. At the other side they saie, that punishments are remitted, when a man is prevented by martyrdom. They appoint vnto manie works of satisfaction, but they reduce them vnto three points; nameilie, fastings, prayers, and almes-deeds: other things they adde, lying on the ground, and pilgrima- ges. And least they should seeme to brale with- out the scriptures, they bring by a place out of Daniel; Rede me thy finnes with almes-deeds, Dan. 4. 24. And out of Luke; Give almes, and all things shall be cleane vnto you. In the second of Iosel; Turne vnto me with all your hart, with fasting, with weeping, and with mourning. They bring manie examples of prayers, which were vsall among the prophets.

E. E. 14.

31. Not

11 Now that we have heard their opinion, let us argue against them. First, we must be assured, that few confessions, corruption of nature, and contamination (whereby men are let from being of perfect works) is not taken away after justification. Paule saith, that he fasteth an other lawe in his members. Unto the

Rom. 7.5.

Gala. 5. 17. Calathians; The flesh so thrust against the spirit, as ye doo those things which ye would not doo. Seeing therefore we doo no perfect works,

Mat. 19. 17. how shall works satisfie God? Christ saith; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commandments: but these must be perfectlie kept, otherwise we cannot have life by desert of these works. Let them consider moreover, that if they doo anie good thing, they do it not of themselves, but by the grace of God: therefore we doo not satisfie by our owne wothes. If God would deale with men in the rigor of his iustice, undoubtedly he should doo no intire to them, if he should punish all the saints which be in heauen: but he cannot, because he hath bound himselfe by his promise. David saith, that God crowne vs in mercie, and louing kindeesse, & not in satisfactions. There shall no man liuing (saith the same prophet) be iustificed in his fight. Suppose we, that God sitting in place of iudgement, one of these that iustifie themselves should come vnto him: God would saie vnto him; What hast thou brought that I haue not giuen vnto thee? In the

17. of Luke it is said; When ye haue done all these things, say that ye be vnprofitable seruants; we haue done that which was our due, so we were bound thereto by the lawes.

Then Aristotle saith this; for he saith; We can not make full recompense to our parents, and to the gods. Paule in the 8. chapter to the Romans saith; That the sufferings of this life, are not worthy of the glorie that is to come, which shall be reucaled in vs: and yet these men in the mean time boast of the merit of their works. But when we speake (saith he) of satisfactions, that particula (saith) betokeneth not perfect satisfaction; but some portion, which we are able. But what do they saie? (Forsooth) nothing: for that which we giue, is none of our owne; we can do nothing, vntill we be wit by grace. Further, their definition faileth; to wit, that recompense is according to equalitie. In this there is a relation to be had; not onlie our owne power must be considered, but also the thing that is recompensed. Further, if they will that there shall be satisfactions for punishments, it belongeth to twelfth satisfactions, that they may haue a proportion with the punishments. Who hath bene a counsellor vnto God, to knowe how much he will punish euery sinne? What thought Christ at the hands of the theefe? What punishments did he laie vpon the woman that was a sinner? He

The good which we doo, is of the grace of God.

Phil. 103.4.

Phil. 143.3.

Luk. 17.10.

Rom. 8.8.

An obiecti-  
tion.

Luk. 23.43.

Luk. 7.48.

saie vnto the adulteresse; Go thy waies, I will that thou sinne no more: if Christ deale in this sort, why do they deuile new lawes?

12 But the church (saith they) in old time what satisfactions did the fathers make mention of for fasts? I denie not; but that manner of true repentance they would not in times past receive: forsooth such as were better great sinners: their desire was, that the church might be well reported of. But at this date, this kind of satisfactions is abolished; neither the papists themselves reiecte it: naie rather, in their satisfactions they haue subuerted the old order. In the old time these satisfactions were required before they should be absolved: but these men first abase him to doo I knowe not what, and then was the order in the church in times past. They which were penitent remained apart from others, they heard sermons, and were present at prayers, but they in the degree of penitents: at such time as sacraments were ministered, they went their waies. But these things are out of vs. Paule in the 2. to the Corinthians, the 7. chapter faileth to hold vpon this thing, that ye haue bene godlike forie, what great care hath it wrought in you, yea what satisfaction? The Greke text hath *loya*, that is, Excusation: because the Corinthians are being rebuked of Paule, satisfieth him, that is, they excused and appoyned themselves vnto him by these actions: for they abandoned inexcuse. They vze and saie, that the works of them that be penitent, are saide by the fathers to satisfie God also, & not the church alone, the which doth bid offend that had an ill name.

13 Let us see how they vnderstand this. Vnprofitably, the fathers did not thinke, that men receive forgiveness of sinnes by these actions of penitent persons; they knew that this is onlie due vnto Christ: but they vnderstood, that men while they thus worke by faith, do allow themselves vnto God, according as they may; and that when they craue pardon of the sinnes that be past, they as it were purge and satisfie themselves. When one hath hurt another man, he is wont to satisfie him by kneeling, by making request, and by offering his seruice vnto him. The partie offended saith; How am I satisfieth, although recompense be not made of the intire done. But we, if we shall speake of true satisfaction, do onlie attribute that vnto Christ: He is the propitiator for our sinnes, and not onlie for our sinnes, but for the sinnes of the whole world. And after what sort he satisfieth the father, I will in few words contrie. Some haue thought that the death of Christ, and that same obedience according to his humancitie, is of a twelfth twelfth; and that it did not satisfie the father,

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father, further than he accepted the same. They will not grant, that if the deed be considered by it selfe, it was a thing of equall value. They adde also, that God might haue dealt by other means; but that he accepted this means.

There is another issue, which seemeth much better vnto me; to wit, that the obedience of Christ and his death is to be considered: not as in the power of his humane nature onlie, because they be actions as the Schole-men terme them) of subiects, persons, and of indubitable things. The person of Christ, although it haue two natures, yet is it one; wherefore those be the actions of the forme of God: and not considering the humane nature apart, we may say, that the diuine nature wrought by the humane. So did those actions trulle merit remission of sinnes, and were conbigne, and of equall value. But they were due (saith they) for Christ was a creature, and did owe all his works. But he was God, and of one substance with the father; he had the filines of grace, but no craued grace: wherefore he satisfieth, and not onelie toke a taste the fault, but the punishment also. If the godlie be afflicted, it is for an other cause, as we shall vnderstand. Wherefore we must not seeke other satisfactions; this is frelie giuen. Elsie saith; Ye shall be redeemed without monie.

Euseb. 19.3.  
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things to  
our works.  
Euseb. 19.3.

3. They saie; But God hath promised manie things vnto our works. The prophet Elsie saith, Break bread vnto the hungry, and God will giue thee rest, &c. God dealeth with man, after the manner of man: when we would inuite anie man to do well, we promise him rewards. There is wrought an example. The father murthereth frelie to giue a garment vnto his sonne: yet to three him by vnto learning, he saith; I will giue thee a garment, if thou canst recite this; or that thing vnto the booke. Thus doth God deale, when he giueth frelie: & the works be not the causes of rewards, nor can be compared with them in twofoldnes; yet denie we not, that men by liuing well, may merit the affusions of this world; because obedience please

1 Cor. 13.3.

Luk. 22.41.

An enuoi-  
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ture.

let God, Paule saith; If we would iudge our felues, we should not then be iudged. A man to iudge himselfe, is no other thing, than to be so for he by his sinnes committed; to lue brightness, and to change his life. Teares and lamentation are vied thereto; because they be the effects of true sorow. To the intent they may theu, that there is much due vnto these works, they alledge places of the scripture. Giue almes, and all things shall be cleane vnto you.

Paule (as Augustine in his booke *De ciuitate Dei*, and in his *Enchiridion* vnto Laurence) saith hee abused this sentence, supposing, that notwithstanding they had lien still in the filthinesse of their sinnes, yet they should be saued, so they

had giuen almes. Christ reiouced the Scribes and Pharisees, because they were vniclaue, and yet retained outwardly the shew of god works; and said, that they did not rightly, for that the platter and cup, the which stood vpon the table, should first be cleane within, and then be made cleane outwardly. He exposteth them to inuward cleanness. When men inuwardly become pure, they do outwardly the office of charity, which Christ comprehended vnder the name of almes-deeds; and then all things be cleane. In Daniel it is said; Redeem thy sinnes with almes. Dan. 4. 24. Where Elsie had said; Be ye washed, be ye cleane: he added; Then contend with me in iudgement. If your sinnes be as the skarelet, yet shall they become white like the snowe.

Elsie answer, that god works are not nakedly required by God, as they be outward adde, but that they be done with a true faith: then, if they shall be done with faith, it is no marvell if for them there be made a promise, the which is apprehended onlie by faith, because in those actions (as Augustine faith) we must haue respect vnto the end. We may say interpret sinnes to be punishments for sinnes, the which God doth laie vpon vs in this life: those are mitigated. In deed, these god works of goodlie men haue the analogie and force of prayers. They that will obtaine anie thing by prayer, do change their garment, mingle their prayers with teares; and when these things be done in faith, they be heard of God: not that there is so great a twofoldnes of works, that they deserve one thing of other. Cyrian in the 3. epistle of his first booke *De lapsis*, saith; that they which were counted among them that did penance, would haue place to be straitwaies granted them at the first. Alas they do so, because Christ should not be intreated by prayers and satisfactions. Therefore he testifieth, that satisfactions appertene vnto papists, and are not recompenses for punishments.

The same Cyrian against Demetrianus; When we shall depart from hence, there will be no place for repentance or satisfaction. Why do not the papists marke, that their purgatorie is ouerthrowen by this place? And vnderstande, the satisfactions deuiled by the Schole-men haue bene those most tedious and angrie monstres, purgatorie, and pardons. They asseme, that satisfactions depend vpon the woos of God; that they be commanded, & therefore be things due. Who will they afterward haue them to consist of the free woos of supererogation? Wherefore they are against themselves. Our abuses. Also, when they asseme, that he which hath confessed his sinnes, and testified that they are displeasing vnto him, and yet will not go about to make satisfaction; must be absolved, and sent vnto the paines of purgatorie. This is against the

ibidem. 37.

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faithful.

the fathers, for they would not have absolved him. Further, they absolve him that is unpentitent; for inasmuch as he will not take in hand to make satisfactions, he doth not repent: for they appoint satisfaction to be the third part of repentance. Wherfore, there is great repugnance among themselves.

34. But this is their foundation, that the fault is forgiven, and the punishment retained. We answer: It can not be denied, but that men be chastened in this life. Even the goodlie men are washed in afflictions; but God hath forgiven both the fault and the punishment. If he mind to correct us fatherly, it is no plaging of us: for they are plagued, with whom the Lord is angry; and to them doth he give hoto much he is offended with sinne. But those, whom he chasteneth, he will that they be loie for their finnes: the first he doth certifie, his alone be doth exercise. Also afflictions are testimonies of the immortality of soules. Neither doth God alwaies punish men after iudification, but sometimes he doth. Further, it is in his hands to temper these things, to aduance them, and to aggravate them: this is not in the hands of the priests. Wherfore, if by satisfactions they would understand godlie life and prayers, for because those should be approbations and fruits of repentance; we would saie as they saie: but whereas they saie, that they be lust recompensings of punishments, we can not yeld unto them. As touching Christ, we haue in Eclesiastes, 6. that God putteth our finnes upon him, that he bare our infirmities. Olesai 53. O death, I will be thy death. And thus he tooke alie death, and all the retriue thereof. So then, the propriety of satisfaction should be attributed unto Christ, and not transferred vnto creatures, and works of men.

In doth the mortifications of the bodie do ought, but they be no satisfactions: neither ought they to be dispensed by the priests, for they haue no right thereunto. They say they haue the heie which errecth not. When errect not this heie? If God commanded this vnto them, that they should inuine penance, they should constanly haue retained it. But they haue inuined pardons, the which do remit manie of these punishments, and diminish much of the penance inuined. If there had bene a purgatorie, it was there part to que warning that men should not sinne: least they had sinned, that they should by a ballant mind, for Christ his sake) induce those toiments, which God would haue to be done. But by this means we haue from redemptions: Christ redeemed us from the fault, and men from the punishments. They inuine not faultings, for biding of the flesh;

nor prayers, for obtaining anie thing of God; nor almes-deeds, for helping of our neigbors: but onlie, that there may be a recompense made for the punishments. They saie, they haue testimonies, that the actions be good; but not with these petite formes, and numbers, and pilgrimages: neither yet to this end, that they should acquite punishments.

We may wonder at a place in the Decretals, *Depenitentia est remissio peccatorum*, in the chapter *Com ex co*, out of the Lateran Council held vnder Innocentius the third. For they appoint pardons, and will haue them to be of strength to the remission of finnes, and also to the diminishing of satisfactions inuined. This began the Papists to denie, which wrote against Doctor Luther. They saie, that none hath said, that pardons do satisfie for finnes, but for punishments onelie. In that point a man must hold them hard: for ye saie that no man hath said so; Innocentius saie it in the same sort. In beris deo, they pretend nothing else by their satisfactions, but to obtaine the Gospell, and the waye thence of Christ: yea, and they deface the lawe. They appoint some works free, some vnder works, and some works of supererogation, as though the lawe bindeth not all the motions of men. But we, on our part, fall not into these euils. Albeit we saie that afflictions be allowable, yet do we not saie, that the same is done by vnder works; but by entering into an obedience which pleaseth God. Those things which they speake, are fraines to the conscience, traditions of men, and not voluntarie worshiping of God. We denie not, but that the goodlie men, which be already iudified, do refrain their flesh; but that cometh not by aule constraint of men: euerie one doth it, as be percelueth it needfull. Paule saith; I chastise my bodie, and bring the same into seruitude. They errie out, that we open a window vnto idleness, but this they then shewes rather do; for true faith and repentance be neuer idle. If we understand satisfaction for a godlie life, we saie that it is one of the parts of repentance.

35. Where remaineth, that we answer to the arguments of our aduersaries. Whereres they saie, that God doth to forgive the fault, as yet he will laie some punishments vpon us: that is false. God by Christ forgive the fault, and taketh alwaie the punishment. This doth the scripture testifie: In what houre soeuer a sinner shall lament him, I will no more remember his finnes: but if he mind to punish anie man, he will remember them. Ezechiel; If they will repent them, I also will repent me of the euill which I determined to bring vpon them. The speake of the euill of punishment. The prophet Olesai; O death, I will be thy death. If they which

They saie that pardons are available to the remission of finnes.

By this lawe they obtaine the lawe and the gospell.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Cor. 13.

be conuerted, be sometimes bered: those are properie no punishments. They saie, that confession was therfore inuited, to the intent that persons might redeme penance by sacrificing. But that is vnttrue: for penance was done to satisfie the congregation; and to testifie, that men did trulie repent. Auncular confession was appointed, that men might receive conuict instruction, helpe by prayers, and such like. They saie, that the death of Christ, in respect of his onelie, did satisfie for all men: yet that God would not haue his death to be of efficacie, to alie others, but such as by repentance do worke together with the death of Christ; and because we be his members, our good works are called his. But if they be his works, then are they none of ours. It behoueth them that do trulie satisfie, that they satisfie with that which is their owne. In the first epistle to Timothy; the second chapter, it is said of Christ; Who gaue himselfe a ranlome for all men: he saith not; For them which be labourers together with him. In to the Ephesians, the first: in the first to the Colossians; In whom (that is to saie, in Christ) we haue redemption. In the first to the Corinthians, the first chapter, it is said of Christ; Who was made for vs, wil dome, righte counsell, sanctification and redemption.

They bought a place out of Deuteronomie; According as the measure of the fault is, so let the measure of the stripes be. This is a ciuill proposition: he commanded, that when anie man should be beaten, he should suffer so many stripes: vnder that number they might bring in according to the proportion of the fault. But if they will receive ciuill precepts in confession, why do they not also berce, that if anie man happen to fraile in one, he must repaie five foze; if the fraile one thape, he must repaie foure; if maruell that they brought a place out of the Apocalliptic; Euen so much as the magnified hirselfe, so much as the lured in pleasure, so much shall the receive of torment. These sayings recolle against themselves. In that place it is intreated of the harlot, with whom princes haue committed fornication: how much as the same hath liued in pleasures, so much shall the receive of toiments; and that not at the decree of the toiments; but according to the iudgement of God. Doe ye the fruits of repentance. This sentence we linke: we saie it is the commandment of the Lord, we appoint fruits of repentance. A little weight is that saing; As you haue given ouer your members, to be amour of vndeane and iniquitie, &c. These things be the duties of our life, these things we ought to do, being absolved by Christ: if they be commandments, they be no works of supererogation. They saie, that the dispensation is committed

unto priests; but they are not able to thew the scriptures for the same: they bring forth that sentence; Whatsoeuer ye binde in earth, &c. Matt. 18. They are neuer without their erring heie, because their heies be counterfeited and forged with traditions. How knowe they how great a part of them is to be retained?

36. They that would haue repentance to be of value, although that satisfaction come not therinto; do obiect the repentance of Adab, who as yet was in sin. he had not yet put alwaie the hatred which he bare against the prophets, he kept till the vineyard of Naboth: yet they saie, that that repentance pleased God. Augustine in his sermon *De tempore*, saith; That repentance was for a time, and therefore after a foze it pleased God. He interpreted these words; He became humble before me: that is to saie, for my cause. Where the time is that is not temporal, but an hypocritical repentance, which was wrought from him onlie through feare. Helia had threatened him, whom he knewe to be no vaine man: wherefore he was fere afraid by some certaine fault, such as it was; no iudicating fault, but a fault gathered by experience. God gaue some thing vnto that repentance, as an outward discipline; euen as he giueth to hypocrites, that for a time they be of estimation. God hath set such an order of things, as men may folloie either this or that; yet neuertheless they please not God. What did the Lord grant vnto Adab? But little; he deferred his punishment for a while, but at length he was slaine, and the dogs licked his bloud.

Neither is it true, which they saie; that God may bind all our acts vnto him, but would not. Saie rather, he hath made all that is in vs, subiect vnto him, saing; Thou shalt loue me with all thy hart, and with all thy soule, and with all thy strength. They saie also; We may performe the works that be due to; for we be lords of our owne actions. This is a great arrogancie, when as they will make themselves lords, especially of good actions; Is neither in him that willesh, nor in him that runneth, but in the Lord that hath mercie. Wholunt, admit that we be lords of our owne doings; doth not the lawe require, that these things be done willingly? They say that a man may satisfie, not onlie for himselfe, but for others also. But if they cannot do it for themselves, what leffe can they do it for others? I adde, that there is none in the world, which at the iudgement seat of God, hath this right of obliging of finnes; notwithstanding, by praise he may please an other.

37. If we weigh the parts, which these men make of penance; we shall saie, that they are all vntueritie. They will haue men perpetually to doubt, whether they be contrite or no. The confession

There penance is a lab. 1 Kin 21. 27

That all our acts are bound vnto God. Deut. 6. 5.

11

What shall followe by the decree of our aduersaries touching penance.

Whether the penance be by retention, when the fault is forgiven.

Eclesiastes 6.

Olesai 53.

1 Cor. 13.

1 Cor. 13.

To what end the penance is made.



The ſchoolmen ſettle  
upon the  
word coun-  
ſell in  
Pauls.

The fourth reason. They gather a reason also of almes-deeds; as if a man be bound to giue the tenth, and he giueth the fifth part; this man (saie they) doth indoubtleslie more than he is bound to do.

Luke. 21. 1. Therefore Christ, in the 21. chapter of Luke, commendeth the poore silleie widow, because she, potyzyng out all hir substance, being but one small farthing, offered more than the rest; seeing others gaue of that which was ouerplus vnto them: and thus they conclude, that the be-

the first  
trial.

stowed more than the was bound to do. *Pea*  
meoquer, if thou take away from these men  
the works of supererogation, they shall have no  
satisfactions for sinnes: wherein the third part of  
repentance consisteth: bicaine vnto such satisfac-  
tions they require works, which otherwise be  
not due. *For* if that penitent persons should  
be bound, in anye other respect, to do these  
things, they should not satisfie for sinnes. *I* ask  
thee, *I* haue heard many alledge that place out of  
the epistle to the Romans; For these are wil-  
led all the daie long, we haue bene counted as

the first  
trial.

Rom. 8. 36.  
Plal. 44. 22.

and be faith; **ſeeing he knoweth not God perfectly** himſe he knowe here, we can not perfectly love him: **for no man loveth more than he can knowe.** Here we know by a glaſſe, and in a darke ſight; now we knowe in part: **whereupon we ſhall knowe in part.** In the heavenly habitation we ſhall fulfill that commandment: and it ſhall not be fulfill'd, unleſſe it be with all the hart, with all the ſoule, and with all the ſtrength, **And thus it followeth, that we do not now love him with all our hart, with all our ſoule, and with all our ſtrength; but with all theſe, as they be diminiſh and abated.**

And yet peradventure thou wilt demand, why  
God hath commanded vs to keepe that which  
in this life we are not able to doe? He answer-  
eth; It is come, to the intent that our faith,  
while it is here, whereby it must be bent, may  
make vs more earnest in prayers, and induce  
us to go forward; so as we will not cease our  
selves to be come unto the fulnesse of perfection.  
Then, and in religion he hath moost of all profit,  
which beloveth how farre he is from that which  
he ought to performe. Wherefore it appereth  
by these things, that we are to be tied in the midst,  
betweene the first commandement, as touching  
the imbalming of one God; and the last, which  
commandeth vs to humne all lust: that there is  
not in be doo and answer that which is com-  
manded. For whatfoure thinges we doe, ei-  
ther in absteining from the ill, or following of  
the good, that is contained in these two com-  
mandements. Further, Christ saith, That  
the gate is narrowe, and the waie strait that  
leaden into life. Neither path be there of over-  
plus of good works, but of such as are neces-  
sary into life. Now then, how dare they men  
declare those things to be so easie, as not onlie  
they may be performed; but also that a great  
deale more than enough is added by manie.

Further, in that text our works be unpurged from sin, <sup>the reason</sup>   
 fed, and how there is found a great lack in <sup>the reason</sup>   
 each one of them; the holie scriptures in euery <sup>the reason</sup>   
 place beare record. Paule unto the Romanes Rom. 7.   
 hath confesse, that he is sold vnder sinne, and   
 plainlie saith, that in his flesh dwelleth no good   
 thing: as he doth not that which he would,   
 but rather that which he would not. In my mind <sup>hiden 11.</sup>   
 (saith he) I serue the lawe of God, but in my   
 flesh the lawe of sinne: and I seele an other   
 law in my members, resisting the lawe of my   
 mind, and leading me captive vnto the lawe of   
 sinne and death. And vnto the Galatians: So Gal. 5.   
 that ye doe not those things that ye would. And   
 Iob saith, that he doth perpetuall feare for his <sup>Job 23.</sup>   
 sinne works. And in Elsie: Our righteousness <sup>Elsie 4.</sup>   
 will appeare like filthie rag. Wherefore Dauid <sup>Psalm 141.</sup>   
 crieth out; Enter not into iudgement with thy <sup>Psalm 141.</sup>   
 seruants. Which things being on this wise, <sup>that</sup>   
 what

*Of Supererogation.*

what face can we affirm that there be works of  
supererogation?

17 The words also of Christ, which are in the  
17 of Luke, doe utterly confute this sained de-  
uile; When ye shall haue done all these things  
saie ye: we are vnpromisable seruants; we haue  
done that which was our duetie to doo. Child-  
ren would haue vs thus to saie, when we haue done  
that which is well: certeinlie he would not haue  
said so. Therefore the seruants of God, if they

do any thing, they are bound to do it; neither do they any more than their duty is to do: for a servant, of what value so ever he be, is owing to his master all that is in him. Besides this, we are bound by the commandment of Christ, to pay continuallie; Forgive vs our trespases; And in Iohn we read; If we saie we have no sinne, we deceive our selves, & there is no truth in vs. And in the epistle of James; In manie

things we offend all . And in another place  
 1 John 3.6. There is no man that lieth upon the earth which  
 doeth no sinne, And **Christ** said; that He which trust-  
 eth in his riddes, cannot enter into the king-  
 dome of heauen: **whereupon** the **Apostles** man-  
 uelid, and said; Who is he that can be fauoured  
 So farre were they off from thinking of  
 the woorks of supererogation, as there was in them  
 a doubt of saluation it selfe. Neither did **Chri-**  
 ist (as we thinke) be not onely may be feared, but  
 may also attaine to an ouerplus of well doing  
 and impart thereof to others; but as touching  
 saluation he said; That which is vnpossible  
 for men, is possible for God. **Ieremie** faith; Cursed  
 is he that trusteth in man. And also; Cursed be  
 he that doth the worke of God negligently  
 here let euery man examine himselfe, if he be  
 1 Tim. 1.15. for whether he doe the woorks of supererogation  
 1 Cor. 13.10.

on doe neither apperteyne vnto God, nor yet vnto  
our neighbour; which is most absurd: or else,  
that they doe apperteyne vnto them, and then all  
supererogation shall be utterlie ouerthrowen.

In the epistle to the **Philippians**, the **4. chap.** ver. 8.  
ter, it is written; As to the rest, my brethren,  
whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things  
are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatso- the 11. reason.  
uer things are pure, whatsoever things are wor-  
thy of loue, whatsoever things are of good re-  
port; if there be anie vertue, if there be anie  
praise, if thinken vpon these things, which ye haue  
both learned, and receiued, and heard, and seene  
in me; these things do, and the God of peace  
shall be with you. **I. et these things written me**  
**find out.** what can be added moreover vnto this  
commandment of Paule. These things the ho-  
lie Spirit requirith to this end, that the God of  
peace may be with vs. **I. demand of the whether**  
**thou be able; or not, to do anie thing beyond the** the 12. reason.  
**lawe; if thou canst not, therefore contend we**  
**tealeagre verie well together.** But if it thou wilt  
saie that thou canst; then saie **I.** that thou art al-  
together bound by the lawe, seeing the lawe re-  
quirithe both all the power, and strength, and  
whatsoever thou canst do. **Whether both it helpe**  
**thee, if thou faime,** that these woorks of superero-  
gation do serue for the removing of impedi-  
ments, and helpe vs for the more easie seruing  
of God: because **I** will answer, that wee are  
bound to much as we can, to talke awaie those  
things which do hinder; in so much as we are  
not to account of our father and mother, if they  
call vs backe from the obedience of God.

neither is it without pride, and infinite arrogancie: **¶** The  
proudest, to saie, that thou dost more than thou art  
bound to doe: and it is no small iniurie vnto  
Christ, who shall be said to haue bin in vaine, if  
thou mightst be able to performe the lawe, or to  
doe more than hath bene commanded in the  
same. And it is a marvell how they can ascribe,  
that be some good woorths, which if we will  
not doe when we maie, yet that we thinke nothing  
at all, seeing it is a most greuous sinne to  
be to willuing to loue God more if thou canst. What  
else will this be, than to denie God to be the  
selfe God; when as thou wilt not loue him so  
much as thou canst: Till not that be euen to  
abuse his gift and grace? To this end hath he  
giuen thee power to loue him more than thou  
dost loue, that the same thoudest neither be in  
his power nor profitable.

They have vsed to saie, that it may be, that sometimes, by reason of our infirmities & weaknesse, we misse of our dutie in the commandments which be necessarie to saluation: and yet, that in the meane time, we take in hand certeing two: his that be not due. But I will aske them, what manner of two: his (I beleeue you be these?

Against the  
works of  
superero-  
gation,  
Deut. 6, 5.  
The first  
reason.

Augustine.

The same  
Augustine.



these: *To live loose and sometime shame-  
fulle, and to provide that certine spall be  
made a chole of merits, and other things of like  
sort: y<sup>e</sup> selfe, to bind himselfe by a vow of single  
life, and to forsake his parents, to receive ex-  
tra dote a full number of small prayers, to witte  
reforming his life and manners, and to repose  
a confidence in these woordes, as though thou  
shouldest by them have salvation, and exell all  
other men. These be verelie the woordes of super-  
erogation, vaine (I meane), superfluous, and  
(to laie as the Greeks doe) *hyperagga*,  
(as Works and by works: of which the Lord shall  
saie in his iudgement, as we read in Elsie;  
Elsie. 1. 7. Who hath required these things at your hands?  
Elsie. 1. 15. Who doe ye laie out monie and not for bread?  
Thou fennell (will they say) to persuade a cer-  
taine benefite: vnderstande this I affirme,  
that we despaire of our owne strength, and not  
of the fauour, grace, and mercie of God, there-  
by he giueth strength to enter into an obedi-  
ence of the lawe: and that he imputeth not vnto  
vs the sinne which we commit, but maketh the  
righteousnesse of his sonne our Lord Iesus  
Christ common vnto vs.*

6 Now that we haue alleged reasons, and  
that out of the scriptures, against this assertion,  
we thinke it god to set downe what may seme  
most to be determined in this disputation. First  
of all we grant, that the obseruation of the lawe  
is due, and after manie sorts among the faith-  
full, by reason of the diuersitie of degrees: for  
all men tread not alike in the same; which ariseth,  
through the difference of mens strength and  
ableness. All men cannot do alike, euerie man  
hath his measure of faith distributed vnto him  
by God. And there are found among the Chris-  
tians, not onlie some, which do negligently;  
but thole also, which sometimes fall, and that in-  
to most grievous finnes, so; which they deserve  
to be excluded from the kingdome of heauen,  
vntill they should repent: which thing is al-  
waies granted vnto them, that are prebent-  
ed vnto eternal life. Therefore there be found  
vniuers degrees of keeping the lawe, vnto the  
lesser sort of which degrees, they that be much  
stronger do attaine: and though there be much  
wanting in them, yet haue they saluation; be-  
cause the mercie of God through faith in Christ  
sufficeth their want. But they which be the strong-  
ger sort, and go forward beyond the lowest de-  
grees, do not more than is their dutie to do, se-  
ing they haue a greater power and abilitie.  
Therefore they are without all doubt bound to  
do more; and if they go not as far forward, as  
they can, they sinne. So that there is in a  
maner none to be found, which is not speciallie gui-  
tie of this vice; namelie, that he doth lesse than

he ought to do.

And to speake briefly, the lawe of God may  
be considered two manner of waies: either as it  
is giuen generallie, and may be exacted of men  
by outward iudgement; in which respect I  
would grant, that some thing may be done of  
vs, besides that which in mans iudgement is ex-  
acted generallie of all men. For they, which be  
the stronger, do more than the weaker and com-  
mon sort of other men; vnto which things no  
man by eternal iudgement might compell  
them. Euen as Paule received no suffrance of  
the churches, therefore he proceeded further than  
other teachers, and passois: and for the doing  
hereof, he could not be compelled by any laie  
lawe. Again, the lawe may be considered, of  
according as God hath required the same of  
vs in his owne iudgement. And then in our actions  
we can do nothing, that we are not bound vnto:  
for God verie well knoweth what we are able to  
do, seeing our strength came from him; he being  
felic itialle requirer to much of vs, as we  
are able to do though him. Which if we shall not  
performe, we are by his iudgement accounted  
guiltie: the which thing men cannot iudge, who  
knowe not how much we are able to do. So  
then, that our confidence may be quiet, we must  
not consider what is required of vs by the rule  
of man; but to much as our owne strength is  
able to beare. These things if we thus determine,  
all things will be made manifest and plaine.  
Wherefore let vs now take in hand to confute  
the arguments of our aduersaries.

7 Touching the place of Paule, it is manie  
felt, that he had not anie respect to supereroga-  
tion: for he said, that it was better for him to  
die, than that anie man should make this reui-  
sing of his in vaine. But there is none that  
would chole to die, to haue an ouerplus of  
good woorks. And he addeth further, that he in  
performing of this, shall haue a reward: as  
though otherwise he should want the same.  
Which is not convenient in woorks that be not  
due: for though the aduersaries in these things  
appoint some reward; yet (as I thinke) they ap-  
point them not so, as in other necessarie woorks  
it should not be hoped for. Wherefore, if Paule  
should not haue had a singular reward for this  
thing, yet in taking of necessities for life as well  
as others, when he preached, he should not haue  
lacked his reward. He added moreover; That I  
misuse not mine authoritie: which if he had com-  
mitted, there is none but fairly, that he had bene  
sinne, seeing it is neuer lawfull for a christian  
man to abuse his authoritie. Woth he not after-  
ward saie; That I may winne manie? And by  
the commandement of louing our neighbour,  
euerie man is bound (to his power), to ingratte  
as manie vnto God as he can. Neither did the  
apostle;

the lawe of  
God con-  
demned  
no man  
merit  
wants.

1 Cor. 9. 16.

As touch-  
ing the  
iudgement  
of God we  
doe not say  
that we are  
bound to  
do.

Idem.  
As first  
argument  
of the ad-  
uersaries.

apostle, by this his singular example, inuolue  
anie other thing, than to take auaile the occa-  
sions and offences, whereby the Corinthians  
might haue bene drawne backe from their salu-  
ation. But the Lord commanded with great  
seueritie, that offences should be removed. For  
it is true, that he did compare together that  
which was of necessitie, and that which he did  
of his owne accord: for (as we haue declared)  
he said, that it stood him in hand of necessitie  
to preach the Gospel; and that too should be to  
him, if he did not performe the same. But he ad-  
deth, that he might do this woork rightlie,  
and with profit, it was so to be determined, that he  
should frelie plant the Gospel; otherwise he  
had giuen an offence, and had abused his autho-  
ritie. And because he was willing of his owne  
accord to obie God, therefore he glabie and  
willingly did that, which was to be done.

8 Touching the young man that came vnto  
Christ, we haue spoken else-where; and now  
we saie againe, that he did arrogate ouer-much  
vnto himselfe. For he was blinded in the error  
of our aduersaries, and would do more than the  
lawe had required: for this cause he was repro-  
ued by Christ. This man sought righteousness  
and eternal life by woorks: for he said; What  
shall I do to attaine vnto euertlasting life? Christ  
answered him vnto his demand; If that salua-  
tion must be sought by woorks, the whole lawe  
ought to be fulfilled. Furthermore, he reduced  
the young man (who had an ill opinion, as touch-  
ing the obseruation of the lawe) from the path  
of error, vnto the waie of life, to the intent he  
might perceiue, how far he was from keeping  
the commandments of God, by that which  
Christ commanded him. Neither doth it binder,  
that because it is said, that Christ looked on him,  
I loued him: doubtles he intreated him courte-  
ously; neither did Tharpellie reprove him, as his  
arrogancie deserued. Certainlie he might haue  
said; O hypocrite! Why dost thou boast thy  
selfe, as though thou hadst satisfied the lawe,  
whereas thou art so farre from doing the same?  
This inuolue pleased also Christ, in that he se-  
med desirous of saluation: and so did his stu-  
die, which from his childhoode he bestowed in  
the lawe. And finally it might be, that this young  
man pertained to the number of them that  
were predestinate: touching the successe of  
whose life, the scriptures make no mention; on-  
lie we heare that he went his waie. There is no  
mention made of his blasphemies; or contume-  
lies bawling spoken against Christ. If he had lo-  
ued Christ with all his hart, and with all his  
strength; seeing he heard that God required  
this by Christ, that he should distribute his  
goods vnto the pore; he would not haue linger-  
ed. Therefore he learned by the woordes of Christ

as the  
said one  
of Ihu. 13. 6

how finally he had profited.

9 It was obserued vnto vs as touching his  
gutte and sole life, according as it is intreated  
of these things in the tenth chapter of the first  
epistle to the Corinthians. The answer, that St.  
Paul buttressed god a better sort for a thing he  
there more gratefull, & more acceptable to God,  
seeing there be oftentimes married folkes, which  
please God, more than such as live a sole life;  
but he taketh those woorks for that which is more  
commotions; or commodious. For in mari-  
monie there do happen more occupations than  
there do in single life; not alwaies indeed, yet  
for the most part. Whole men feigne I loot not  
what of counsels, as though they may be giuen  
of a better god thing, and of that which is more  
than due. But (as it hath bene proued) where-  
euer god thing we do beuile, it is contained in  
the lawe of God. But we grant, that if thou haue  
respect to all mankind, sole life and matrimo-  
nie might after a sort be called counsels; in this  
sense I meane, that one and the same state is  
not convenient for all sorts of men. So then, ac-  
cording as we shall perceiue either the one or  
the other of these to be fit for anie man, that we  
must counsell him vnto. Wherefore Paule said,  
that he hath no precept, whereby he should com-  
passe and constrain all men: but I giue coun-  
sell (saith he) namelie, that euerie man take hold  
of that which shall be profitable for himselfe. Fur-  
ther, if thou shalt particularlie haue respect vnto  
men, which burie in lust, and be not continent;  
these haue commande ment to marrie, and it is  
not in their libertie a chole to live a sole life. So  
as it cannot propoerly be called counsell, in re-  
spect of them; as though the matter were put in  
their power and chole. And againe, they which  
haue the gift of sole life, and are in the same state  
and vocation, and do well perceiue themselves  
to do better without matrimoine, and see that  
their sole life may stand them in great need to  
advance the glorie of God, they should sinne by  
refusing of that state; for they ought to followe  
the example of Paule.

But we in our wisdome admit this doctrine  
of counsels, by which these men a rection manie  
of the commandments of God among counsels;  
such as are the forbidding to reuenge iniuries,  
the turning of our cheek vnto him that striketh  
vs, the letting go of our clothe and coat to him  
that shall take it; and such other like things. For  
these be commandments of God, who shall beake  
the Lord hath pronounced, that he who shall beake  
the least of them, shall not inherit the king-  
dome of heauen. Also he said; Vnto the right-  
eousnesse shall more abound than the righte-  
ousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisees, yet shall not  
enter into the kingdome of heauen. But it will  
not abound, vntill we do understand the lawe,  
as

to the  
righte  
of 1 Cor. 7.  
1 Cor. 7. 16.  
Ihu. 13. 17.  
understand  
this woork,  
good.

the frigid  
thrust con-  
cing coun-  
sels a com-  
mande-  
ments.

Rom. 11. 19

Math. 5. 39.

Idem. 29

as

Elsie. 1. 7.  
Elsie. 1. 15.

We despaire  
of our owne  
strength,  
but not  
of the  
merits  
of God.

What is to  
be determi-  
ned in this  
question.

Although  
the stronger  
sort come to  
the higher  
degrees of  
obedience,  
yet they do  
not more  
than dutie.

as Christ hath interpreted it. As touching the wisdom which offered with others; we answer, that the might not have bene constrained by the judgement of man, to have polized out of his substance in that offering. But God, who had given his strength before hand, that the should be content to make so great an offering, and knew right well how much the was able to give, would have accused him by his owne judgement, but hee the had offered according to the strength wherwith his mind was prepared.

As touching satisfactions, we passe not much what they saie; seeing we understand that those were altogether vaine and superfluous, yea and contumelious against Christ: for they seemed therefore to be used, as though that Christ had not abundantly satisfied for vs. But if that by satisficing, they understand; a man to appease himselfe unto God, (accompanying as I have above declared) we well allowe of the word: but it will not serve their purpose. For to satisfice God in that sort, is to render unto him those things which he do owe unto him. That which lastlie they brought out of the epistle to the Romans, namely, that the apostle faith; We have more than overcome, it is so frivolous, as I thinke it scarce worth the answering. For there Paule onelic theweth the large and plentiful victory, which the Lord giveth unto his people against temptations.

But because there be certeine places not to be overlooked, which seeme to be against our assertion, wherein we affirmed, that in the works of godlie men there is a great want; seeing in the scriptures they be called imperfect works: now will I alledge those places, and make answer unto them. We read in Deuteronomie, and also in the booke of Genesis; Be thou perfect. And in the gospell; Be ye perfect, as your heavenly father is perfect. Unto the Corinthians; From henceforth brethren reioice, be ye perfect. Unto the Colossians; Exhorting euemian, making them all wisdome, that we may make a perfect man in Christ. Unto the Philippians; Doe all things without anie murmuring, that ye may be blamelesse and pure children of God, without spot. Unto the Ephesians; Blessed be God, and the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, which hath blessed vs with all spiritual blessing in heauenlie things, that we should be holie and without blame before him.

And in that epistle it is written of the church, that Christ denied the same, to the intent he might make it unto himselfe a glorious church, hauing neither spot nor wrinkle, that it may be holie and without blame, &c. And Peter exhorteth, that we should be holie and without blame in our conuersation: because it is written; Be ye holie, for I am holie. And David

saith; I shall be vnrebukeable before him. And againe; Blessed are they that are vndeliled in the waie. Whiche testimonies seeme to tend vnto this; namely, that we should not thinke our perfection to be without hope of recouerie in this life.

Augustine in a little booke of his, intituled *De iustitia Christi*, against Caelestius, that is in the seventh tome, obiection all these testimonies against himselfe, and answereth by these points. Hee will in these places, that certeine things be so spoken, as they may be explications, by the which we are stirred vp to walke perfectlie. But in lawes and admonitions it is not required, that we should performe so much as is perswaded; but there is shewed how farre we ought to inuolue (as now it hath bene said) touching the precept, which is given vnto vs for the louing of God with all the hart, with all the mind, and with all the strength. An other chiefe point is, that manie of these things do shew, not what manner of persons we be now; but such as we shall become in the end, when this life shall runne his course: for then we shall be perfect, when we shall be thoughtlike come to the place whither we tend. The third point is, that by blamelesse and perfect persons, hee vnderstandeth them which be without damnable crimes: and such should they be, that are chosen ministers of the church. After which sort it is written, that manie of the saints haue bene perfect: as though they committed not some sinnes, which is an vnpossible thing in this life; but because they led their life without blemish of the damnable and the greater sinnes. Therefore, although they were innocent after this manner, yet with others they were constrained to pangs; Forgive vs Lord our trespasses. A little as we know, that the godlie sort liued as innocent, perfect, and blamelesse; because infirmities and sinnes committed, shall not be imputed to them, by reason of their faith in Christ: according to the saying of David; Blessed be they, whose iniquities are remitted, and whose finnes be couered; blessed is the man, vnto whom the Lord hath imputed no sinne.

Of Purgatorie, the Papisst-call fire.

But now let vs speake of purgatorie. It is faimely to be a middle place after this life, betwixt euening felicitie, and the punishment of damned soules; in such wise as they which be there, are after a sort partakers of both. For in so much as they be adorned with grace and be confirmed with hope, that felicitie shall be giuen vnto them, and no suffer punishments with a patient mind, they be counted among the

Of Purgatorie.

the number of the saints and blessed soules. But in that they be tormented, & do suffer græuous and manifold kindes of punishments, in that respect they stand nere vnto the lot & condition of them that are in hell fire. And they adde, that purgatorie punishments haue not onlie an end and a set terme; but that it must be ended by the good works and prayers of them that be aliuie. The auctorities induce by manie reasons, to persuade that we must grant that there is such a place, as we haue bene defined. Out of the old testament they cite the historie of the Madabaes, where we read, that Iudas (a man well commended) do beleue, that the prayer for the dead to be deliuered from their finnes, is both comfortable and godlie. Further, they read in Zacharie the prophet, where we see in the 9. chapter; Thou hast loosed thy prisoners out of the pit wherein was no water. Also the 4. chapter of Ecclesiastes; Othervhile a man commeth forth of prison and chaines, and is made a king. They bring also the psalme, where David saith; We passed through fire and water, and thou broughtest vs forth into a place of refreshings.

Moreover, they repaire vnto the new testament, and saie, that in the Gospell there is such a kind of sinne, as shall neither be forgotten in this world, nor yet in the other world: which then might not be spoken (saie they) but hee that should remaine purgings of sinnes in another life. And they obieet that sauing in Matthew; Least the Gaelet cast thee into prison, verelie I saie vnto thee, thou shalt not depart thence, vntill thou haue paid the vttermost farthing. Also they bring that which is spoken by Paule in the first to the Corinthians, the 3. chapter; But he himselfe shall be saued, as it were by fire, &c. And to this purpose also they would haue that to tend, which is said of begerrie Lazarus full of sores, and of the riotous rich man. They pretend also that place in the Apocalypse, where it is ready that No vapure thing shall be admitted into the holie cite. And they thinke that to make on their side, which Paule writeth; to wit, that All knees shall bow vnto God, both of things that be in heauen, and things that be in earth, and things that be vnder the earth. Again, they cite the Apocalypse, in the 9. chapter; that All creatures which are in heauen, and on the earth, and vnder the earth, and in the sea, &c. shall speake praises vnto God. These, and such other places of scripture, they thinke do make for them.

But we must marke this, that the assertion of them, which would needs haue a purgatorie, is not one and the same. For some will force it to be as a fire doctrine, & an article of faith. Others do so to resolute and confidente as firme the same, but onlie they suppose and haue opinion, that such a thing there is. First there,

for it faimeth good to thinke, that it belongeth not to the articles of our faith; that it is not a thing of necessitie to be belaued. As secondlie, we will make it plaine, whether either the opinion of superstition, wherby purgatorie is belaued, be reasonable or not. As touching them which do affirme that the doctrine of purgatorie is of necessitie, we must needs absolutelie hold, that the doctrine and articles of our faith ought to be certine & steadfast, and are most plaine to be proued by testimonies of the scriptures. For we are not of their opinion, which will make the fathers of men to be authors of belouing of things; for we should iudge of the holie Ghost continually, if he should thinke that such scriptures were deliuered to vs, in the which is not vholie and perfectlie contained whatsoever belongeth to our saluation. The epistle vnto Timothy doth manifestly reprove these men, when it faith; that The scripture inspired by God, is profitable to teach and confute, & also to correct & instruct, that the man of God may be perfect and sincere, & instructed to euery good worke. Therefore, if any thing anie waye be such that thou affirmest to be good, & anie thing necessary to be beloued, which cannot be confirmed by the holy scriptures; & I thinke would rather not faie, that the things which thou hast brought are not good, or profitable, than to pronounce otherwise of the scripture than the apostle hath iudged thereof.

For we must not admit that which they commonlie daunt of; namely, that the papistes taught not all things, nor that the primitive church commanded all, that we should be in our comfort; as though it were necessarie to say by name afterwards, that more things should be made manifest. This perhaps we might grant as touching politike gouernement, & of things not necessarie to saluation; but as touching doctrine, and the articles of faith necessarie to be beloued, the ancient fathers had all no lesse than we haue. Terullian in his booke *De prescriptiombus*, saith; Ispie is the church, vnto the which the apostles haue powred out their whole doctrine with their blood. Christ said also; All those things which I haue heard of my father, I haue made them knowne vnto you. These men saie; that in deed all things were intimated by the apostles, but that the apostles did not make all things knowne vnto vs. Here faie we, that they, although they wrote not all things; yet they prouided that those things, which they taught, may be manifestlie inferred by those things which be written, either by themselves, or in other holie booke. For othervhile, I thinke superstitious recrud in old time, would euerye thing be boasted of, as things beloued by the apostles; which things can no other waies be knowne, but because they be altogether strange

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from the scriptures. And that which I have affirmed is made yone out of the scriptures themselves. There is a tradition of Paule, that A woman should haue her head couered in a churche, and should be silent at that place: and that the churhians, which be poore, should labour with their hands, least they should lye idlelie. But these things, being be confessed to be his traditions, he inuencoued to proue them by the holie scriptures. Thus let our aduersaries do, if they will haue any place to be left for their traditions.

*The church hath bene many times in doubt of purgatorie. It was long ere the scriptures should admit it.*

13 But to returne to our purpose. Verie oftentimes there hath bene a doubt made of purgatorie: and the Cretian church in the counsell of Florence long resisted. And it is a wicked thing to expound the places of the scripture, which are brought for the proue of this opinion, otherwise than the proper and lawfull interpretation doth require. But those places being vnderstood on this wise, they leaue no place for purgatorie: as we shall perceiue when we come to the declaration of the same. Augustine also spake diuerslie of purgatorie: for in his *Enchiridion* vnto Laurence, in the 66. chapter, and againe, about the end of the 68. chapter, testifieth that it is not incredible, but that there hapneth some such thing after this life: yet he saith, a question may be moued, whether it be so or no, and that it may or may not be. The verie which words he plainlie testifieth vnto Dulcinius, question the first. Also in his treatise *De fide & operibus*, the 16. chapter he saith: Whether therefore men suffer these things onely in this life, or els whether some such iudgements do also followe after this life, it is not far (as I thinke) from reason. He saith, as thou maiest see, a diuinitive speech: and that the same be true, it sufficeth that either part be true. But of an article of faith, who would speake so doubtfully, as to saie, whether Christ had true flesh, or fantastical: whether in Christ were the diuine nature, or onely the humane nature: and such other sayings. These things which belong vnto faith, must of necessitie be defined, and ought to be certaine. The verie same Father in the 1. booke *De ciuitate Dei*, the 26. chapter, speaking of the fire of purgatorie, 3. do not (saith he) reproue this, because peraduenture some such thing is. But as touching those things, which are necessarie to be believed vnto saluation, it is not lawfull, either to write or to deale in that sort. Thou wilt saie perhaps, Althoughe Augustine in these places seeme to be doubtful, yet that in other places he doth certifielie affirme it. I answer, that those places, wherein he seemeth to affirme it, must be interpreted by these foure other places, in which he hath not the ambiguitie of the thing. Whereby we must confesse, that he was rather perswaded

thereof by a certaine opinion, than that he beleued it so to be without all doubt: because the nature of an opinion is, that we giue an assent, not without some feare of doubt, that the contrarie opinion is true.

14 But me thinketh, this maketh verie much against this faigned desire; that the holie scriptures haue passed ouer in silence, and made no mention of this to great a towke of charitie; whereby brethren, parents, and children might be released from the most greuous vexations of purgatorie. I assurelie, this were verie much to be knowered at. In the old testament it is verie diligentlie set forth, that funerals were extolled; for Abraham bought a field for the buriall of his wife. The same is described, the price is exprest, and all such things are so diligentlie recited, as thou canst not thinke anie thing to be overlooked: where notwithstanding there is not anie mention made, either of purgatorie, or of ridding the soule of him that is departed from the paines thereof, either by sacrifices or prayers. And in *Leuiticus*, and other booke, wherein the lawe is described; seeing there be sacrifices and oblations described for all states of men, and for euery kind of fault: who will not marvel, that there was nothing appointed for the dead, and that there was no deepe place as concerning the purging of soules in purgatorie? The prophets also, being excellent interpreters of the lawe, when in euery place they do commend the duties of godlinesse and of charitie, neuer set forth vnto vs in their sermons anie thing that might prouoke and draw vs on to thinke hereof.

Paule, hauing the like occasion offered vnto him, when he wrote vnto the *Thessalonians* (he taught both to be merry in funerals, and those whom he admonished, he onely encouraged with the hope of resurrection) should at the least write in that place haue admonished that setting aside teares for them which they haue desired, they should saie, that they might not long be vexed with the paines of purgatorie. He bringeth no such thing, but after the doctrine of resurrection, at the end of his exhortation he saith; Therefore comfort your selues one another with these words. *Peen* and *Dionysius*, whom they call *Areopagita*, in his treatise *De Hierarchie ecclesiastica*, when he purpoeleth to maunday the question, whie the minister of the church hath prayers for him that is already dead, he maketh no mention of purgatorie; but laboureth earnestlie to shew other causes. But if he had beleued, that there is a purgatorie; he might verie easilie haue satisfied the question propounded: but it seemeth, that he would rather determine of anie thing, than to teach, that by those prayers the soules of them that were departed,

parted should be delivered from the paines of purgatorie.

15 But now let vs haue the holie scriptures be against this opinion. In the first of Iohn it is written; He that heareth my words, & beleueeth in him that sent me, shall not come into iudgement, but hath life: euerslasting, & shall not of death into life. If Christ saie, that they which be dead, passe forth out of death into life, how is it decreed by these men, that they which die in faith do passe into paines and torments? I knowe, they be wont to saie, that therefore it is spoken, that a man shall passe into life, because at length he shall haue it, albeit he must in the meane time be somewhat punished in purgatorie. But how much this exposition serueth to the purpose, it is shewed in the 14. chapter of the *Apocalypse*: It is shewed in the 14. of the Lord. They will answer, that they are therefore blessed which die in Christ; because they be free of felicitie. Althoughe those fires remaine for a certaine time.

But admit it were so, let vs looke vpon the sequelle: it appeareth that they are therefore called happy, because they may rest from their labours; but to burne with fire is not to rest from labours. It is added also; Because their works followe them. Wherefore, seeing that they were the seruants of God, that they liued well, and suffered many things while they liued, (as of necessitie it must happen to all good men:) it is mete that they should haue a reward, and (as the scripture sheweth) that they should rest from their labours. But if that they will in anie wise contend, that they which haue liued rightlie, haue yet some blemish and corruption, that must be purged; what answer (I beseech you) will they make as concerning the dead? Do not be behaue himselfe ill, euen vntill the end; seeing of his naughty demeanour, aswell the publique iudgement, as the holie scriptures do giue an euident testimonie. Yet did Christ saie vnto him; This daie shalt thou be with me in paradise. And these things be spoken against them, which would haue purgatorie to be a doctrine of opinion, that must of necessitie be beleued, and an article of our faith.

16 Now let vs deale with them, who are led by opinion to beleue the same. And albeit they may present many causes, whie they should suspect the same to be, (for Plato, among the *Greekes*, and together with him many notable *Philosophers* haue aduised a purging of soules by manie kindes of paines after this life: yet better likelieth it is, that they were chaffie vnto to thinke thus, though ecclesiasticall satisfactions; where in we ought to beware, least we diminish the merit of the crosse and death of Christ, by ascribing vnto our towkes, that which speciallie and solie is granted vnto him; to wit, that he should

regeue sinnes, and redeeme be from eternall damnation. We grant, that the church, which from the beginning vied satisfactions; which were onely inuented, to the intent that they, which fell into greuous sinnes, should be proued by the sprinklers, and by the whole church, thei might they earnestlie repent, or no of their felicitie committed. For such men being cycled by reason of their sinnes, from the communion of the faithful; because they might redeame the ignorance, and be reconciled, do sometime diffemble a repentance, and deuide the expectation of the goodlie. For to the great offence of the brethren, they were perceived to be againe admitted vnto the sacraments; being not amended, as they which still cleaused vnto their wickednes.

Wherefore satisfactions being added, both they were tried; and, though God were not satisfied, yet the church after a sort was satisfied; the which they by their wicked acts had both hurt and dishonoured. Which thing Augustine in his *Enchiridion*, vnto Laurence, in the 65. chapter testifieth; for the repentance and groanings of one man, seeing they pertaine vnto the mind, are not hurtful and made euident vnto others: wherefore tokens of repentance are required for satisfaction of the church. And it is a common saying, that satisfaction is an occasion to cut off sinnes; so that men thereby should haue no more recourse vnto them: by reason whereof it brought some fruit, not onely vnto the church, but vnto him also that was penitent. And it is sometime persons vied to obtaine remedies for the wounds of their sinnes; by the means of such ecclesiasticall satisfactions; namely in this sense, because in stead of ill actions they did put in place: and they which offended the church, did by their wholesome example make amends; and they which had bene accustomed to manie sinnes, enticed themselves to do well.

Cyprian, in his sermon *De lapsis*, calleth his satisfaction the confession of the thieft children, which they made, when they were put into the fire: as also the confession of Daniel, which he read in the first chapter of his booke. And the same martyr seemeth to bawle satisfactions out of the prophet Ioe, when as he exhorteth men, that they should turne vnto the Lord in all their hart, in fasting, in mourning, and weeping; so as they should not rent their garments, but rather their hearts. And it is to be thought, that the in-cerctuous man, which by the commandment of the apostle was excommunicated, shewed such tokens of repentance: in so much as the apostle, in the latter epistle to the *Corinthians*, commended him vnto the church; lest perhaps he should be outwheeled with too much remorse. Whom

by ecclesiasticall satisfactions were inuaded, as he saith in the 1. booke of the article 33.

Satisfactions were not profitable to the church, Augustine.

penitents by the means of their sinnes, retained more motives for the wounds of their sinnes.

Dan. 9.

10cl. 1, 11.

1. Cor. 5, 3.

2. Cor. 2, 6.

holo

bit,

beit, all these things of this date are taken away, saving the discipline of the church is almost utterly lost: which thing newchurches I would not have so to be reposed, as they should become an intolerable poe, if should at length be aptune to superstition.

The customs of satisfactions degenerated into a law.

Why he came at length an intolerable poe.

For where pardons had their beginning.

Where the punishment of purgatorie.

Where the satisfaction was at first a good purpose.

Why there was excession.

It is because to think that for these causes God was pleased with men.

Alconius.

compense the wrath of God so much as we were bound to do. This too Christ ourselves forgive. But there is another signification of this word among the Latins; as is, to answer unto the judgement and opinion conceived of him: even as Cicero writeth in his first familiar epistle unto Lentulus; I in all dutie, or rather pietie towards thee, do satisfie all other men, but my selfe I neuer satisfie, &c. And in this sort did the fathers sometime write; not that God is satisfie with these ecclesiasticall punishments: but because in edifying the church in this wise, by rendering of good actions in the stead of evil, and by exercising of our faith, we appeare our selves unto God; and answer unto the opinion and dutie which is required of penitents, above which at the last will be begone.

18 But now, in the place of these satisfactions, which perhaps were not in all respects to be disallowed, they hath succeeded an abuse of auricular confession; wherein the papistical priests do impute private satisfactions: in which doing they erre two manner of waies. First, in that they absolve from finnes, because such satisfactions be done; whereas the true and ancient order required those satisfactions, before that their yeare of abolution should be declared. Secondly, they will haue, that such satisfactions as these, should consist of works, otherwise not due unto God: where newchurches, whatsoever worke is good, the same is due unto him; and that which is not due unto him, is not to be accounted good. Where hapeneth also a third error: for because they saie, that by vertue of the sacraments, perpetual punishments are converted into temporal paines. This onelic pertineth much unto Christ; namely, to deliuer from eternal death: therefore it is written in Osee; O death, I will be thy death; O hell, I will be thy death. And some of the Schole-men dare write that which is altogether intolerable and wicked, to wit, that such private satisfactions are also of strength, if (as they speake) they be truly paid in deadlie mine. And thus they attribute that which belonged to Christ, unto our works; being such works, as preceed neither of faith, nor yet of charite.

But Elias crieth out against these men; Yee Elias. 49 are sold for naught, and ye be redeemed without monie. And Paule teacheth, that Iustification is without works, and is offered unto God freely. Neither must we give care unto them, which would these sort of saieries to haue place in our first conversion, and in baptism: but if we fall afterward, they asseure, that we ourselves ought to satisfie: as who would saie, after baptism, Christ were not our mediator, as before. John, waiting unto them which already die deliuered in Christ, and were baptised, If we 1 John. 3.

Exa. 33. To get to remember sinners is as much to forget, as to forget sinners is as much to remember.

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have sinned, we haue Christ our aduocate and intercessor with the father. And Ezechiel; In what house soeuer an inuiat man shall depart from his inrighteousnes, I will no more remember his inrighteousnes. And that God will forget, and not remember, is as much to saie, as he will not punish, nor take reuenge of anie man. Therefore Augustine vpon the psalme; Blessed be they, whose iniquities be forgiven: &c. writeth of God, that he doth not marke our finnes, because he will not punish them. And in Ieremias, sacrifice was required for finnes; that it might be notified, hold the purging of them was to be sought onelic from the death of Christ.

19 Perhaps thou wilt demand; Shall we not require some thing of him that is penitent, when he conuerteth himselfe to haue finnes? Yes verily, euen that he cut off the causes of finnes; and when he hath giuen an offence, let him edifie, that he may bring forth fruits worthie of repentance. And as it is said vnto the Romans; As ye haue giuen your members to serue vncleannes vnto iniquitie, so now giue your members to be the armour of righteousness, &c. And these things ought not to be commanded for escaping the paines of purgatorie; or to the intent that eternal death should be changed into temporal death; because that God, when he forgiveth the fault, doth also deliuer from punishment. But if that he seeme sometimes to afflict them, whom he hath already received into grace; those scourges, which are so laid vpon vs, are not to be called punishments, but are fatherlie corrections: as it shall be said else-where. But as yet we should grant, their scourges of God to be punishments; yet do they nothing further our aduocates. For so much as they shall be called temporal punishments; the which God hath not put vnder the power of the heires, that they should be ordered by them: seeing God hath deliuered them at his owne pleasure, and doth oftentimes turne them away, or mitigate them, according as he is called vpon by the saints, and as he seeth them to be conuerted vnto him earnestlie and with true repentance: as it may plainly appere in Ezechias, and in the Ninuites.

In which sense that may be understood, which is written in Daniel; Redeeme thou thy finnes with almes: that is to saie; thy punishments, which remaine by the seruencie of Gods iudgement. So else understand the same on this wise: Euen as thou hast afflicted the poore, and hath oppressed them that be weakie: so on the other part, talke thou pittie vnto them. So that [To redeeme] is to put that which is good, in the place of that which is euill. God punisheth not the faultfull sort like a reuenger & iudge, but he

chariteth them as a father. Neither doth he allowe, of all men euen punishments after finnes be forgiven: for he hath forgiven manie finnes to manie, without laing those punishments vpon them. For vnto the which he saith; This date thou shalt be with me in paradise. And the publican, which praised; Haue mercie vpon me a sinner, Luke 18. 13. went his waie iustified. And Peter, when he had forgiven Christ, onelic wept, and was received into grace. Therefore as touching his repentance, Ambrose writeth; I read of the tears of Peter, but I read not of his satisfaction. Also, it was laid vnto the man sicke of the palse; Sonne, thy finnes are forgiven thee; neither did Math. 9. 5. the Lord require anie other thing of him.

20 They are wont to obiect, that the woman, which was a sinner, did therefore obtaine remission of finnes; because she washed the Lords feete with hir teares, and wiped them with the haire of hir head, and anointed him with precious ointment. Whereby it doth, that all these things were satisfactions for finnes. Howbeit these men ought to consider, that our Saviour shewed how finnes were forgiven to that woman in two respects. First, because he said vnto her; Thy faith hath made thee whole: and this waie was a right waie, as an effect proceeding from the causes, namely, from the mercie of God, which that woman comprehended by faith. Further, vnto the Pharisee (which could not perceiue the faith that late hidden in the womans mind) he shewed, that his finnes were pardoned and forgiven him for another cause; to wit, that seeing he loneth most, to whom most is forgiven; and that the Pharisee saith, that that woman loved Christ more than he did, he might thereby knowe, that there was no longer a sinner, but a true iustified woman. And he sheweth by tokens of charite, that the most loued him; the which tokens he did at this feat, in the fight of all men. Wherefore it is certaine, that these effects of loue, which these men call satisfactions, are not done before iustification, but do rather followe after the same.

21 And whereas these men seigne, that soules do satisfie through paines and toiments in purgatorie, after this life, they are verie repugnant vnto the saiering of Cyprian, who in the end of his booke against Democritus, writeth; When we shall passe from hence, there shall neither be place for repentance, neither yet effect of satisfaction. The aduocates are wont to pretend vnto this their opinion an inuoluntarie pitie, because they will not asseme them to be damned, which are departed in the confession of Christ; when as neuertheless they should be deteined in some blemish of their finnes. But it is a foolish pitie, which doth haue vs to deere those things, which we are ignorant of, whether they make to the

The two man was forgiven his finnes in two respects.

The effects of charitie do followe iustification, not go before it.



what decreed  
solome.

Mat. 11. 9.

1. Cor. 4. 34  
rep. by ex-  
amples.

Phil. 16. 35

39. time tr.  
20. 28. are  
discourer.  
Mat. 10. 26

In the re-  
mooring of  
erros but  
must deal  
warlike.

to erre: But if they have taught well, and o-  
thers through their owne fault have taken no  
profit, the teachers are without blame. Neither  
is it mate, that they should suffer anie harme;  
they shall be faued neuertheless, but yet so as  
it were by fire. But that occurred Chrylstone, in  
that he compared the hearers and teachers to  
gutter.

But we for our part thinke certeinly, that  
these things must be referred vnto doctrines.  
Wherefore it may be, that the opinions of them,  
which have not wisely built, being reeled and  
conuulsed, they themselves, as they have kept  
well the foundation, may be faued: but yet so  
faued, as they shall not escape without fire. And  
certein it is, that here onely is intreated of  
those builders, which have not forsaken the founda-  
tion. Wood, haine, and stubble, thou maist vn-  
derstand to be the commodities and inuerti-  
ons of men, of the which it is said; In vain doe  
they worship me, with commandments & do-  
ctrines of men. Here vnto belong vaine and cu-  
rious questions, which seeing they further not  
to edification, Paule vnto Timothee commanded  
them to be auoided. Let vs use examples. Some  
men teacheth; She that is vnmaried, thinketh of  
those things which be the Lords. This is a good  
foundation, but if thou adde; Let it be a deede,  
that priests shall be constrained to take a life, let  
now doct thou build vpon strawe. If asking fur-  
ther they praier, it maketh the mind peruerter,  
the foundation is not cuill: but they adde; Let ad-  
uaies be preferred, let a choise of meats be had vnder  
paine (as they call it) of deable time, let these  
things be commanded; now do thou build bare.

Further yet, because The death of the saints  
is precious in the sight of the Lord, it is met that  
the memorials of martyrs should be shew in ho-  
nor; this doctrine both not varie from the founda-  
tion; but when they inferre, that their bones  
must be twofolded, their names called vpon,  
and their images adored; all this shall be ac-  
counted stubble and ticks. The metaphor is  
most plainelike. Because from their things, for  
they deface the foundation; and seeing of nature  
they be withered, they cannot long endure; and  
they be the fire, food, and nourishment, whereby  
the flame is kindled.

27 Wherefore the base shall declare them: for  
those things which are corruptible taught, cannot  
alwaies be hidden; For there is nothing hidden  
that shall not be reuealed. But if that naughtie  
opinions be not presentlie made manifest,  
yet at time cometh on they are declared. We  
as at this date by experience, that manie things  
are discovered, the which haue bene hid manie  
yeares. In the remouing of which things we  
must deale warlike, least perhaps we rote by  
good things together with euill, the which hauing

afterward found the error) we be not able to re-  
store againe. Wherefore by the base) is under-  
stood manifest reuelation, when as vnderneath  
shall be diuined auaie; so that we may giue iudg-  
ment of the thing according as it is in deed. And  
for the bringing of this to passe, Good diuine  
fancie means, and manifeste wordes; whereby be  
lighteneth their minis that be astrate. Some-  
time be wisely the preaching of the Gospel: the  
woord of G D is a sharpe and two edged  
sword, and entrench euery into the inward parts  
of the hart. And sometimes be sensible the cala-  
mities & troubles of this world, whereby they be  
induced men. Which thing neuertheless agreeth  
not with auerities, according as they be of  
their owne nature; seeing they compell men to  
cast out blasphemies against God, and diuine  
some to desperation: but then they bring light  
vnto our minis, when the mercie of God wisely  
thru vnto our saluation. It is written in Elia;  
It shall come to passe in exceeding great tribu-  
lation, that a man shall cast awaie his idols ei-  
ther of gold or siluer, his moles I saie, & his bas.  
And Manasses the king of Iuda, then confesse  
Idolatry to be improfitable, when he was led as  
to a prison.

And if hapeneth not seldom, that vnto them  
to whom it hath not bene giuen to thinke well  
of religion, all their life long, this is oftentimes  
granted them at the last houre: and when they  
are in the pangs of death, they vnderstand, that  
those superstitions and abuses (where vnto they  
had bene vsayed themselves) were both vaine  
and full of harme. Which 3 doubt not but hap-  
ened vnto Bernard, Francis, Dominicus, and to  
diuers of the ancient Fathers: because, seeing  
they liued in the foundation that is in Christ, al-  
beit they erre in manie abuses, and funde vs  
peruersions, yet might they be faued; neuerthe-  
lesse by fire, when as at the last houre they strow  
against death, and against the terror of finnes; and  
in that conflict acknowledge the vantage of  
their owne doctrine. What neuer they of these  
three things lighteneth the minis of them that  
strate from the right building, that do 3 call the  
date and the fire. So this end Paule pouereth  
vs to the examination and iudgement of God: for  
all learnings may oftentimes be hidden,  
which shall then be made manifest, and now  
they lie hidden; partly, because they that teach  
be ambitious, and being led with a greedinesse  
of honoz, they do not rightly teach those things  
which they teach. And the hearers, seeing they  
are verrie oftentimes infected with basitie, they  
fancie the new doctrine of their teachers more  
than is mete; and they esteeme the doctrine ac-  
cording to the goodlie shew of eloquence of the  
teacher.

The last cause is the thoughtlesse as well of the

Col. 2. 3.

with what  
ars and  
argument  
the Apostle  
is breued  
out.

A simple  
merrit.

Seeing  
the whole  
thing are  
discourer  
by allegorie

the pre-  
sent of  
fire.

wherein  
manie con-  
fess.

God lake  
into a  
purging  
fire.

Auguine

the teachers, as also of the hearers: for they bend  
not their indue to the examination of doctrine,  
as met it were. And to conclude, it hapneth that  
the abuses & naughtie customes are colored by  
hypocrisie, and they be so painted out, as they  
make a shew of holines: euen as Paule testified  
to the Colossians; According to the comman-  
dement and doctrines of men; hauing in out-  
ward words a shew of wisdom. What thing  
is there at this date more adomed and set forth  
with coloz, than is the spallie: Therein is won-  
derfull decking with garments, alluring songes,  
instruments of musike, swar lights, sweet per-  
fumes, hells, curious gestures of the bodie; be-  
suing by, laing downe, whysperings, stracions,  
small peeces of cakes, and innumerable false  
deuises of the diuill. When they be reppoued,  
they go about to cruell, that these signes are  
vise; because we may be taught the twofoldnes  
of the Eucharist. But where is there one among  
the miserable people, that vnderstandeth the  
causes of these signes? Neither can the Apostle  
pierce the causes of those things, which they  
be demanod. And the thing is so defor-  
med, and so greaue generated, as it may be  
counted or perceived to be anie thing, lower  
than the supper of the Lord.

28 But seeing the foundation, gold, silver,  
precious stones, wood, haine, and strawe, are spo-  
ken by allegorie; there is no doubt, but that fire  
also must be vnderstood allegoricallie. It is not  
sufficient, that doctrines should be tried by the  
iudgement of men; it behooueth that those  
things abide firme by the fire of diuine exa-  
mination. Wherefore fire and date light is a  
clere beholding, a certein trial, a manifest  
revelation, whereby we knowe at the length the  
truth of doctrines, and also the guiltinesse of  
them. The propertie of fire is to giue light, and  
to make trial; and from this fire no man is ex-  
empted, whether he haue builded well or ill, all  
men must be proued by the same. And herein  
will the trial consist, that the doctrine, which is  
builded shall be tried, whether it agree with the  
foundation or no. Otherwise God is said to be  
like a purging fire, and like the fullers sope: for  
he will purge the children of Leuie, and he will  
purifie them like the siluer and gold: the third of  
Malachie. The doctrines, which be found, shall  
abide; neither shall the trial of fire more hurt  
them, than the soynce doth the gold or siluer;  
or no more than the three children that were tri-  
ed in the fire at Babylon. Auguine, in funde  
places maketh mention of this sentence: in his  
book De iile & apribus, the 15. and 16. chap-  
ters: in his Eucherian dialogue, the 69.  
chapter: De ciuitate Dei, the 1. booke: in his  
tractate of eight questions vnto Dulcitius, que-  
stion the first: vpon the 29. psalme, and agreeth

with himselfe alme in euerie place, and bring-  
geth all erropion of their togas.

He affirmeth this to be a bare saying, and he  
accounteth it among the number of those, of  
which Peter said; In the epistles of Paule are  
manie hard things, which the wicked peruert to  
their owne destruction. He admonisheth more-  
ouer, that we should interpret this, to be such a  
kind of fire, as may be common both to them  
which build well and ill. At length he saith; We  
must beware, that we account not in this num-  
ber, such as be baptised, which haue liued vici-  
ous; and so to feigne their greuous crimes, that  
is to saie, murder, and adulterie (for which  
things men are excluded from the kingdome of  
heauen) to be wood, haine, and strawe. For vnto  
these kind of men, being vsayed in so horrible  
crimes, hell it selfe is due; whole fire cannot be  
common vnto them that build well, vnto  
which also theyd them forth into hell. Apention is  
onely made of those, which haue builded, hold-  
ing themselves to the foundation: in which  
number they are not to be reckoned, who haue  
bene laden vnto blameable vices. They goeth for-  
ward, and saith; that The foundation is Christ;  
which interpretation, the apostle himselfe ma-  
keth. And he addeeth, saie; because Christ him-  
selfe dwelled in our harts by faith, and maketh  
them to be good builders, which obide the latue  
of G D. He testifieth, that they build haine  
and strawe, who haue retained those pleasures and  
delights of the world, which neuertheless were  
not forbidden; & yet retained them, as they gaue  
themselves there vnto more than was requisite.  
They that build aright (saie he) do possesse the  
goods of this world, riches, honours, wife, and  
other things, though they possesse them not;  
& yet them, as though they would not use them.

But they that build amisse, are more affected  
with those things, than they should; and yet do  
they not so shack the reines vnto ludas, as they  
preferre such kind of goods before Christ, vnto  
whom they cleane, as vnto the foundation; but  
rather on the contrarie part, they altogether  
esteem Christ above those things. For when  
they come, either to the confitting of their faith,  
or else vnto martyrdome; they will rather lose  
those things, than depart from Christ. Yet, be-  
cause they haue imbrued such things with an  
ouer-bemeth affection, they feele fire in forga-  
ing of them. They forgoe inuincible, and it  
greueneth them, that these things are taken from  
them: yet are they faued neuertheless, because  
they held fast the foundation of the true faith in-  
uoluate. This (saie he) is it, that haine, wood,  
and strawe is set on fire, & perished: for euen those  
lusts of theirs, as Damas do toyment them, and  
they banish awaie. And he addeeth, that this hap-  
peneth vnto manie, while they lue here: for it  
A.A.1. paper









with over-much meate, or fiske for delicate meats and deintie dishes. This over of living is verie profitable to diminish lusts, and it sufficeth not the mind to be troubled with affections. It matcheth the mind to be more chearfull, and ready both to praier, and vnto all the actions pertaining to the life of man. Wherefore Christ said; Let not your hearts be oppressed with fasting and drunkenness. Peter also hath written; Be ye sober, for your enimie the diuell goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may deuoure. Also Paulus wrote of himselfe; I chasten my bodie, and bring it into bondage, least I preaching vnto other, should be a reprobate my selfe. There is besides another commo- ditie by this fasting; to wit, that cost is spared: not to be done, that we should laie by countel- lye, but that they should distribute to the poore of that which is ouer-plus vnto vs. Further, there is another faist, which is aboute mans strength, and otheruile is giuen by God miraculouse vnto some of the saints, for the commendeing of their doctrine.

Moses vpon the mountaine fasted fortie daies; for God ment, by a notable example, to shew that that lawe, which he first gaue, came from himselfe, and was not inuented by men. Neither went Moses therefore vnto the moun- taine, to fast; but to recieue the lawe of God, and to talke with him. Elias also receiued bread and water of the angell, and in the strength of that meate waiked fortie daies, euen vnto the mount Horeb; that he might be declared by this miracle to be the true reuenger of the late. By this kind of fasting, our Sauour commended the preaching of the gospell, that it might not seeme to be a common thing, but a matter of Gods owne ordinance and beginning. Iobu- bit, whose [fastings] were miracles; neither pertaine they anye thing vnto vs, but onlie that we should haue them in admiration, & by such examples be stirred by with reuerence to re- ceue the lawe of God. There is also an other faist, which lieth not in our power: as when we being destitute of meate, haue not wherewith to eat. Here haue we need of patience, and we must praier vnto God, that he will strengthen and en- courage vs. So the saints, when they were aduer- sated, and preached the Gospell, were some- times persecuted and straitened with hunger. And the disciples, when they followed the Lord, were diuined through hunger, to plucke the eares of coine, and to rub out the scab. Elias also desired meate of the widowe, and waiked at the wyche for such meate as the rauen should bring him. This kind of fasting men do not take vpon them by our owne accord, but it is laid vpon them by God.

7 But passing ouer all these faists, being

such as pertaine nothing vnto this disposition, let vs come to our faist, which we may call a reli- gious faist. And this faist is an vnaccustomed ab- stinence, not onlie from meate and drinke, but much as the strength will permit, but also from all other things, which may delight and nourish the bodie: and it is done of a repentant minde, and of a true faist, for the attaining of Gods mercie by praiers, because of calamities, which either alreadie ouercharge vs, or else are vnto nigh at hand. The forme of this definition is as- stinence; such abstinence (I saie) as is aboue the accustomed manner, and yet goeth not be- yond the strength of the bodie. The matter is not onlie meate and drinke, but all other things that may chere by the bodie. The effect cause is faith, and repentance for sinnes committed against God. The end is, that by praiers we craue the mercie of God, and either to turne auaie, or to diminish calamities. Wherefore they which fast, ought to giue themselves vnto praiers, almes-deeds, visiting of the sicke, and to the so- le supper. When we feruently praie vnto the Lord, and do from the hart trulie repent vs of the sinnes which we haue committed, and by reason of them are earnestlie afflicted; we cannot vse some thing vpon meate, drinke, and also fine delicates. For to them which be bgyed with so vehement a graue, it is most pleasant to ab- stinence, than anye other deuotion is. So Dauid, in the 35. psalme, saith of his enimies; When they were sicke I laughed not, but I put on sack- cloth, and afflicted my soule with fasting, & ear- nestlie praied for them. And they which deie and humble themselves, because they in a man- ner despaise of their businesse, are vnto to con- temne and leaue meate and drinke, and other de- lights and pleasures. Herby we may perceiue how it cometh to passe, that our fastings do please God: vnbecause, not because the simp- licitee of the helie delighted God. And so le- rom bereth those, which fasting ouer-much, came vnbecause all their life long to all pur- poses. If please God, when we humble our soules, because we may retorne vnto him with praers; and casting auaie other pleasures, re- pose all our delight in him onlie.

8 But the fastings, thereof we now treat be sometimes publike, and sometimes priuate. We take priuate faists in hand, when we are af- flicted with our owne domestical miseries. For there is no man, that is not sometimes vnto, either in himselfe, or in his familie. If speake- venture it happen, that he be not priuatele gre- ued with any calamitie of his owne, & of them that pertaine vnto him; yet must he sometime moue for others. For if we be all members of one bodie, we must thinke, that the discomforts of our brethren do pertaine euen vnto our felices.

faistes. So Dauid praied for them, which after- ward became his enimies, and who triumphed at his barnes. So Iobs friends, when they laue him vnto with most grauous plagues, did sitte by him full seuen daies in dust and as- shes, before they spake anye thing vnto him: so grieuous were they disquieted with his miserie. Wherefore, before they talked with him, their mind was, by fasting and praier to desire God to allwaie that great miserie of his. So Dauid, when Abner was slaine, did not onlie moue at his buriall; but also swore that he would that daie eate no meate till the sunne set. The selfe- same did he, when he was reuenged by Nahan the prophet; and when he had receiued tidings of the sickness of the child, vnboutedlie he euen took meate all the while that the child was in that case. Nehemiah, in the 2. chapter, when he heard of the afflictions of the Iehues which remained in Ierusalem, afflicted himselfe with fasting, and praied vnto the Lord. Also Daniel, when he had read those things which Ieremie wrote of the cap- tivitye of 70. yeares, confessed both his owne finnes, and the finnes of the people: also he wept and fasted. Wherefore priuate fasting ought to be taken in hand, not onlie for our felices, but for others also.

9 But publike fasting is two manner of waies commanded; either of God himselfe by the lawe; or of the magistrate, or else by the bishop, or by the prophet. And this is to sanctifie a faist, wherof we sometime read in the holie scrip- tures. Of this kind there be manie exam- ples; namely, that fast which the children of Is- rael laid vpon themselves. In the first booke of Samuel, when the Philistines graueously afflicted the Iewes, the whole people at the exhortation of Samuel assembled at Mizpah; they wept, fasted, and threw auaie their tools. Dauid also, with all his, fasted; when he heard of the ouer- throwe of the people, and of the death of Saule. And the men of Iabes Gilead took the carcases of Saule and Ionathas, and wept, and also fasted. What likewise was a publike faist, which Iosaphat commanded in the 2. booke of Chronicles, the 20. chapter. Quene Hester being in extreme dan- ger, commanded by Mardocheus, that a publike faist should be proclaimed. The Israelites in that captiuitie (as it is written in the 7. chapter of Zacharie, & of a fast, both in the 5. moneth, and in the 7. moneth, because in the 5. moneth, the sac- ring of the cite, and desolation of the temple happened; and in the 7. moneth Godolias was slaine, wherby so manie miseries ensued after- ward. That also was a publike faist, which Ieza- beth proclaimed, being otherwise a wicked wo- man, and an hypocrite. The act of this woman shewed it to be the custome, that when anye great crime was committed, the whole church

should fast: as it were putting auaie by praie- re the publike punishment. And this fast the prophets required: as Iocel, when he fast; San- ctifie yea a fast. Elias also in his 8. chapter pro- claimed a fast. Wherefore faists for certaine con- siderations, were publickly proclaimed. God himselfe also commanded a publike fast, the fasting: for he commanded that in euery year the fast of Chephurim, that is, the feast of exhorta- tions, cleansing of sinnes, should be celebrated: the tenth daie of September, with a publike fast. For the people committed manie sins throu- ghout the whole yere, neither did they diligent- ly obserue the ceremonies. So that once in a yere the tabernacle was purified, and a publike fast was obserued. These things, in the old tes- tament, signified as it were by a certaine na- dotie, that the sinnes of men should be abolished by Christ: of whom, when we take hold by a true and lucile faith, we are absolved from our sins. And thereof followeth the mortification of sin, and of carnall delights and pleasures. Neither is this to be passed ouer, that the same one daie of fast was a festiual daie: for it was not law- full in the publike faist, either to worke, or else for a man to be occupied about his owne busi- nes. And we were commanded to abstine on- lie from our owne works, not that on festiual daies we ought to be altogether idle; but that we should do good deeds on those daies, through which we may rest in God. But to beleue, to praie, to acknowledge sinnes, to bewaile them with an earnest repentance, are the works of God; and therefore are not forbidden vpon festiual daies, but rather commanded.

10 These things haue not onlie the Ie- hews learned out of the lawes of God; but the Gentiles also by the instinct of nature. For when Ionas preached to the Nininites, that their cities should be destroyed within fortie daies, fast, they depaied not of the mercie of God, but re- pented; and euery one of them, euen from the king to the meanest citizen, when their heads also and castell fasted; and cried vnto their earnest- lye, and with a feruent race cried vnto the Lord, they were heard. Augustine De ciuitate Dei lxxviii. Porphyrius taught; that Abstinence from fleshy and grosse meats both purifie the minds of men, whereby they are made the more prompt vnto diuine things, and to familiaritie with spirits. Plutarch also, in his little booke De Iude & Osiride saith; that the priests of Helio- polis vnterlie abstained from all meats, which might nourish and augment the wantonnesse of the fleshy; and that they neuer brought wine in- to the temple of their god; for they accounted it a villanie to drinke wine in the daie time, in the sight of their god. Other men in berie dead (saith he) beco wine, but not much; and they had manie



Liberius.

Augustine.

Mat. 4. 7.

Luk. 1. 36.

1. Tim. 5. 5.

Act. 10. 3.

Act. 13. 10.

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Isa. 1. 16.

John 3. 7.

By the decree of Liberius, who lived in the time of Constantius, it may be perceived; that when the aire was intemperate, or when there was a sic famine, or pestilence, or warre, then they assembled together to denounce a fast, thereby to mitigate the wrath of God. Augustine, when he wrote his cite bridged by the Vandals, gaue himselfe unto fasting, and praiers, and in that age, as Posidonius testifieth. And generally, when we attempt any great weighty matter, as when we denounce war, create aggrauations, or ordaine spinners of the church, we haue most need of seruent praiers: for the seruicence whereof, fasting verie much auailith. Christ, when he was to beginne his preaching, went into the wilderness, and fasted. A widow, when her husband is dead, is left in a dangerous state: therefore praies & fastings are verie meet for her. Anna the daughter of Phanel lead her life in the temple, where she gaue her selfe to praier & fasting. Paule to Timothee faith: A widow, which is a true widow, and desolate, putteth his confidence in the Lord, and daies and night applieth his selfe to praies and fastings. Cornelius, when as he was not sufficiente instructed of Christ, and was disquieted with a sorowfull and heauie minde, was in fasting and praies at the ninth houre: to whom as we read in the Acts of the apostles) the angel of the Lord appeared.

15 But it may be demanded, that when fasts are commanded by princes, and by the church, whether men are bound to obey them or no? Doubtlesse they are bound by the lawe of faith, and by obedience. For when fasts are let forth, which be agreeable vnto the word of God, how can be that beleeueth in God refuse to doe them? Alas, how he cannot. Doubtlesse, this is to be understood touching them, which be of that state and condition, that they be able to fast: for if a man be hindered, either by age, or disease, or labours, in such a case that ought to be of force, which the scripture saith: I will haue mercie and not sacrifice. But they which are not hindered, ought to obey. In the Gangrene counsell, chapter 20. It is ordeined, that if a man obeie not the fasts, which are commanded him by the church, hauing no bodilie necessity, howeuer he boast of perfection, and proudly contemne the decrees of the church, let him be accursed. In the Canons of the apostles, (although they be Apocryphall, & containe certaine strange things, neither is the number of them sufficiente as agreed vpon,) 3. saie in the 86. Canon, It is commanded; that the clergy, which fast not, hauing no bodilie necessity, should be depoued. Let infants in no wise be urged and compelled to fast; for that would be hurt to their health. Ioe. Ioe. Ioe. Sanctifie a fast, gather together old men and suckling children. And the Ninuities, at the

preaching of Ionas, compelled beasts and infants to fast. These were extraordinary things, neither are they let forth to that end, that we should imitate them.

16 As for private fasts, most men will haue them to be free. Wherefore saith Augustine to Casilianus; telle himne that we must fast, then we are commanded; but what daies we should fast, and what daies we should not, we haue not; because that is no where prescribed in the new testament: therefore fasts must be left free. And in his second booke *De sermone Domini in Matt. monte* (recompending these wordes; Judge not, and ye shall not be iudged) he saith, that when we make two manner of waies iudge rathle, either if they say that to any ill sente, which might be well taken, or when they do suppose that he cannot repent which hath done a plaine and manifest euill act. And of the first kind he bringeth an example. As if a man would not fast, because he is sicke in the stomach, or is troubled with any other infirmitee of the bodie; and another, which knoweth not this, would suspect him to be a glutton, and to be ouer delicate: for here, that which is free, and may well be done, is taken into the worse part. Anded this is Augustines opinion, which neuertheless we must prouidently and warlike vnderstand. For if a private man, when he is in miserie & danger, seeth that fasting and praies may helpe him; he vndoubtedly doth him well, unless he fast. For since fasting may profit in such manner and sort, as I haue declared, vndoubtedly we must fast. So doubt but it is free; because by the outward lawe, he which fasteth not, cannot be condemned. But when our fasting may set forward the gloie of God, then is it no longer free: for he be commanded to loue God with all our heart, with all our soule, and with all our strength. For there be manie things, which of their owne nature be free and indifferent: but when the matter is brought to our choise, and we see that they may rebound, either to the magnifying, or else to the obscuring of the gloie of God; now are they not free, nor indifferent things, because all our strength and abilitie must be applied vnto the gloie of God.

17 Furthermore, there is an abuse of fasts, as touching the space of time. For to much as the Papists, if they come little while before their dinner; afterward, whatsoever they eate, they thinke they haue done sufficient; so they eate no flesh, howbeit, the forerathers fasted all day long, untill the evening; all which time they were occupied in the word of God, in praies, and goodlie exercises. In Lament. the 2. 3. chapter, God saith; When ye fast, rest ye from all worke, and afflict your soules, for it is a fobbott. And no man doubteth, but that the fasts

Augustine.

De sermone Domini in Matt. monte

Thomas Aquinas.

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inureth from euen to euen. So Saule when he had put the Philistines to flight, proclaimed a fast untill night. And David, at the death of Abner, swore that he would taste of no meat till night. Tertullian *Contra Physicos* saith; that the church lengthned their fasts untill the verie evening. Augustine *De moribus ecclesie* canonicis, saith; Let accustomed fasts of the church be continued, euen untill night. For all the whole daie, the holis assemblies were celebrated, and the public praies were vsed; but at the evening they were dissolved, and they did eate their meat. But it is a sport to see, how the Papists moche this ancient custome: they saie their euening fones before none, and then they go to dinner; at night they ordaine a drinking, and so brag that they fast verie well. Thomas *In secunda secunda*, saith, that in his time fasts were continued euen vnto the ninth houre; and he bringeth the example of Calcedon, where it is berard, that he which eateth before the 9. houre, should not be accounted to haue fasted.

Here by the tone we must declare, which was the ninth houre. The first houre was at none; in which houre, we read that Christ our saviour was crucified: therefore the ninth houre must needs be the third houre from none. The forerathers so diuided the time, that alwaies, from the sunne set, to the sunne rising, they accounted 12. houres; and againe, as manie from the rising of the sunne, to the going downe thereof. A gaue, they diuided either into foure spaces, and these they called watches; and euerie one of these spaces contained three houres. Wherefore the third houre, from the rising of the sunne, is with vs either the 3. or 9. houre, as the time of the yeare requireth: for these houres are unequal. The first houre is none time of the daie, and the 9. is the third at after none, and the 12. is the houre of the sunne set. But Thomas obiecteth against himselfe, that which we saie; namelie, that the Fathers fasted the whole daie. It is ridiculous to heare that he answereth; because we (saith he) are in the state of the daie, and the Fathers were in the state of the night, therefore we must finish our fasts in the night time. And he bringeth this saying of Paule; The night is past, and the daie draweth nigh: which sentence, how much it serueth to this purpose that we haue in hand, all men see and perceiue.

18 Another abuse is the choise of meates, wherein now in a manner consisteth the whole religion of fastings. The Fathers did not this; for when they had fasted untill euening, they did eate indifferentlie at supper, whatsoever was set before them. But now our men do more seuerely abstine from flesh, egges, and milke, than they in the old time abstained from vneleane

beasts. Paule expoueth this superstition, and calleth it a doctrine of diuels. But they faile, at Paule expoueth those onlie, which avoided some meates as euill creatures; & beleeued, that these euill creatures came from an euill god; but we (saie they) do teach no such thing. These onlie should men some kind of meat for one daie, or for a few daies; which afterward we see at liberto. As though Montanus after this manner, might not haue crucified himselfe, against vnto these places are cited by the fathers. Tertullian accuseth Maro, as an heretike, because he appointed none holines to be in fish. Therefore no manner of making choise in meates must be sufferred; but so much as shall appear to serue vnto temperance: which choise, if the Papists would with such care promise foie, they should rather haue abstained from wine than from flesh, for Salomon faith; That Wine is daunger that increaseth to incontinencie. And Paule faith; Abstiney from wine, wherein is excedde. They should also haue abstained from oyle, and especie allye, the delicate sort of fishes; for they be some of them, which do no lesse delight the taste, than do lesse promise vnto lusts, than flesh doth. And vndoubtedly, among the fathers, as well Greekes as Romans, fishes were esteemed as among the greatest deinties.

19 Agreareth, Socrates in his ecclesiasticall sores teacheth, that the Fathers fasted far other wise: for in the Lent, none fasted two daies, some foure, some ten, some fifteen, some twentie, and they offered the whole foie daies. And when they fasted, some abstained from all kind of flesh and fish, and did onlie eate all manner of pulle. Others abstained from all foure footed beasts, and liued onlie vpon foules and fishes; for all things at that time were left free in the church. For when they had fasted untill euening, at supper they did eat moderate, what to euer came to hand; albeit the thing began at euerward by little and little to decline to superstition. Ierom to Nepotianus, saith; that Ezechere were in his time, which not onlie abstained from all kind of meat, but also from bread. These vnto certaine thin beasts made well with spices, neither did they thinke them out of a cup, but sipped them out of a shell. Augustine *De moribus ecclesie* canonicis, saith; in a Mari- on between a Euerard and a chris- tian.

super a messe of woxis sodden with a pice of lard, and a final portion of salt fleshy, and dyed in the smoke, and dranke thye 30 four cups of wine. Auguline demanded, whether of these few might to have fasted best and more fruite: and he gaue iudgement on the Catholikes side.

20 The Montanills to delighted in this choise of meats, as they inuented fo; themselves *Epi-  
phorax*, which were meats to dye by nature, and such like: fo; (as Tertullian affirmeth) and onlie bread, salt, and all manner of pulse, and their drinke was water. This kind of fast they vied two weeks before Easter. Ierom also theb; that they were towaht to fast thye 3 Lent; and that because they fasted so seuerellie, they were called *Epiagletas*, that is to saie, Continent men. Eusebius, in his fist booke, and 18. nent men. Eusebius, in his fist booke, and 18. nent men. Eusebius, in his fist booke, and 18. nent men.

Montanus; because he was the first that wrote lawes of fasting: as though the church before him were free. He by lawes and rules prescrib- ed what daies men should fast, and what meats they should abstine from: such an author haue the *Dapilis* of prescribed fasts, and choise of meats. This superstition agreeth not with the wo; of God. Chyist saith; That which entereth into the mouth, defileth not man. And; Whatsoever is let before you, that cate, making no conscience thereat. And Paule to Titus; To the cleane all things are cleane, but to the vncleane nothing is cleane. To the Col. Let no man iudge you in meate and drinke. To the Ro- mans; The kingdom of God is not meate and drinke. To the Corinthians also, there be many things let forth fo; the confirmation hereof, where be intreatch of meats dedicated into toles. So the scriptures make no mention of anie choise of meats (to be vied) fo; religion sake: yet 3 denie not, but that a choise of them might be had, either to auoid couetises, fo; fleshye sake, or else fo; the auoiding of exerce. But that Christians should abstine from fleshy, from egges, and from milke fo; religion sake, is no where prescribed in the scriptures.

21 Another abuse is, that they laie vpon vs such fasts, as the strength of men is not able to endure: fo; they will haue the people to fast fo; tie daies. Which, if it should be required, accord- ing to the precept rule of God, and of the old church; maruile, that the well-shall be continu- ed until euen, no man well-nere were able to abide it. And that institution is referred vnto the Theophorus the Pope, by other some to a time a little before him. And undoubtedly, there- in is nothing else, but a certaine meare twich- ed, and euill imitating of Chyist: fo; he fasted fleshye daies, therefore superstitious men thought it good, that Christians should fast so many daies euerie yere. Whereas notwithstanding, Chyist

fasted after such sort that onlie once in all his life time: neither craded he at anie time anie such act to be done by his apostles. But these men decree it to be done, and that a gre- uous sinne, when such a fast is violated. They should haue considered, that Chyist, all that time did cate nothing; and in that he was able lo- to endure, it pertained to a miracle, and to the bliue power. The scriptures in no place commaund, that we should imitate Chyist in that thing. Chyistofolus, in his 45. homilie vpon Matthew; The 3 Lent (saith he) hath not com- manded the to fast fleshye daies, although he might haue commanded the same. What then commanded he? He saith; Learne of me, for I am meeke and humble in hart. But the manner of these men is peruerse: fo; they will imitate Chyist in that which they are not commanded, but in that they are commanded they will not.

Our sauour, when he sent forth his disci- ples said; Go vnto all nations, teaching them to Ma- t. 28. keepe (not whatforesoeuer I haue done) but what- soeuer I haue commanded you. And it is a wonder to see, how superstitiousitie and fabrike they haue decreed of those things in the Coun- cell of Martin *De consuetudine, distinction 4. cap- ter Non liceat*; and in the canons of the Council of Laodicea, in the chapter *Non oportet*, it is commaunded, that in the 3 Lent, fasting on the churchdaies should not be broken. And in the Council of Agathensis, it is commaunded, that fasting on the Saturday in the 3 Lent should not be broken; because vpon the Thursday and Saturdaye manie fasted not. Yea, and vpon the Sabbath daies also in the 3 Lent, wherein they fasted not, they would that a choise of meats shuld be reterained. And *De consuetudine, distinction 4. chapter Denique sacerdotibus*, they do declare, that the priests should begin their fasts from *Qua- gesima*. And in the same place, the fist *distinction 4. in the chapter, Quagesima*. Gregorie hath inuented a reason, to proue, that 3 Lent ought to be fasted; We must (saith he) giue the tenth part of the whole yere vnto God; and the tenth part of the yere consisteth of fleshye daies; tenth part of the yere consisteth of fleshye daies; therefore we must fast so many daies. A goodlie reason fo; such lawes. This Gregorie giue reason fo; such lawes. This Gregorie giue reason fo; such lawes.

22 But 3 will thys (to ferre as I remember) why 3 Lent was first inuented. The fathers, when they perceived men to liue verie licenti- ous and negligent, thought to haue them compelled after a sort to reuerie godlines some part of the yere; and somewhat to byole the rage of the fleshy. And fo; this purpose they did thinke the fleshy daies before Easter to be most meet; that men might so long haue their minis occupied in repentance, and in remembering of the benefits of God. This inuenton, although at the first view it may seme a goodlie thing, yet it cometh not with Christian libertie. fo; we must thinke vpon the great benefits of God, and vpon our great ingratitude, and vpon other our most greuous finnes, not onlie fleshy daies, but con- tinuallic also. Further, by this means, they o- pened a verie wide gap to liue most seuerellie a rectitude: fo; if they haue once fullie perfo; med those fleshy daies, they thinke, that all the yere after they may wholy giue themselves vnto all kind of pleasures and lusts; fo; they re- turned the time of repentance vnto those fleshy daies. And although the forefathers had 3 Lent; yet (as Eusebius saith in his fist booke, and 24. chapter) it was left free vnto all men. fo; I re- member, after this manner intreated with Victor bishop of Rome, when he would haue excommu- cated the Gallic church, because it agreed not with the church of Rome, about the keeping of Easter. That (saith he) may we not liue at concord, al- though they be their diuinites as we be ours? fo; in the 3 Lent, some fast two daies, some foure daies, some ten daies, some fifteen, some twen- tie, and other some fiftie daies; and yet neuer theles come to some reuene.

23 There is an other abuse, fo; because thou- there be, which appoint a holinesse to consist in fasting; as though a twofolding of God consist in it: whereas in verie deed, fasting is onlie an exerce, which of it selfe hath no holinesse. They are foolish, which in fasting do thinke, that fo; that cause they haue God bound vnto them. Wherefo; we must not rashly giue credit vnto Ierom, when he saith; that fasting is not a vertue, but the foundation of all vertues. fo; onlie Chyist, and saith in him, is the foundati- on of vertues. If he had said that fasting is a helpe vnto certaine vertues, he might haue bin bound withall. And doubtles herein the fathers erred oftentimes; in that they praised and ex- tolled fasting aboue all measure. If so we should be attributed vnto fasting, we must of ne- cessitie confesse, that John Baptist liued more hollic than Chyist: fo; he fasted more than Chyist did. fo; Chyist did cate and drinke, as temperate and moderate men vse to do. But it is said, that John did neither cate nor drinke. Yea and Paule to Timothee writeth; that Bodilie exerce had small profit, but godlinesse is profitable vnto all things.

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If thou wilt demand, that godlinesse of pietie is 3 will answer, that it is a true twofolding of God, a fourfoldesse of doctrine, and a pure life, which things do folloioe hope and faith. In these things aliores it is verie great profit. And the exerce of the body hath much more profit, how- beit not verie great. But we must consider, that Paule speaketh not of fasting, and exerce of the body, which is hypocritical, and wantonly fast; but of the true and iustifian fasting. fo; those things, which want faith, and proceed of hypo- crisie, are finnes; neither do they any thing profit. Wherefo; Eusebius saith; Is this the fast which I haue chosen? But these our men go further, and bechose that they appoint a holinesse in fasting; they make it also to be a part of satisfaction. fo; the Schoole-men, in the fourth booke of senten- ces, appoint satisfaction to consist of prayers, almes-deeds, and fasting. What is to make vnto the death of Chyist, if this be not? If they babble also, that by fasts, finnes are delivered out of purgatorie. And least anie should thinke, that 3 faime these things; let him reade Cratians, in the 13. cause, question second, chapter 3. where he crieth the words of Gregorie, who saith; that Soules are deliuered from purgatorie, et- ther by prayers, or fasting of their finfolkes.

24 There is also an other more greuous a- bus; fo; that some affirme, that by fastings they can satisfie the church, although they cease not from sinne. This kind of fast God himselfe reioyareth by exerce vnto in Kiae; What care I (saith he) for your fastings? Ye fast vnto contentions and strifes. Is this the fast which my soule hath choen? Pope Liberius decreed, that all the 3 Lent we must abstine from stiffe and suite in laue. This is not verie wisely decreed: fo; the publick theatre cannot stand, if it be lo- long or euere matters be heard, or iudgement giuen. If fasting should be so foue weightie cause be denounced fo; a day or two; there might fo; that space of time be commaunded intermission of occupation; but that laters should be silent, so long as Liberius would haue them, that is a gainst the publick theatre. Besides this, the selfe same Liberius saith, that the vse of matrimoine pollutieth the fasting in 3 Lent: wherefo; they would haue men all that time to haue no fel- lowship with their wiues. But Paule mach no fellowship with their wiues. But Paule mach no fellowship with their wiues. But Paule mach no fellowship with their wiues.

25 There is also an other abuse, in that men in all that time, which is immediate before Easter, should be euere euere where most intemperate to riot, gluttonie, drunkenness, and filthy lusts; and that vnder pretence, that they may the more easilie fast, as though it were

the 3 Lent, of the 3 Lent, Tertullian, Ierom.

Eusebius.

Montanus, as the fist that wrote lawes of fasting.

Against choise of meats, Mart. 16, 17, 1 Cor. 10, 29, Titus 2, 3, 6.

Col. 2, 16.

Rom. 14, 17.

1 Cor. 8, 10.

In what res- pect a cer- taine choise of meats is to be ab- stinued.

When the institution of 3 Lent began.

Math. 4, 3.

Chyist res- pected not fleshy daies, all that time.

Chyistofolus.

Mar. 2, 19.

Mat. 28, 2.

Eusebius.

Liberius.

Fasting is exerce, not a holie- tie.

Ierom.

Gregorius reason fo; such lawes.

Pope 3.

1 Tim. 4, 8.

Why thele three vnto faste.

what gods lines is.

Euseb. 8, 5.

That fas- ting is no part of sa- tisfaction.

Cratians.

The adu- ersaries faime that by fas- ting, finnes are deliue- red out of purgatorie.

Euseb. 8, 3.

Liberius a Pope.

1 Cor. 7, 5.

Who shuld be abstie that men vse at Eas- ter.

16 25 b, j.

Basil.  
Chrylost.

lawfull to do euill, that god may suffice. Neither is this a new kind of vice: for Basil in his homilie of fasting, and Chrysostome vpon Genesis be in manie places groundlie complainte of the same abuse. Some fast vnto delicate fare: for when they knowe that they shall haue no suppers, they lone their vile pangs at dinner tyme ouer-much abundance of meate; so that they make themselves vterlie impossible for the whole daie. Others, on the contrarie part, do vterlie consume themselves with fasting, yea, and in a manner kill themselves: as Basilus and Nazianzenus did, who being men excellentlie well learned, yet by abstinence and fasting were made vterlie impossible to the church. They were compelled to keepe their beds some time halfe a peece, and sometime a whole yeare together. I haue, there are some, which by reason of fasting haue a wonderfull delight in their felices: are proud, and do despise others: as that Luk 21, 11. Sabbath, which said; I am not as other men be, I fast twise in the weeke, &c. I might reherse a great manie more of these abuses, but that I thinke to be sufficient for this time. This one thing onely I will adde, that in fasting we fast too extremities. The Pharisee retaine their superfluous fasts by hoke or crooke: but we likewise neglect the lawfull and right fasts: wherefore it seemeth, that as well the one part as the other, must be reformed. And thus farre touching these things.

## Of VVatches.

In Judges  
7, vers 16.  
Augustine.  
Thy night  
watched me  
to four  
watches.  
Mat. 26, 48.

Idorus.

26 Augustine, in his sermon *De verbis Domini*, the 14. oration saith, that the forefathers divided the night into four parts, of which euer one contained three houres: which he also confirmeth by testimonies of the holie scriptures. For it is said, that the Lord came vnto the apostles in the fourth watch of the night, when they laboured verie earnestlie in the sea, his same father which was well-nigh sonke. The same father watcheth the like thing vpon the 79. psalme. Also the Glosse, in the decrees, questioneth the first, *Superueniente pacis*, mabeth mention of the names of those parts of the night, *Conticinium*, *Intempellum*, *Gallinicum*, or *Antelucanum*: that is, the bed time, the dead part of the night, the cooke roasting, and the dawning of the daie. And Idorus, in his first booke of Cosmologie, maketh seven parts of the night: for he addeeth these three; *Vesperum*, *Crepusculum*, and *Maturum*; that is, the even-tide, the twilight, and the morning. The second watch may be vnderstood the middle watch; for there are two watches betwixt the first and the last: wherefore howsoever it be, the second must needs occupie the middle place.

But the inuenter of these gards or watches in holis (as Plinie writeth in his seventh booke, the 56. chapter) was Palamedes: which yet cannot be, so much as the acts of the Judges are of farre more antiquitie than was Palamedes; inuenteur perauenture he spake onlie of the watches of the Græcians. The vse of watches flourished in the old time, not onely in holis; but they were had in vse also for the safe custodie of manie other things. For at Rome there were watchmen, which in the night went up and downe the citie, to geue warning of fires: and therefore, both in the Wigtels, and in the Code, there is a title *De officio presbiteri vigilum*; that is, Of the office of the ouerier of watch-tops. This industrie also was translated vnto shepheards, which we may see euen by the Gospell: for in Luke the second chapter, the angels, when Christ was borne, came to the shepheards, which kept watch ouer their flocks. We read also, that both Chinks and Christians vfed watches in holie seruices. At Rome there were holie seruices vnto the goddesse Bona, which were done in the night season. And in the old testament we read, that godlie women abode all night at the tabernacle; for doing industrie vnto knowe the children of Helie were accused.

27 Philo a Jewe (as Eusebius Cæsariensis to Philo, writeth in his first booke) affirmeth, that the Christians, which were in the apostles time, among other their commendable institutions, mo most chastitie watch, in giuing thanks vnto God, applying themselves vnto prayers, boornes, and psallings of God. Terullian in his apologie writeth, that the Christians imposed obtinencies, and moderateitie together; because they knew they might worship God in the night season. In the Acts, Paule continued his sermon and disputation till after midnight; so that Eutychus, a young man, being oppressed with sleepe, fell downe from an high loft. Yea, and Chrysostome adobe all night vpon the mount, praying; and he blamed the apostles, which could not watch euen one houre with him; and exhorteth them to watch and praye, that they might not be oppressed with temptation. Jerom vpon the 25. chapter of Mattheu writeth, that The Jewes had a tradition that the Messias would come at midnight: at which houre indeed the first booke of Egypt were slaine. Wherefore he writeth, that he supposeth the tradition came from the apostles, that the priests, in the holie night of Passouer, should not send awaie the people; so that, if peradventure the Lord appere, he may find them watching. But this is not at this daie observed: for the watches are not kept in the night of Easter, but in the night of the nativitie.

28 In the Council of Carthage the fourth, chapter the 49. It is ordeined, that a priest, who

The count  
cell of Cle  
mentine.watches of  
the night  
of the  
day.

Jerom.

The Count  
cell of Cle  
mentine.watches  
turned into  
fastings.

Tim. 4, 8.

without any necessitie of his bodie created from the keeping of any night watches, should both be deprived of his degree, and also put out of his benefice. And in the Council of Eliberinum, chapter 35, watchings in churchyards were forbidden; where they were wont to watch, having their candles lighted. Which I suppose was inuented, not that by that obseruation they might deliuer the soules of the dead from purgatorie; but rather in honor of them. For as euery man held deare his friends, which were dead, that the memorie of them should not be forgotten; they watched at the place, where they were buried, one daie in the yeare. Which we manifestlie practice in the life of Hilanon written by Jerom; where he telleth, that a certaine deacon baid, that he should watch at the home of blessed Anthoine within a daie or two, bicause now a yeare, as certaine yeeres were passed since he died. As the elders watched also at the sepulchres of martyrs, thereby to shew vnto them honor, applying them selves to doctrine, exhortations, giuing of thanks, and prayers; especially in those perillous times, when they might not easilie in the daie time assemble together. Whereouer, godliness was by that means the better obserued: for in the daie time, men were occupied in sundrie labours and works. Wherefore, to the intent that the watching of God might not be vterlie neglected, they appointed certaine houres in the night for it.

29 Jerom against Vigilantius, martirellidie commendeth the institution of the church for watching; and he thinketh, that we should not cease from this obseruation, although by the occasion of these watches, some shamefull thing were committed. For (saith he) the cryes of young men and light women, which can also time in an other place, and plaie shamefull parts at home, ought not to reuolue vs from holie a custome. We do see at this daie, contrarie to the saying of Jerom, watches not onely of the martyrs are abolished; but also those which were done in the honor of the Lord: as it manifestlie appereth in the council of Antiochie, doxenils, chapter 5. Although in some places there continue some remnants of watches: as at Manant, vpon the feast of Bartholomew; and at Vercellis, in the night of saint Eusebius. But all men knowe, how vnconformable and immoderatie men behaue themselves in those watchings. Wherefore they haue connected the obseruation of watchings into fastings. But what manner of fastings I saie you? Such as now a daies they like to abstine from the eating of flesh. What whatsoever it be, the sentence of the apostle is firme and constant; that The exercises of the bodie haue no great profit, but godliness is profitable vnto all things. We must in

deed fast and watch, as much as reason requireth, and the strenght of the bodie will beare. And I do not thinke, that herein we ought to imitate Basil, Nazianzen, and such other, which vnto outward obseruations so kept vnto their bodies, as at length they became vnprofitable both to themselves, and also to others. The golden mediocritie is to be kept, wherein we must obserue the laudable measure of frugallitie and temperance. And these things (by the waie) as touching watches.

## The eleuenth Chapter.

Of Christian life; wherein is treated of diuers vocations, of friendship, of the confession of Christ, also of the example of Naaman the Syrian, which is largelie expounded, the vse of riches, and of pouterie.



An excellent sentence is that of Paule, in the first to the Corinthians; the tenth chapter; Let our owne no man seeke his owne, but euery man his owne wealth. Wherein is brieflie comprehended, that we should perpetuallie in all our actions, haue before our eyes the edifying of our neighbours: which the apostle did excellentlie well perforce, when as he would be made all things to all men. As touching the words, they haue little signification in name. For we are not to seeke our owne, as touching the flesh, and pleasures; but in the meane time there is no let, but that we ought to seeke the kingdome of heauen, saluation, and eternall life, which things be ours. Wherein the apostle should be against himselfe, who saith in the epistle to the Ephitians; With Phil 2, 11. feare and trembling worke ye your saluation. And also vnto Timothy Attend vnto thine owne selfe, and to doctrine. Afterward, when it is said; that We should care for those things which be other mens: that also must not be vnderstood, as touching the flesh and pleasures; for as we are not to seeke these things in our owne felices, so must we not prouide, that they may be in our neighbours. But those things, which Paule speaketh; namely, of [other mens] we ought to prosecute as touching saluation, eternall life, and obtaining of the kingdome of heauen vnto them. But the louing of our owne felices, there is no manifest precept extant in the place of the holie scriptures: yet is there a commandement giuen vs, that We should

125B. 14. Ioue





Wherein he iudgeth, and speaketh goodlie, seeing all things, which happen vnto vs, are referred to the most high cause of the will of God.

6 But this sentence of Paule seemeth to bring the christians into most strait bondage; if it be not lawfull for them by anye meanes to change their vocations. If a man be called from the plough (as Cincinnatus, and other ancient Romans were) vnto the state of consullship, and gouernement of the common weale, shall it not be lawfull for him to receiue the same? Againe, a man beinge poore, if a convenient occasion of a more commodious estate be offered: whie may he not change his poore estate into a better kind of life? But here vnto we answere, that

of what changing of vocation Pauls speake.

Pauls speaking is of those changes, which cannot be done without the offending of our neighbour, and without the note of inconstancie (which things must wholie be anoyed by christians) as it appeareth of vnlike matthes in matrimonie of circumcission, gentilitie, seruitude, and freedom: the which things he not changed, without offense. 4 without note of newfanglenesse. But it is not forbidden by these wordes, but that thou maist sometime change a dangerous state, into that state which shalbe of more safetye: when as thou dost the same puenientlie, without offense vnto anye man; and (which is most of all to be required) that thou dost it not against the word of God. Forsooke, if thou be called by iust meanes vnto an office; or vnto the rule of the church, now is it not thine owne idlee, that translates thee from one vocation vnto an other; but thou art promoted by God. The better state must be determined, when thou shalt be compelled by anye greater necessitie, to enter into anye new state and condition: this also is to be ascribed vnto God, beinge the author of that necessitie. In like manner if there be an occasion of serce of doing well the businesse of Christ, if thou be otherwise affected, Paule must be followed, who was made all things to all men. Whie be aware, that thou seeke not thine owne, nor yet dralle caslie. And seeing thou oughtest to be as the labouring beaſt towarde God, suffer him to go before thee, & to lead thee by his will & conduct, vnto that state which thou must take in hand.

The diuell is wont, by deceitfull temptations, to bringe greivous evils vpon the simple foyle. Sometimes by faire meanes he perswads them that do serue, and deceiveth them by this meanes; Seeing Christ hath alreadye belieuwed you, seeing all things be yours it is an vnseemlie thing that you should serue in this sort. Whie doe ye not shake off the yoke? Whie doe ye not take vpon you to be that gift, which is granted you by Christ? By these & such like reasones it is to be thought, that he moueth the Jewes, who

bute vnto Caesar. In like manner, when we are pressed by anye touchyng pynce, rather than reasonly: God in Deuteronomie ordeined, that a king should not be chosen, but among the brethren: but he is not of the number of the brethren which professeth not the same religion and godlinesse; whie therefore doe you not mind to reuolt from this tyrant? Whie doe ye not beſeech him, which is to great an enemye to religion? Whie doe ye must harden vnto the word of God, whereby it is commanded, that we should not onclie obeye princes that be good, but them also that be tyerous. And let this place also come to remembrance, that vocations are distributed by God; and that we must not caslie seeke to ouerthrowe them.

7 But this must we cherishe hold for a sparieme, that it is faine, whatsoever is done without faith. But thou wilt saie; The Jewes, if they were to take anye great thing in hand, might requyre an answer of God; we at this daie can not do so: are we therefore lesse beloued of God than were they? I knowe, that manie are wont to complaine of this matter; as though our state were worse than was the state of the Jewes. But here we must vnderſtand: for he that taketh counsell of the Lord, doth it to be certifi- cation of the brightnesse of the thing, & of the successe. As touching the brightnesse of the thing, whether the same be honed or dishonoured, whether it please or displease God; we are sufficientlie taught out of the prophets, out of the lawe, and out of the gospell, so as we cannot now be ignorant thereof. But as concerning the event, it is no maruell if now we be with- out such oracles: for farre other promises were giuen vnto vs, then vnto the Jewes. For vnto them God promised a politike gouernement, certine, and that in a certine place appointed, to inuoe vntill the cominge of Christ: but now God by his gospell, hath neither appointed a citie nor a kingdomes certine.

Wherefore God oftentimes make oracles vnto the Jewes, whereby they might vnderstand, both that they should take in hand, and what successe they should haue. And though they had infallible certainties on euery side, yet did he hope vnto them their common weale, euere vntill the cominge of Christ. Further, the Jewes were as yet ignorant and vnfaithfull of ciuill things, as beinge feruile men, brought forth of Egypt: wherefore such helpe of God was needfull for them. Finallye, their religion was as yet latelie and newlie come vp, and not yet sufficientlie confirmed; so that it was needfull to confirme the same by signes and miracles. But now the kingdomes of Christ is spied farre and wide, it cannot be contained in one or two common weales. Againe, the Christian princes are now

Deut.17

Rom.14.23

1. Cor.13.6

1. Cor.13.6

Gal.4.4

1. Cor.13.6

1. Cor.13.6

1. Cor.13.6

1. Cor.13.6

1. Cor.13.6

1. Cor.13.6

1. Cor.13.6

expert enough in ciuill affaires. Lastlie, our religion hath now of long time bene sufficientlie confirmed vnto vs. Vnto God promises, that he would neuer forsake his church vntill, vntill the cominge againe of Christ: but he promises vnto it no certine place, but that if per- haps it be eriled from one place, it shall find har- bour in another. Wherefore, although we haue no oracles; yet to that no argument, that God at this daie maketh litle account of vs, than he did in old time of the Jewes. It is sufficient for vs, that if we put our trust in the promises of God, and beaue our selues well, he will not for- sake vs.

8 But now whereas Paule writeth vnto the Romans, that he is not ashamed of the Gospell: he maye speake that vnder his owne person, yet he meaneth thereby to admonish the Romans (vnto whom he writeth) that they also, though they were highlie exalted, ought not to be ashamed of the Gospell. And he writeth the figure Lip- tore: for he speakes lesse than he meaneth. He to be ashamed, is in this place, as much as if he had said; I verie much gloize. And this spake he plausibly, and without anye figure to the Galatians, saying; God forbid that I should glorie in anye thing, but in the crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ. But there are manie at this daie, which do boast, that they are christians, and vnder receiue the Gospell: which I would to God they did trulie and from the hart. For there be to manie of them, which if they were well examined as touching manners, are most far from Christ: and as concerning rules of religion, if a man begin to trie those men; but euere in the x Cathedrales, thou shalt perceiue that they neuer vnderstand anye thing of Christ. What com- monie is counted a thing to be ashamed of, which he had in contempt of the world; and that is counted honourable, which the world hath in estimation. But in iudging of the Gospell, our faith is erredingone becaused: for it thinketh it a thing to be ashamed of, as touching vnder- standing, as touching good things of the mind, as touching good things of fortune, and also as touching good things of the bodie.

For as touching the mind and vnderstand- ing, the flesh counteth it a foolish thing, to per- uade it selfe of those things, whereof it cannot giue a reason. And as touching the good things of the mind, because we cannot be iudged by our owne vertues and notable actions. And it thinketh it but a follie, to call towaie the goods of the bodie, in such sort as we should crucifie the flesh, with all the lusts thereof: and to be wil- ling, concerning the goods of fortune, to take vpon our crosse, and by continuall and reproches to folowe Christ. All these seeme vnto the flesh to be things for a man to be ashamed of. Against

which we must continuallye set this sentence, which Paule writeth; We are not ashamed of the Gospell. Vnto God promises, that his church shall neuer be eriled, vntill the cominge againe of Christ: but he promises vnto it no certine place, but that if per- haps it be eriled from one place, it shall find har- bour in another. Wherefore, although we haue no oracles; yet to that no argument, that God at this daie maketh litle account of vs, than he did in old time of the Jewes. It is sufficient for vs, that if we put our trust in the promises of God, and beaue our selues well, he will not for- sake vs.

There be other ciuill men, which governe the publicke weale; and these men think this doctrine vntillie editions: and they count it a thing vntillie, that preachers (vnto the pre- sence of publishing of repentance and prea- ching) should be permitted to requyre the vires of magnificence and pines; and after a sort to beaue them vnto the people. And this (saie they) is nothinge else, but to rent in funder pub- licke weales. After these come in place, hypo- crites, sponks, and other religious persons, whicherie out, that by our Gospell the latours of God are ouerthrowne, holie ceremonies con- tenned, good lawes beſet, holie images ta- ken awaie, and (as they saie) all deuotions vt- terlie abolished. Against these verie aduersaries Ions Paule troubleth; for the scribes, pharisees, and high priests eried out, that by this Gospell, which the apostles preached, the laue of God was abrogated; ceremonies, which the patri- archs & prophets had kept, were set at nought; the tribe of Levi spoiled of his honour, the digni- tie of the plethian made equal with the pro- phane estate; and the publicke weale of the Jewes vnterlie erasingh. Against which sharpe sayings it was necessarie to encounter with these wordes; I am not ashamed of the Gospell, whatsoeuer ye saie and imagine against it.

9 It happened also in the time of Augustine and Chrysostome (when that whole citie had not as yet receiued Christ, but that there were together in one citie both christians and also he- taters) that if at anye time a noble and wealthie man had taken vpon him the name of a christi- an, his affinitie, his familie, and friends would come vnto him, and saie; Dost thou beleeue in one that was crucified? Art thou not ashamed to commit the saluation to him that was afflicted with extreme punishment, and was not able to saue himselfe? What madnesse is this of thee? Dost thou beleeue in one that was nailed to a crosse? Vnto whom he should haue answered; I beleeue (as ye saie) in him that was crucified, and not in a whome-monger, in an adulterer, an vnchaste person, a murderer of his father or mother, or a daier of his owne dis- sent: such as are your Iouppiter, Saturne, and other gods, whom ye worship: wherefore I am not ashamed neither of Christ, nor yet of the Gos- pell. In this sort also must we encounter with

who be they which are aduersaries of the gospell.

1. Cor.9.21

Mat.23.17

the heretikes, when they saie; that It is a thing foolish, and to be ashamed of, to beleue that the sonne of God suffered in verie deæd, or that he toke vpon him verie humane flesh of the virgins wombe. But seeing these things be found in the Gospell, we doe wholely beleue them: neither are we ashamed of the Gospell of Christ.

At this date also, the elder men do sometimes upbraid godlike young men, which are zealous of the Gospel: as at least wile their senses and by man reason repugneth them, saying: Are ye not ashamed of this new doctrine? Are ye to be blind, that ye see not, that by this means god works are condemned, the overthrowing of God goeth to wastage, the ministerie of the church is troubled under foot, the dignitie of priesthood obtained, ecclesiasticall localitie cometh vntilte to naught? What patrons of supposers of learned men shall ye have hereafter? Alas your ancientes, which went before you, both in this vniuersitie, and also in others, bring both doctores, and also notable men, follothe these steps: These men also we ought to followe; We are not ashamed of the Gospel, but we neuer speake ill of it.

As for the will fall; *the* haue the Gospell, yours is a true doctrine: it is to answer them a- gain: So much is that the Gospell which be- as is to let forth fauine worshipping of God, (as haue alwaie and concerning the sincere true shipper described vnto vs by GOD) as is to worship stocks and images, as is to obtrude vnder, whereby such men are drawn awaie from matrinomie, as haue most need thereof; as is to erect pilgrimages vnto images, to worship the bones of faints, to inuocate the dead, and an infinite number of such other like. Therefore ye ought to be ashamed of your do- trine, and not true of the Gospell of Christ. Let it be diligetly examined, that twi by the same Gospell do wadge of the honour of God. We at- tribute all things vnto him onlie; we will in all things depend vpon him onlie. Further, let that our iudgement is concerning the worship- ping of him: we desire to retortine the same pure and holie, as it is declared vs in the holie scrip- tures.

What do we thinke of good works: We vse  
them continually, and require to haue them to  
perfitable done by vs, as we alwaies thinke,  
that they remaine some thing not perfitable  
done of vs, vnto which we ought to luel, and  
therevnto we should direct all our indevours.  
What determine we as concerning the holie  
ministry: We labour to haue it in great est  
imation, as that whereby God woorketh our sal  
uation. What of sacraments: That they should  
be kept pure and incorrupt, and be reduced on  
to that use, wherevnto Christ did institute them.  
That indoe we of magistrates: That they should

be obeyed, and that they should be subiect to them in all things; lo they command nothing against the word of God. What eldarme we of poore and miserable men? Euen that they should be helpful and releued. What of publicke peace and tranquillitie? That it be kept, euen with the losse of our goods. What of sciences and god learning? That they should be maintained and aduanced. What doe they object against vnto vs? There is nothing that they more desire, than to haue things brought to their old state. We haue brought in new things. They require againe the state of the primitive church, and desire to haue againe the ordinances of the apostles: therfore there is no cause why they should be ashamed of the Gospell. Of the which, they that complaine, do rather lament the losse of their gaires, than that they can accuse our doctrine. And if anie troubles or difcommodities happen, they must not be ascribed to the doctrine; but vnto those, which vnder the pretence of Christ, and of the Gospell, do falsly those things, that are their owne, and not those things which are Iesus Christs.

10 And Paul doth invite confession to faith, In Rom. 10, 14  
because thou shouldst not imagine, that he speaketh of a vaine and dead faith, but of a faith, as being thy true confession. And although it be a great mantle of good works, which followe faith; yet Paul nameth that which is principall, and may most easilie be gathered by the words of Moses: for in Deuteronomie. he writeth Deut. 10, 17  
hath iointed the heart, And Christ faith, Of the abundance of the mercie, his mouth speaketh. Now he it, this must be well considerd, that Paul attributeth iustificatiō vnto faith, but saith that faith be affirmēd vnto confession. And by faith saluation he meaneth not there the strict saluation, on that is, our reconciliation with God, y<sup>e</sup> absolu-  
tion from sinnes, as he before did, when he said; If thou shalt beleuee that God shall rule the Rom. 10, 15  
dead, thou shalt be named: againe; Whosoever shall call vpon the name of the Lord, shall be saved: but by saluation he understandeth a further perfection, wherewith hee is indubd that hee is already iustified. For the powers of their mind, and the members of instruments of their bodye, are daily made perfect by doing of good works.

And without doubt, when we confesse the  
LORD, by this laudable and holie worke we do  
much profit. So went Paule vnto the Philistines  
pious, when he said, Worke your fualuation with  
fear and with trembling. But and if thou art  
firme, that in this place, by fualuation is vnder-  
ftood iustificatiō: that will we grant onlie to  
be true, as touching this effect, & as they be  
to late. A p<sup>er</sup>former, that is, they that iudgely follow  
eth; namely, that a man may hereby iudge that  
such

such a one is justified. This place alke maketh  
much against certaine Libertines, which renew a-  
gain the error of the Carcopetians, and saie,  
that we must not confesse the veritie of faith,  
before the iudgement seat of persecutors.  
From this error the Nicodemites of our time  
are not farre off, who saie; that it is enough  
to thinke well in the hart, although outwardly  
true godlines be dissembled; and although  
men do goe to the rites and ceremonies of the  
Papists. And so we must take heed, that we be  
not rathle cast our selues into dangers. But  
there as God bringeth vs into them, and that  
they are examined touching the truth; we must  
remember, that They which be ashamed of  
Christ before men, he at length wilbe ashamed  
of them before the Father.

*The example of Naaman  
is expounded.*

29. *King's 5.*  
30. *Job's 4.*  
31. *James*  
32. *believed it*  
33. *might have*  
34. *been saved*  
35. *full by him*  
36. *as a pulchre*  
37. *before the*  
38. *throne pre-*  
39. *sence of*  
40. *the King.*  
41. *King's 5.*  
42. *a. p. 4. art.*  
43. *13.*  
44. *17. p. 102.*  
45. *102. 4.*

Sometimes idolatry is committed, being not known to be such as it is : as was the fame, of the high Sozomenus wrote in the third book of his historie ; where he reporteth, that Iulian the Apostata (a horrible enemy of Christian godliness) sitting in his tribunall seat, after the manner of other emperours, had before him five and threescore, to the intent that before him might be continually incense to the idols of the Chymicks. And when he minded at a certaine date to bestow a benefit of monie upon those

fouldious that were about him, and accepted none; but such as had thowen into the fire certaine graines of frankincense, in vnto as the simplest sort of fouldious, which professed Christ, nothing imagining with themselves of idolatry; as they who thought that the same ceremony rather pertained vnto the imperiall dignitie, than vnto the toothinging of idolls: these graines of frankincense into the fire prepared, and among others recelled the monie distributed vnto them by the emperor. But afterward, when as they were in banket one with another, they talked betwixt godlike and honorable of Christ: whereat one of them that stood by, greatly marvelled, & said; How can ye either speake rightlie, or thinke wll of Christ, seeing ye haue this beaustifolne him? And he let them understand, that the incense, which was made be Ioseph Iulian, was done vnto the idolls: which they hearing, forthwith departed out of their lodging, crying out that they were whole christians; and that they would perswade in the right and perfect faith; that indeed their hand eered, but that their mind remained all one. And while they thus cried out, they came vnto the emperor, refreshing vnto him their monie, and praising him (if so it were his pleasure) to kill them; for that they would fill continue christians. Where we see, that the act of idolatry though contrary was committed.

But it happened not on this wise: unto Naaman, who had some selfe, that the thing which he feared to doe, seemed to him unglibble too; whispering [of idols]. He feareth to demand that of the prophet, which was not in his power; namely, that he would dispense with the lawe of commandment, which concerneth the shewing from idolatrie. Circumboitered, all mortall men are bound, without any exception, unto that precept. But they do most grievously offend against the same, which being by C & D with some great benefit, haue transferred themselves vnto the worshipping of God: among the number of whom (no doubt) but Naaman was at this time. Wherebeit it seemeth, that he ment not so idolatrie indeed; but onlie as touching the outward gesture of the bodie, whereof he rendereth a reason vnto the prophet, namely, that the king

The com-  
mandment  
of avoiding  
idolatry  
cannot be  
dispensed  
with by  
men.

An excuſe  
of Rana



he did it overlie, rightlie, iustlie, lawfullie, and goodlie. Let vs rather acknowledge, (as we said before,) that he in that fact acknowledged his fault, the which should have need of pardon and forgiveness. There is nothing therefore, that by this example men can excuse their committing unto vnpure spouses: seeing Naaman himselfe beseecheth of the prophet, that this sinne may be forgiven him. It might be also, that Naaman being holpen by the goodlie and holie intercession of the prophet, turned home so well confirmed, as he did no more bow his knees before the idoll Rimmon. Wherefore, I thinke that this ought to be most diligentlie marked, that the prophet did not answer him; Go thy waies, so do thou: the Lord will be mercifull unto thee: but he onelie said; Go thy waies in peace: which is all one, as if he had promised, that he would aid him with his prayers, according as he had desired. But this saie; That where sinne, into the which he feared he should fall; whp did not Eliazus reprove him: Whp did he not waerne him, that he should diligentlie beware of such an offense?

Some answer, that this man was not yet to have bene iustlie blamed; and that (according to the word of the Lord) The smoking flaxe should not have bene extinguished, and the shaken reed broken. And that manie things also ought for a time to be licensed to the weaker sort, which should not be granted unto the stronger. They feigne in like manner, that Naaman went to retaine the worshipping of idols with the true and sound religion: and that the prophet commended his goodlines towards Iehouah, & tolerated his outward bowing before the god Rimmon; but yet would not allow of the same. Whobest I iudge neither of these sayings to be true: for the weaker sort must not be borne with, unless it be as touching Adophora, that is, things indifferent: but in those things which be bitterlie against the lawe of God, and be verie finnes in deed, nothing can be dispensed unto them by men. Further, the mind of Naaman was not to retaine still the worshipping of idols; seeing he testified unto Eliazus, that he should thence forward sacrifice unto Iehouah onelie, and not to anye strange gods. And thus I had rather saie, that the prophet would not reprove Naaman; because he perceived him not ignorant that the same was sinne, for the which he made request. Wherefore, seeing he knew it, he was not to be taught; but rather to be comforted, & to be strengthened, as concerning the helpe of God. And where as he said; Go in peace: it seemeth that he promised him not to be without the helpe of God, the which should preserve him from so grievous a fall. So then, in speaking after that sort, he both promised to make prayers for him; & also foresawed, that he himselfe should

be heard, least that Naaman might fall. 16 Wherefore, seeing the Nicodemites have nothing out of this place; they themselves greaue to be laughed at, who being in their own iudgment strong & iustlie, would be compared to Naaman the Syrian, but woulde converted unto God: whereas they rather declare themselves, by this reason, to be yong soldiers. If they are to be accounted yong soldiers, let them remember, that soldiers of this order will not at all waies abide in that state; but doo aspire to higher and better degrees. But when (I beseech you) will these men late abate their appetencyth? Werelie neuer, if they continue alwaies in dissimulation; and together with the knowledge of the truth, be present at spouses, and corrupt worshipping of God. Neither are we to passe over, that in armies they use to spare rawe soldiers; for they are not placed where the greatest dangers be: but these men will be in the midst of the flames, seeing they ioine themselves with idolaters, and are not afraid to be present at their corrupt worshipplings. Euen as in buildinge, the loose stufte, that is, certeine brittle stones, and loose timber, is not placed there where much weight must be borne: so loose men, and they that fall on euerie side, ought diligentlie to avoid a dangerous station. Let them saie which of these they will, it is in their choice; whether they will be old soldiers of experience, or els yong soldiers not yet trained. If they be old soldiers and strong; let them take valliant things in hand, let them renounce and confute idolatrie in free and open speech, let them not dissimble at all, and let them speake the truth with great boldnesse of speech: but if they will be weakie and vnexperit soldiers, let them not enter into perils, which they are not able to beare. God must not be tempted, neither must we presume above the strength that is given vs. And thus farre touching this argument of the Nicodemites.

17 But now perhaps some man will demand, whether the words of Naaman do belong unto repentance, or perhaps have respect to some other matter. Some saie, that these sayings cannot be diuinen unto repentance, because none doth repay of finnes that are to come. Further, because that true and sound repentance hath alwaies ioined therewith a strong and constant mind, or a purpose of not committing such things againe, whereof we do earnestly repent: which was not in Naaman; seeing he testified, that he would bow himselfe before the idoll Rimmon. Whobest, such words do not disagree all manner of waies from repentance: because they do not onelie respect the sinne that should come; but also the present iniquitie, whereby he perceived himselfe prone to fall into sinne.

sinne. Therefore it grieued him, that his faith was not so firme, as he might altogether strue against the sinfull act. Euen as it dooth not a little repent all godlie men, of their vicious and corrupt nature, that is, of their original sinne; whereby it cometh to passe, that we be ready bent to commit sinne, and to be better enemies of vertues. But I would more absolute an answer; namelie, that it was an humble speech of Naaman, whereby he earnestlie implored the helpe of God, and the prayers of Eliazus.

Last of all this remaineth to be inquired, whie the prophet waerneyth not Naaman, that he should comie himselfe to Ierusalem, where not onelie he might auid that fault which he feared; but also, that he might worship the true God in the temple of Salomon? Of this question there may be three reasons assigned. One, because the prophet would teach, that God may be worshiped yet in all parts of the world, neither that he had true saluation unto certeine places and lauds. Secondly, that it furthered verie much the glorie of God, that his name should be celebrated, not onelie in Iurie, but in Syria also: for bringing of whi thing to passe, the returne of Naaman into his countrie did gratefull helpe. Wherefore, it was possible for Naaman to be absent from Ierusalem; because that sound religion, and perfect goodlinesse was now fallen there in decay, whereby he beinge woulde converted unto God, might haue bene infected: so farre is it off that he should there haue bene reformed. Yet he was he to feare so great a danger in Syria, where their idolatrie was so grolle, as euerie godlie man might easilie beware of the same: but at Ierusalem, a noice in religion could not easilie haue auoided the superstitions, which were ioined together with lawfull ceremonies. ¶ Of the full time of perfection, look eysle Ieronime, whie beginning 11; Since we togather.

That the possession of riches is lawfull for godlie men, how they must be yed; also of the induring of povertie.

18 Seeing we read that Abraham, a man of God, was verie rich, and plentifulle imbued with all kind of wealth; as also verie manie of other godlie men haue bene: it is good to speake somewhat of the lawfull use of riches in godlie men. Wherefore let this be the proposition: The possession of riches is not forbidden by God vnto godlie men. It is promised; because that riches be the gifts of God: Therefore they be conuenient for godlie men: whom we must not thinke that God would diue from his gifts. These I proue to be the gifts of God, because they are called his blessing: neither doth blessing they be taken anie other thing, but a gift.

Further, a promise of them is made to the people of God, therefore they are not euill, because God doth not promise euill; & lawfull for them. They be instruments of vertues; namelie, of liberality and almes-deeds. Further, God is said to make his sinne to rise vpon the good and euill, and vpon the iust and vniuist. But by rising of the sinne, and by raine, euen all those fruits be vnderhoed, which be actiued from those beginnings: wherefore substance and the abundance of things are given by God, as well to the iust as vniuist, to the good as well as to the euill. Therefore it cometh to passe hereby, that it is lawfull for the good and godlie sort to haue riches, seeing unto them God is the author of those things. But if it be objected, that a christi-an man must leaue all that he hath, (as it is said that the apostles did) in the 19. of Matthew, and tenth of Marke: it must be so vnderstood, that a godlie man must attend to his vocation, with a mind that is free and alienated from carefulnesse; in such sort, as with the loue of those things he be not bounden from the same.

But it must not be inferred hereby, that a man is constrained to call alwaies his gods: neither do we read, that the apostles did so. Leui, who is said in the fifth chapter of Luke, to haue left all that he had; yet did he afterward make a great and fine banquet vnto the Lord, and that without lesse of his owne proper goods. Peter in like manner, hauing now followed Christ, had a house at Capernaum, into the which he brought Christ: & in like manner, after the resurrection of Christ, he had a ship, & nets, and did fish together with the other apostles. So that the substance of riches, which is possessed by godlie men, is not condemned; but the affection, whereby they cleaue thereto, to more than is conuenient. Wherefore the disciples of Christ, when they followed him, are meant to forsake that which they haue; because they ought to be to attend, that they will faithfully call alwaies the same, & at anie time the possession of the Gospell shall to require. As if a tyrant would saie, (After renounce thou Christ, or else thou shalt forgoe all thy goods: thou shalt straightwaies forsake all those things.) In like manner, if God call the vniuist anie function; or vniuist anie place, whereby it shall be necessarie for them to forsake thy goods, thou must straightwaies leaue them: otherwise it is lawfull for them to retaine them. Either object thou vnto me, that (saying of Christ to the yong man; I shouldest be perfect, go thy waies, sell that thou possessest, and follow me: for this was a speciall calling of him; neither did Christ straightwaies command him to do it. The man thought that he had fulfilled the lawe, in such sort, as if there had wanted nothing vnto perfect instruction: but how farre he was from the same, the Lord would haue it declared vnto him.

Ibidem  
verſe. 14.

Mark. 10. 24

The godlie  
are contrai-  
ned to ſet  
their riches  
by ſell la-  
bour.

1. Theſſ. 4. 11

verſe. 28.

1  
The better  
conditions  
riches may  
hulſe one  
reſtrained  
by the good.

3

4

5

verſe. 17.

6

7

Iob. 1. 21.

him, when he commanded him to do this; for it taught him forthwith that he did not as yet love God above all his riches, for he went about for riotous. And it to be thought, that he took profit by this admonition: so that he now knowing his olivie infirmity, returned at the length unto the right waie. And whereas the Lord saith in the same chapter, that it should be easier for a camel to passe through the eye of a fine needle, &c. he doth not inferre, that it is impossible for all kind of rich men to be saved; but for those onely, which Marke (intreating in the tenth chapter of the same argument) expreſſeth, ſaieing, that it is vnpoffible for them to be ſaved, which put their truſt in riches. And ſo farre is it off, that godlie men are forbidden to have riches, as they that live well, are contrai- ned to get themſelves wealthy by their labours: whereby they may mainteine both the ſoules, and theſes. Hereinto the apoſtle exhorteth the Ephelſonians, that they ſhould have ſobertie to ſuſtaine, not onely themſelves and their familie: but alſo, that they ſhould have order and beides, whereby they may be able to diſtribute unto the poore. Wherefore the ſame apoſtle, in the fourth chapter to the Ephelſians ſaith; He that hath ſtollen, ſhall now ſeale, but ſhall rather labour with his hands, that he may have wherewith to give them that ſuffer neceſſitie.

But that riches may be lawfullie retained by them that be juſt, certaine conditions are neceſſary. Firſt, that they be gotten of them by juſt means: that is, not by arts, which in their olivie may be cuill, or of themſelves good, yet ſo vobden, and not agreeing with that perſon. For, none ought to withdraue himſelf from teaching of the word of God, to puaſie ſome ſuch craft, and thereby to enrich himſelf. Let him not abuſe him, ſo as he would haue them to mainteine riot and voluptuoſitie. Let not the mind of him that procureth them, be deuiant aſaie from the confidence in God, from his benediction, or from the worſhipping of God. Let him not hoard them up, but let him diſtribute them to the poore, when and according as need ſhall require. Let him put no truſt in them, as Paule in the firſt to Timothee the laſt chapter hath admoniſhed; Command thou the rich men of this world, that they put not their truſt in the vncertaine of riches. Let not rich men take ſtomach unto them, ſo as they become proud, advancing themſelves, and contemning the poore. Let them weigh that riches are unſtable, and make eaſilie be taken from them: and when the Lord ſhall take them aſaie from them, let them ſaie, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken aſaie, euen as it pleaſeth the Lord, ſo let it be.

Let them acknowledge, that they haue gotten them of the Lord, and not by their olivie power. And let them curſe daie more and more moſtly the deſire of hauing; leaſt the deſire of hauing ſhould as much increaſe in them, as they be grown in torality and riches.

2. Here there is a thing that we may verie poſſible learne; namely, that external goods muſt not with ſo great attention be deſired and fought after, as they are fought for: ſo wiſely by unſkillfull men: ſo ſuch is the infirmity of man, and weakneſſe of moſtall mens wits, as they will not eaſilie appoint anie meaſure unto riches. Yea and moreover, the knowledge of humane and natural things, ought not to be immoderate deſired of vs. For otherwiſe, the putting our truſt therein, and being puffed by more than is meet, do the leſſe depend upon God, and upon his word. But ſome man will ſaie; Seeing God loved Salomon, and that he knew, that theſe goods would turne to his education; why do he beſeue them upon ſuch plentiful and abundance? Firſt, 3. And ſecondly, they that aſſe theſe things, may by the ſame reaſon demand; why God ſo raichly as well upon the iuſt, as upon the vniuſt; why he maketh his ſunne to riſe both vpon the good and euill: ſeing it is not vniuſt vnto him, that the vniuſt euill men do abuſe both the ſunne and the raine. It may be aſked alſo; Why ſeue God (ſeing he knew that Pharao would not obey his word, but rather become the worſe by occaſion thereof) ſent not withſtanding Moſes and Aaron with his commandments to him. Neither yet was God ignorant, that the Hebrews would looſe God ignorant, that the Hebrews would looſe the propheſies and oracles of the propheſies; and yet neuertheleſſe, the captiuitie of Babylon being at hand, he ſent ſuch a number of propheſies vnto them, as he ſeemed good at that time to let open the ſchool of the propheſies. Now then this kind of queſtions is ſuperfluous: for an order can not be preſcribed vnto God, neither ought his gouernment to be limited by our reaſons.

3. Touching Salomon, I ſaie; that vnto he pertained vnto the predeſtinate, or vnto the reprobate; certaine one of the two we muſt admit: for betwene theſe can be granted no meane. If he were of the elect and predeſtinate, he belonged vnto eueraſting life. And in verie deed the Hebrews aſſure for a certainte, that he repented after his fall: yea, and they ſaie, that the booke Coheth was written by him in the verie time of his repentance. Wherefore we are warned and taught by his fall, to put no truſt in our olivie felices; and that we eſſame not of the pleaſures and delights of this worlde otherwiſe than they are: ſeing we heare that king Salomon, when he enioied all thoſe things in

In 1. ſalm. 1.  
Theſe  
goods muſt  
not be  
ſo greatly  
reſpected.Theſe  
goods  
muſt  
not be  
ſo greatly  
reſpected.

Exod. 4. 11.

A diſcrete  
touching  
the end of  
Salomon.

Eccleſ. 1.

In 1. ſalm. 1.  
Theſe  
goods muſt  
not be  
ſo greatly  
reſpected.

moſt abundance, did pronounce generallie of them; Vanitie of vanities, and all things are vanitie. Which ſentence beſeie, if a common perſon, a poore man, or an huſband-man had pronounced, all men in a manner would haue ſaie; How doth this fellow know hereof, who neither hath had experience, nor yet could procure vnto himſelf pleaſures and delights? Wherefore God would, that he ſhould aſſure this ſaieing, who being furniſhed with kingle power, and infinite wealth, might attaine vnto all kind of pleaſures and delights. And ſeing he preiudicially graue in wiſe, and creelless others in ſingular knowledge; vndoubtedly he ſaue the waies and meanes, by the which pleaſures and delights might be obtained. For as he himſelf confeſſeth he ſpared no coſt: he appointed for himſelf fingers, both men and women; he prepared for himſelf rich buildings, and alſo notable houſes of pleaſure, and ſilpounds in the countrey; and finally, he had experience of althings, whereby men are wont to attaine vnto vobillie pleaſures. But yet at the laſt he repenting, with vehement affirmation cried out; Vanitie of vanities, and all is but vanitie. Wherefore, if we embrace this ſentence, we will ſaie that he did repent, and that the predeſtination of God was not made fruſtrate in him; and that his fall was ſpecified in the holie ſcripture for all our inſtruction; and they were laid before our eyes by the pouidance of God.

But if he be reckoned among the reprobate, yet can it not in like manner be denied, but that by his fall he haue notable warnings: but be himſelf, which tranſgreſſed, hath vndoubtedly ſuffered iuſt puniſhment of his ingratitude. Yet neuertheleſſe, there is no cauſe why he ſhould by anie means accuſe God, who indued him abundantly with all good things. In men certeinly is alwayes the cauſe of ſinne, the which in no wiſe can be in God: yet is it not therefore brought to paſſe, but that God may ſe the tranſgreſſions of men, for the inſtruction of his olivie choſen people. Let his olivie ſecrets be ſound and intire vnto himſelf: let vs followe his will, according as it is revealed in his laue and diuine ſcripture. And in the meane time let be conſider, that it is no faile waie, to live in continual proſperitie. Wherefore it is not by the fault of the gift of God, that we fall headlong into damnation; but it cometh by reaſon we are ſo verie corrupt, that we neuer (in a manner) keepe our felices within iuſt limits. It is an incredible thing to be ſpoken, what great libertie the moſt mightie ſpouarches, the rich men, and notable learned men, give vnto themſelves. And if there be anie other example extant of this thing worſhip to be giuen; I ſuppoſe this of Salomon doth theſe ſerue to the purpoſe.

## Of Liberalitie and Magnificence.

1. In the beſowing of monie, the meane is accounted liberalitie: and be which errereth, is counted riotous, vniuſtitie and poſſidall; he ſauech not his things, naie but he beſtoweth them: he giueth ouer much, but reſeruieth little. But the courteous man, he ſtandeth in the other extremitie, and reſeruieth more than is meet, but beſtoweth leſſe. Wherefore exerce and conſultations are on this wiſe opoſed one againſt another.

Magnificence is by Ariſtole called *μεγαλοψυχία*, becauſe expenſes are pointed out beyond the bounds of meaſure and honeſtie. At this exerceſſe is alſo called *generoſitas*, that is, a certein affectation of goſtuoſities and greatnes, while in the beſowing of coſt, we endeavour to haue an honour and comelineſſe, where need requirith not. For ſaie beſowes, ſince they be unſkillfull in things, while they would ſeeme to be magnificall, poſſe greatly offend in this kind of expenſes. Once a ſpouarcher that became rich, made a feaſt to the people of Rome. And Aelop the plaier in tragedies, minding to make a magnificent feaſt, bought tonnes of moſt pretious birds. And oftentimes in cities, where the peoples fauour is fought, ſuch kind of expenſes are vſed, becauſe the people delight in them. And thoſe baſe artificers, which knowe not wherein a moderate ſtandeth, although for their ſmall ability they are not able to make ſuch expenſes, yet are they delighted in them. Wherefore Cicero ſaie; that vniuſtate riotouſnes did not pleaſe the people of Rome, but publicke magnificence.

2. But here peraduenture ſome man will aſke; For what cauſe God ſo often ſuffereth his people, that is to ſaie, thoſe which do trulle and ſincerely worſhip him, to ſuffer povertie? For the holie ſcriptures do ſhew, that Iob, Tobias, and Iacob, when they went to Laban as a ſtranger from his fathers houſe, and manie other of the ſaints, were brought into povertie. Of theſe euents there may be manie cauſes ſeeked. One is, that God, by this kind of exerceſſe would declare the faith and patience of his people: for by ſuch means he bringeth forth into light thoſe vertues, which he hath beſtowed vpon them, leaſt they ſhould be hidden. Furthermore, he will ſometime haue his protection and care towards them to be made manifeſt, when their ſtate being changed, he maketh them rich againe, and reſtoreth them to their former ſtate: according as we knowe it hapeneth vnto Iob, Tobias, and Iacob; and vnto manie others. Further, he will teach vs hereby, that we muſt not make too much account of vobillie riches, as we doth thereby

In the com-  
muniſmes  
upon Iob.  
ſaie.

Magnificence

In 1. ſalm.  
at the be-  
ſinning.Iob. 1.  
Tob. 1. 12.  
Gen. 31. 10.

1

2

3

C. C. Iy. meaſure

2. Cor. 13.  
1. Sam. 2.  
1. Pet. 2.  
Galat. 3. 28.

measure the grace and fauour of GOD. For cuen as, respecting the kingdome of heauen, there is neither male nor female, neither old nor free: euen so there is neither rich nor poore. Which thing cannot generallie be affirmed by the Apostles, which sell their pardons for monie, and for rich oblations doe pull soules out of purgatorie: which oblations, seeing the poore cannot make, they want those benefits of theirs. Besides this, through want of the gods of this world, God hideth the wantonnes of the flesh: for there be verie manie, which if they should abound in wealth, they would abuse the same to the fulfilling of the lusts of their flesh. Wherefore by this wholesome remedie the heauenlie father doth heape them vnder, least they should shamefullie run at large. And lest that povertie should be reputed for, an infamous and vile state, the onlie begotten sonne Iesus Christ our Saviour should suffer the same, while he liued among vs.

21 Yet perhaps some man will here doubt, that seeing Christ hath said; that The workman is worthe of his reward. And againe; Your heauenlie father knoweth, that you haue need of all these things. And againe; Seeke ye first the kingdome of heauen, and all things shall be giuen vnto you: and David saith; I neuer sawe the iust man forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread. How can hunger, thirst, and nakednes, (which the apostle in the first to the Corinthians, the fourth chapter, declareth that he suffered) agree with these things? We answer, that the promises of God are most true; but yet that they are not separated from the crosse. God hath promised the foresaid things; but yet not so, as he should possesse them without penurie and affliction. Christ bid hunger and thirst. David also did hunger, and to hunger, as he was driuen to cate the few-bread, and to send to Nabal the Carmelite to request meate at his hands. The apostles themselves so hungered, as though hunger they were constrained to rub the eares of come, and cate the graine, which they had rubbed out with their hands; and that on the sabbath daie, to the great offense of the Scribes and Pharisees. Wherefore God giueth vnto his, those things, which be necessarie vnto life; but yet at such time, and in such sort, as shall keepe vs from sloth. Sometimes he expecteth, that we being hungry and thirstie, should want meate and drinke; to the intent that (according to his promises) we should require the things of him by prayer; and be the more confirmed in him, that we may vnderstand them to be his gifts. Besides this, he would that his should sometimes be pressed with hunger, thirst, and nakednes; that they may payd a testimony vnto the truth, for the vertie whereof, they had rather suffer

those things, than denie the Gospel of Christ, for the abundance of lining, and of things necessarie [vnto life.] At which times, although God doth not furnish them with meate, drinke, & apparel; yet doth he giue them such things, as be far better than these: that is to wit, faith, hope, and charitie, and such a spirit of fortitude; as the saints iudge, that to suffer these things, is most profitable and glorious.

## The twelſe Chapter.

Of Fortitude, of mortification, of enduring the crosse and afflictions; wherein is also treated of fleeing awaie, and of banishment.

Seeing that in the holie Scriptures there is often times mention made of fortitude, it shall not be amisse to speake somewhat of the nature thereof. Fortitude therefore is an habit of our mind, whereby (according to right reason) for iustice and honestie sake we hold a meane betwene feare and boldnes. They which erre in not fearing, are shewed to be they, which haue utterlie put off all feare, and are so stout, as they are not mued, nor not with those things, which do alwayes erre exced nature: as thunders from heauen, lighteninges, earthquakes, and such like. Yet by all that do these erre in hardines: for they therefore will not put forth themselves of their owne accord to perils, or attempt any difficult thing for an honest cause. And they which be of this sort, are thought to be in a certaine mannes and curie: they are without name, because there be few such found. Thus the matter appereth with some: wholnesse is bold, fearely nothing; but not so on the contrarie part: for manie may be without feare, which are not bold, nor will moue or attempt any thing. Whoboeit, the case doth not so stand; for he that is bold, is not altogether vnfearefull, in such wise as he hath put abate all feare. So doubt he is somewhat mued therewith, but he easilie and manie times hath the ouer hand; yea, and he is bold more often than he should. Wherefore, he rather departeth from right, and from the nature of man, which erreth in vnfearefulness, than he which erreth commeth with boldnesse. Now then we must thus order the matter, that a valiant man is bold, but yet with reason; namely, when it be honestie him, and when reason beareth rule ouer the feare that is in him. But he is a rash fellowe, which is bold to doe any thing rashlie: for he putteth

putteth forthward himselfe to perils, but without reason: in deed he hath not set aboue all feare, but the greatest part he hath.

But euen as in cresse are placed diuers affects of vnfearefulness (as 3 may saie) and of boldnes; why likewise in the defect are there not assigned two, but one; whereby we are said to be cowardlie or fearefull? We answer, that euen there also are appointed two manner of defects; seeing some are said to faint either by to much fearing, or by not daring. But the fearefull and cowardlie same to be ioined together both in one name, since they be not separated one from an other: for he that is too fearefull, dare do nothing; and againe, he that dare do nothing is ouer fearefull. But the matter goeth not thus: for it may be, that some man feareth nothing, and therewithall dare do nothing. Whether are these two sorts ioined together by Aristotle, because the cowards of the fearefull, are comprehended both vnder one name. But he calleth excedeth in not fearing, why he is not called vnfearefull? And why is not this affect called vnfearefulness? Because these names are also agreeable to him that is valiant, and in like manner to him that is bold; and therefore they cannot be proper to him, whom we haue called vnfearefull.

But albeit (as I haue said) that fortitude holdeth a meane betwene feare and boldnesse, yet it is most of all considered in the ouercomming of feare. For seeing that vertue is placed in hard and difficult things, it is a great deale more difficult in great terros to repulse feare, than to restrain boldnesse. For boldnesse is oftentimes repelled, euen by the object it selfe: but feare is rather increased and kindled by dangers. The end is honestie and goodnes: for otherwise, if a man for his owne commoditie sake should be led to do valiantlie; that is not fortitude, but rather crueltie and ferrenes. But honestie and goodnes is, to take in hand labours and perils, either for religion, or for righteousnesse, or for our countrie, or else for our parents. But aboue all other things must feare be subdued and overcome: for it hath alwaies respect to some great evil. For they define feare to be the eschewing of an euill, libelie in that space to happen. Whoboeit, we do not respect fortitude in euerie feare: for there be certaine euils, which of their owne nature, and of the ductie of a good man ought to be feared; of which sort be all kind of sinnes. Against these we are armed, not with fortitude, but with ductie: for in the repelling of those euils, which are purchased by our owne fault; we are not called valiant men, vnlesse a man will speake vnpopertie. For so saith Paule; Doe we prouoke God? Are we stronger than he? Wherefore fortitude is considered in

those things which are not receiued through our owne fault, but are brought vnto vs outwardly. Albeit that neither those in beerie dead do be long all vnto fortitude: for the same we defined to be a taking in hand of dangers. For honestie and goodnes sake. For in cowardice is shipwacke, and such other kind of misfortune, we suffer patientlie, if we be of a good courage; and yet for all that, fortitude is not considered properlie in them: for these things are not taken vpon vs by choise.

And therefore Cicero rightlie defined fortitude, to be an enduring of labors, and a taking in hand of dangers with contentments. And fortitude is chieflie perceived in dangerous and difficult things; but most of all in things happen vnto the sudden: for vertue is conseruant in difficult things, and difficult things be vnlooked for. For dangers premeditated, seeme after some sort to be mollified. Wherefore the vertue and fortitude of Iob was herein chieflie renowned; because in a sudden and vnexpected euill he could take countell out of hand. Seeing fortitude is let as a meane betwene feare and boldnesse, it is after a sort partaker of both; for a valiant man dare commit himselfe into danger for honestie and goodnes sake; but yet in this mean time because he must strue with terros, he is not a little moued in mind. The holie Apostles both in our time, and in all ages, do valiantlie endure by Christ & the Gospel sake, all torments, which can be deuilled either by tyrants, or by the diuell: yet otherwhile, because they be not [made] of marble, stone, or brass, they become somewhat faint, through the verie fele and greatnes of the dangers. Two things are set forth for a goodlie man to abide, and take in hand. But fortitude is rather considered in suffering: for that is the harder thing. Plutarch out of the old poet Menander; It is not (saith he) the part of a valiant man, to saie, This I will not suffer; but, This I will not do. For the other thing is not put in our power. Wherefore the substance of fortitude, is that part of the mind, wherein it is conseruant, feare and boldnes. The object which it hath respect vnto, is perill. And thereof two belong vnto the matter. The forme is me diocritie. The end is honestie and goodnesse, and the will of God.

2 Now must we see what is the efficient cause thereof. Aristotle in his 3. booke of Ethics, saith; that there is a certaine euill thing, whose efficient cause is the law or opinione of the common weale. As if there were a lawe, that he which shall die in warre, is either infamous, or condemned to die: but he which shall be haue himselfe valiantlie, obtaineth either praise or reward. This is not true fortitude, which we now seeke for: for that hath not respect either to re-

wherein  
fortitude is  
considered

Cicero

wherein  
fortitude is  
considered

1. Sam. 10.

Fortitude is  
as a meane  
betwene  
feare and  
boldnesse.

Plutarch,

The effici-  
ent cause of  
fortitude.

The kind of  
fortitude.

the end.

first be-  
cause.

1. Cor. 13.





Afflictions taken upon us of our own accord being not to the credit of Christ. Rom.14.1.

2.Tim.4.6. Phil.3.10.

We are not proper to call unto our selves the joyfulness of repentance.

The crosses and afflictions are to us that we shall obtaine the inheritance. Phil.1.9.

The first gift obedience, as also the rest of the latter.

A certaine condition by which we are to enter into the eternal inheritance.

wise aduonously vs, that we should suffer persecutions, not as defectors for our owne ill doings. For neuer those crosses, which we procure unto our selves, and be not laid on by God, must be set aside. For some rash persons there be, which do late persecutions upon themselves, whose end oftentimes is most shamefull. But not to omit the principall, I saie, The true suffering of the crosse is a most acceptable sacrifice unto God, whereof Paul vnto the Romans writeth; I beseech you for the merie of God, &c. And vnto Timothie, he said; that the God should be offered vnto. And David said; A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit, a contrite heart. For perhaps thou shalt demand, whether it be lawfull for vs to murther, and of our owne accord to take torments and labours upon vs, without expecting a time when God should blesse them; I answer, that it is lawfull; but yet in such sort, as it is commanded and prescribed vnto vs, as when of our owne accord we admit bitter sorowes, while we repent of our former life and sinnes. And seeing God requirith this thing of vs, it is not proper and true like faile of vs, that we do call the same vnto vs. The which also may be affirmed, when we refuse not labours for the sake of our neighbours, and for auoiding of offence. For these causes God himselfe commends that we should labour to much as lieth in vs.

But euen as Paul vnto the Romans taught, that the faith of our adoption cometh by inuocation or prayer, in which the holie Ghost beareth witnesseth with our spirit, that we be the children of God: so be the truth a testimony, by which we may be the more certaine of entering into this inheritance, which he speaketh of; Ye shall without all doubt (saith he) obtaine it: for ye shall reioice with Christ, for so much as ye haue already attained to suffer with him. Wherefore crosses and troubles are tokens and arguments, whereby we may gather that we shall be the heires of God. Paul saith vnto the Philippians; That Vnto them it is giuen for Christ his sake, not onelie to beleue in him, but also to suffer for him. This former gift, which we now see that we haue obtained, maketh vs certaine of the latter, that we shall at the length not be defrauded of it. For, no small or slender power of God is declared to be in them, which valiantly & patientlie for godlines sake suffer persecutions, & aduersities. I knowe there be others, which interpret these wordes otherwise, that Paul should seeme to ascribe a certaine condition, whereby we shall passe into everlasting inheritance; namely, if we haue first suffred manie things. And doubtles, the Greeke particle *επειδη* (which is turned) I so be, may be taken to each opinion. This is certaine, that Paul here maketh a kind of transition, or passing ouer to another

matter; although it be pleasant and close handled, to comfort the men for the afflictions which they suffered. Albeit he departeth not from that purpose which he had in hand, but with the selfe same labour both perscutheth that which began, and also comforteth them. And it is all one, as if he should haue said; Ye shall indeed be heires, but yet with this condition, that ye must first suffer manie things. Christ requirith nothing at your hands, which he himselfe hath not first performed. Ye leaue you no other towne, than the same which he himselfe hath gone. Ye will not offer you to binke of anie other cup, of the which he himselfe hath not dronke. Whereof this will be the greatest comfort vnto vs; for so much as those things, which we shall suffer, will not be comparable with that glorie, which shall be reuealed in vs. Ambrose followeth this interpretation. Howbeit, I thinke that this place is so to be understood, as though it were a proofe of that which followeth, by those things which went before, after this manner; Ye shall haue the eternal inheritance, because ye suffer together with Christ. The verie which sentence he useth in the latter epistle to Timothie; If we die together with him, we shall reigne together with him.

Chrylостом vpon this place writeth; that this is an argument taken from the *Ad ad*; God (saith he) hath freely giuen vnto vs manie things. For when we had done nothing, he adopted vs vnto children: he granted vs, that we should call him Father, whereof followed an assured and constant faith, that we are the sons of God: and how shall he not now giue vs the inheritance that is behind; especially seeing in the meane time we haue suffered most grievous calamities? And doubtles, he will not be me if after such and so manie trauels, seeing he hath freely and without anie traull of vs induceth that, that beleue in him, with most excellent gifts. And by this means hath he declared, that God hath singularly well provided for men: who, to the intent they should not boast of their trauels or indour, hath freely giuen manie things vnto them. And againe, least they should be ashamed of obtaining so great gifts without trauell, he would not haue them to come into this singular inheritance, without most valiant courage, sufferance, strutting, disquietnes, and affliction.

These things aloweth he, neither amide, nor yet vnpossible; so they be rightlie understood by vs, in such sort, that we confound not the promises of the lawe with the promises of the Gospel. As eall that should happen, it shall be necessary to make plaine, what difference there is betwene each promise. They do not herein differ, as some thinke; because the promises of the

Which he shall haue the eternal inheritance. 2.Tim.4.8.

What difference there is betwene the promises of the lawe and of the Gospel. 2.Tim.4.8.

Gospel haue no conditions ioined vnto them, but the promises of the lawe are neuer offered without conditions. For euen as it is said; Honour thy father and thy mother, that thou mayst liue long vpon the earth. Again; If ye will and shall hearken vnto me, ye shall eate the good things of the earth. And euen so we read in the Gospel; Forgiue, and it shall be forgiven; Giue, and it shall be giuen vnto you. And again; He that forsaketh father or mother, or wife, or house, or lands, for my sake, shall receiue an hundred fold, and possesse eternal life. And; If so be we suffer together with him, we shall be glorified together with him. And vnto Timothie; If we die together with him, we shall rise againe together with him. Wherefore, seeing this is no difference, we must seeke for another.

The conditions which are annexed to the promises of the lawe, are commandments which the lawe commandeth to be fulfilled, euen to the uttermost; neither will it otherwise performe the things promised, unless the conditions be absolutely fulfilled. And thus it is manifest vnto him which diligenter considereth the matter, that the conditions of the lawe might haue bene causes of the obtinment of the rewards which were promised. For if they had bene so fully accomplished, as they were commanded in the lawe, they might haue bene compared euen with the verie rewards, and haue bene accounted for merit. But seeing they could not be performed by men, God of his merie in their place appointed the promises of the Gospel; which promises notwithstanding that they haue conditions adioined vnto them, yet are they gratis offered. For the things that are by them commanded vnto vs, are in daie necessary, if we haue power, time, place, and occasion giuen to vs to doe them.

Of this I speake, because of infants, and of those which in the last time of their life, being at the point of death, come vnto Christ. For eternal life dependeth not of those conditions, as of causes. For as we haue already said, it may, without those conditions, be obtained both by infants, and by those which in the last houre of their life be converted vnto Christ. And because the promise, if it should depend of those conditions, as of lawfull causes could not be firme; seeing there is no man, which can fulfil those conditions, as they are commanded: euen so the verie same cause also, the promises of the Gospel may consist without these conditions. Wherevnto serueth that, which Paul saith; that those conditions cannot be compared with that thing, which is promised: which cannot be true in lawfull causes, if they be compared with their effects. Wherefore, if thou ioin these three things together; namely, that the rewards of the

The promises of the Gospel may consist without these conditions. Rom.8.18.

Gospel are freely promised, that the conditions cannot be made equal vnto them, and that the promises ought to be most firme; thou shalt both take alittle the consideration of merit, and shalt easilie perceiue, wherein they differ from the lawe.

If thou wilt demand, whether the promises of the lawe were giuen in vaine; seeing there was neuer anie man found that could performe those conditions; I will answere, that herein was nothing done in vaine or fruitles. For therefore were such impossible conditions annexed vnto it, that men might be put in mind of their infirmities; and that they the thoughtlie understanding it, should see vnto Christ, of whom being receiued in fauour, and having not obtained iustificatiō, they might obtaine the selfe same promises. For as touching those men, the promises are now, of promises of the lawe, made promises of the Gospel: because they which beleue in Christ to come, were exercised in the obedience of the lawe. Which obedience of the lawe, although it were but anie begun, and not thoroughlie finished; yet was it allowed of God: therefore might they haue the fruition of the promises offered.

And that it is to suffer with Christ, may on this world be easilie declared; if we thew that causes moued Christ to suffer so bitter a death vpon the crosse. And there were two causes; the first was, to be obedient (as he himselfe said) vnto his good Father; the second was to subdue and condemn our time. They which in suffering aduersities, imbrace these two causes in their mind, do suffer with Christ. Wherefore sorowes or aduersities happen vnto them, let them reckon with themselves, that they happen vnto them by the providence of God; and let them beare patientlie what burden so euer is laid vpon them; so as they may willingly or laide vnto the author of that affliction. Let them consider moreover, that by these calamities, the old man is tamed, sinne is broken, and that corruption, which by nature is to be thoughtie grafted and bred in vs, is dissolved. But that the cause is, that the wood, which men, and the diuell, after a man is converted vnto God, do straitwaie begin to rage against him, by all manner of most bitter meane; I thinke it is not hard to be perceived. For so some as men come vnto Christ, they straitwaie do begin, vnto the diuell and from their heart, to make warre with godlinesse. Whereupon are hatreds kindled against the godlie, and persecutions warre growe against them.

As touching the suffering of aduersities, the apostle consisteth by two reasons. The one of which is taken of the end, after this manner; These evils, which godly men indure, do obtaine

The conditions of the lawe were not to be in vaine.

What is to suffer with Christ.

Causes where we should patientlie suffer aduersities.

Immediate life after a man is converted vnto Christ, aduersities come vnto him, and woe.

a blessed end, and happy conclusion; Wherefore they must be suffered with a cheerful and valiant mind. The other is, for that those things, which we suffer, although they seeme troublesome and grievous; yet can they not in any wise be compared with the rewards which shall be given us in the life to come. By this unequal proportion it is evident, (for will I speake properly) that this world merit, is not to be attributed unto our good works. Chrysostome hath well noted, that Paul, before he came to the exhortation of patience in adversities, wonderfully amplified the honour and dignity of the children of God; which he did not toly to great a diligence before, when he intreated of restraining the desires of the flesh, for as we have said before, there are two kinds of mortification; one of which here in consisteth, that we should repress the desires of the flesh; the other is, to suffer valiantly for Christ his sake, dangers, crosses, and all manner of toiments when need shall require. Which two things, if they be compared together, we shall perceive, that the suffering of adversities is of more difficultie, than is the battle with the wicked lusts of the mind.

Aristotle in his Ethicks (as he prudently saith manie other things) saith, that fortitude is to be preferred before the vertue of temperance, which otherwise is most worthy of praise. And this thing doubtlesse euen the beel was not ignorant for when he reasoned with God, as concerning belled Job; Skinne for skinne (saith he,) yea, a man will giue all that he hath for his life. Wherefore, stretch forth thy hand (saith he) a little upon him, and then thou shalt see whether he will curse thee to thy face or no. For by the natural sharpnesse of wit, therein he could excellently, he easily sawe, that this of all temptations is the greatest; when the life is selfe (than which nothing is more sweet) is put in danger. The fruit, which they that haue valiantly labored shall receive, must alwaies (as Paul warneth vs) be before our eyes. For so shall we see, that when we suffer for Christ his sake, we shall bring singular commoditie, not unto him, but unto our selves. That which the Latin interpreteour turned [*Exultatio*], that is, [*I thinke, or count*] is in Greeke written [*Noygizma*]; which word cannot be referred vnto an opinion that is doubtful and vncertaine. For that word is speiall vied of such as make reckonings, which by their accounts intoe a summe, and hold it deinite and certaine.

Wherefore the meaning is, as if he should haue said; This 3 hold for certaine, that those euils, which we suffer, are not to be compared with that glorie, which we wait for. And when the afflictions of the godlie are not of their owne nature to light; but Paul extenuateth them

onely by waie of comparison. Wherefore this place containeth an amplification of that felicitie, which God promisseth vnto vs; which hereby is made the more notable, in that it farre excelleth all the trauels of this life. And which thing godlie men are so thoughtfully persuaded as they reioice euen in the midst of their tribulations. The verie same comparison Paul vseth in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, the fourth chapter; for he saith, that Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, bringeth vnto vs a maruelous exceeding weight of eternall glorie. By these words is shewed, wherefore eternall life is mounteth all the trauels of this life; namely, because of the weight, continuance, and greatnesse thereof. For whatfewer things we suffer here, are called of Paul *maia gela*, that is, *Momentanie*. He addeth also [*Agapoe*], by which words the lightnesse of them is shewed. But contrariwise, vnto the glorie is attributed both eternitie, and also a wonderfull great weight, which exceedeth all measure.

8 The apostle addeth; Which shall be revealed vnto vs. We saith, that this glorie shall be revealed, least we should thinke our selves not to be utterly destitute of the same. For we are readye possible a great part thereof, although as yet it is not perfect, nor manifest to the world. So Paul speaketh vnto the Colossians; Ye are dead with Christ, and your life is hidden with Christ in God; but when Christ your life shall appeere, then also shall ye appeere together with him in glorie. But it is to be noted, that Paul in this one word [*glorie*] comprehendeth the whole felicitie, which we wait for. And therein he followeth the iudgement of men, which are wont to esteem glorie as the chiefest goodnes. Whereof also the philosophers thus affirme; that As the shadowe followeth the bodie, so both glorie followeth true and perfect vertue. Wherefore glorie comprehendeth two things, which must be earnestly desired; first, that a man be indued with vertues; secondlie, that he get a good name among the people.

But what the blessednes, which we wait for, is not revealed in this life. Chrysostome thinketh this to be the cause; namely, that it farre surpasseth the state of this life. And Paul carrieth the longer in the amplification thereof, that he may the more stir vp the Romans to the suffering of afflictions. For a soldier is exceedinglie commended to suffer perils, if he hope that the victorie will be gainfull vnto him. And a merchant is not discontented with amie labours of sailing and traueling, if he hope thereby to win great gaine. Further, we ought to consider, that the lot of the citizens of this world, differeth farre from the lot of holie men, which suffer Christ for his; for they, with the greatnes of their labours go beyond

beyond those good things, which they labour to attaine; but we, though we bechaure our felices stonlie and valiantlie (as Paul saith) yet are not our toils to be compared with that end, which we sit before vs.

9 That we may easily vnderstand this difference, the examples of the Romans will come ready vs. Brutus for preferation of the libertie of his countrey, did not thicke to laie his owne children. In the doing whereof, he also had respect to attaine the praise of a good citizen; for thus the poet Virgil writeth of him.

*His countrey lone him drines, and greedie lust of endlesse fame.*

These were the ends that moued the Ethniks, which vnbuddie were verie small and slender causes. For the libertie, which they had respect vnto, was no such as ours, whereby we are deliuered from sin, from satan, from death, and from the wrath of God. They sought his name praise, a thing doubtlesse inconstant and of small force; but our end is to approue our selues vnto God, whose iudgement cannot be decieued. Torquatus also liue his owne forme, because in fighting against the enimie, he had violated the lawe of warre. When we also, to keepe the lawe of God, ought not to doubt (when need shall require) to suffer all manner of most grievous toiments. For the lawes of God must not be compared with the lawes of warre.

Camillus being banished out of his countrey, afterward finding it to be open by the Gallies, valiantly refused the same; because he thought he could not liue with more glorie in any other place. But it shall not be to great a marvell in a christian man, who being hurt by any in the church, leauing aside the desire of reuenge, will helpe his brother by whom he is hurt, and by his trauell will adorne the church; for out of it no man can liue a holie life, nor yet attaine vnto eternall felicitie. Quintus Mutius Scaeuola, of his owne accord, thrust into the fire his right hand, which had mist the striking of Porcenna. That marvell is then, if a man, to obtaine the kingdomes of heauen, will offer vnto the fire, not onely one of his handes, but also his whole bodie to be burnt; Curtius being armed at all points, and mounted vpon a horse, threw to him selfe willinglie into the gulfe of the earth, because the citie of Rome might be deliuered from the pestilence. For so had the Oracle giuen answer, that the wrath of the gods would cease, if that, which the Romans esteemed best, were thowme into that gulfe. We for our part haue an Oracle farre more certaine; namely, that, we are not to be feared, which kill the bodie, but cannot kill the soule.

The Decij bolued themselves to the drath, that their legions of soldiers might be prefer

red, and get the victorie. Our martyr is also, when they shed their blood, rather than they will be plucked away from the religion of Christ, cannot boast that they take an enterpryse in hand, which hath not bene heard of. M. Pulvillus, when he should consecrate a temple vnto Iupiter, in the meane time word was brought him by envious persons of the death of his son, was not one whit abashed in mind, neither left he off that which he had begun; but commended, that his sonne being dead should be carried out and buried. Which what mind then ought a christian man to suffer, seeing he heareth the Lord saie; Suffer the dead to bury their dead.

Regular, when he had swoone, that he would restore vnto Carthage, although he knew that most grievous toiments were promised for him; yet would he not commit the crime of violating his faith. Wherefore we also, fixing in baptisme true haue publickly giuen our faith vnto Christ, although for the keeping thereof we should suffer all things, yet ought we not to violate the same.

Some will boast of the contempt they haue of riches, and of voluntarie povertie taken vpon them for Christ; but let the boasters call to remembrance Cincinnatus, who after he had behaved himselfe honourable, and done notable acts in his Dictatorship, of his owne accord returned againe to till a husband his foure acres of ground. Let them remember that Valerius Publicola, after he had passinglie well gouerned his Consulship, died to poore, as he left not therewith to burie himselfe; but was buried at the common charge of the citie. And Fabricius so little repented him of his povertie, as he defused the gold of king Pyrrhus. As he to great and notable acts did these men, (as I haue said) to get the praises of men, and to preferre that earthly publicke worle. Let vs, if we enter vnto any dangers, haue God himselfe to be our inheritance, and our reward, and shalbe heires together with Christ. Before vs as a pisse is let the kingdomes of heauen, and eternall fellowship with the angels. Wherefore it is manifest, that the notable fables of those heathen fables praised the ends and rewards set before them; but our works are infinitelie excelled of the rewards that are before vs. I grant indeed, that their works are not to be reckoned among the true vertues; for they were rather shadowes and images of vertues. And their works, although they were excellent (if we consider them after a ciuill manner); yet before God they were no thing else but glorious and glittering fumes; for they were not moued to worke, either by love, or by the love of God; neither yet did they direct their works to a iust end.

Wherefore Augustine, in his last booke De ciuitate

Two kinds of mortification.

That suffering of adversities is a more difficult thing than the strutting with wicked lusts. Fortitude more worthy than temperance. Job 24.

ver. 17.

An example at the Ethniks.

Some esteeme the ends small and slender.

Some praise the contentment of small things.

Rom. 8.

Col. 3.

Some esteeme the desire of the whole felicitie.

Some compare the present things.

March 22.

The notable acts of the Ethniks praised the ends, and rewards set before them, but our works are infinitelie excelled of the rewards that are before vs.

Their works be no thing else but glorious and glittering fumes; for they were not moued to worke, either by love, or by the love of God; neither yet did they direct their works to a iust end.

*ciuitate Dei*, and 18. chapter, when he had made mention of these and such like things, prudentlie addeth; These we perceive these things to be in vs, or else we feele our felues to be void of them. If at anie time we do the selfe same things, there is no cause why we should be puffed up, seeing they for lesser rewards haue done the like: but if we knowe our felues to be to weakte and feeble, that we dare not enterpryse anye such things, our minds ought excrebingle to be puffed and touched; especiallye, seeing we be found weaker than the verie Ethnikes were. Whereouer, these comparisons declare, that God hath not respect to the quantitie and heape of works: for else he would giue vnto them the rewards, which he promisseth vnto vs. But God charitie respecteth this, whether by faith we are ioued together vnto Christ, and whether we be reat all that we do to the praise and glorie of his name. But to haue the power and abilitie to do excellent aces, he of his mercie ministreth abundance vnto vs, when he iudgeth the time met. In the meane time, let vs giue thanks vnto him, for that he hath made our lot better than theirs.

In Rom. 5, v.16.3. 10. further, of lo great force is the reioicing of goodlie men, that those things which men, especiallye vngodlike men, reckon to be a rebuke, and which they seeke to avoid, & through which they iudge them felues vngodlike; the Christians doe turne the same vnto praise, do willingly imbrace, and doe most of all reioice in them. For euen as the planets direct their course farre othervise than doeth the eight sphere (for that is moued from the east vnto the west, but the planets from the west vnto the east;) euen so goodlie men do willingly imbrace those things, and in them do reioice, which the wicked doe shunne, and iudge reprochfull. A rare thing trulie, and wondrous of admiration. For it is no wonder, if a man glorie as concerning the promises, and obtinment of the glorie of God: but in afflictions to reioice, passeth all humane reason. Further, because there is no reioicing, but of principall and singular good things, which note we lo assuredlie possesse: as they can not be taken from vs (for othervise it should be no true reioicing, but rather a boasting) least our reioicing for the hope of the glorie of God should seeme to be vaine, seeing in verie deed we haue not yet the fruition of it: Paule teacheth in the first to the Romans, with what god things God doth in the meane time inoue vs, while we do live here; namely, Tribulations, patience, experience, and hope,

A famili. tuor. In excellit. gradation. which confoundeth not. In doubtlesse, an excellent and most profitable proceeding by degrees, and wondrous to be obserued of vs all, against doubtful and fearefull times. But goodlie men sometimes say, are sad, and

are heauie, and complaine when they fall into afflictions: how then do they reioice? There is no contradiction at all. For our outward man sigheth, is heauie, is sad; & the flesh complaineth; but the spirit and our inward man reioiceth, and is glad. When Dauid went forth of the citie, from the face of Abolon, bare footed, his head vncouered, and with manie teares; outwardlie there appeared in him no signification but of miserie and sorowles: for Semei, who vphelded vnto him this miserie, saie nothing in him but that which was lamentable and miserable. Yet he doth doubtly, but that he, as touching faith, and the inward man, reioiced excrebingle for the fatherlie correction of God: for thereinto was his mind bent, and therefore he spared Semei, when as Abisai would haue killed him; for how knowest thou (saith he) whether the Lord had commanded him to curse me? That one and the selfe same man may haue contrarie affections, Dauid declareth, when he saith: Serue the Lord with feare, and reioice in him with trembling. But thou wilt saie, that afflictions are evil; how then can we reioice in them? That they be euill, no man will denie: for they be punishments of sinne, ministres of death, the last enemies that shall be giuen out of the world, and at length from goodlie men be utterlie removed. For God shall wipe away all teares from the eyes of the faints.

We grant that afflictions of their owne nature are euill: howbeit we saie, that vnto the goodlie, and to the elect of God, of whom we here speake, they are by the clemencie of God made good and profitable: for vnto them all things worke together for the best. For neither do they suffer these things to their hurt, but to their triumph. And these things are like vnto the red sea, wherein Pharaos is drowned, & Isaac is saved; for in the which they stirre by desperation, but in the goodlie a most assured hope. They are instruments, whereby (as we haue said) is shewed forth the wondrous and might of God, both in comforting vs, and also in erecting vs. They are occasions euen of most excellent good things. The power of God is made perfect in our infirmities. By these things, as by a fatherlie chastisement, our dailie falles are repaired, haughtinesse and pride kept vnder, the flesh and wantonnesse restrained, our old man corrected, but our inward man renewed, singulinesse and stoutnesse is shaken off, the confession of faith is expressed, the weaknes of our strength is discovered, and we are prouoked more earnestlie to praise and call for the fauour of God, and dailie do better vnderstand the peruerfensie of our owne nature. Besides, through afflictions we are made like vnto Christ: for he behoued Christ to suffer, and

so to obtaine his kingdome: & we also ought to followe the verie same steps. For the kingdome of God suffereth violence, and strait is the waie that leadeth vnto life. But, euen as he, after the obedience of the crosse was exalted, and had giuen him a name above all names; so we also, if we suffer with him, we shall reigne together with him. And it is a sweet thing for a souer, euen to suffer for the thing that he loveth. As this meanes also, we accomode our felues vnto patience, that being become as it were the Diamond stone, we shall rather weare them that strike vs, than we our felues be broken. For these things be as exercises in a humane bodie, whereby rather the health is confirmed, and the strength recovered, than taken awaie, or weakned through them.

11. Therefore the goodlie, vpon god cause reioice in afflictions; knowing that Affliction worketh patience. And here is to be noted a phrase of speech much used in the holic scripture, whereby that which belongeth vnto the thing, is attributed vnto the instrument or signe. And that this is oftentimes used in the sacraments, we haue proued by the saying of Augustine; albeit that our aduersaries are earnestlie against it. Where Paule attributeth vnto afflictions, that which is the worke of God, & of the holic Ghost; namely, to worke patience; by which afflictions, forso much as they are of their owne nature evil and obious, patience is not gotten, but rather shaken off. And this do we perceive to be manifest in the wicked, who at such time as they be somewhat grauoulisly afflicted do burst forth into blasphemies, and also fall oftentimes into desperation. But as the physician, of healthfull medicines: euen so almightie God, by his wondrous outflow of afflictions, although they be euill things, bringeth forth most excellent vertues, among which patience is one.

This vertue belongeth to fortitude, whereinto are referred all those things, which the saints do suffer, whether it be in courageous abiding of afflictions of the bodie, or else in subduing of carnall, and mortifying of the wisdome of the flesh. Spanie Ethnikes also suffered manie things with a valiant mind; but yet endured them not with a lowe humb. consolation. Onlie they said, that by so doing they could neither change them, nor let them: for they ascribed those things vnto the necessity of the matter. Wherefore they said, that this is our lot; that euen as it were in a basket, we must either drinke or deper. And if we chauce to die, either we shall haue no feeling at death; or if anie feeling be, we shall be in a better place. In this manner did they frame their felues after a sort to beare all aduersities. But in goodlie men the consideration of fortitude

and patience is farre otherwise: they haue other causes, and other meanes, whereby they confirme themselves. For they beare not those things with a god courage, as though they should happen at all aduentures; but because they knowe, that by singular puerdence they come from the most loving and almightie God; from God (saie) their father, who with a loving mind, and by his right hand, sendeth vpon them those afflictions: to wit, vnto the saluation of the elect. And for the same cause, they also twist their right hand, that is to saie, patientlie do receive them, and take them in god part, crying vnto Dauid; Is god for me that hath humbled me: and with Iames; They reckon, that all ioie consisteth in those aduersities, which the most good god, and the most wise God their father sendeth.

They alwaies lift vp the eyes of their mind to those promises of Christ; Blessed are they which moorne, for they shall receive comfort. Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousnes sake, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. Blessed are ye, when men reuile you, and persecute you, and saie all manner of euill against you for my sake, false: reioice and be glad, for great is your reward in heauen. They do beare all things with a god courage; not by cause in forgetting they cannot be changed; but because they knowe, that in valiant suffering they offer themselves an acceptable sacrifice vnto God; and persuade themselves, that they shall one daie be deliuered from those evils: in the stead whereof are laid by for them most ample toies and quietnesse, whereby no fortune be it neuer so aduersie may be compared. For the sufferings of this life, are not worthy of the glorie to come, which shall be revealed in vs. The Ethnikes oftentimes gaue ouer in the middell of their miseries, because they wanted strength to perseuer; neither vnderstood they from whence they should require strength, because they neither knew the true God, nor yet their owne weaknesse. But the goodlie men do continue, inuere, abide, and perseuer: because they, knowing the weaknesse of their owne strength, do sic vnto Christ. Who strengthening them, they are able to inuere alwaies, who comforting them, they do not once perseuer. But also euen in the verie feruentest of the paine they reioice and be glad. The apostles went from the sight of the councill reioicing, because they were counted worthy to suffer reproch for the name of Christ.

12. Adde that Patience worketh experience. And this experience is a certie trial, both of our felues, and of our owne strength; and especiallye of the might and goodnesse of God. For in this suffering of aduersities we learne, how great



we are deliuered unto the enemies, as sheepe to be slaine; & as vnto vnto they may do what pleaseth them.

It is true in deed, that God would sometimes declare his loue towards the saints, & confirme the truth of his doctrine, when he adorns them with such goods and riches. That euen the idolaters also might vnderstand, that the same God, whom the patriarchs worshipped, was both the creator of the world, and also the distributor of all good things; and that all things which men commonlie desire, are in his pleasure. Which thing when he had sufficiently declared, he also made them so strong by reason of aduersities, as they with a noble courage and invincible steadfastnesse testified the doctrine of God to be true.

Wherem God likewise declared himselfe to be the distributor of all good things of the mind, of heroicall vertues; & that his power is so great, as euen of things contrarie, he can worke all one effect. And that which the Latine interpreters translate, [We are mortified] should haue bene translated [We are slaine]. For the Greeke word is *Horagis*, although the Greeke word *Soteria* sometimes signifies, *To mortify*; for that word Paule vsed in the same chapter, when he said; And if ye by the spirit mortifie the deeds of the flesh, ye shall live. But here (as we said) *Soteria* signifies, *To be slaine*, and to be deliuered vnto the death.

15 But that which followeth; All the daie long, signifies that death doth continually haue out them, and that they are neuer secure; but that they thinke they shall be safely with vs, when vnto death. Albert Chrysostome amplifieth this an other way; It is of necessity (saith he) that men die once at the least. But seeing they are so prepared, that they haue euerie daie to die, if need require, they haue euerie daie the fruit of martyrdom, as if they should euerie daie die. And the cause must reuelene and comforteth them: for they are not slaine as wicked men, or malefactors, but onlie for religion & gods lins sake. And therefore they saie; For thy sake, And for that cause some thinke, that that plaine ought not to be vnderstood of the first captiuitie; for then the Iewes were not punished for Gods cause, or for religion sake; but because they were idolaters, and as wicked, as God would no longer suffer them; for they had not altogether fallen away from God. To be borne of the law was almost cleane blotted out, the temple was shut up, the citie of Ierusalem ouerthrowen with the blood of the prophets. Wherefore this is a prophetic of the latter calamitie, which happened in the time of the Sphababets, vnder Antiochus and the Macedonians. For then the Iewes suffered most greivous torments, because they would defend the lawes of God. Therefore they saie;

For thy sake we are slaine. And in an other verse it is added; And yet for these things haue we not forgotten thee, or done vnfaithfullie against thy couenant. These things are not so spoken, as though men do at any time suffer more greivous things than they haue desired. For none of all the martyrs liued to purcell, and innocentie, but that they were liued to some sinnes; but those sinnes deferred not onlie the death of the bodie, but also, without the helpe of Christ his death, curstall punishment. But these paines and vcerations, God sendeth not vpon them, as being angrie; but for the setting forth of his truth and glorie. Whobert, in the meane time, according as he promised, he repaie vnto them not onlie life eternal: but also paie vnto them not onlie life eternal: but also in this life he rendereth vnto them an hundred fold. For oftentimes he most abundantly recompenseth those things, which were lost for his sake. Sometimes also, in the midst of tribulations, and euen in the vertie crosse and death, he giueth vnto them so much strength and consolation, that in vertie deed it is more than an hundred fold, if it be compared with those things, which they haue lost. And because the mysteries of our faith are secret and hidden, God will haue them to be testified, not onlie by oracles of the scriptures, but also by the toments and daughters of the elect. And therefore Christ said vnto the apostles, when he sent them into the world whole to preach; Ye shall be witnesses vnto me in Iewrie, and in Samaria, and vnto the ends of the world. But it is no hard matter by words to testify the truth: but those testimonies are most twilghtie, which are sealed with blood, and with death. Whobert this must be knownen (as Augustine hath admostrated) that paines, punishment, and death, maketh not martyrs, but the cause. For otherwise manie suffer manie greivous things, and yet are not martyrs. For the same Augustine to Boniface, *De correctione Donatistarum*, and in manie other places, testifieth; that in his time there were Circumcellions, a furious kind of men, which if they could find none that would kill them, would often times breake their owne necks headlong, and would slay them selves. These men (saith he) must not be counted martyrs.

These things therefore seeme fit to the state of martyrdom. First, that the doctrine which is defended be true, and agreeable vnto the holie scriptures. The second is, that there be aboiled in gritie, and innocentie of life; that men do not onlie cast the church by death, but also by life and conuocation. The third is, that they saie not to die for glorie sake, or for desire of name and fame. Paule saith to the Corinthians, If I shall deliuer my bodie to be burnt, and haue not charitie, it nothing profiteth me. Therefore

the same  
beginning  
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is.

no man ought to account the Anabaptists, Libertines, and other such pestiferous sects, for martyrs. For seeing these men do obstinately defend their errors vnto the death, they are not moved with charitie, neither towards God, nor yet towards men. And so much as they hate all good men, they are rather the martyrs of Satan, and of their owne errors, than of Christ. Two kinds of testimonies we haue, which helpe verie much to the knowledge of the truth: yet are not those altogether so firme, that we ought straightwaie to assent vnto them; namely, miracles, & toments, which are suited for the defense of aie opinion. In either of them must be had great warincesse, that the doctrine, which is testified, be examined by the holie scriptures. Paule out of David comparthe the godlie with those appointed vnto the slaughter. In this similitude are two things to be considered. First, that they are called sheepe, because they be simple, as be cometh the flocke of Christ to be. Secondly, because in their punishments, they make no resistance, following the example of Christ, of whom it is written, that When he was led like a sheepe vnto death, yet did hee not open his

1 Pet. 2. 23.  
Euseb. 3. 7.

16 Paule addeth; But in all these things we be conquerours. The Greeke word is *νικωμεν*, which is, We do notable overcome. This particule *νικω* in this place pertaineth nothing vnto the works of supererogation: for Paule ment nothing else, but that so much strength is giuen vs by God, as in this conflict we go farre beyond our enemies. This the diuell thought, that by these aduersities he may weake from vs our confidence, and loue towards God. But that, by this means is rather increased; For tribulation worketh patience; patience worketh experience; experience, hope; and hope maketh not ashamed. But by what strength this victorie happeneth vnto vs, Paule straightwaie beareth witness; Through him, which loued vs, before we could loue him. And he hath giuen vs his spirit, through whom we obtaine an excellent victorie: otherwise of our selues we are farre vnto quall for such a battell. It is God (as Chrysostome hath wisely noted) whom in this fight we haue our fellowe soldier, and by that means we obtaine so notable a victorie. Neither do we onlie overcome troubles, whatsoever they be; but euen those enemies also, which persecute vs, seme they neuer so great and mightie. Which both it deserueth in the apostles, Luke plainly describeth in the Acts. When a miracle was wrought by Peter and Iohn, in such manifest sort, as it could not be denied; the high priests and Scribes, being overcome with the greatness of the thing, knew not what counsell to take; What (saie they) shall we do with these

Rom. 8. 4.

1 Tim. 5.

Chrysost.

1 Cor. 1. 16.

1 Cor. 1. 16.

men? As if they should haue said; Were are our practices ourtydome, here our power is able to do nothing; here the more we strive, the more and more manifestlie we be overcome.

The same happened vnto Iulian the apostate, Iulian the apostate, as it is in the Ecclesiasticall historie. He had beene gun by all manner of means to bere and toment the Christians, but his crueltie and outrageousnes was overcome with their patience. Which one of his rulers perceiving, privately admonished him to cease, lest he should not possit any thing at all; and yet notwithstanding make himselfe a laughing stocke to all men. His power of God bingeth to passe, that euen by the selfe same things, which be against the victorie, we obtaine a more notable victorie, to the great admiration of all men. For who can beleue, that he which is vanquished, can get the victorie; that one flame, burnt, and toment in peeces, is able to overcome in battell? These things, nature, reason, and the world vnderstand not. Wherefore these things must be ascribed to God onlie, in whose hands being the euent of things are set, they depend not of certeyne and appointed instruments; but of the purpose and counsell of God, vnto whom those things, which seeme to resist, do most feruice.

17 For which cause I thinke, that God prouideth, that the mind of Iacob might be confirmed by twilghting; and that he might learne, that so much diuine strength should be giuen to him, as he should neuer either by celestiall or humane power be hindered from obtaining the promises offered to him by God. For the thinking of the finew was therefore added, because he might vnderstand, that he should not haue those things without great trouble and labour. To be was continued, in his life time, to haue trial of manie both bitter and lamentable things, from him was his onlie daughter Dina taken away, and rauished; Ruben still honored his fathers bed; Joseph his most deere sonne, was miserable sold; Iuda indeed the most shamefull companie of his sennes luse, and fell into great danger of the Sichemites. Vpon good cause therefore was his finew hurt, and he compelled to go halting. Thou maist perceiue, that the vertie same thing happeneth to vs, which truly pertaine vnto Iacob. While that we twilghtie baliantie against aduersities, abiding for Christ his sake; persecutions, banishments, the spoile of our goods, and other infinite miseries; we are laid (after a sort) to twilghtie against God, seeing those things happen not without his appointment. For he sendeth temptations, whereby he will haue vs to be exercised. And after that sort the faithful here do attaine to haue the upper hand, Paule hath expressed vnto the Romans, when he saith; that

apostate.

Gen. 32.

what poynt  
remind the  
thinking of  
Iacob  
finew.

Gen. 34. 2.  
Gen. 35. 22.  
Gen. 37. 26.  
Gen. 38. 14.

Gen. 34. 29.

The godlie  
finew hurt  
& afflictions  
do overcome  
the enemy.

No



Rom. 8. 37. No creature, neither power, nor principality, nor any other thing, shall have so great strength, that it can draw us awaie from the love of God. And as touching that stripe of the flesh, it is said to the Galatians; that They which are of Christ, have crucified the flesh, with all the affections thereof.

Double the fathers (as Augustine also in the 18. booke *De civitate Dei*) do expound, that the angel in this wrestling, did thow himselfe Christ; who for the disposing and ordering of our redemption, seemed god to be overcome of Israel, which crucified him: who neuertheless being ready to die, blessed his enemies, praising most effectually for them. From thenceforth notwithstanding, they became lame; yet of them followed Christ, and others would not believe: as else in respect that their temporal kingdom began even then to be in hard case. Jerom maketh this to be a spiritual wrestling; and thereof the writteth upon the epistle to the Ephesians in these words; Our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, &c. And it seemeth, that the same father took his opinion from the prophet Osee, who saith in the 12. chapter, that Jacob fought with the angel, as he wept and praised him. Therefore, besides that double striving, it was also a contending of most vehement prayers. Here the scripture speaketh not that he prayed for blessing; But Osee being an excellent interpreter thereof, writteth, that he not onlie prayed, but also caused trances to fall. And not thou for this cause inferre, that we ought to offer prayers unto angels: for this name all onelie doth not betoken an angel, but it is also attributed unto God.

And last we should fall into this error, the scripture hath provided to instruct vs by the angels themselves, who would not abide to be worshipped; as we may see in the Apocalypse; neither will I forget, that there be certaine interpreters of the Jewes, which (by the fauour of Osee) will that the angel did weepe in that wrestling: And that trances are not unconscious for angels, they inducunt to proue by the fauour of Osee; Angels of peace will bitterlie weepe. But this place teacheth nothing to the purpose. And if the words of Osee be ambiguous, the sense which I now expound of them, is more likelie to be true, than that sense which the Jewes do gather thereof. Neither must the angel in this case be accused of lying; who would not deceive Jacob in feigning to be a wrestler, but meant to instruct him. For which cause he used such an action, as might easilie shew to him the strength that was given vnto him by the Lord; to the intent that in present perill he should not be faint hearted. After the verie same manner Christ, when he went forthward vnto Emmaus with his two disci-

ples, pretended as though he would go further. But whereas it is said, that the angel in wrestling, was not able to cast him; perhaps it must so be understood, as it is spoken by our saviour in the 6. of Marke; that he could not do a more great worke in that place, that is to wit, as touching the power that is not prescribed and limited by the lawes of nature; but by his owne iudgement and appointed order: otherwise all things were in the power of Christ, seeing he was God. Euen so the angel, as an angel had verie able to overthrowe Jacob; but not with those forces, which he was to use for the instruction of him in that wrestling. As else thou must absolutelie understand it, that he was not able to overcome him, by reason of the force and strength wherewith God had induced Jacob.

18 But how readie the helpe of God is vnto the godlie, in the greatest dangers; the conflict betweene Dauid and Goliath, is an example worthy to be remembered. And in that conflict of Dauid with Goliath, there are three things to be observed; first, after what manner he fought with him; secondlie, how to the billing of him, he used his owne weapons; thirdlie, that so notable goodness of God ought not to be put in obliuion. As touching the first, Goliath had thus provoked Dauid; Come vnto me, and I will giue thee this heu to the soles of the aire: yet will I reuenge thee afterwarde, being inflamed with anger by Dauids talke, he changed his purpose, and ran willinglie vpon him. This when Dauid perceived, he thought it not best to expect till they came to hand strokes; for then should his sling haue serued him to no vse. Therefore he prepared a stone, and with one blowe he overthrew him. That worke may seeme for this causes to be wonderfull. For first, they that be a thing, make seeme to be verie cunning, if they can beat enemies that are as fire and let. But Dauid did not onlie hit, but also overthrew a man that wandered, and was moueable. Again, it was a wonder, that he could at one cast hit the forehead: but and if he byake the helmet, it was also the more marvell. Whobest, if he were bare headed, yet was it a great matter, that he could so hit it straitwaie at the first throwe. Finally, it was also a marvell, that he could with one little stone, overthrowe so huge a bodie. But God peiced the stroke; for he is not idle in the campe. Note rather, the bars which are thowen, are able to do nothing, vnlesse God appoint them.

In the booke of Judges, a little woman with a stone out of a tower hit and killed Abimelech. This was the counsell of God, that a weaked and blouie tyrant should be dispatched after that manner. Achab changed his habit, lest he should be knowne; yet God directed against him the dart, which was shot at all adventures, and the proph-

phesse of Elias might be verified, *But thou wilt saie; It is a wonder, that so great a man could be slaine with so little a blowe. I grant indeed, that it was a marvellous thing. Whobest we must consider, that with an ore good, being an instrument not verie convenient to kill,*

*Sangar two fire hundred; and that Samson with the iawebone of an asse killed a thousand Philistines. For any thing will serue for a dart, if God be willing. Indeed the stone was of no such weight, as was that stone of Turnus, which Virgil describeth could scarce haue bene lifted of eight strong men. Whobest, this was a fable, that is a thing done: certeinlie the stone it selfe was light, but the weight was added by God. So the Gospell seemeth to be a light matter, and of small importance; but Paule calleth it The power of God. Contrariwise, the things which seeme to be most mightie, if God be vnto us, to be done from them his strength, are not able to do any thing. What is more fierce than a lion? Yet nothing more gentle when Daniel sate by them. What is of more force than fire? Yet could it do nothing against the three young men. The word of God seemeth to be a vile and contemptible thing; yet it is cast with the sling of the holie Ghost, it hath to great power and strength, as it is able to subdue the whole world.*

19 And when Goliath was dressed with verie good armour, but he could not use the same: for he was overthrowne before he began to fight. Therefore Augustine in his fourth sermon *De verbe apostoli*; that the premisses (saith he) of himselfe, is overthrowne before he fights. A true adoben sentence is that, and alwaies true, not onlie in spiritual warfare, but also in ciuill conflict. For he that contendeth an enemy, is oftentimes overcome before the fight. God can prohibe vnto vs, not onlie the things themselves; but also the vse of them. Spaine doth by all manner of endeavour hunt after riches; but all in vain: for oftentimes God will not giue them. And oftentimes, although he do giue them; yet he giueth not the vse of them: for manie do die before they can enioie the riches, which they haue gathered. So, manie, when with all indouour and passions they seeke after honours; yet can they not obtaine them: and manie obtaining them, cannot enioie them. Iulianus the apostata, then he bare an incredible hatred against the Christians, threatened, that he hauing gotten the stone of the Parthians, would utterlie haue extinguished that whole sect of the Galileans: but he was slaine in battell, and these threatnings came to nothing. Achab threatened he would haue cut off the head of the prophet Micaiah, if he had returned in peace: but he was slaine in the battell, and was not able to do any thing. Therefore, if we see our selues to be in danger,

we must not be faint hearted, but rather thinke thus; Mightie indeed be our enemies, but God is much more mightie; Great is our difference, but the helpe of God is much ample extended. And let vs remember, that God casteth downe the proud, and exalteth the humble and meake.

And vnto God by both, there be manie causes, one taken from a household government. For if great things should perpetually go forthward in increasing, they would in the end possesse all things, and nothing should be able to stay them. Again, if that small and simple things should continuallie be weaker, in the end they would come to nothing. But God would haue a certein meane to be had in all things. Another cause is this; That is holpen of any thing, vnto the which it cometh neere; as that thing which is of the fire made hot, which cometh neere to the fire. And we are ioined with God, not by place, or natural fonding; but by faith and goodliues. But rich men do oftentimes put their trust in their riches, & they haue manie things, wherby they may be pulled from God. And trust, the more that it is placed in riches, the lesse it is reposed in God. The third cause is, that God doth by this meane chastise them his wisdom and power. For euery man can extoll him that is mightie; but to overthrowe him, is onelie in God. To oppose a man of loose estate, is no difficult thing; but to extoll him, and place him in authority, it is a certein point of diuine power. Therefore we ought not to be terrified with the greatnes and power of enemies. Let vs be assured, that our worke be ioined with the will of God; then we shall be commit the euent vnto him. Whatsoever lett happen, it will fall out well and happilie; for God will helpe vs, and will to helpe vs, as he will make the armour of our enemies to become ours.

This wisdom of God will be the more euident, if we consider of the same by particularities. Against the church of Christ did tyrants, in the first times, arme themselves: such were the Neros, the Domitians, the Maxentii, and the Dioclesians. Whobest, these weapons were afterwards turned vnto the church; when God had giuen Constantine, Valentinian, Theodosius, Charles the great, and other godlie and iust princes. The philosophers armed themselves against the church, with all kind of doctrine and eloquence. But the verie selfe-same weapons did the church afterwards vse against the philosophers. For here might I reckon by manie fathers, both most eloquent, and most thoughtfull furnished with all kind of knowledge. At this date also, the Papists do arme themselves with the fathers, Counsels, Canons, Decrees, & statutes, with the Decretales. Whobest, euen with this selfe-same arm; they are become bound and

verse. 3.  
Osee ex-  
plicit of  
this place.

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alaters  
must not  
be offered  
vnto  
angels.

Apoc. 19. 10,  
and 22. 8.

Esaie 33. 7.

Luk. 24. 23.

Mark. 16.

1 John 3. 1.

1 John 3. 15.

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and inuincible: for in euery one of these there be in a manner things innumerable, the which do utterly confute them. And in vertue dead, it is scarce the hundred part that they will obserue; far rather, they will cry out, that those things are now abrogated, that they are abolished, that they be not now in use, that they belong not to this time. The which we against his the holie scriptures, but yet so, as did the diuell against Christ; I they shall here see in their hands (saith he) least thou shouldst hit thy foot against a stone. But Christ likewise that arrow out of the diuels hands, as none of his; It is written (saith he) Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God; Man shall not liue by bread onlie; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God. These darts do utterly cut off their heads. These weapons are made by God; wherefore they ought to serue the glorie of God; and albeit that they are sometimes stolen by the enemies, yet in vertue dead they are always ours.

20 This perhaps will seeme a maruell unto some, that God hath bene accustomed to punish his people by other nations far worse than they. Sometime the Ammonites, Amalekites, and Moabites were idolaters, and nations which were overwhelmed with exceeding great finnes. Unto this would I saie, that such is the powdence of God; the which so punisheth finnes with finnes, as by vngodlike men he punisheth others that deale vngodlike. Further, by this meanes he beweth that these finnes, although they be euill, cannot escape; but that they shall do some manner of seruice unto his will. But while he deserveth to punish those nations, which otherwise be wicked, but straitwaie punisheth his olone people: the cause is, inasmuch as these pertaining to God do some against a knowle knowe. So that there is no cause why the Turks and Papists, if they sometime perseuere against vs for the reuengement of our finnes, should please themselves therewith; as though they were farre better than we, as though they su- perstitions should excell our religion. For if it doe not granted to the Moabites, Caananites, and Assyrians, that they should be better than the Iewes, whom they overcame: no more shall it be granted unto the Turks and Papists, that anie time they afflict the professors of the Gospel, when God will haue it so.

Therefore God quicklie punisheth his olone; for his word sake; because it is spied among them: he doth not easily suffice, that when it is received and knowne, they should escape unpunished, which continue the same. Undoubtedly there were verie manie here and vnfaithfull men in Ierusalem; yet did God forgive them: when as he forthwith destroyed Ananias and Saphyra; for he minded to adorne the Gospel, and

the holie spirit. And while that the Christians perceive how seuerell we are handled by our God, they may easily coniecture what punishment remaineth for them: according to the saying of Christ; If this be done in a greene flourishing land, what shall be done in a withered? As if they understand not, by reason of their blindness; yet we must not forget it for our olone comfort. In Ieremie the 49. chapter we read, that the people of God (which termed last to deserue it) by the cup of the Lord, which fore the Edomites ought much rather to haue looked, that the punishments provided to them, should at the length be paid. Also in the ninth chapter of Ezechiel, God exhorteth the nations, which were enemies unto the Iewes, that they should feare and spare none; but should begin at his sanctuary.

And Peter, in the first epistle, the fourth chapter; It is time (saith he) that iudgement should beginne at the house of God. And while he saith, that now is the time, this I thinke to be the cause; namely, that all those things, which the prophets foretold of chastising the 3. seacles, rather than others, he perceived to take place most of all among Christians. For those things, which happened to the Iewes, though a shadow and figure, pertained speciallie unto vs. Wherefore Christ being reuealed, and his faith spied abroad, Peter thought it would verie soon after be fulfilled, that iudgement should begin with the Christians, which are the house of the Lord. Furthermore, in the congregation of Gods people, there are yet some faints alwaies, which are tried, while torment is most sharpe, and become more excellent; as euen as gold doth in the fier. Which thing the heauenly father will haue to be done with all speed possible. Besides this, the chosen, which haue fallen, being warned by the chastisements and aduersities, haue bene accusmed to returne againe into the right way. And this doth God (who is most loving unto them) fauorable provide, that this may come to passe. But those, which shall be incurable, he will haue them to be quicklie spoken; because they should no longer hurt, than needs must, nor distress others by their infection. Certainlie, these be causes why God correcteth his olone people, sooner than strangers. Doubtlesse he doth it not of hatred, but the same must rather be attributed unto a most feruent charity. Moreover, the diuine Oracles, spoken in the person of God, do declare this; namely, Whom I loue, them I correct and chastise. Also a good father of an household, omitting others, begins first to be seuerell to his olone.

Of Flight.

21 Now it shall not be amisse, to speake somewhat of flight. The opinion which we defend, is, that it is lawfull for a godlie man, as the time & place require to him persecutions. Which thing is chiefly moued by this reason. For the Lord commanded his apostles, in the tenth of Matthew; If they shall persecute you in one citie, flee ye into another. Terullian thought, that this precept was momentarie, and for a time; until the Gospel should be preached ouer all the cities of Iewrie. For first the bread was to be giuen unto the Iewes, before that the Gentils should be called. Wherefore, to the intent they might perforce their message, it was permitted vnto them, that they should flee from citie vnto citie; that as who saith, they should preach vnto all cities the coming of Christ. Which circuit being finished, that commandement of fleeing away was reuoked, euen as those other things, which are mentioned in the same chapter; namely, Into the waile of the Gentils go ye not, neither enter ye into the cities of the Samaritans. These two precepts (saith Terullian) we perceive to be abrogated. Wherefore we may presume, that the same is also done concerning flight. But what kind of argument (I beseech you) is this? Two precepts are there abrogated, as the Lord hath plainly specified in the last chapters of Matthew and Marke; when he sent his apostles vnto all nations through the world, and to all creatures; Therefore all other things, which he there commanded, are abrogated. That god master knewe verie well, how to reuoke those things, which were to be reuoked; but other things which he did not reuoke, he would that they should remaine in strength and efficacy. Note there a number of excellent precepts, the which he commanded vnto his apostles, when he sent them on message; and darrest thou be bold to saie, that all those same were abrogated, vnto the access to the Gentils and Samaritans was then forbidden, and after wards (as we haue said) was let at libertie?

We read there, that They should not studie what to speake, when they stood before kings and rulers; that They should be wise like serpents, and simple as doves; and that they should not feare them which slaie the bodie; that they should consider the faithfullnesse and protection of God, being vnto him the verie heares of the flocke be numbered. And he that condemned you (saith he) condemneth me; and he that hath received a righteous man, shall receive a righteous mans reward; also; He that receiuech a prophet, in the name of a prophet, shall haue a prophets reward; so as, if it be but a cup of cold wa-

ter that is giuen in the name of Christ, it shall not be done in vaine, nor lose the reward. If all these things be full of force, and we continuallie put in mind of keeping them; why would we haue that abrogated, which is there put concerning flight? But how much is to be attributed unto flight, after the ascension of Christ, the examples of the fathers so manifestly declare. First of all, Paule (to begin with that apostle, vnto whom the province of Iewrie was not committed) was by the brethren let downe by a wall in a basket, and so departed out of Damalus. What shall I speake of Chrysostome, Athanasius, and other of the fathers? They by their acts, are no ill authors of interpreting this same precept. And so out of the words of the Lord, and by the examples of the holie fathers, we haue now two arguments. The first is, that it is by nature ingrafted in all living things, to defend themselves: which must not be understood to be of the works of nature, as though it sproung not from God; for he is the author and gouernour of nature. When this therefore is done in time and place, which is so hardie as to account it a fault; further, when as there is a means of escaping offered, and that the waie is open, he that should not take the occasion offered, might seeme to prevent the powdence of God; and besides the order giuen him, should thus he himselfe into mischiefe. Besides this, charitable perswasions, that he should haue consideration of our aduersaries; and should not minister occasion for them to pollute themselves with wicked slaughter and innocent blood.

22 Therefore it is granted, that there may be a fleeing away, but yet upon this condition, that by the same we transgreffe not the commandments of God: the summe of which dependeth vpon two points; to wit, that we beane our selues towards God and our neigbours with due godlines and charity. But he should depart from the worshiping of God, which through feare or infirmity would thinne perfection, and in fleeing away, would not feare the glorie of God. Flight must whole be directed vnto this end, that we may the more commodiously do honor vnto God, and perseuer our selues, vntill our appointed time. Thou must beware then, lest thou take here those things which be thine olone, & not those things which be the Lords; and that thou be to confirm in mind, as thou shalt be ready to take present death vpon thee, when thou shalt knowe that the Lord calleth thee thereto. That thine house is come, or that by the blood the glorie of God may be aduanced: euen as the Lord, who hauing oftentimes escaped the hands of his murderers, did in due time meet with them of his olone accord. And Paule, when he had bene

Acts. 21, 12.

let down through the wall in a basket, and fled; he afterward going unto Ierusalem, albeit that dangers and verie great aduersities were there remaining for him (as Agabus did foretell) yet did he not turne from his purpose of going. thereof it cometh, that when we shall determine thereof, we must not vie an external iudge, but a domestical; I meane the confidence: by the diligent examination whereof, we may discern what it is that foresh vs to die: neither may our confidence give sentence without the spirit and word of God.

¶ Yet further we must beware, that by fleeing  
there be no iniurie done to thy neighbour. Au-  
gustine taught in his 180. epistle vnto Honora-  
tus; that they ought not to flee, which are so pre-  
ferred to the ministerie of the church, as the spiri-  
tual life of Christ his flocke cannot be com-  
modiously retained, and continued in their ab-  
sence. Wherefore let not pastors flee awaie, un-  
lesse they haue such as can supplie for them the  
workes which ought to be done. If the people

lieng awaie; what discommodities shall the church run into: How greatlie shall the Gospel be blasphemed for hauing of such feeble ministers: Therefore this kind of men must deale most constantlie at this time.

But when it cometh to passe, that onlie the  
pastors of the church are sought for, by the per-  
secutors; least they should thus miserably perishe,  
it is the part of discreet people to keepe them se-  
cret, whereby they may escape that rage and fu-  
rie. But admit that in some church there be  
onlie one, but many ministers; if grievous per-  
secution and calamitie be at hand, at wch time  
either one or two of those ministers may in-  
conueniently serue for the necessities of the people,  
whether they ought they all be charged to tarye? fo-  
ry if they die altogether at one time, the church by  
that means shall not easilie haue others, by  
whom it may be taught and instructed; and so  
it seemeth miſchiefe, that some should depart, and  
some other should be retained. But if their gifts  
be alike, how can it be determined, which shall  
ſtie, and which shall tarye still? (saith Augu-  
stine) it cannot otherwise be agreed vpon, let  
them be sent aſuaie, or returned by lots. But if  
that ſortitie abound among them, vvh shall not  
perceiue them to ſerue, wch of them may haue  
leane to depart; but they will rather euerie one  
procure and indoeuour, that he may haue licence  
to tarye, and to giue his life for the ſheepe of the  
floude. And there may be a danger, least the peo-  
ple should be deceiued by the preference of their  
fo; when they see that their pastors be not ſafe,  
they may perswade themselves that all is ſafe  
with them. Wherefore they must be so certified,  
as they may vnderſtand, that the ministers do  
tarye for their ſakes onlie, least they should be  
accused of forsaking their ſheepe.

32 In this matter Tertullian boasts of a hard judgment, who would not have it lawful, for a goodlie man to live in time of persecution: whiche doubtfull arguments we must refuse. First he saith; Persecution is good; Therefore we ought not to flee. He prooveth the antecedent; because that persecution cometh from God, then he cause it maketh men to be humble, tried, and capable of chastisement and discipline. The latter, the conclusion is weak, because good things, which are good in some respect, and not absolutely, are sometimes iustlie humbled. Of which sort is death; for the same is therefore said to be good, because without it we cannot be ioined to Christ. And of which nevertheless the Apostle was clothed, that we would not be winchlooth, but denounced vpon. And among this kind of good things, we place persecutions. But whereas it is saied, that men are become the better thereby; we saye that is taken as it were a true cause,

What dis-  
commodi-  
ties we suf-  
fer in doing  
business.

1. Kin. 17, 19

Pf. 139.

Eccle.9, 1

Feb. 18, 3

Another  
argument  
of Terrul-  
lan.

which is no late full cause. For persecution is rather an occasion than a cause that men returne unto God: for if the grace and spirit of Christ were not added therunto, men thereby would rather be led vnto blasphemie, and they would fall into the pit of desperation: for persecutions do not make all men good. And if that occasions, which are provided for vs, should neuer be shunned; 3 would affirme this thing of times, which hee stirreth vs vnto repentance.

Thou aduertis, 'Tis of God; Therefore not to be avoided. Again, thou maiest fee the strength of this argument, in so much as waere, famine, pestilence, diseases, and such other calamities, come from God, which neuertheless if thou fight by the industrie of our reason and sense, thou wilt accuse vs therein, as resistors of the will of God? And be that sunnethy perfection sent by God, both not escape to free, as hee freely no aduertiseth thereby. In this aduantage, we haue good experiences of many dissommodities; namely, of banishment, of the lacke of necessities. In this aduantage, we haue the losse of our deare friends and countrey soile. Which things a man doth sometime take to grieuoussie, as hee iudgeth them more hapie, which were flaine in the persecution it selfe, they hauing obtained the triumph of martyrdom. As Virgil better well hath described, O hapie and hapier thyrfie art thou, di-  
ed before thy fathers place vnder the walls of Troy.  
Touching Helias, how great things hee suffered in the vertie flieing auaie; the bisshope of these things teacheth. And of Adaniasus there be many things recounted by Eusebius.

24. **Whereover**, he argueth; that It is a fond thing to hunt perfection, from which thou canst not escape. **If** God will haue thee to indure it. he concludeth, that he which flieth, seemeth after a sort to boast against God, that he is stronger than he, and able to escape his perfection. But there is none of the godlie to deceiue, as he will flie awaie against the will of the Lord: naie rather, he trusteth to his power and will. For the godlie man sayeth. **hath** David hath vnquenced

9.7. Whither shall I go from thy spirit? And whither shall I flee from thy presence? Besides this they understand, that there is no running of them that be swift, and that streng alwaie is be

David, when he fled from Saul, gaue thanks  
that GOD had giuen unto him parts feed  
Eyr which flie, do not boast themselves against  
GOD, neither be they inuious or contumel  
ous; but they lament, they make their praises  
they haue confidence, and they humble them  
selves. How many notable palmes did David  
make, when he fled awaie: further, he sheweth  
another reason; he that flieth, either be is vn  
certaine of his fall, or else if he do tarie, he is se

teine. If he be certaine that he will denie Christ, he is flesh in vain; (seeing as touching the mind) he is alreadye run into the crime of infidelity. But if thou wilt faile, that thou art uncerteine; **W**hy dost thou not hope well, and presume well of the grace of God? **A**nd answer, that they which are, are certaine of Gods, but of themselves they are uncerteine. Seeing in their hearts these dwellecth no good thing, how can they there promise to themselves any good thing? they know that God will helpe when they fall among their enemies, but they knowe not now whether God will haue them to be taken by them; naye rather, they presume it is otherwise, (saying the way to life is open for them. Which thing godlikeness teacheth to be borne by the will of God, saying God speaketh vnto men, not onely by outward wordes of the scripture and prophets, but also by a facilitie and difficultie of things and occasions. And then they plaintiue knowe, that God would somwhat rather increase men's griefe; & else something cometh to passe with singular facilitie. For by these means he hath ben accustomed with the inward inspiration of the spirit, and wordes of holie men, to admonish vs of big will.

25. Yet he bringeth a fourth argument to Text 16  
much trouble unto these; To stand steadfast in  
faith, whom he thinketh that either it is in thine owne  
hand, or in the hand of God. For thou attributest  
the power of this vertue to thy selfe, thy doest  
thou not continue and abide from flight; fearing  
thou art able to performe that which thou art  
deficient of. But thou repositest the same in God;  
looke then, thou shouldst have trusted and hoped  
in him. This argument also we will easily con-  
fute. Wee reposes our saluation in God; so hold  
can we be constant of our owne felices, seeing  
We are not able by our felices, as of our felices to  
thinke any thing; And he doo verie well to put  
our trust in God, according to our desire: that  
he (3 saie) in time, and when opportunitie fer-  
ueth, will helpe vs. But it should be a ready part,  
to preferre these things thou art to; to wit, that  
he would have him in any wise to be with vs,  
either this houre or that: and it might (thou be-  
lievest) be a fault both so, as though he durst be

in the 4. ar  
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One and  
the same  
cause ma-  
yoke co-  
trarie ef-  
fects.

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So

to hardeneth. In like manner, continuation for as well to make an untrite, as a walltie.

Further, as touching one and the same respect, it might perhaps be granted: but according to divers respects, the verie feat can tell, that contraries may be derived from one originall. Now, seeing that God both directly by persecutions, and permissively fleeing avenge; the feat, that those and the selfe-same men are not both apprehended by the persecutors, and escape perill also. Wherefore the subject is not all one: they that escape avenge, escape from torments. But remembering that we have before spoken, we say, that they which die the sword of persecution, escape not altogether free; but suffer manie things in fleeing. And thus we will grant, that the same men have respect, both unto persecution, and unto flight. But we affirme, that these things are not contrarie, seeing he that fleeth, hath a triall of perfection. But the rule of contraries is, that one subject cannot receive them both. Now we say, that these be contraries: To tarry; and, not to tarry: or else, To suffer persecution; and, not to suffer. When, as touching the same perfection, these cannot both together infuse. And to the place before alleged hath no absurditie.

26 The adversaries argue, that if fleeing avenge be granted, it followeth in anie wise, that the sayings of the Lord be repugnant one to another. For he saith; that He, which will not lose his life, shall verelie lose the same: and that He, which is ashamed of him name before men, he will be ashamed of him before God. These things seeme unto vs verie agreeable to our opinion: yea rather, the verie words of Christ seeme not to disagree. For he that fleeth, maketh not more account of his soule, than he doth of the glorie of God: naie rather, he avoideth perfection, that he may scure him the more commodiously, and with the greater fruit. Neither is he led by shame, as though he blushed at the name of God: seeing he is ready to testifie the name with his blood, when need shall require. But by this meanes (saie they) God should nourish infirmities and weakness in his people, who is said to strengthen them: for they which flee have a low and base mind. This foloweth not of necessity, seeing it is not the part of a strong man, alwaies, and for everie cause to stretch forth his whole strength. We especially nominate and occasions: yea, he saith oftentimes; My strength, O God, will I reserve unto thee, for this do I hope it, to the intent it may obvie thee.

Christ (saith he) refused the helpe of the angels, and the defense of the sword: wherefore doubt thou not, that thou shalt be to blame by Christ, the which thou speakest of: but that

was, when he knew his hour to be come, who notwithstanding did oftentimes die at other times, when the time of his death was not come. Even so likewise should one of us do, if we were certaine of the will of the Lord: to wit, that the same date and hour were come unto him, he should not provide for himselfe to die. Neither do we admit that which is againe inferred; namelie, he that fleeth, paileth not as Christ did, who required that the cup might be taken from him; yet in the meane time he staied: but that he goeth his waie, indiscreetly to rid himselfe of the cup, neither doth he expect to obtaine of the Lord. As who should saie, that he in fleeing should prevent the providence of God, which he will not prevent, but indiscreetly to followe, and he accompanieth the hand of the Lord that leadeth him.

27 But this seemeth somewhat to helpe them, that the apostles in their epistles, when as they wrote unto the churches, and not onelie made mention of wholesome precepts; but perpetualie beate them into the eares of the faithful, they never spake anie thing of this precept: That we should flee. But wher they do so, these reasons may be alleged: so much as of that matter, there can be nothing absolutele commanded. For everie man (as I have already said) must examine and make triall of himselfe, when he taketh in hand to die avenge. Furthermore, that which nature hath planted in all living creatures, hath no need continuallie to be renewed: to mens remembrance; seeing they are yowe enough unto these things of themselves. Certainelie, while they do not forgo last necessarie things unto life, as these be, they are understood to permit them. Neither is this waie of argument of much efficacie: for we ought sometime to do manie things, which they do not make mention of. Sometimes we ought not to obey our parents; naie rather, they must be forsaken. Whereby we ought not to be at the commandment of the magistrate; and oftentimes men ought to be laine: which things nevertheless the apostles never commanded to be done. Whereas also they cite the saying in John, that The soule must be given for the brethren: it is true; but that must be, when we see that the same will be profitable unto them; and that the not giving of the same should in reason be of offense unto them: or else, that if we should die, they might be without the office of a pastor. But if these things do not concur, it would not be counted a giving for the brethren; but a rash spoiling of our life.

28 They discourage men also from fleeing avenge; because Charitie drieth out feare, as the same apostle testifieth. Which saying is not to be understood, as though there were no feare

as manie  
and with  
charitie  
driveth  
all  
feare.

feare in a man that is indued with charitie; but rather by he is not driven to do that which he doth: neither is he that fleeth moved therewith by feare. Yea and strong men (as Aristotle saith) be not without feare: but they to temper the same, as though it they commit no shamefull act. Doubtles, charitie excludeth not the feare of God; because they that die, are afraid to offend, if they should tempt him by tarrying: naie rather, where charitie doth most flourish, there the feare of God taketh most place. And when the Grecke heretic is objected against them; *ὁ δὲ φάσκει ἡγῆσθαι ἡδὺν ἡμετέραν*, that is to saie, I man that fleeth, will fight againe: they dalie herewith, saieing; Naie rather, he fleeth not to fight againe, but to die againe. But how should this be spoken, Paule testifieth, who being led throught through the wall in a basket, fled to Damascus: but after ward, when as Agabus prophesied of manie and bitter things, that were prepared for him to suffer at Ierusalem; and that the brethren had paid him that he would not go, but would withstand him selfe from the danger, he was not remoued from his purpose of going. And Christ declareth the verie same, who oftentimes died, and afterward (as ye your selves obiect) he came to meet his persecutors, setting apart the helpe of the angels, and of his disciples.

29 After this ye will confirme your saying, with a little verbe of Maro; *Vsque ad hunc tupe mori*: Is it so shamefull a thing to die? As though we were ignorant; that death in his owne nature is a thing neither dishonour, nor blame: for the one and the other commeth therunto, according as it is forced by the end: be ginning, honestie and disportitie of christian actions, must be discerned by the word, and by the spirit. And now, as touching the saying of our Saviour, in the tenth of John, of the hireling that seeth the wolfe, and fleeth: we have already interpreted the same, when as we spake, by the saying of Augustine, that it is not the part of pastors to flee. Albeit Augustine by on John interpreteth this saying of Christ, that by fleeing we should understand the holding of our peace; namelie, touching them which dare not repend the shape committed to their charge, which be worthe of blame; not yet communicate them which ought to be excommunicated: namelie, when the pastor doth not deale fralle in his ministerie. Christ called him selfe a good shepherd, for he spared not the Scribes and Pharisees, although he were thereof brought in danger of his life.

1. Cor. 5.

Paule did boldie repaue & excommunicate, not onelie being present, but also while he was absent. His dares not a hireling do, because he stretch his owne: for he feareth, least he should

lose the fauor & friendship of men; especially of great and noble personages: which things a verie hireling hath speciall regard unto, who in all things attendeth for a temporall reward. Wherefore in Augustines judgement, that pastor fleeth, which holdeth his peace at such things as ought to be repaue. This seemeth good to be added, that those things which he haie disputed concerning pastors, should be understood of them, when they unwillingly withstande them selves from their flocke; but not if they be forcibly cast out by tyrants. And we saie, that Terullian may be excused, either because he perhaps wrote unto the minister and pastors of the church. Or else he speaketh hyperbollically: whereby he might encourage the minds of men in his time, when persecution did most abound. Or else he wrote these things, when as yet we was inclined to the heretic of Montanus.

¶ Of flight in persecution, looke the first, second, and fourth epistles, at the end of this booke.

Whether David did well, in that (through feare of Saule) he fled vnto the Philistines; and what we are to doo, if we should fall into the like troubles.

30 How then (wilt thou saie) did not David sin, when he fled vnto Achis? There be some which defend him, and saie, that he might do the Argumens same, without hurt of religion and faith. For (saie they) he is here to be blamed, seeing he was not repaue before, when he fled into the land of the Moabites? Where they sette idolaters than were the Philistines? Further, he had at that time a most mighty enemie, and also a vngatefull and vntreddie hinfman: was it meet for him to liue alwaies in danger? Besides this, it behooved him to haue a regard, not onelie vnto himselfe, but vnto them that depended on him: for he had bre hundred soldiers, with their wives & children, which led a hard life in the woods & forests. How had he bene able to haue maintained them in Iudaea? Should he haue used violence against his owne countreimen and well-willers, and haue gotten meet for them by violence? And what they would haue given them of their owne accord, it sufficient he aperly by the histoye of Nabal. Where were euen with Saule manie honest men, which fauored David, and wished him well: and for that cause they were oftentimes brought into danger. Which perill seemed to haue an utter end, if David would lend his life out of the Iebus confines. Wherefore he was to depart, if

it had bene but for their sakes onely. For it is the duty of an honest man, rather to suffer all things, than others for his sake should be cast into to perill. *Agapour*, it was the part of a wise man, to use the occasion, which God offered him: which while he had done, he might have feared to have tempted God. But thou wilt say, he had poysones. I grant: but those make not a man foolish, and dishonest. What fate was that, when Christ himselfe went unto the Samaritans, and unto the borders of Tyre and Sidon? And if it becometh that some end should be appointed unto the fume of Saule, that he might cease to persecute the innocent man.

21 And the other part, this fact of David may also be reproued for manie causes. For first it seemeth an unworthy thing, that David (so notable a man) should go as a suppliant unto the Philistines, being men which before time were not onely overcome by the Jewes, but also by himselfe. For he seemeth to contemne the benefit of God, who having obtained victory, will submit himselfe to the very same man whom he overcometh. For this cause was Pompeius blamed, who having atchieved so manie acts, would afterward become an humble follower unto Ptoleme. But the stoutlike and great courage that was in Cato, is famous; because he forsook the people of Utica, to seeke the favour of Cesar for his sake. *Agapour*, God should with verie strict wozes, that the Jewes should not enter in league with the banished nations, such as were the Philistines: no; yet that they should desire helpe of them that were ungodly. Besides this, David, whom God assigned a ruler and prince over his people, now becometh a fugitive thing. Which thing, what and how great an infamie it is, we are taught both by the light of nature it selfe, and also by the civill lawes. For in the *Digressio De captivis & possimium*, in the law *Possimium*, in the paragraph *Filius*, and in the paragraph, *Trausfuges*: he that fleeth unto his enemy, is deprived of the right in his owne citie. So that by this act, David becometh himselfe, of the publike inheritance of the people of God.

And as it is declared in the same place; he is a fugitive, which in the time either of warre, or of truce, fleeth either unto the enemies; or unto them, which be neither enemies, nor yet friends, and receiveth assistance of them. And he hath lost the benefit of the *Possimium* lawe, which is derived from the right of recovering of his owne goods and countrey. Again, *De capite inimici*: Those men are declared to be enemies unto the common weale. He which helpeth an enemy, either by his trauell, or by keeping of companie with him, incurreth the crime of high treason, and is guilty of betraying either his

prince or countrey. And in this crime, not onely he the act it selfe is regarded, but also the will; so that the same be contentlike enough knowne. If arme Gushan at this daie, being captiue of the Iowes, should die on the Turks part with his soldiers; he should not onely be counted a runnagate, but also incurre a greater reproch. [Yet, and if he should do the same but run to an other christian prince, that is an enemy unto his owne naturall prince and countrey, he should be iudged a runnagate and traitour.]

And it is credible, that some covenant was made, that David should beare armes against Saule; and seeke his life, whom he had himselfe ready spared. *Agapour*, who is that which doubteth, but that Saule did insolent boast of this running aboute of David, and told his friends in reproch of him; that he, whom they attributed to much unto, was a runnagate, a faithlesse man; a falsifier both of his people and religion? And it is verie like, that those men, when they heard those things, scarcely restrained themselves from teares. And albeit that Saule appeared before to be haine himselfe vniuile, when he thrust out David; yet might he now seeme to have a iust cause of condemnation against him.

Besides this, he bring a Zelo home, and a free man; yet called he himselfe a retainer and seruant of Adis. He also (so much as in him lay) subdued the counsels of God: for God had chosen him to be a king, who should befoe his people; he should be reuolted unto the enemy, and made war euen against his owne people. This indeed was rather to play the part of a robber, than the part of a king. And he humbled himselfe there, where he was to haue served in perpetual bondage; and that (which is a thing most greivous) he was to do it unto a wicked and a barbarous king. For so Adis himselfe pronounced, that it should come to passe; Thou shalt be (saith he) my seruant for euer. He was constrained also to win the tyrants favour, by no honest means; for he made a lie, and applied his speech unto his will; namely, that he did somewhat invade his owne nation the Jewes, somewhat the Kenites, and somewhat the Ieremelites. Whobest there be some which saye, that David fled not at all, when he said, that he fought against the fourth part of Iuda; for that those places appertained to the lot of Iuda, as it appeareth by the description of Iosua: albeit that they had not as yet entered into that whole inheritance. But holdest thou this be, let it be of what value it can. Surely, these things be spoken by David, for he was the favour of the tyrant; and that (which may not be boyne) with a mind to deceite.

22 But let us see what evils followed after this

this thing atwaie. That citie, which David had received as a gift from the king, was sacked by the Amalekites; so that he was miserable constrained to change the midday of his owne citizens. I speake nothing how he was constrained to change that imperiell power & strength into theuery: for he due all, he spared neither age nor sex, least the king should haue any suspicion of his doing. Further, he blinded the pietie with the tyrant, and this he did, not once or twice onely, but so long as he was there. In the meane while, he was constrained to suffer the dishonour of being at atonement with Adis, and to prostitute himselfe openlie an enemy unto his countrey. Besides this, it seemed to be no wise mans part, to commit himselfe unto a reconciled friend. Fined men are wont to vie the helpe of them, with whom they are returned into amitie; for that is onely for the time that they haue need. But what else may we iudge that Adis in the meane time thought of David, but that he was a man rude and barbarous, which could find in his hart to warre against his owne nation? Augustus was wont to say; I loue traitors, but a traitor I loue not. And what harts the Philistines had towards David, it sufficiently appeareth by the historie: for when they should meet together; what make these Hebrews here, (saith they?) How can they better please their owne king than by our blood? Where both David and openlie prostitute himselfe to be an enemy unto his countrey; and Adis admitteth him to be the gardner of his person. And when David, through the earnest love of the Philistines, should be sent home, he took it grieuously, saying; What haue I committed?

What shall we say, that in all this space there were heard no prayers; there were written no plaines; so marvell: for these things were done by the counsell of man, without the commandment of God. So wilt thou say; it was not of necessity that he should aske counsell of God. Yes verelike; God in the 26. chapter of Ieremie commandeth in expresse wozes, that in such things counsell should be asked of him; Iosue (saith he) the sonne of Nun, shall stand before Eiaizer, and shall receiue the oracle of him: according vnto what he should go in and out. But David was a captiue of the people, and in verie bad had before time asked counsell of the Lord, and to the same intent he also returned afterward; but now we see no such thing to be done by him. He seemeth to haue changed his nature, together with his place: for before that time, he did nothing but that which was plaine and sincere; at this time he did all things craftie and deceitfull: and he seemeth now by warre to assault Saule the king, whom he before preferred. But Adis, because he believed that

David would imitate the doings of them, whose wozes he had followed, did not make verie diligent inquisition of his doings.

And to confute this matter more maruolously, this defection of David brought great loss unto the Jewes. For, as it appeareth out of the twelfth chapter of the first booke of Ierusalem: non, then flooded into him a great number of soldiers, from all parts of Iuda; so that he had now a great company of bands, euen as the armie of God. By means whereof it came to passe, that Adis fought onely with some part of the Jewes, and not with their whole strength; for they which should haue helped Saule, were fled vnto David. But if he by they had remained in the bowers, they might haue invaded the land of the Philistines; and so either haue destroyed, or else helped their owne countrey. Furthermore, the modestie of Saule may sufficiently condemn the rashnes of David: for he, when he had almost caught David, left him; to the intent he might repell the Philistines, whom he heard at the selfe same time to haue invaded his countrey; and so he preferred the common wealth before his private hatred. But David, when he sawe his countrey in danger, joined himselfe with a most cruell enemy, that by a publike destruction he might revenge private hatred; and complained, that he might not be permitted unto that battell. But thou wilt say, that he sained; it may well be, and I contented not for the matter; but in the meane time he helped not his countrey.

23 But thou wilt say, that God by this means would punish Saule: I grant it. But we ought not to haue regard unto the secret will of God, but unto his will as it is expessed in the lawe; for vnto that must all our actions be directed. Further, we ought to beware, that we come not into infamie by our owne default. And when David violated those bowers of the Philistines, he seemeth to haue violated the rite of the shekspitt; for it may be, that either they paid tribute or custome unto Adis. But because it is uncerteine, in what state they stood towards him, I will not speake much concerning that matter. This is certeine, that he would haue bene reuenged of Saule, and so he not how that he can be defended. For if thou wilt say, that he ment not to ill towards Saule; thou shalt proue nothing thereby. For if at this daie some great professe; amongst vs, should (as God should) go on the Iudas side: although he should say that he would neither dispute nor write against the Gospel; yet that manner of man would we take such a one to be? Certeinly I am fow afraid, when I heare some men say, they had rather be Iudas than Zuinglians. Doubles we would neuer so speake of them. But David humbled

24

himselfe, not onely under the rest of the 30000 soldiers, but also under the soldiers of Saule. [This cruelty not:] for those men defend their country, this man fighteth against it.

1. Macc. 7. 6. Alcymus, and such other like either for revenge  
2. Macc. 7. 1. of ambition sake, gathered themselves unto the

24 Macedonians. The same thing too Dauid at this time: he was euer the thunderbolt of war, and to what part euer he inclined, he carried with him a great force to the victory; yet neuertheless he would be absent, when he might have bought great profit. But admit he would not fight against his owne nation. The same end undoubtedly had followed him, that happened unto Coriolanus and Themistocles.

The end of fugitive. Coriolanus was refused to fight against the Romans, was slain by the Volscians. Themistocles, when he would not assault his owne country, drank poison. Alcibiades also was for the same cause slain. Such in a manner is the end of fugitives, unless God take pittie vpon them.

25 A great deale the more greivous it is, that seeing Dauid knew for certaine, that he should be king; he might also have knowne, that of necessity he should have war with the Philistines. How then suffered he himselfe now to be overcome by their benefits, so as he might not fight against them, without a great blemish of ingratitude?

I might bring manie other things, but these seeme to be sufficient at this time: wherefore I conclude, that I cannot in anie wise allow this fact of Dauid. And I am not onely led by reason to so iudge, but by example also: for if he be that our Emperors soldiers, at this daie, should go vnto warfare with the Turke; how greatly would that be to the hindrance of christianitie? But in daime do I make complaint: in beerie bad we had experience thereof of late daies in Hungarie. And I would to God, that in this were the end of evils. Perhaps thou wilt say, that God, by a secret perswasion, warned Dauid to go vnto Achis. I answer; first, that it is more than I knowe; secondlie, that it is not verie probable: for God warned him before hand, that he should returne into Iudaea. But yet howeuer it be, this I say, that that example is not set for us to be followed. Herein Dauid committed sinne, although not vnto death: his fault did offer a way to be able, but it was not further hee could follow.

24. Solu muſt diſſolve theſe arguments, which he obiected on the other part. Wherefore (ſaie they) is he more reproued now, than he was before, when he went vnto the Moabites? I answer, that the consideration was otherwise, both of the time, of Dauids mind, and of the nation. For first, he did not then graue to manie

soldiers with him. Secondlie, he went not with the mind to warre on the Moabites; but that he might place among them his old father and mother. Neither had he as yet received the word of the Lord, to returne: for there he was first admonished by Gad [the prophet] that he should returne into Iewie. Neither were the Moabites so strange vnto the Iewes, as were the Philistines: for they were of the posteritie of Lot. And God, in the second chapter of Deuteronomie, had stricte commanded the Iewes, that they should not meddle with their fellos: wherefore the reason is not alike. But whether Dauid did well, in going to the Moabites, I do not here dispute. Certainlie, it appeareth that the same iourne pleased not God verie well; in that he afterward toiled him to be called backe by Gad. But he was tyed, both by the persecution of Saule, and by the treason of his owne kinred; that of necessity, either he was to die, or else to flee vnto the Philistines. Here rather, by this flight he did not auoid danger, but he changed one way for another: for he cast himselfe into a more dangerous state among the Philistines, than he had taried still in Iudaea. But it is not the part of a wise or godlie man, through feare and feeble courage, to take in hand othe those things, which are not conuenient for his person.

Saule pursued this: The Ziphites betraie this, but God hath rewarded their lying in wait vnto this: so as they shall not be able to hurt this: Saule againe end againe cometh into this danger.

But it is a greivous thing thus to live perpetuallie. Admit it be so; yet God by these kind of chastisements, frameth thee to be a king in time to come. Wherelike: These things thou dost, either for the mistrust thou hast in God; or else in hatred of the croffe. If for mistrust sake, refer thy selfe vnto the promises of God; and consider what he hath before time done for thy sake. If in hatred of the croffe, rather lament thou this infirmite of flesh, which lo cleaueth to our nature, as it may not be removed, no not from the most holie men. As touching that argument, wherein it is said, that either we must die, or else suffer death: it is weak and imperfect. For adde a third point; namely, that thou tarie there, where the Lord hath placed thee, and then shalt hope that he will no lesse be present now with thee, than he hath bene before time. Upon which that if beheaded Dauid, not onely to haue a regard vnto himselfe; but also vnto the five hundred soldiers, which he had with him. The Iewes would not of their owne accord giue him anie thing; to buying from them by violence, it was not lawfull for him: but the mind was to be eleuated vnto God; he had promised that he would bring helpe, and that

that he would stand to his covenants. He should not in anie wise haue departed from his station, wherein God had placed him. Further, there was no need, that either he should haue used violence, or expected the liberaltie of his owne countreymen. The Philistines were bozobers, being enemies vnto the name of the Iewes, and already condemned of God: from them it was lawfull to take prizes; for so he did before, and God did prosper his inducements.

4 Consideration was to be had of friends, who because they seemed to fauour Dauid that was banished, were ill intreated by Saule. Certainlie, friends ought not rashly to be continued: but we must take heed, least while thou wouldst deliuer them, thou bringest a greater infamie vpon them. For it was a farre more greivous thing, that Dauid fled vnto the Philistines, than that he was condemned by Saule: but thou must rather suffer death, than that others should come in perill for thy sake. But we must not alwaies respect that which is magnificall and glorious, but that which is pleasing vnto God. The occasion offered, was not to be continued.

5 I answer: we both those things, that we may the more easily suffer aduersities. Further, it had bene his part, to hope that God would not alwaies suffer the better way to be assisted; or that the church should be oppressed with continuall night. This should a wise man thinke. If he had bene otherwise, it had bene to haue tempted God. For verelike, he should rather haue put his trust in God, & haue taried in that place, where vnto God had called him.

7 He had promised to helpe him. But the promise of God maketh not men to be as stocks or blocks, that it should not be lawfull for anie man to provide for himselfe. I grant it both not howbeit, we ought by faith to wait for the helpe of God; we must not flye backe through feare and mistrust. If there were no surerrie to live in the court of Saule, much lesse safetie was it to live among the Philistines. Christ went vnto the men of Tyre and Sidon, and to the Samaritans. I knowe he did: but that was not to take their part against the Iewes; but to teach them the Gospel, that he might bring them to God, & heale them, and bestowe benefits vpon them.

9 Some end was once to be appointed vnto the sinnes of Saule: but yet not so, as thou shouldst cast thy selfe into greater sinnes. Anie fond and miserable men will haue spalles and diseases to be laid for the sinles of them that be dead. But while they would deliuer them out of purgatorie, let them take heed, that they themselves run not headlong into hell. Paule warneth, that

Rom. 3. 9.

We ought not to do euill, that good may come thereof. Wherefore this fact was neither goodlie, nor yet beuailing for the person of Dauid. So

that we confesse, he sinned as well in this, as in other things.

35. But Augustine vpon the psalmes, saith; that Saule is of two sorts, one of necessity, and another (as he himselfe speaketh) of abundance of plentie. If question be asked of manie, therefore they feare; they will answer, that necessity constraineth them, to the intent they may haue wherewith to maintain their wife and children. In deed this is some necessity, yet it is not absolute; it is but onely by supposition: if a man be of that mind, that he will in anie wise live and maintain himselfe, by what means so euer it be. Whers there are, who bring rich, yet they neuer cease pilling of the poore; and that not of anie necessity that they haue, but of an insatiable countenience. The sinne of Dauid belonged vnto the former sort. Neither do I speake this, to censure his sinne; but onely that it may be understood, vnto what kind his sinne ought to be referred. In explaining of all the arguments, we haue shewed what we are to do, if perhaps we fall into the like trouble. Now let vs see, what, by this fact of Dauid, may be gathered for our edifying. First, we ought here as in a glasse, to behold our owne infirmite: for God would haue that to be knowne to vs, not that we should the more freely sin, but that we should breake our owne state, and sigh towards heauen.

Moreover, we see of what sinceritie the holie scriptures be: for they do not onely set forth law to be the virtues of holie men, but also their cruelties; least we should trust in our owne felices, as though we are to determine of our owne strength. Augustine in his 40. sermon *De temporibus*; After we shall be come (saith he) to another life, we shall then ferme; for we shall fee the chiefe felicitie, from the which we cannot be deuiated by anie vile and mortall goods. But here we onely fee, as through a glasse, and in a darke lateng. Wherefore when other good things are let before vs, we be oftentimes deuiated as in aie, and do fall: so that it is our part in this life, to buye so much as we can. But especially we must take heed, that we die not to them, which be enemies to the Gospel: for, He which Heb. 6. 5. hauing once tasted the good gift of God, & the virtues of the spirit, falleth awaie againe, there remaineth vnto him no more sacrifice for sinne; but a fearful waiting for the iudgement of God. And seeing the duell is a most greivous enemy of God, we must take heed that we die not vnto him with our powers. These things by the doing of Dauid, may be transferred vnto vs. As o the alway and war on the enemies part, is in no wise lawfull.

Wherher

Whether the Holie men were inferior to the Ethniks in abiding aduersities, and in repressing of afflictions.

In: Sam. 13, 32.

Examples of the Ethniks which with great courage suffered aduersities.

26 But some do maruell, that holie men, which are accounted iust in the holie scriptures, suffered aduersities with a slender courage; and that they made that they of fortitude, which manie of the Ethniks made semblance of. We read that Horatius Puluilus, when he was defending of a temple, was not amazed to beare of the death of his fone, but held fast the post, and performed his dedication. Anaxagoras, when he heard that his fonne was dead; I knew (saith he) that I begat a mortal man. Paulus Aemilius, hauing obtained prosperous successe, at the time that his fones died, said, that he was fauourable heard of the gods immortall; for that he made this petition, That if anie calamitie were nere at hand, the same should be turned, not vpon the people of Rome, but vpon this house. Brutus executed his owne fowles: so did Torquatus. Wherefore did not God grant these things to his saints? Why do they seeme to be of so base mind in affliction, seeing they knowe it is laid vpon them by God? It seemeth to be a godlike question: but I will in few words absolue it. When I do consider thereof, that cometh to my remembrance, which happened in the ship wherein was caried Arilippus, and a certaine other hardie fellowe, but vnlearned. There arose a greivous tempest, so as the ship was well nere sounke: the philospher was fone afraid. When the tempest was ceased, the other man said: That meantst thou (philospher) to be so afraid? Surelie, I which haue not studied philosophie, was not afraid, but with a valiant courage looked for shipwache. The philospher somewhat pleasantly answered; Thou oughtest not to be careful for the life of a barlot. I sawe the life of Arilippus the philospher in danger.

Quen so do I consider, that it should be no maruell, if holie men and Ethniks behaue themselves after a fundie manner; for there is great difference betwene them. For the Ethniks thought, as touching aduersities, that they happened through a necessitie of nature; so should be aliben without consideration, and that after this daye there should remaine no life. They had not regard vnto the poudience of God that gouerneth all things; or else, if they were of the better sort, they professed the Stoicall sect, they followed an immense ableness of passions, and a lacke of paine. Because they could not denie, but that they were sometimes troubled with sudden culls; they did things that came natu-

rallie of themselves, and things that came not of nature, which were taken before hand, cunn from their childhood: for that those things are laid before vs, which we would desire, and which at the first motion we would refuse. And they said, that we must weelde it as do the Peripateticks, to moderate aduersities, but to not them out. But in that waxelling they faile, that reason and affection strue for the possession of man. Wherefore they did therein whole aplice themselves. Howbeit, our cause is farre otherwie: we do not wight those aduersities themselves, according to their owne nature; but we lie vnto the cause. We consider, that God is author, and that we haue giuen the cause of that affliction: those be causes of mourning. There faile is stirred vp, and the carriere it is the more for to be haue for the things which we haue committed.

We adde, that these afflictions are not altogether flayed by godlie men, because they knowe, that in their owne nature they are not cull: for God grasseed them in men, at the creation. God wille faue that all things which he had made were good. He made the soule of man perfect, that it might haue both the upper and the greater parts where these afflictions be: they be the matter of vertues, and do helpe them. And to speake of anger, it is the wetstone of fortitude; it helpeth men to do honest things with a valiant courage. There is no affection, which hath not some benefit vnto honest things. They which go about to extinguishe afflictions, do nothing else, but as they would take awaie the nature of man. Wherefore the Stoikes were falsly men, which therein were whole bent, that they might take awaie all afflictions. Rather ought the apostles to be heard, which saie, that they should be moderated. Paule in to the the Galatians, the fourth chapter; I would not that ye should sorrow as others which haue no hope. We takeb not awaie mourning, but he giueth a meane.

27 What is the meane that ought to be vsed? The Peripateticks reason manie things as touching mediocritie: they saie, That meane must be vied, which a wise man sheweth in his life. But mans wisdom is foolishness before God. All men are liers. That fame mediocritie must be determined by the word of God. If we haue sinned, and do lue in aduersities; let vs be sorrowfull, but yet so, that we depart not from the word of God. Let vs do nothing against his word, let vs not be alienated from him, nor let vs lay hope, and charitie to be put awaie. God requirith vs, that valiant courage, which the Stoicks boasted of, but yet according to right reason. He would not that we should be vrrational, nor make ourselues able of senselesse, as the Stoicks would haue men to be. Wherefore Ciantor in the third booke

of Epiculean questions, thus speaketh; To lue altogether without sorrow, happeneth not without vnseculence of the mind, and blacknesse of the bodie. But he speaketh tauntinglie. Augustine *De ciuitate Dei*, the 14. booke, and ninth chapter, wrieth; that these vnseculences, whereby those afflictions are cast awaie, is worse than all vices. Neither is that required, which Aulus Gellius, in the thirde booke, the 15. chapter, wrieth of a certaine swooz-plaier, who while his wounds were lanced by the physicians, did laugh. This is a brutish kind of fortitude. This hath God otherwhile giuen vnto martyrs, that in flames, and other deable punishments, they would be of a cheerful countenance, and would sing. Howbeit, this was giuen them by an extraordinarye waie, to the intent that tyrants might be moued, and the standers by be helpe with admiration: [but] we ought to followe the ordinarie waie appointed by God.

ye must be content with your own.

Paule, in the second epistle to the Corinthi-  
ans, bid rightlie and wisely expelle what is to be done in these cases; We are afflicted on euery side, but yet we faint not; we labour in all things, but are not defatigue; even in the persecutions themselves we are not forsaken; we are cast downe, but we perish not. Thus saue the minds of the saints: they are afflicted with those sorowes, they are not senselesse; yet do they not let sorow as they will despair. Thus al must we do. Wherefore they, which haue brought in a Stoicall reason, seeme that they would haue dealt with blocks; but haue instructed men: they represented vnto vs a shew of wisdom, the which we cannot see expressed anie where; neither doth it concurre with humane nature. But there be some, which thinke it to be a wicked thing for godlie men to sigh, to grone, or to be sad. But these be *non-godlike*; to wail, such things as are strange, both from the word of God, and from humane nature. We must haue anie vnto the word of God.

Christ saith: The world shall reioice, and ye shall sorrowe; they shall laugh, and ye shall weepe. *Pea*, and he set forth a decree; Blessed are they which moorne, for they shall receiue comfort. Vntrouthele Paule counteth those *aduersities*, to wit, they which are without affection, *Rom. 1.*, and which be deliuered by enen to a reprobate sent. In the psalme David saith, vnder the persil of *Ps. 69.*, I looked for some man to be sorrowfull with me. Paule commandeth vs To moorne with them that moorne, and reioice with them that reioice. The same apostle saith; that Hee mighte longed to see the Romans, that hee might haue some fruit among them. He was gelous ouer the Corinthians, he would haue had them not to be seduced by false prophets. He said, that He sorrowed for his brethren the Itra-

lies, and wished to be separated from Christ for their sakes. These afflictions were in him most vehement. He saith that he wrote vnto the Corinthians with manie teares, not with common affection. Peter bitterlie weeped, when he had denied Christ. But why sake we examples of the apostles? Let vs haue regard to Christ the author of our saluation. He was manie times murthered with pitie, when he saue them from affliction, which followed him; when he saue the Iherusalemites, when he saue the shepheards, when he saue a mother following the cozle of his one lie comen. He wept at the sepulchre of Lazarus; he wept when he looked vpon Iherusalem, and considered that it should be destroyed; I haue earnestlie (saith he) desired to eate this pascoe, user with you. In the garden he was murthered with sadnes, forsooke caused him to sweat blood. Eiaie spake of him; He beare our sorowes, &c. These things are rather to be followed, than the rigorous sayings of the Stoicks.

28 But they maruell at Christ, how he could be troubled with such afflictions, seeing his soule was blessed, and had alwaies the diuine nature vntoed with him, and in his sight. But it is to be understood, that Christ was not only berie God, but also verie man; and he had not berie berie man, vnlesse he had also had a perfect soule, that is to wit, adorned with upper and greater parts, in the which these afflictions be. Wherevpon Augustine, in the place aboue alledged; Neither had he a counterfet humane affection, seeing he had the bodie and soule of a man. Herevpon Ambrose sayeth; he saith; that Christ toke vpon him, not a shew of incarnation, but a truth; and therefore true had afflictions. And he adde, that this vnbrouthele was conuenient, that he might overcome sorow and sadnes; but not exclude them. He abed, laing; neither is that fortitude comendable, which bringeth in vnseculences of wounds, not a griefe. If there be anie that knowe they haue so vnseculen a bodie, as they saie not wounds, they haue not the commendation of fortitude or valiant courage; but those [haue it] which overcome the griefe which they fele. Wherefore Hilarie saith be aduiseable read, in the 1. booke *De Trinitate*, who speaketh dangerously of the bodie of Christ, and of those afflictions. He affirmeth, that the Lord had a bodie to suffer, but not to feele paine. And he saith, that the crosse, sword, and nales put vpon Christ the violence of a passion, but not a griefe. And he weth a similitude, to wit, that if a tree, when as it is wounded attempt vnto a wood to thrust through water, fire, or aie: he should vs violence against these elements, and the wood of his owne nature would put to griefe; but those bodies be not of that nature, as they can suffer a wound. These things are not agree-

ye must be content with your own.

Augustine.

How a false eng of this laie must be taken here of.

28 miles

to be.

The difference betwene the holie men and the Ethniks.

And because a lacke of paine.



agreeable to the scripture, and to a true humane bodie.

In this wise may we argue, that Christ had griefe. So the feeling of griefe in anie man, two things are chiefly required: which things being appointed, griefe doth followe: first, that the bodie should be hurt; secondly, that there should be a feeling of that hurt. But the bodie of Christ was hurt; being whole, it was broken. The soule of Christ was most perfect, it had sense; Ergo, it was not without feeling. The selfe same are to be iudged as touching sadness. This is the nature thereof, that if in the cogitation or imagination we perceive anie hurtfull thing, that is like to happen, or is present; then it steeleth it selfe. Such cogitations had Christ: wherefore these were repugnant unto nature; wherefore these followed a sadness: notwithstanding, that followed not which had sense joined with it. They were perfect motions; they went not beyond the rule of Gods word: they had the nature of a punishment, but not of an offence. Our afflictions be unpure. What cause of difference is there?

Augustine. In the place above recited, sheweth the reason; because the afflictions of Christ were dectined of power, ours of infirmities. Christ had that power, that he could use these afflictions, when and as often as he would; but ours do not spring of infirmities, yea and they rise against us whether we will or no. Wee can not bide them, wherefore they be troublesome; but Christs be cleare: not onely as they were by institution giuent unto Adam; but also as they were adioyned by the grace of God, they performed nothing, but so long, and so much as it becomed.

39 So then we may assigne three differences betweene Christs afflictions and ours. The first, as touching the objects; the motions and afflictions of Christ neuer declined unto sinne, but ours doe verie often. The second, Christ (as saith Augustine) used, when he iudged that they should be used, as when he would that man should be, man was made: it dooth not to happen with vs; they beake easily even against our wills. Thirdly, those perturbations be sometimes so forcible in vs, as they disquiet reason it selfe, and do hinder faith; but it was not thus in Christ. Wherefore Ierom upon Matthew, in the banding of that sentence, [He that shall looke vpon a woman to lust after her, &c.] Iustitiam quidam et fidei, that there is *moderatio* and *moderatio*, which may be called, suffering, & *moderatio* suffering. That *moderatio* is alwaies taken in the ill part, when they languish and overcome vs. But *moderatio* be the first motions, which although they be held under the name of an offence; yet are they not crimes, they do not overcome. But what the difference is betweene a

crime and a sinne, Augustine in the 41. treatise upon Iohn the sixth; Crimes be grievous sins, which have accusation, and deserve condemnation; but finnes are of lesse weight. Wherefore the apostle, when he speaketh touching the ordering of pastors, will have them to be without crime; not without sinne: otherwise he should exclude all men from the ministrie.

Therefore in Christ those afflictions proceeded not so far, that they could alienate his will from the right waie: as Ierom saith, which he handleth that place; My soule is heauie, &c. Man. 26. 3. They had rather the nature of suffering than of suffering. His diuine nature could bring to passe, that they should not begin to come forth; but by a certaine dispensation of grace for our saluation, he made place for them when the time serued. But if they were afflictions, why did they call them a will, saying; Notmy will be done, but thine? He ment the inclination of nature, whereby we hume things hurtfull. And it was requisite, that Christ should be sad, and moved with those afflictions; because it becomed him to be tempted in all things, and to overcome these afflictions; and this victory not a little furthered our redemption, neither was it against the will of God, for he would haue him not onely to be crucified, but also to be affected with those motions: euen as Ierusalem was to be overthrowen, and Christ to be sold; neither why he wept did he against his fathers will. Wherefore (if we shall beleue Cyrill) Christ his death, in respect that he was a man, and had appetite and sense, was not voluntarie: yet was it voluntarie, because it pleased the Father, and because it serued to our redemption, for the which Christ came. But it was said; Christ was blessed: how could he be moved with those afflictions? Because that felicitie was so contained in the upper part of the mind, as it did not redound to the lower parts.

40 All these things make against the Stoicks; namely, the doctrine of Christ, and the doctrine apostolicall: also the example of Christ. Wherefore it is no marvell, if the godlie be so sorrowfull. Yea, and I thinke god to adde, that true afflictions are greater in the godlie, than in the wicked; who by little and little put them away, and the greater they be, the more they sorrow, when they be moved against their afflictions. So David, the more he was inclined to his children, the more he was vexed. They which attribute all things unto definite and foimate, or to the necessity of a matter; because they do against the scriptures of God, must not be heard. Wee conclude, that holie men, when they are on this wise sorrowful, weape, and are moved with sadness, do please God; so as they retain faith, and followe the spirit. But on the other hand, we

of afflictions.

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affirme, that the philosophers and Ethniks, while they seeme to deale so magnificently, to contemne all aduersities, and by no means to be disquieted, do displease God with all their godlike shew of vertues. This thing hath Augustine taught, in his fourth booke against Iulian, the fourth chapter: and he allegeth three reasons. The first is; that Without faith it is vnpoffible to please God: whereas they seeme to deale to be roiallike, in the mean time be void of faith, they cannot please God. The second reason; When void of faith, he as yet ill trees; but ill trees bring forth ill fruit. The third reason; It is not sufficient to do those things, which in their owne nature come good: but we ought to do well. Who will saie that those Ethniks do those wonderful things rightlie, seeing they do vnfaithfullie? In that they do vnfaithfullie, they do not rightlie. Let them boast of their things as magnificallie as they will, these reasons haue we. Wee saie, that they; their works do not please God.

The same father saith, in the exposition of the 25. psalme at the end, that there were manie of the Ethniks, which deferred to come vnto the Christians: they said, Wee see in them manie benefits, the which we haue not. He answereth, that they are greatly deceived; seeing in those benefits, which they boast of, they are not good, but in a sort euill: and I haue willingly added; that they are often times verie euill. Forasmuch as they please themselves verie much with those vertues of theirs, they become proud: but pride is hated of God. Wee conclude, that David, and moche as was, pleased God in sorrowfulness, more than could the Puluilli, Anaxagoras, Acemilli, Bruti, or Torquati, which feared with a great; losse mind to contemne the sorrowfull things which happened. When Socrates is objected vnto vs, of whom Plinie writeth in his seventh booke, that he alwaies threued to be of one countenance, neuer merrier or sadder. Against him we oppose Christ, which vnto vs is one for all; also the apostles, prophets, and our David; and we will saie, that these did a great deale more rightlie and wisely, than he did. For the godlie are gouerned by the word of God, not by the opinions, which men haue spread abroad. They are led, not by the opinion or state of allent of the Platonicks, and doubting philosophers: but by a most certaine and constant faith. They are directed by the spirit of God, but not by the wisdom of humane flesh, which is enmitte against God; and therefore they please God. Neither haue the godlie thought it meet, that afflictions in these cases should altogether be restrained, or taken away; when they sawe themselves to be chastised by God, when they sorrowed that they had broken the lawes of the Lord, and that they had giuen the cause of these cruelties: these things

can neuer sufficientlie be lamented. They did rather iudge it meet to slacke the bodie vnto afflictions, which might further goodnesse, and strengthen repentance.

41 But one thing perhaps some man will demand: how it happeneth that we more read of those griefes in the old testament, than in the new? I might peradventure saie, that this, which they would say, is not true. In the new testament they lament, which do saile their finnes. But it appereth not now, as it did in the old time: it is not done with that preparation. I grant, that the custome then was, that those mourninges should be publike: now the custome of the age in our time suffereth not this. Againe I might answer; that certeinlie the forefathers had the promise of eternal life, as we haue: but mocheouer and that, the promises of the land of Chanaan, and the increase of seed, and these temporal blessings were more earnestly offered vnto them than vnto vs. These things are also promised vnto vs: for if Ieust seeke the kingdom of God, the rest shall be ministred vnto vs. Notwithstanding, these things are generally promised vnto vs, they are not so often repeated. We are in greater light, therefore we rather aplice our mind vnto the better promises. Whereby perhaps Iustice Iustice, in the losse of temporal things.

42 This must the rather be called to mind, least we be disquieted, when we perceive that David was so beried, whereas neuertheless God had said by Nathan, that his sinne was put away. These things are not repugnant in themselves: for it was undoubtedly taken away, and forgiven; because it happened not vnto him to eternal death, which he deserved. This bond, which he had procured, was extinguished by the mercede of God. Further he desired to be slain, as touching the life of the bodie; but God did not hate him. Moreover, the aduersities which happened, were not punishments of God, in his anger; but fatherlie chastisements to preserve discipline, that he might the more beapelle acknowledge sinne, take bad vnto himselfe, from thence forth; and that others also might be made to beleaue. Neither ought Iustice therefore to make a purgatorie, because God forgiveth sinne in this life, and punisheth in an other. For the holie scriptures haue nothing at all concerning purgatorie; but they shew, that the godlie shall straggle after death be blessed. Notwithstanding, if we should grant them which yet we must not grant them; that God would punish the godlie in an other world; yet might not the church with his beles impute their punishments, as the punishments of David, and of others: this thing standeth in the pleasure of God.



# The xiiij. Chapter.

Of Prayers, and of the intercession of Christ; wherein is treated of speaking in a strange tongue, of Musick, and of hymnes.

In Rom. 1. verse. 9. Two kinds of prayers.

**T**he prayers of the godlie, are diuided into two kinds. For some be at set times, as be those which are used in a publicke congregation, at appointed and prescribed daies; and mean vpon the Lord's daies, and vpon such other daies as are assigned by the church for publicke prayers. Further, it is the dutie of a christian man, to haue houres alio appointed cuerie daie, wherein he may praye vnto God; and that those times, five times, or seuen times in a daie; as his businesse will suffer him. In other kind of those prayers there is, which are called vncerteyne; for we vse them to offer, as anie present danger requireth vs. But Paule saith, that he alwaies maketh mention of the Romans in his prayers; and in some bookes is added the aduerbe *perpetuo*, Euerie where; although some copies haue blotted it out. There were heretofore, which were called Messians, of them the Scripture hath made mention: they attributed all things vnto prayers, and that so much, as they did derogate both from the word of God, and also from the sacraments; affirming, that all these things do nothing profit: but that commoditie fouer we haue, the same cometh by prayers. And they could not abide to labour vnder their hands, so to doe anie other thing. If a man had bidden them to touch, they would haue said, that the same should no thing at all profit; seeing we ought to doe nothing at all profit. Whereas the apostle neuertheless warneth expresse, that he who laboureth, should not eat. He also writeth; that a man ought not to neglect the care of his owne, especiallie of his household: which fault if anie man commit, he should be taken as one that had renounced his faith.

1. Thee. 3. 10  
1. Tim. 5. 8

the nature of the children of God, even they are to be paid often.

But passing ouer this superstition, we must attribute verie much vnto prayers; seeing this is the nature of the children of God, even they are to be paid often. For that is to acknowledge the poudence of God. For while we beleue that a man can obtaine nothing, which is not giuen him by God, we are oftentimes prouoked to praye humble for his aid, in such necessities as do happen. And while we praye, we do no lesse submit our selues vnto

God, than the claie is subiect vnto the potter: for we therewith make our prayers, that whosoever we desire, we may haue the same if it be his will. And forasmuch as in praying, the mind is led astray from carke and vngodly cares, and is wholly carried by vnto God, there ought nothing to be more pleasant vnto vs, than to occupy our selues in this kind of studie. And it is to be lamented at this daie, that the manner of praying is to be to some out of use among Christians; that it is a thing but rare and vnto, and especiallie in so great a light of the Gospel, and of the holie scriptures. It is no marvell then, though all things do towar to cold. Certainlie, heat doth there increase, where the light can not candle use. It passe through, but is beaten backe againe, and (as they saie) reboundeth to the upper parts. Wherefore this lower part of the aire, which compasseth the earth, is most hot; because the beames of the sunne, which strike vpon the earth, (being not able for the thicnes thereof to passe) do rebound backe againe, & be in a manner doubled; whereby the heat is fierced by. In like manner ought it to be in our hearts, when the light of Gods word shined vpon them: for when we haue receiued it, we ought to returne it vnto God, in making prayers vnto him, to performe those things in vs which he hath commanded, & which he hath boundeth to reueale vnto vs. For when we read the scriptures, God speaketh vnto vs; but when we praye, we speake vnto God. And we ought verie often to vse this dialogue, that when we heare in the holie scriptures, that God either reuealeth himselfe, or commandeth anie thing; we againe for our part may desire of him, that those things be not spoken in vaine vnto vs; but may be done with profit and fruit.

Rom. 1. 10

2. We be also taught by Paule, so to order our prayers, that we praye not onely for our selues; but also for our neighbours. Further, when he prayeth, that he might haue a prosperous iourne vnto the Romans; he signifieth, that our tongues should begin with prayers, if we will haue them to haue good success. But some are feared aslaue from calling vnto God, because they saie he heareth them not. But they ought to be comforted, seeing they heare, that Paule was oftentimes let from going vnto Rome; and yet continued to fill in the same before, and vnto repeat the selfe same prayers. And in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, he writeth that he desired no lesse than three times to be deliuered from the ring of the flesh; vnto whom yet at the last, answer was made; that God wold be content for him to haue the grace of God. Wherefore either we be heard at length, or else (if that which we desire be not granted) there is something granted in the stead thereof, far better and more profitable

why God doth defer our requests.

profitable vnto our saluation. God doth oftentimes defer our requests, to the end (as Augustine saith in a certaine homilie) that we may learne to desire great things with great seruenticle.

Others are called aslaue from prayers, because they thus determine with themselves; Although I desire not these things, yet God will do that, which shall serue god vnto him: neither can his will be altered by my prayers. But these men vnderstand not, that God, before he granteth anie god thing vnto his elect, is wont exceedingly to kindle their minds, with a desire to obtaine those things. Further, when he will do anie thing, he sheweth by those that are his, to desire that, which otherwise he would haue done; to the intent that for honour sake, he might attribute the same vnto their prayers. This is also another cause: for that Gods benedictions are then the more acceptable, when they are craved and desired. Wherefore, in praying, our minds are more ioined vnto God. And, and their voices and holie desires serue to be nothing else, but ladders and degrees whereby we ascend vnto God. Neither was the godlie doubtlesse, while they praye, thinke that by their prayers they deserue those things, which they praye for. Why then (wilt thou saie) are prayers made? For answer that they be as certeyne waies and spaces, whereby we come vnto that, which we earnestly desire. Wherefore God will grant vnto vs those things, which shall serue to him profitable and conuenient, but yet he hath decreed to giue them by these degrees; not that prayers are the causes of his benefits, but because they be as it were a waie, whereby we must attaine to those things.

2. Smilz. nat.

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If thou wilt go vnto a ruler, thou must go that waie which leadeth thither; whereas neuertheless, that is not the cause whereby thou comest to the ruler: for if thou lacke powers of the mind, and strength of the bodie, thou goest thy way in vaine. And when a Scholemaster goeth to the Schole, he must ascend by stairs; whereas neuertheless the stairs are no cause vnto him that he cometh: for the final cause of his going is to teach; and the efficient cause is the powers of the mind, and the strength of the bodie. After the selfe same manner must the degree of prayers. Although thou shalt saie; But canst not God giue those things that he will, euen without prayers? Yes verily he can, and ofentimes he doth it. Neither will he be over-curiously pricked vnto, as tyrants vse; as though he may not be intreated without our faire speeches: neither will he be pricked for his owne cause, but for ours. For if anie man might be long and much conuersant with a man indued with vertues and knowledge, there is no doubt,

but that he should become the better, and also to the learner. But how much more and excellent a thing is it, to be conuersant and to talke with the most excellent God? The philosophers do thinke, that it is a great perfection of man, so to knowe himselfe next to vnderstand what is wanting to himselfe; lastlie, to knowe that God is the cheefe and onlie god that is to be wished for, and of whom all things must be desired. Wherefore God commandeth prayers, as a certeyne meane, whereby he should attaine to those things, which we desire. So other, they are fond and foolish, which saie; If God haue predestinated me to saluation, he will giue me the same, euen without prayers: for God hath, to gather with the end, predestinated also the means, whereby we must prepare our selues to the same. And finally we praye, not in anie case, to the intent we may change God; which thing we should attempt in vaine, seeing he is immutable: but rather, that we our selues should be changed; forasmuch as in praying, we are made capable of the benefits of God.

How God saith that he will not giue that which he will giue; and so contrariwise.

3. But the Lord saith in the tenth of Iudges; In Iudg. 10. that he will not be a helpe vnto the Israelites: which as afterward notwithstanding he did helpe them. Did God lie? No, in no wise. But the repentance of the people was not as yet come to that passe, that he would haue had it. In such state and condition as they were then in, he said he would not be a helpe vnto them; for God knoweth the moments of time. So doth the physician vse to handle a sicke man, when he desireth wine in the heat and feruencie of his ague; I will giue none (saith he) not because he will neuer giue him aie; but for that he knoweth when it will be profitable for him to giue it. Again, the sicke man desireth a medicine; the physician denieth it, because he will first haue the humors to be ripe, that they may be the more easilie brought forth. Euen so God doth not deal with his people. Neither is this a rare forme of speaking in the scriptures. The Lord said vnto Moles; Suffer rather my wrath may be kindled, and I will deliue them at once. This he said, when he was minded neuertheless to spare his people; but the prayers of Moles pleased God: therefore he would haue him to be inflamed, and his bifer and faith to be increased. In Matthew, the woman of Chanaan crieth vnto Christ, but he passed by in silence, as though he heard her not. Afterward, the bring in that in prayer, he said; I am not sent, but vnto the lost Matt. 15. 23. If I. J. I seepe



Exod.17.11  
Gen.17.18

2.Co.12.8.

what is to be considered in the desires of things is different.

Rom.8.26

1.Co.12.9.

Matth.6.33

Int.1.3.1  
Matth.6.7

Matth.4.23

Luk.11.27  
& 12.41.

Luke.18.1.

ther, these things God hath not seldom promised, therefore we may craue them also. And hereunto there doe serue examples. For Moses desired victorie against the Amalekites, Abraham desired, that Isaac might live; & he was heard. 2. Co. 12. 8. Paul also desired to be deliuered from affliction.

But here there be two things which must be considered. The first is, that in those things, which are indifferent, we doe not kindelely settle our felices; but let vs perpetuallie refer them to the glorie of God. Further, we must determine to be to him well, if that thing do happen. But some man will say, that seeing we be men, we may be deceived about the right vse of children: for onelie God knoweth how well or how ill we will be to our children. Whereupon, the nature of man is inconstant; and therefore we may be changed, and may refuse that, which we first desired. Inuolue therefore be true. What if thou wilt a faithful and goodlie child that desire is sue of God, there is no danger: because the successe is put in the hand of God, by whose will all things to come are gouerned. He regardeth not that, which thou dost desire; but that, which is most profitable vnto thee. And Paul saith: Where we may desire, we knowe not; but the spirithelpeth our infirmities, & by his wisdom correcteth our prayers. Neither must this be past ouer, that sometimes God seemeth not to heare vs, when as neuertheles he then heareth vs most of all: as when Paul prayed, that the sting of the fleshy might depart from him, he heard, that the grace and fauour wherewith God inuolue him, should be sufficient for him. Therefore, when we make such kind of prayers, we ought to be of this mind; that whatsoever shall happen, we may be contented with the iudgement of God. And when as Christ saith; First seeke ye the kingdom of God, and then other things shall be giuen vnto you: he saith not, that the things not desired shall be giuen. Inuolue he will giue them, but he forbiddeth not, but that they should be asked; so that they be the latter part of our requests. Further, he did not there speake of prayers; but he spake onelie of the carefulnesse, studie, and disquietnes had about things fraile and transitorie.

10. Whereupon, Christ warneth, that in praying we should not vse much babbling. But we must vnderstand, that he, when he spake these things, forbade not long prayers: for he himselfe continued a whole night praying on the mountaine; and before his death he prayed abundantlie: he said he commended vs to be euery praying, and neuer to be weary. And the better to brace this into our heads, he vseth parables; namely, of the vniuall iudge renoueing the cause of the Inuolue woman, by reason of her importunitie;

and of the man who being in his bed, and would not rise; yet at the last opened the doore vnto his friend that continuallie knocked, and gaue him so much bread as he was willing to take. Here, and the Lord himselfe at the length heard the woman of Chanaan, that continuallie cried vnto him without ceasing. So noob it must be considered, that much speech or babbling is then vnto vs; not when we praye long: but when we multiply words without faith and the spirit; being persuaded, that we may be heard, through the number of those words. So Helias derided the Baalites, and exhorted them to cry out loud: der, whereby they might at the length be heard of their God, being either alasse, or else otherwise occupied. Therefore, that is a foolish cogitation: for God heareth vs, not for our words sake, but for his owne goodnes and merrie.

Another cause is, if we will as it were prescribe vnto God, and teach him what things we haue need of; For God knoweth whereof we haue need, euen before we begin to pray. These two causes being removed, we may pray so much as we will. And how farre forth our paine is to be long or short, Auguline deric well describeth vnto Proba: The better (saith he) in Aegypt haue prayers short, and often, be, as there certaine daies cast out of the soules: and that (saith he) least the zeale, which they haue, should wax cold. Therefore he addeth; If we see our indolence and feruency of prayer beginne to wax faint, we must not dull it with continuance; but if so be that our attentionnelle be cherefull and ready bent, it must not be left. Inuolue he saith, that prayer ought to be much, and the talke little. And those (saith he) are much in prayer, who in deed desire things that be necessarie, but with words superfluous: but that prayer is much, when our hart being stirred vp, we continuallie persuade him whom we praye vnto. He saith, that we ought to beale more with trates than with words; and with weeping rather than with speaking: for words are not giuen for: any other vse, but to stirre vp either our felices or others.

11. But seeing it is written, that Hanna the mother of Samuel onelie moued his lips, but his voice was not heard: it may be demanded, whether the voice should be used in prayers. Here must the question be vnderstood of publike prayers, but of priuate prayers: for of publike prayers there can be no doubt. Whereunto we answer, that there is no need of the voice, when we praye vnto God priuately and apart: because God heareth and be holdeth the mind, and the hart. Inuoluebeit, the voice otherwise is vnto, not without fruit: because manye times we wax faint in prayers, and the mind it selfe is vnto: whereupon the voice being vnto, it stirreth

Luke.11.27

Mat.15.27

1. Tim. 1.12

2. Tim. 1.12

3. Tim. 1.12

4. Tim. 1.12

5. Tim. 1.12

6. Tim. 1.12

7. Tim. 1.12

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22. Tim. 1.12

23. Tim. 1.12

24. Tim. 1.12

25. Tim. 1.12

what the heart should be occupied with in prayer.

we must pray with the heart, as the heart ought to be occupied with in prayer.

we must pray with the heart, as the heart ought to be occupied with in prayer.

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us vp, and after a fast refresheth vs. Whereupon, it sometimes happeneth, that when we praye vehemently, and with great indolence, and be wholely fixed therein: there breatheth out speech, euen before we be aware, which cannot dye but be acceptable to God. Hanna kept not her deuotions secret, as if she had desired some thankfull and honourable thing of God: which thing the Chanaanites haue sometimes done. Whereupon Seneca, in his tenth epistle to Lucilius saith, that Athenodorus was wont to saie, that he had professed verie much, which desired nothing of God; but that he dare openlie profess in sight of the world. And as concerning the setting and ordering of our bodie while we be praying, it must be vnderstood; that God regardeth not with what fashion of our bodie we praye. Yet, it is to be that some decent and modest gesture of the members of our bodie (proceeding not of hypocrisy, but of the affect of faith) do accompanie our prayers, he doth not altogether despise the same.

We must speciallie praye with the hart and with the mind: which thing they do not, that honour God with their lips, but haue their hart farre from him. Therefore the Schoole-men do foolishly erre, which affirme, that in our prayers it is not necessarie (as they terme it) to haue an actual attention; but that it is sufficient to be as (as they speake) a vernal attention. Because (saith they) our hart is not in our owne power; therefore it is sufficient, if we at the beginning determine to praye vnto God. Whereas they saie, that our hart is not in our owne power: we are content to agree thereto: but on the other side, they must grant, that if our mind be wandering and astray in time of prayer, it cannot be done without sinne. Now then let them not excuse this fault, neither let them affirme, that such prayers please God. For we would not so prescribe to speake vnto a prince, being a man, that our mind should not be settled vpon him: how much lesse ought God (who is more excellent than all creatures) be called vpon after this manner. Chrysostome, in the 20. homilie vpon Genesis thus writeth; If our mind be astray, we receive no commoditie by prayers, but rather a greater damnation. Therefore, euen as all the goodly sort haue prayed attentionnelle, and from their inward hart, so ought we also to praye, if we will be heard. For these examples are therefore set forth to vs, that we should imitate them.

12. Whereto this, it is written of the goodlie men, that they called vpon God on their knees, and with their hands stretched out: not that the better worshipping of God doth chiefe consist in outward things; which neuertheles are to be strength to stir vp mens minds, that they may giue due honours vnto God. For, as those things do not a little inuite those which stand by, to

prayer, vnto their prayers before God. In holding of our knees, we tellen our fabrication towards God; the which is simple and absolute, without any exception. When we stretch out our hands towards heauen, we shew that we must expect for helpe, and for clemencie goodly from God onlie, and not else where. This gesture also perteineth vnto them that yield themselves subiect: for they which yield themselves vnto mightie men, are accustomed to stretch forth their hands vnto them. Therefore Paul, in the first to Timothy, the second chapter saith; I will that men in euery place lift vp pure hands, without wrath or doubting, &c. For if any man desire that his outward gestures vnto God, but haue his mind far separated from God, he shall be accounted no true worshipper of God, but an hypocrite. Yet notwithstanding we must not thinke, that God doth contemne the prayers of them that sit, stand or lie; so that they proceed of faith. Inuoluebeit, those gestures which are spoken of in the scriptures, and were vnto holie men, do verie well agree with publike prayers, and are not to be numbered among superstitious actions.

13. And as touching the place it selfe, the Hebrew interpreters do saie, that the ladder shewed vnto Jacob was a prophetic of the house of prayer, and of the temple to come; for where the Lord (saith they) appeareth, and the heauens are opened, and angels ascend and descend together, there do we praye commodioully: for our prayers are easilie carried from thence vnto God. And that this is here signified, they proue it by the words following: For Jacob said; This is no other thing than the house of God, and the gates of heauen. And there he appointed the stone, & began to praye, & vowed a vowe to God: whereupon (saith they) the fulme that is here intreated of, concerneth the house of God. Which thing we also to after a sort will grant vnto them to be true: yet vnder this condition, that our brethren may know, that our church is the true house of God. This doth Paul teach in the first chapter to Timothy, when he saith; That thou maist know, how thou shouldst behaue thy selfe in the house of God, which is the church of the liuing Christ. And this hath our church by his spouse Christ, who communicateth all that is his with her; if he be the verie true house of God. For, not with out cause he said of himselfe; Desirois this temple, &c. in three daies I will restore it againe. And Paul vnto the Colossians said of him; that In him dwelleth all fulnes of the godhead bodily. Therefore, where so euery Christ is; where to our place of the true house of God, we praye in due place. He is to be the arke, the temple, & house of God, yea the propitiatorie place it selfe: as Paul testifieth to the Romans; Whom he hath appointed to vs a propitiatorie by faith in [his] blood, &c.

certaine prayers in commendation of the house of God.

3. Tim. 2.8

Gen. 28.17

1. Tim. 3.12  
The house of God is the church.  
Christ is the house of God.

John. 1.19  
Col. 2.9

the day of prayer.

Rom. 3.25

Before

Two sorts of sanctuaries.

Iohn. 4. 21.

1. Tim. 2. 8.

1. Cor. 6. 19

3. 1. Sam. 2. vers. 9.

1. Tim. 2. 8.

Act. 16. 6.

Luk. 23. 47.

Rom. 3. 25.

Before Christ, the fathers had a certaine place, by the which Christ himselfe was shadowed, whom it becometh to be of no uncerteine kindred and conversation; but euen a Jew; and as concerning his bodily presence, to line out in the circumference. Wherefore, seeing he is now alreadie come, and that he belongeth vnto all nations: that ceremony of appointing a certaine place for the using of prayers is released. Which thing Christ declared vnto the woman of Samaria, that it would come to passe, when he saide vnto her; The time shall come when as the true worshippers shall worship God, neither upon this mountaine, nor yet in Ierusalem. And Paule in the first epistle to Timothy; I will therefore that men euerie-where praise, lifting vp pure hands, being void of wrath and reasoning, without discord. Now then we, hauing Christ with vs, may praise euerie-where; especially seeing by our communion with him, we be the temples of God. And this doth Paule testifie in sundrie places, especially in the first to the Corinthians, where he saith; You be the temple of God, &c. Wherefore therefore we be, to be that we be not diuided from Christ; we may praise well with this full trust, wherein we doubt not, but that we be the temple of God. Neither doe we therefore speake these things, as though we condemne the hauiing of a certaine place, where publicke congregations may publickly be had. For this is necessarie, seeing we be men so manie as serue Christ, and haue need of a bodily place, if at ante time we are to meet together.

But we must vnderstand that such places are not so fixed, as though they may not be changed, according as it shall be convenient for the church; neither yet are they to be described and limited for prayer, as if they should be counted liued to ysaie out of them. Doubtlesse we do greatly honour and chiefe the double meetings at places appointed, and agreed vpon; seeing we vnderstand, that Christ is the rather with vs, when we be ioined together. But vnto the place, where in was the arke of the covenant, there is no need for vs to come: for the old ceremonies are taken away by the benefit of Christ, and euerie place is open vnto vs for prayer. Wherefore, in the first to Timothy, the second chapter, it is written; And I will, that men in euerie place lift vp pure hands. And, and Paule himselfe was heard in Acts. 16. 6. hands. And, and Paule himselfe was heard in Acts. 16. 6. hands. And, and Paule himselfe was heard in Acts. 16. 6. hands.

Howbeit, if we will thoroughly looke vpon the matter it selfe, the true arke also, which is Christ, is not wanting vnto vs: for in verie deed Christ, calleth him our *Advocate*; that is, either our Propitiator, or Place propitiatorie: which

thing he alledgeth vnto the propitiatorie place of Moles, which was set ouer the arke. Whiche he therefore praise, let vs by faith looke vpon our arke; that is, vnto Christ, who consisteth of the God-head and humanitie. And in that he is God, there is no doubt but he is euerie-where, although that properlie in his bodie he be placed in heauen. For to speake more rightlie aboute all heauens: whether also we must ascend with mind and faith, if we will enioie him. Neither ought we in praying, to haue a respect vnto the west, as the Jewes did; and that by the commandement of the lawe: neither vnto the east, although that manie of the fathers stiffele as firme, that we should praise towards the east; and among others, Basil indureth to thin the cause of that tradition (as he calleth it;) namely, for that we should (like againe to ysaie) raise, which was lost, being placed in the east.

### Of the Intercession of Christ.

14. Christ is said to make intercession for vs, in Rom. 8. that we might be the more encouraged. For they which be in great fauour with anie man, their requests are not lightlie denied of him. Wherefore Paule, in the eighth to the Romans, maketh mention in what great dignitie Christ is with the father. In which place Ambrose testifieth on this wise; He maketh vs certaine and sure, both of the father, and of the sonne. For before, he said that God iustifieth vs: now he saith of the son, that he maketh intercession for vs. And a little before he wrote of the holie Ghost, that he with vnspurable gronings doth praye for vs. The Greeke Schollies adde; that Christ, when he was vpon the earth, did oftentimes praye for the saluation of mankind: for he said vnto Peter; I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith should not faile. And as Iohn saith; He prayed vnto the father, not onelie for them that beleued, but also for all those, which should beleue, that he might sanctifie them. And being raised on the crosse, he commended to his father, euen those which had reuiled him, and put him to death. And he saith, that he in no wise hath cast away that care, which he toke vpon him in times past, for the perseruacion of vs. For now, although he reigne in heauen; yet he maketh intercession vnto the father for vs. He thought it not enough to die for vs, but that he would also by his miniseric helpe our saluation.

The Arians charged that place, in such sort, as they would thereby shew, that the sonne is lesse than the father; because he maketh intercession vnto him. For, to praise and to make supplication, pertained vnto inferiours; and not to

being appointed the person of a person.

Christ is not best vnderstanded.

1. Cor. 12. 20.

1. Cor. 12. 20.

Christe praye for vs.

Christe praye for vs.

to equals. Ambrose maketh answer, and saith; that he apostle maketh him equal with the father: for he saith, that he sitteth at the right hand of the father. Wherefore it can not be gathered by their words, that he is lesse than the father. But here we happen vpon two things to be noted. First, that the persons in the blessed Trinitie, are distinct of eueral: for if the sonne praye vnto the father, it must needs be, that the person of the father is one, and the person of the sonne another; for no man prayeth vnto himselfe. Further, this is to be noted; that the father is the fountaine and first beginning of all things, and of the diuine persons also: therefore the sonne derieth from him vnto vs, whatsoeuer heauenlie gifts and graces we haue. From this iudgment, Chrysostome disagreeeth not: for he saith, that Paule had before made the sonne of God equal with the father, when he said, that he sitteth at his right hand.

But in that he is said to praise, that is not to be taken properlie, as though he maketh supplication vnto the father: but the scripture (saith he) speaketh in that sort, to shew the god-will of the sonne towards vs. Otherwise trulie he hath all things in his owne hand; and as the father giueth life, euen to both the sonne giue life: and as the father raiseth by the dead, to both also the sonne raise by the dead; wherefore he needeth to be no praiser vnto him. And seeing he was able by himselfe to quicken the dead, to redeme the damned, and to iustifie the wicked; which works are most excellent, and most great: why can he not also by himselfe, and without praiser, bring all other things to passe. Wherefore, he crieth out of the latter epistle to the Coymithians, the first chapter; We are ambassadors for Christ, that God hath beseech you through vs, we praye you in Christ his freed, to be reconciled vnto God. Behold (saith he) God is haue said to blessed men; whereas we ought not so much as to thinke, that he is inferior vnto them. But having the authoritie of these fathers, I would haue, that the Arians maybe answered an other waie. For I would saie that the sonne prayeth vnto God, not as being God, but in that he is man, and a creature.

But the place alledged out of the epistle to the Coymithians is not of anie great force: for Paule expressely putteth this note of similitude; that is, [as though:] neither ment he anie thing else. But that the apostles with great affection procured, and as it were beseeched men to returne vnto God. Of which words can not be gathered, that God maketh supplication vnto men. The apostles, in the new testament, dealt towards men with a great deale more lenitie, than did the lawe and the prophets in the old testament; where all things are in a manner frain-

ted with threatenings and punishments. And that the words of Paule must be referred vnto the humanitie of Christ, those things which were spoken because of sufficientlie declare. But Paule had written before, that Christ died, rose againe, and was carried by vnto heauen to the right hand of God: all which things agree not with the diuine nature of Christ. Wherefore it is met, that that particle also, which follooweth, should be referred vnto the humane nature of Christ: as concerning the which, Christ himselfe confesseth himselfe to be inferior to the father: for he saith; The father is greater than I. And so long as he was vpon the earth, because he was a man, he obeyed the magistrates, and his parents: for (as Luke declareth) he was subject vnto them. And in Eliae he confesseth, that he was annointed by the holie Ghost: to giue vs to vnderstand, that his humane nature was not onelie lesse than the father, but also lesse than the holie Ghost.

15. Whoeuer, it can not be denied, but that he is our bishop a priest: but the office of a bishop is, both to offer sacrifice, and also to praye for the people. Christ hath offered himselfe vpon the crosse, and when he had performed that miniseric: there remained an other miniseric, which he should perpetuallie exercise; namely, to make intercession for vs: vnto the will peradventure asseme, that he is no more the bishop of the church. But God himselfe hath promised the contrarie, saying; Thou art for euer a priest, after the order of Melchisedech. And yet still, by the priesthood of Christ our finnes are forgiven vs, and we are reconciled vnto God; We haue a high priest (as it is written vnto the Hebrewes) which hath entered into the most holie place, not made with hands, but hath passed through into heauen himselfe, and which can suffer together with our infirmities, being tempted in all things like vnto vs. Wherefore we ought with boldnes to come vnto the throne of grace, for there is offered for vs a most acceptable sacrifice.

By the resurrection of Christ, death is vanquished, and also hell. In the kingdom of Christ, which is most mightie eternelie at the right hand of his father, all things are gouerned. And the prayers, which he continuallie poureth out for vs, are most thankfull and verie acceptable vnto the father. We read also, that The holie Ghost doth make intercession for vs: the verie which thing is here affirmed of the sonne. If these two intercessions be compared together, we shall find that the intercession of the sonne, is the cause of the intercession of the holie Ghost. For he promised to go vnto the father, and to send the holie Ghost vnto vs. He stretch by our minds to praye feruently, with sighings and gronings.

Luke 2. 51.

Eliae. 1. 1.

Heb. 4. 14.

Two sorts of miniseric of a bishop, as he is a priest.

1. Cor. 12. 20.

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1. Cor. 12. 20.

grainings. Christ maketh intercession vnto the father, because he is alwaies at hand with him. Therefore the father is perpetuallie put in mind of the sacrifice by him once offered; and he smelleth the same as a sweet savour, and thereby is made mercifull vnto vs. And for this cause Christ is called our mediator; and advocate: and his prayers are not onelie acceptable vnto God, but they haue also satisfaction ioined with them. Wherefore, seeing they are both iudiciall and acceptation vnto God, they cannot take anie repulse.

16 Anded we, ſolong as we live here, no continuall paſe one to another; and that by the preſcript of the word of God. Nowbeit, be twixen our prayers, and the prayers of Chriſt, there is a great difference: for his prayers (as we have ſaid) have ſatisfaction joined with them; but to have not ours. For there is none of us, that can make ſatisfaction unto God, either for himſelfe, or for another man. But that the ſaints departed from hence, no make interceſſion for vs; we cannot proue it by any part of the canonicall ſcripture: wherefore we ought to haue Chriſt onely for our mediator; and advocate. Neither muſt we admit things uncertaine for certaine. Although 3<sup>rd</sup> waſt eaſieſt grant, that the ſaints in the heauenly habitation, doubtly muſt perſeuer deliues with the ſaluation of the elect; yet ſure 3<sup>rd</sup> is not ſaie, that they praye for them; ſpecially ſeeing the ſcriptures no where teach any ſuch thing. And although 3<sup>rd</sup> would grant this, yet ſhould it not there followe, that we ought to call upon the ſaints departed: for we are not certaine out of the word of God, that they can heare our prayers. And thus they

7. Tim. 2. 5. **now** (as Paule faith) maketh intercession for us.  
 2. John. 2. 1. **The same** doth John testify, **saying**; I write  
 unto you, that ye finne nor; and ifwime, we  
 have an advocate with the father, **even Iesus**  
**Christ the iust.** Augustine **against the epistle of**  
**Parmenianus, in the eight chapter,** noteth out of  
 these wordes, **that the apostle excluded not him-**  
**selves from the rest: for he saith not;** Ye have an  
 advocate: **but we have an advocate.** If of that  
 none is to holie, but that he hath made of Christ  
 to be a mediator and advocate. **Further, he saith**  
**not;** Ye have not me an intercessor: **but we**  
**have an advocate Iesus Christ.** Augustine in  
 the same place reprooveth Parmenianus, who hath  
 else written twyten; **that bishops are mediators**  
**betweene God and the people:** which thing he  
 saith must not be suffered of the faithfull.  
 The same Augustine, in his tenth booke of confessions  
 the 42. chapter, thus twyten; **Whom coulde**

A find that might reconcile me unto thee: should  
I have gon unto angels? But what did pa-  
tr's teach that sacraments? And be adde, that  
there were manie, who would have bene re-  
conciled by angels, & were miserable decei-  
ved, for that an euill angel oftentimes trans-  
meth himself into an angel of light. And if it  
is not lawfull for vs to praise unto angels, much  
lesse is it lawfull for vs to do it unto dead faimts;  
for in this there is no lesse danger of deceiting,  
than in the other. These things writeth Au-  
gustine in that place, both goodli and sincereli;  
you neuer lesse in other places was not to cir-  
cumflect, in summing the error of this time.

17 Some affirme, that the faints in the hea-  
venlie courtie do paie for vs., if they re-  
taine their old charitie towards vs., which they had  
while they liued here. And here they inducke to  
prooue, that the calling vpon them is lawfull. But  
these men offend two manner of waies. First,  
because, though the faints do retaine their won-  
nered charitie towards vs; yet it may be doubted,  
whether they paie for vs. For it may suffice  
vnto that charitie, that both they with will  
and will doell vnto vs. For perhaps they be there  
to certefine of the will of God towards vs,  
as neither they will nor can paie. But if thou  
wilt saie, that Christ paiech for vs; and therefore  
the same may be common vnto them, which  
knowe no more of the will of God, than one  
else knowe, which is most none of all vnto the fa-  
ther: then ought ye to consider, that Chilles  
making intercession for vs vnto the father, is  
nothing else, but that he is alwaies present vnto  
the father, and that by his presence (because he  
was deliuered vnto the death for vs) the merite  
of God is most readie streich for towards the  
elect. But admit that they paie for vs, as our ad-  
uocates will needs haue it; yet can it not be  
said, that they ought to be called vpon by vs, for  
we be ignorant, whether they haue true  
knowledge of our doings. And we like that  
manie of the fathers doubted here much of the  
same. Furthermore, such a iudication cannot  
prooe be of faill: a faill hath no place, where  
we cannot cleaue to the word of God. But  
no place can be brought in the scriptures to confirme  
this inuocation; therefore our aduocates can  
gaine nothing by their wordes of the apostle.

18 Furthermore, this bath bene alle a perpetuall cumber of godlie merit, that they have rendered thanks a praise unto God for his benefites received. So did Moles find a long time the Lord by the worthipfull of hydra. Cuen to after ward did Deborah, for obtaining victory against the enimies. Tharlike, we have a song of Hanna. Afterward were let forth the psalms of David, among the which we read manie that be of this argument. And in the new testament

...die hymnes!

Part.3. of Peter Martyr.

Cap.13.

Pag.309.

the blessed Virgin celebrated the name and praises of God, well-nearer after this manner; and yet, the strength to have borrowed some words and sentences out of the holy of Hanna: For the faith; My toule death mightie the Lord, My pyn hart reioiced in God, &c. And Hanna faith; My hart reioiced in the Lord. **Marie fad;** And that is mightie hart done great things forme; and Hanna; There is none mightie like unto God. **Marie fad;** And holie is his name; Hanna; There is none holie as the Lord is, Marie; He hath put downe the mightie from their seat, and hath exalted the humble, he hath filled the hungrye with good things; Hanna; The weaker are guided with strength, and the hungrye are

filled with bread. So conclude, there be many things alike in either hymne; and it is no marvellous, because they intercal of like argument. So the one part, a virgin brought forth; and on the other part, a barren woman was made fruitful. This kind of verses are uttered by the spirit of God, and therefore consecrated to the Lord; that they may returne to the original from whence they issuing.

*The abuse of foreign  
language.*

19 To the intent that the matter may be more plainly perceived, let us make a briefe of those reasons, which the apostle hath brought forth overthrowing of a strange language in the church, first he willeth, that he which speaketh with a strange tongue, speaketh not unto men, but to God. Whereby it appeareth, that men are not edified by that kind of speech, being interpreted not unto them. Further he saith; He that speaketh with tongue edified himselfe; but he that prophesieth edifieth all men. Therefore, so much difference as there is betwixt one man and all butteneficall; so much is the use of strange tongues inferior: unto prophesying, which edifieth the whole church. Besides this, he addeth experience; to wit, that what committeth the church of the Corinthians had received by Paule, all this it had by revelation, by prophesying, by knowledge, and also by doctrine; which other twise, the use of tongues had little or nothing profited. Again, there is a similitude brought in of musickall instruments, and of the trumpet; all which are unprofitable, as well for bringing of pleasure, as for the use of warre, unless they make a plaine distinction, and a certaine signification in their musick.

Furthermore, he that visheth frange tonges, & thrusteth himselfe to be a barbarian to them that heare him; as if he would not communicate with them like things as he hath in his mind. Also, when he prayeth with a frange tong, by doubtlesse he visheth the gift of the spirit; & yet his mind is void of fruit, seeing there followeth no edifying of his neighbours: which onlie thing the christian mind, that is wiſe, must haue respect vnto. Also he that doeth on this sort, hindereth them that stand by, from confirming and ratifying those prayers which he openeth maketh, by answering vnto them after the vsuall manner; Amen. And here he bringeth in his owne example, who being able to do much, & to excell them all in the use of tongues; yet faith, that he hath rather speake few wordes, whose signification should be manifest, then to utter infinite wordes in a frange tong, which would not be understood of the hearers. And he assuredly this to be his will, Which thing God by the prophet Eſaie reprobeth in his people; because, as they had bene children, they understood not those things, which were spoken. And seeing it becometh all men, to use such gifts as they are indued with; it is meet for the church of Christ to use prophesying, which most becometh the faithfull. Lastly, the benefit of prophesying is more vniuersall and largelic giuen, then is the gift

Eſaie. 28. 11.

of

Therefore  
Christ is  
called our  
mediator  
and advo-  
cate.

The difference between  
Chrysostom's  
prayers and  
ours.

Although  
the saints  
Did pray for  
us, yet must  
not we call  
upon them.

1. Tim. 2.5. nolw (as)

1. Iohn. 2. 1. vnto you

None is  
holie but  
hath need  
of the in  
cession of  
Christ.

the

of tongs: seeing it is profitable, both unto the believers and unbelievers; whereas strange language profiteth them that believe not; yea sometimes maketh the believers to be laughed at by them.

20 Moreover, the holy scriptures teach that we ought to be in the holy congregation. For in the 102. psalm it is written: While the people gather together in one, they do declare the name of the Lord in Zion, and his praises in Jerusalem. But how can the praises and miracles of the Lord be declared in such sort, as they may be understood, whereas a strange language shall be used? And it is written to the Corinthians; Let the word of GOD abound plentifully among you. But if it be not understood, it will be barren, neither will it bring forth any fruitfulness. The sacraments are ministered, when the church maketh together. And seeing that in baptism Christ should be preached, and the name of the father, the sonne, and the holy Ghost celebrated, and the remission of finnes and articles of faith pronounced: what shall this profit, if it be done in unknown tongues? and touching the holy supper, the Lord said; Do this in remembrance of me. But in an unknown tongue, the remembrance is no way renewed; but rather buried. There is heard a sound, a singing, and a muttering, but there is in a manner nothing of the words perceived: yea and sometimes there be sermons made so intricate and difficult, that they can be understood but even of a verie few.

And when as this abuse hath oftentimes been rebuked in their men, it is a waight to heare, with how vain and fond imaginations they defend the same. They say, that in the old lawe there were manie ceremonies, the significance of which was not understood: & yet notwithstanding they were observed by the common people and unlearned men. But they which speake on this sort, must shew to vs, that they have the word of GOD; wherein it hath bene commanded, that they should use a strange tongue in holy service, when as it might be done by them in the vulgar speech; according as the old fathers in the lawe had shewed, that such ceremonies were commanded unto them. Besides, neither is it true, that those ceremonies were utterly unknown unto the common people: for they all knew what meant the feast of passover, what the pentecost, and what the feast of tabernacles: and they knew some to be peace offerings, and some offerings for finnes. And finally, all things which belonged unto the observations of those ceremonies, were delivered by GOD unto the Hebrews, in an usual known language. And if there were besides significations hidden in them, unto the understanding

whereof, the common sort did not attaine; that is no let at all unto vs, who require not of our people all the understanding of the holy scriptures: but we onely complain, that they keep the scripture so secret from them, as they may not once understand the words.

21 They are ignorant also, when the place of Paul is observed, to fame that the words do not concern sermons, wherein they say, that they also use their mother tongue. But the words of that chapter do most plainlie require them; for there is expresse mention made of those things, in which the people do answer: Amen: which happeneth not in sermons. The apostle also maketh mention of thanks-giving, and of divine praises: wherefore it is manifest that this defense of theirs is vain. Further, to what purpose had it bene needfull for him, to give warning of that, which can never fall into any mans mind, to make a sermon in a strange language? And whereas there be so rare and seldom sermons used, and yet continuall in a manner there is a singing, praying, and giving of thanks in the church; it is a wonder that they will not agree, that the apostle instructed the church as touching these things. Neither must it be granted them, which they continuall asseme with open mouth, that in this kind of things the church of Christ hath a libertie: seeing the apostle in the end of the 14. chapter of the 1. to the Corinthians writeth; that these things are commandments of the Lord.

22 There be others among them, which say, that a strange tongue is therefore meet for the scriptures; because the common people are as children and infants, who have need of milke, and not of strong meat. But by what authority will these pleasant men shew vs, that milke is a strange language? This they can never find: for the same doctrine, being set forth somewhat grosslie and rudelie, hath the nature of milke; but being more cunninglie expounded, it may be called strong meat. Also they dare say, that it laie men should understand all things that be recited in the holy scriptures, they should be in present poison: for they bring otherholie beleaves, would fall into heresies, and grievous schismes. But this opinion of theirs accuseth the whole ancient church, of much want of wisdom: I mean the churches of the Latines, the Greeks, and the Hebrews; in which the holy service was done, not in a strange language, but in their own tongue. Yea and at this day in Illyria, India, and in divers other countries, as among whom the church of Christ is most largely extended, do celebrate their holy service in their native and proper language, and not in a strange tongue. Moreover, GOD himselfe according to the opinion of their men, had sinned,

who taught the Hebrew nation in all things, touching salvation, no otherwise but in the Hebrew tongue. When as the two Seraphims were sent and heard of the prophet Elia to praise GOD, they uttered out such words as might be understood, saying; Holy, holy, holy. And when Christ was borne in Bethlem, the heavenlie hosts were heard to sing with a loud voice; Glorior to the highest, in earth peace, good will towards men. And when the angels appeared to Ezechiel, Daniel, Zacharie, and other the prophets; they used such things as were understood by them. Therefore, if it be true that our adversaries do also profess; namely, that our church doth imitate the triumphing church, it ought not to use a strange language among his owne children.

23 And lesse are they to be heard, which object, that a holy thing must not be given unto dogs, seeing it is a wicked thing, to reckon them for dogs, and dogs, so as they should be unworthy to have the sayings of GOD, they being (though faith and baptism) numbered among the members of Christ, and have the holy Ghost, and do eat the bodie and blood of Christ. It is no part of the passages of the church of Christ, to keep secret the words of GOD. This doth the duell speiall seek; to wit, that the words of GOD may be hidden, seeing he knoweth, that without them we can neither believe, nor yet contentenr all upon the name of GOD. Further, they that understand not what they say, or what they hear; it must needs be, that they turne their mind on other way: the which is held as it were with certaine veiles, though understanding of those words which it heareth.

3 I marvel at them which babble, that a good intent (as they speake) of praising GOD, of giving thanks, and of praising, doth suffice; and that it is not required, that the words, whereby these things are done, should be known unto them that stand by. This is a pernicious veile: for it affirmeth anie a sincere purpose (which we also require) to be sufficient: and it taketh away from the people of GOD the manifold and many fruits, which the holy spirit is wont to bring forth, though knowledge of holie words. Neither doth it make a litle unto the continuance of GOD, that they which have access unto him, should speake those things which they understand not; and should manie times imagine far otherwise than they speake. Neither will the unwillingly suffer, that any man should have dealing with vs, and that concerning most weighty matters, when as he himselfe knoweth not what he would say. Wherefore this infamous must be removed, with singular industry, from the holy congregations of Christian men.

24 Moreover, this must not be omitted, that

our adversaries have sometimes caused, that it is lawfull in the temples to use a strange language, because those things which should be uttered in an unknown tongue, might be afterwards expounded to the common people. But with this they cavill, they both deceive, and are deceived two waies: for it is true, that those things are expounded in sermons, which either they mutter with unknowing tongues, or else utter echos with loud belabouring tongues. Yea, and it cometh to passe verie often, that things are spoken of them in sermons, farre differing from those which were first either said or sung among the sacrificing priests. But admit that sometime it be as they say: what need should it be twice to repeat one thing, and in vaine to keepe the people in the temples?

If Paul grant unto the Corinthians the use of sundrie tongues, so that interpretation be joined therewith; thus he doth, let the gift of GOD, and the miracle which in those daies flourished, should be suppressed: for by that means also it was met, that Christ should be glorified. But these men have no miracle to bring forth, whereby the glorie of GOD may be increased: wherefore they must be constrained to use the common speech. And seeing Paul writeth, that there should no place be given to miracle; unless an interpreter be present: how much rather should these men cease to use that tongue, which either they understand not, or else oftentimes have but a simple knowledge thereof? As they, which in the pronouncing of it, do verie oftentimes misse, and give an occasion of laughter to the learner sort of hearers; or else, if so be they do understand the same, they have attained it by studie or industrie, and not by miracle. Wherefore if it appear, how damaging the things, which these men pretend, are from the reasons which Paul hath made.

### Of Musicke and Miter.

25 Now I thinke god to speake of after Musicke, so far as concerneth pietie; first, from whence they had their beginning, and what end they are instituted; secondly, whether they may be retained in the churches; lastlie, what manner of songs and measures belong by to our profit and salvation. As touching the first, it is to be understood, that the men in old time, when they should give thanks unto GOD, and also when they were induced to obtaine any thing at his hands, were wont with vaine content to use certaine solemn verses. Wherefore Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Horace, and such other harping poets, wrote the most part of their hymnes for their uses. Also in the Romaine common weale, the priests of Mars, who were called

Saj,

the difference of the common use of a strange language. Col. 3.16.

Mat. 28.19.

1. Cor. 14.

What some defend the abuse of the church.

The ceremonies of the church were not devised by man, but by God.

the church of Christ hath a libertie: seeing the apostle in the end of the 14. chapter of the 1. to the Corinthians writeth; that these things are commandments of the Lord.

Against a good intent of the Da. 10.

Contentment with GOD.

the church of Christ hath a libertie: seeing the apostle in the end of the 14. chapter of the 1. to the Corinthians writeth; that these things are commandments of the Lord.

24 Moreover, this must not be omitted, that

Epitaphs  
at funerals.

Marriage  
verses.

Poetries  
a gift of God.

Against  
lewd and  
unholy  
verses.

Agreat  
love  
of holie  
songs  
among  
the  
godlie.

Ibidem 36.

Salij, beate certine shields without corners,  
went singing of their verses about the cities.  
Agout, the custom was, that psuiche and  
spiter should be used, when the praises of fa-  
mous men were celebrated, theie at feasts:  
whereby they would warn them that were pre-  
sent, to imitate their noble acts, and to bestell  
the vices which did worse with their virtues. Fur-  
ther, they used them to recreate their minds, and  
that they might be comforted in the sorrow con-  
cerned for them that were dead. For at funerals  
they sang epitaphs. But on the other side, in psu-  
iche and verses was expressed the notable ioy,  
which happened. Therefore, in marriages  
they were accustomed to sing *verses of joy*, that  
is, *Marriage verses*.

All these things, if they be done moderate-  
ly, and in due season, they may both be borne with-  
out, and commended. For they run concurre this  
manner of good things; namely, honest, profit-  
able, and delectable. And singing, altho it doe  
of it selfe delight mens minds; yet when there  
is added a speech that stanneth upon numbers,  
and is bound to certaine feet, (as we feele it to be  
in versifying); it psoneth much more delightful.  
And undoubtedly, poetrie had first his original  
from hence; and that it was the gift of God, I  
cannot deny: but I would wish, that the same  
might be purches and chasiee retained amongst  
men. This I speake, because certine unhonest  
and unclean men have most shamefullie vio-  
lated the same, while they have converted songs  
and verses unto lewd lust, and to curie dispo-  
sitions: whose verses, notwithstanding they be  
verie elegant, and made in good language; yet are  
they altogether unworthy of Christian eares.  
Neither ought they in any wise to be propo-  
sed unto young men, who being prone enough of  
themselves unto vice, there is no need of fur-  
thering and inflaming them with more pro-  
vocations and engines. Certes of this kind may well  
be called the Syrens of mens minds, wherein  
young men being trained, can hardly escape  
shipwacke.

26 But there was a great love of holie songs  
among the people of God: for the Hebrewes,  
in the time of Moles, when as in marching with  
their campe, they take by the Ark of the cove-  
nant, they sang that verse; Let the Lord arise,  
and let his enemies be scattered. And further  
they set the same doaine againe, without home  
pleasant song; as we read in the booke of Ju-  
dah. 3. Furthermore, in the tabernacle and tem-  
ple built by Salomon, the Levites at their times  
appointed were present, who before the Lord, in  
the hearing of the people, sang holie hymnes;  
and in giving thanks to God, did most sweete-  
ly celebrate certine notable benefites bestowed  
upon their nation, and praised praises therewith,

interlarded sentences, for instructing the man-  
ners and life of godlie men. Also bondholders,  
when as either they sat downe in their houses, or  
rose from feasts, sang certine hymnes;  
while as they kept their solemne feast daies, a-  
mong their owne families, according to the  
commandement of the lawe; and so, by giving  
of thanks unto God, they delivered (as it were)  
by hand his noble acts unto their posteritie.

The which laudable custome it should seeme  
that our Lord Jesus Christ refused not; when as  
(after the passall supper) the same night therein  
he was betrayed, after the singing of a hymne,  
he went forth with his apostles into the mount  
of olives. And that godlie psuiche hath power  
to frame the affections of the mind, Elizabeth the  
sister, who being somewhat mowed against the  
king of Israel, commanded a singing man to be  
called unto him. David also in praising upon  
the harpe, suggested the violence of the ill spirit,  
which bore him. But true psuiche doth frame  
to holie in a manner to causly men; the reason  
is easie made. For some pleasures there be,  
which onelie fill the outward senses; and others  
there be, which pertaine onelie to the mind or  
reason. But psuiche is a delectation to be re-  
fused both, as both by the sweetnesse of the  
sound it moweth the senses, and by the artifi-  
cial composition of the numbers and proportions  
it delighteth reason it selfe. And this hapeth  
chastie, when such words are added unto it, as  
the sense of them is both excellent and learned.

Pythagoras opinion was, that they which sing  
his doctrine, should be brought alwaie with  
a harpe, and with the psuiche of the same be re-  
sued from dispe; whereby they might quiette  
in the time both of sleeping and waking. It  
is also a common saying (as Cicero affirmeth)  
that rocks and wildernes do give a sound,  
and cracke beas by singing are become gentle,  
and do stand still. I will not speake both the  
poets fable, that when the wallies of the cite  
of Thebes should be built, the stones of their owne  
moues came together even at the sound of the  
harpe. And no man is so ignorant, what the lame  
poets have written of Arion and Orpheus. And  
who knoweth not, how much David here and  
there in his psalms praeseth psuiche songs?  
And among the Christians, Terullian in his  
pologic teacheth, that the faithfull did verie of-  
ten make suppers, wherein after they had be-  
nefite and moderate refreshed their bodies,  
they recreated themselves with godlie songs.  
And in another place, where he commendeth  
the matrimonie of such as be all of one religion,  
he saith; that Christian couples do mutually  
praeboe one another to sing praises unto God.

27 But now that we have seene the nature,  
original, and use of psuiche; there re-

Mem. 33.

An example  
in the apostles  
life.

1. 2. 1. 3.

Psuiche  
doth frame  
to holie in  
a manner to  
causly men.

Pythagoras

Cicero.

Terullian.

Ch. 28  
psuiche.

Sleeping in  
the apostles  
life.

1. 2. 1. 3.

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eth to inquire, whether it male be used in churches.  
In the East part, the holie congregations  
used singing, even from the beginning. Which  
thing was male easie percieve by the testimo-  
ny of Plinie, in a certine epistle to Traian the  
emperor, where he writeth; that the christians  
used to sing hymnes before daie unto their  
Christ. And it is not to be overpassed, that these  
words were written in the same time, that John  
the evangelist lived: for he remained alive un-  
till the time of Traian. Therefore, if one will  
saie that in the time of the apostles, there was sing-  
ing in the holie assemblies; he shall not straine  
from the truth. Paule, being before these times,  
saith unto the Ephesians; Be not filled with  
wine, wherein is wantonnesse, but be ye filled  
with the spirit, speaking to your selves in psalms,  
hymnes, and spirituall songs, singing in your  
heart, giving thanks alwaies unto God for all  
things, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Against wine the apostle opposeth the spirit:  
and he plentifully we aware from the pleasure of  
the senses, when he will haue christians, in stead  
of wine to be filled with the spirit. For in wine  
as he saith is wantonnesse; but in the spirit is  
true and perfect ioy. Whonkeas talke more  
than enough, but yet falsly and baine things.  
Speake ye (saith he) but yet spirituall things,  
and that not onlie in mouth, but in hart: for  
the voice foundeth in baine, where the mind is not  
affected. They which be filled with wine, speake  
folly, fowle, and blasphemous things; but give  
ye thanks to God alwaies, I saie, and for all  
things. To this end doubtlesse ought the eccle-  
siasticall songs to tend. Altho the Colossians  
are written certine things, not disagreeing  
from these. Let the word of the Lord (saith the  
apostle) abound plentifully among you: teach  
and admonish one another in psalms, hymnes,  
and spirituall songs, singing with grace in your  
harts.

In these words Paule expresth two things.  
First, that our songs should be the words of God,  
which must abound plentifully in us: and that  
must not onelie serve for giving of thanks, but  
also for teaching and admonishing. And then it  
is added; With grace: which must be to under-  
stand, as though he had said; Aptly and propo-  
rly, both to the senses, and to the measure, and al-  
so to the voices. Let them not sing rude and  
ruthless things, neither yet so immoderate,  
as common mindrels doe. In the first epistle to  
the Corinthians, the 14. chapter, where he in-  
treateth of an holie congregation, the same apo-  
le writeth after this manner; When ye assem-  
ble together, according as euerie one of you  
hath a psalme, or doctrine, or a song, or reuelation,  
or interpretation, let all things be done  
vno edifying. By which words is declared, that

fingers of songs and psalms, had their place in  
the church. But the West churches more lately  
received the manner of singing: for Augustine  
in his ninth booke of Confessions testifieth, that  
it happened in the time of Ambrose. For when  
that holie man, together with the people, watch-  
ed euern in the church; lest he should haue bene  
brought to the Attians, he brought in singing,  
to avoid tediousnesse, & to passe away the time.

28 But as touching the manner of the song,  
which ought to be retained in church psuiche,  
these things are worthy to be noted. Augustine  
in the same booke of Confessions, both confes-  
seth, and is soyle, that he had sometimes fallen,  
in that he had given attentive heed unto the  
measures and tunes of psuiche, more than un-  
to the words, which were uttered under them.  
Which hereby he psoneth to be siame; because  
measures and singing were brought in for the  
words sake, and not words for psuiche sake.  
And he so repented him of his fault, that he ear-  
nestly allowed the manner, which the church of  
Alexandria used under Athanasius for the com-  
mending the reader, that when he sang, he should  
alter his voice but a little: so as he might re-  
turne to be like unto one that teacheth, than unto  
one that singeth. Wherupon, on the contrary part,  
when he considered how at the beginning of his  
conversion, he was insatiably mowed with these  
songs; namely, that though the scale of godli-  
nes he burst forth into teares: for this cause (I  
saie) he contented, that psuiche should be re-  
tained in the church; yet in such sort, that (he saith)  
he was ready to change his mind, if a better  
reason could be made.

And he addeth, that those doe finite penallie  
(as he speaketh) which gree greater haue unto  
psuiche, than unto the words of God. Unto  
which saying Ierom both plainelie agree, as Ierom,  
hath noted upon the epistle unto the Ephesians.  
Altho Gregorius Romanus, in the Synod of Gregorio,  
Rome, was of the same opinion. And both their  
words are written in the Decrees, distind. 92.  
in the chapter, *Cantantes*; and in the chapter, *In  
sancta Romana*; in the verie which place we read  
in the Clothe these two verses, indeed not also  
joint, but goodlie;

Non voxes votum; non chordula musica, sed cor;  
Non clamor, sed amor carnis in aure Dei: *that is,*  
Not the voice, but the desire; not the musical  
time, but the hart; not crying, but loving; *foundeth*  
in the care of God. And in the words of  
Gregorio this must not be thoughte passed over,  
where he saith; that while the sweetnesse of the  
time is sought for, the life is neglected; and when  
naughtie manner praeseth God, the people is  
rausht with pleasantnes of the voice.

29 But now let us declare the cautions,  
which (we thinke) should be used, when we may  
sing. *Of g.* lawfullie

men church  
Augustine

Augustine

the manner  
of church  
of Alexandria



laſultuſe and poſſible be ſinging in the church. The firſt caution is, that in ſpouſe be not put the whole ſumme and effect of goodlines, and of the love ſhipping of God. For almoſt euerie where in the church, they thinke that they haue in theſe things fully ſatisfied God; when they haue a great while and a great deale ſung and beloued. For, ſuch we muſt take had that we put no merit no remiſſion of finnes therein. For there be many preſſes a monke, which for this cauſe doe thinke that they haue hereby verie well deſerued of God, becauſe they haue ſung a great number of psalmes; yea, and the Pope alſo, and the cardinals, biſhops, and abbats, when they haue heard ſongs of ſpouſes and euenſongs, doe offer themſelues pronounce vnto the people, pardon of their finnes. Alſo this vice muſt be taken away; namely, that ſinging be not too much occupied in the church, as there be almoſt no time left for preaching, which is the word of God, and holie doctrine. As we ſee it come to paſſe in a manner euerie where: for all is to ſilied with chanting and piping, that there is no part of time left for preaching, whereby it is cometh to paſſe, that the people depart out of the church full of ſpouſe & harmonie, but touching heauenlie doctrine, fasting, and hunger ſtarued.

Spouſer, ſo rich and large ſpouſes are appointed for ſpouſians, that either verie little, or in a manner nothing is prouided for ſpouſiers, in their labour in the word of God. Neither, map that broken and quauering ſpouſe be laſultuſe retained, where with they which be preſent, are ſo hindered, as they cannot vnderſtand and the words, though they would ſaine doe it. Further more, hard muſt be taken, that in the churches nothing be ſung without choiſt, but onlie thoſe things which be contained in the holie ſcriptures, or which are by ſuit reaſons gathered out of them, and bow exactly agree with the word of God. For if there ſhould be a window opened vnto the intentions of men, it were to be feared, leſt eccleſiaſtical ſpouſe would at length turne to fables and trifles. For, we ſee already, that there are brought into the congregation ſtrange ſong Sequences (as they call them) and fabulous hymnes, and many other things alſo, which rather ſtirre by laughter and loſſomnes, than true faith to the heares.

I ſpeake not theſe things as though I would diſpariſe the hymnes of Ambroſe, and other hymnes which be of that nature: to ſomewhat I iudge, that by them the faithful may be inſtrued, and alſo admoniſhed. The Symbol of Achanahus ſeemeth alſo met to be allowed, and the psalmes of Auguſtine againſt the Donatills; and the psalmes of Chryſoſtome, if they were extant: where of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie of Euſebius, in the 7. booke, maketh mention. For

whatſoeuer things were twiſt in them, we muſt know that they agree with the holie ſcripture; and that they further the edifying of the faithful in the church. But contrariwiſe, the psalmes of Valentine, of which Tertullian maketh mention, muſt of all other be condemned; and with them the moſt corrupt psalmes which were ſung in the temple, in the honour of Paulus Sanolaſenus, as the hiſtorie of Sozomenus ſaith.

But now to conclude the matter; I affirme, that godlie & religious ſongs may be retained in the church: and yet I grant, that there is no precept giuen thereof in the new teſtament. Wherefore, if there be anie church, which vpon iuſt cauſes doeth it not, the ſame cannot be iuſtly condemned: ſo that it defend not, that the thing it ſelfe of his owne nature, or by the commendement of God is unlawfull; and that it do not for the ſame cauſes either reſpoue other churches, which be ſinging and ſpouſe, or elſe exclude them from the fellowſhip of Chriſt. For the church of Alexandria, as it hath bene ſaid beſore, either ſued verie little ſinging, or wel nere none at all. For they ſaue the infirmities of the people to be ſuch, as they gaue more heed vnto the harmonie, than vnto the words. So that, if we ſhall perſeue in theſe daies, that the chriſtian people doe run vnto the churches, as vnto a ſtage plaie, where they might be delighted with piping and ſinging; in this caſe we muſt rather abſtaine from a thing that is not neceſſarie, than to ſee their owne pleaſures with the deſtruction of their ſoules.

### The xiiij. Chapter.

Of Death, of Conſolation, of Mourning and Buriall; & in what ſtate the ſoules of the godlie are before the reſurrection.



We ought not to ſeke for the fruit of Chriſts actions in his owne perſon onlie, ſeing it muſt of needs be all reſound vnto vs; neither do the diuine nature take vnto it the humane in Chriſt, to the intent it would thus by his benefits twiſt the premites thereof: but by the ſame it would be the force of his goodneſſe vnto the reſt of the parts of our nature. So that Cyrius writeth in his Cyriac Treatiſe vpon Iohn; namely, that God the word hath after a ſort assumed the whole humane nature. For albe it, as touching the ſubſtance, be onlie put on a particular man; yet

by the ſame be quickened and ſanctified the reſt. Euen as if a ſpark of fire ſhould ſuddenlie catch hold, and inſtante a parcell of hae: inded it would firſt take hold of that, which were ioined thereto; but afterward paſſing through by little and little, it would kindle the whole ſtacke of hae, where it neuer ſo great. The diuinitie doth firſt remove all ſin from the man, which it aſſumes; and by removing ſinne, removes death. Secondly, though Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe it take aſwaie ſinne from the believers: a crying as Iohn ſaith; Behold the lambe of God, which taketh awaie the finnes of the world. And ſo be that he haue put aſwaie ſinne from them, he hath alſo giuen aſwaie death: therefore, ſo we be deliue in him, the life of reſurrection ſhall be giuen vnto vs. But ſome will ſaie; If we be iuſtified ſimply, ſo ſome as we be deliue: and that ſinne is taken aſwaie: wherefore death ſhall remaine vnto vs? The anſwer; that notwithſtanding by the merite of Chriſt, and through Chriſt, ſinne ſhall not be imputed vnto vs; yet the law reſteth ſtill in our fleſh, and we are bound euerie daie to put off the old Adam. For during the time that we ſhall heere ſtill anie part of the relics of his oldneſſe: euen ſo long ſhall we carrie death about with vs. Wherefore we ſhall onie die at the laſt, that we may put off with inſection ſouere we gat vnto vs by the firſt Adam; and a bodie altogether changed ſhall be reſtored vnto vs, in the time appointed.

¶ Look the fiſt and ſixt epistles at the end of this booke.

### Of mourning for the dead; vpon the booke of Geneſis, vpon the 23. chapter, verſe 7.

But now let vs ſpeake of mourning for the dead. It our propoſition be; that it is lawfull to mounke for the dead. firſt, this is apparent, not onlie by the example of Abraham, but ſo the moſt part alſo of the fathers. Chriſt, in the 19. of Luke, wept ouer the citie that was to be deſtroyed; and in the cleuenth of Iohn, when Lazarus was dead, and that his ſiſters wept, he re buled them not. It is not for Chriſtians to haue that mind both of all affection, as the Stoicks would haue it. They themſelues boated thereof, yet thou ſhalt not find that they had ſuch afflictions. If Tertullian in his booke De patientia, and other fathers, at anie time ſaie, that the dead ought not to be mouned for; this vnderſtand thou, not of mourning at all, but of mourning immoderatelie, according as Paule ſaith in the firſt epistle to the Thellalonians, the fourth chapter; I would not haue you ſorrow concerning them that ſleepe, as others ſorrow, which

haue no hope. Faults they be if thou moene immoderatelie, that is, ouer much. After which maner we read that Samuel was reſpaued, when he lamented ouer much for Saule, being now call out of his kingdom. Where this if vnderſtand be done, as the renting of the bodie, and ſuchlike: or elſe, if it be done ſeuerallie; ſo that mourning is moſt to be diſallowed, which proceedeth of denying the reſurrection.

But we muſt forgoe immoderatelie, as Paule (by his example) ſignifieth; in the ſecond to the Philippians be ſaith of Epaphroditus; God had mercie of him, and of me, leaſt I ſhould haue ſorrowe vpon ſorrowe. ¶ Thou ſeeſt, that the apoſtle, by his owne confeſſion, had ſorrowed for the death of Epaphroditus, if the ſame had happened. Neither doe moners that, which is contrarie vnto the word of God; becauſe God, by whom death is unſaid, would haue the nature thereof to be ſuch, that it ſhould bring teares and ſorrowe; not onlie vnto them which die, but vnto thoſe alſo, of whom they that die are be loued, and are of nere friendſhip: for it is a punishment for man. For be gracious, there is no thing that cometh without the ordinance and decree of God: looke both he will haue it to be ſo, let vs take it. ¶ Who would ſaie, that men doe ſin, if they ſhould complaine of hunger, or thirſt, and of cold; which neuer theſe is not laid vpon vs without the will of God? The confeſſe, that God ſuffereth nothing to happen vnto them that be his; but ſuch as turneth vnto their good. ¶ Two things therefore are to be conſidered in theſe mornings; one is, the preſent loſſe we haue, when as a man that is dead vnto vs die; and the other is the counſell of Gods providence, which we beleeue by faith to be god and poſſible vnto vs: but in what ſort for the ſame is, we doe not now perueie.

Wherfore, we are grieuſly touched with the loſing of our preſent loſſe; doubtleſſe, not to the contumelie of God, or that we complaine of him, as though he handle vs unkindlie; or cruellie: but we are moued through the ſenſe of our owne nature, ſo inſtituted by God, which is the cauſe why we be moued at the preſent euill. Wherefore we ſorrowe for iuſt cauſes, that anie brother is departed: all which cauſes if that ſhall be needfull to recte. But the cauſe it be becauſe he was dead vnto vs, becauſe he was gentle & loving, becauſe he promoted the honour of God, & was poſſible to the church; and ſuch like. ¶ Chariſtic biuſeth vs vnto two things; to wiſt, that we (as members of one bodie) are deſirous to be together, as much & as long as is poſſible: and further, that we thinke the miſſaps of other men to be our owne, through the mutual com paſſion of Chriſt his bodie. ¶ Now then, to forgoe immoderatelie, we attribute the ſame vnto

nature and unto charitie : and not to forrowe our-much, we attribute unto faith ; seeing we have the comfort of the resurrection, the which will ouer-much lamenting we seme to denie.

In Gen.35.  
verle.8.

Death a  
necessarie  
euill.

¶ The Chishis do therefore thinke, that a meane must be vsed in moorning ; because death is a necessarie euill, as that which cannot be a-voided by anie remedie. But this vnderstande cannot mitigate forrowe, but augment the same. For who will thus vnstille answer him, that he comforts him ; In verie deed do forrowe, because I shall neuer attaine to an end of euill, seeing I cannot avoid the same by any means ; in that it hath all desperation ioined therewith. Wherefore there be some, which attempt an other waie. They ought not (saie they) to forrowe for death sake ; because, if it be a losing of the soule from the bodie (as it is repoted) to be lost is not to be reckoned among euils : for that the communion of the soule with the bodie is a troublefome thing, and doth not much further our felicitie. But if it be thus obiect against this opinion :

whether  
the conuinc-  
tion of  
the soule with  
the bodie be  
a trouble-  
some thing.

¶ Then let euerie man that is wiue late violent hands on himselfe, to the intent he may obtaine that commoditie : they will gaine saie with these reasones ; first it becometh vs to know, that our soule is placed by God in this bodie of ours ; even as a lieutenant is appointed to anie castell or fortification, the which for his allegiance saie is not lawfull for him to forsake, except he haue leaue of the Lord which placed him there, vntill he will be counted a traitour. And this is knowne to all wiue and godlie men ; that a man is none of his owne, but he is the iust and lawfull possession of God. Therefore, if anie man kill himselfe, he doth not defraude that which is his owne ; but destruction the substance of an other : which thing how vniust it is, let vs thus learne of our selues.

A famili-  
tate.

A famili-  
tate.

¶ Your foue or bondman should knowe his owne death, would the same please vs ; no ; I suppose it would not : naie rather we would be grieuouly offended therat ; and if we might, we would that so great a crime should be unpunished. And if so be we would thinke it vniust, that to great an iniurie should be offered vnto vs ; will we not greeue, when we do the verie same vnto our selues ; yet either we do otherwise be in better case, or be better poulded for, than vnto the Lord God himselfe. Therefore do we then flee to a Lord : But when he calleth vs, we must go vnto him without arie delaye : for in departing, when he commaundeth us, he doth not onlie dwell with him ; but also with notable and excellent men, which perpe- tualle inuioe the societie of him. Therefore, seeing this communion of the mind and the bodie is verie vnprofitable vnto vs, a philosopher must perpetually thinke vpon the separation of them.

But if so it be the better, and that he profiteth he deserveth it, would it not be a thankfull thing for him to be stricken with feare, when he should see the same dayning nare vnto him : But that the bodie is hurtfull to the soule, they herby thinke to proue ; because it is against true philo- sophie, to obvie or make much of the pleasures and affections, which by the same are stirred by vs ; for true philosophic teacheth nothing else in deed, but that we should be alwaies manfull to summe these things, as noisome plagues of our nature. Which if we cannot altogether relee from vs ; yet, that we may at leastwise to our power breake their force and keepe them vnder.

Long im-  
pulsions  
into the  
minde  
which the  
soulie by the  
bodie.

4. Afterward they adde, that the bodie is most troublefome vnto the vnderstanding ; for that which they said before, must be referred to the ap- petite ; for the perceiving of the truth is im- possible without the same. Vnto the which necessarily deuicible reason, is that which is to be true credit, are fastidiously beguiled in troublefome nature of the things ; and being miserably deceived, they will at the length be spaire of being able to perceive any thing ; else if they thinke they haue vnderstood any thing, they shall faile to perceive themselves. And they shall faile to perceive themselves, and while we, mistaking them, vie reason and vnderstanding to search out the truth, they ouer-throw vs : and as anie thing either grieuous or pleasant hath brought to mind, they call vs against our wills, from our euery studie. Further who saith not, that in euery kind of doctrine, there is need of securing the mind ; which the more earnest it is, and the more the matter is enclosed from our cogitation ; the more excellent and worthie kind of knowledge is had. And this is spoken of that knowledge, which we use in contemplation, and discerning of anie thing. But if thou go vnto that knowledge, which is performed in doing and praesing, which com- monlie by the Græke word is called *episteme*, that is, *Practike* ; there it is disputed what is best, whether the matter be honest and iust. But let of that which is god, honest, iust, of vertue, and such like ; no sente of the bodie hath knowledge at all.

I passe ouer, that in respect of the bodie it is needfull to cat, to drinke, to prepare garments, and such other necessities innumerable ; which commodities, seeing it is a most labourfome thing to attaine, it is vnprofitable how much we are for : this cause diuertieth awaie from knowledge of the truth. And as that we be not disappointed of these things, we must heape riches together. Here of cometh chiding, contention, warres, and infinite other things ; which if so be they do not overthrowe all things deuots, yet do they corrupt & hinder the same. Whereof it cometh (as it is concluded by the philosopher) that by reason of all the things now spoken

spoken of, either we shall knowe anie thing vnto a true and perfect knowledge, or else that we shall attaine the same after death onlie. Then they seeing that the mind doth so much the more separated from the bodie, and less clea- redly ther-vnto ; it remaineth, that we ought continually to inuideo to withdrawe the mind from the bodie. And this they make to be the verie cleaving of man ; to wit, that the pure should be diuided, and separated from the vnpure. And then it is no maruell, if they make the bodie to be the prison and sepulchre of the mind. If thou peruse histories, thou shalt find manie, which killed themselves, to the intent they might go to visit their louers and deare friends which were departed ; and shall we (saie they) beare it greuouslie, if death come vnto vs, that we may be able manifestly and without impediment to behold the truth : Wherefore they saie, that they which for death sake afflict or macerate them- selves, and die though forlorne and faines, are not worthie the name of philosophers ; but to be called *philosophi*, or *philosophi*, that is, *lovers of their owne bodies*, or *lovers of riches*.

philos-  
phi.  
philos-  
phi.

Death is an  
evil thing,  
and what ?

Gen.39.

In this saying of the philosophers now declared, are comprehended certaine things, which are not verie agreeable to the holie scrip- tures, and to the right catholike faith. For we saie, that death is to be counted not god, but e- uill, seeing God laud the same vpon mankind as a punishment : therefore he would haue vs imagine and lament for the same. The which thou seest to be done by humane lawes ; for if anie grieuous offence be committed by citizens, they wage them to be punished with death. And all liuing creatures (which are led by the iudgement of nature) which can not be deceived, be- cause it is ruled by the counsell of God, seeing they flourish death, and by a certaine common sense, by all means abhorre it, to haue but they subge it to be an euill thing. It is no hard mat- ter also to confirme the same, by an argument of the contrarie. If life is accounted god ; where- fore death is euill. And that life is to be reckoned good things, hereby thou maist perfect- ly perceive ; because God promisseth the same, as the reward of obedience towards his laue ; He that doth these things (saith he) shall liue. Further, death is euill, seeing it is brought into the world through an euill cause ; that is to saie, through finne. And the holie scripture doth not fail to call the same. The ending of Chast : For Paul wrote in the first to the Corinthians, that The last enemy, which shall be destroyed by Christ, is death. And it is to euill, as it hath the action of the best and most excellent vertue ; I meane the delight of fortitude or

valiant courage.

For (as testifieth Aristotle in his Chishis) the same wortheth not with pleasure, except it be in that respect, that it hath relation vnto the end. For a man of valiant courage, while he lieth for an honest cause, doth it not without griefe and some sadness. Which how true it is, was declared in Christ himselfe, when as in the garden he abode the conflict of the flesh and the spi- rit. Then are they deceived in this consolation of theirs, while they will make death to be god vnto vs. Forouer, this reason of theirs hath an other absurditie ; because they condemne an hu- mane bodie, the which is a weakie and notable gift of God : not an vnperfect, but a most ex- cellent workmanship of God his thing therein. And he is able to expresse how cunninglie the same hath bene wrought by God : This is a wonder- full thing, not onlie vnto Aristotle, Galen, and other Chishis writers ; but also vnto Lactan- tius, Gregorie Nazianzen, and other catholike fathers innumerable. And Dauid confesseth, that thereby is knowne the wonderfull wis- dome of God. Finally, seeing we doubt not, but that God made the same among the rest of his creatures ; and that the scripture plainlie con- fesseth by the testimony of God himselfe, that whatsoever things God made, they were verie good ; it followeth without all controuersie, that the same also is god.

Mat.16.37

Man is human  
to be con-  
demned ;  
against the  
opinion of  
the philo-  
sophes.

Phil.1.

6 As touching the consolation also of the soule with the bodie, it is decreed, that we must ascribe the same ; to wit, that it should be ac- counted god ; least we fall into that opinion, which is ascribed vnto Origine ; namely, that soules for their demerits in an other life, are thrust vnto bodies. Whom the apostle sufficient- ly proueth to haue iudged amiss, who in the epi- stle to the Romans faith, concerning Iacob and Eliau ; When as they had not as yet done anie thing either good or euill, of the one it was said : Iacob haue I loued ; and of the other, Eliau haue I hated. Neither is the thing obscure to him that both well consider it, what commoditie, or what heele ouer him obtaineth, by reason of the bodie it selfe ; for it is capable of no perpetuance or vnderstanding, which haue not their beginning through the senses of the bodie. And as touch- ing the vertues, which are gotten by exercising it selfe, and might not be found out, vntill the mind haue certaine greater parts, the which some acknowledge to depend of the bodie ; we doe all confesse, that the bodie it selfe being vnto vs, verie leu cometh vnto vs. Where- fore, seeing it is manifest, that our bodie and flesh by nature is god, as it was created by God ; that do the holie scriptures meane, when they obiect against it, that it is corrupted, that it is grieuous to the soule, that it leueth against it

The con-  
solation of  
the bodie  
and soule  
is god,  
the soule  
is helped by  
the bodie.

Ephes.4.12

Gal.5.17.

Eccl.10.

the spirit? And David complaineth; Behold how I was hapen in wickednes, and in finnes my mother had conceived me. And also Paule; I knowe that in my flesh dwellen no good thing. And answereth that all these things come to our bodie as flesh, not by nature as it was created; but are ioined thereto accidentally, to tust after that man had once committed sinne.

7 Here I would have thee to atke of the philosopher, that if it happen a man to be borne blind, with a swelling in the throte, o lame; albeit he will grant these things to be great blemishes to the bodie: will he therefore confesse to thee, that the bodie of man is of it selfe vyle? I suppose he will not. I mislike of the blemishes in the bodie, yet neuertheless I condemne not the bodie by it selfe. If thou god; When the bodie is the flesh is good, and is not good. This I am content to grant, yet canst thou not pprove, that here is anie contrariety. For this distinction, [by it selfe] and [by accidents] take auaie from hence all repugnancie. Therefore let such remedies be used by christians, as may not take auaie the flesh and the bodie, but correct and amend what fouler blemishes are brought in: which thing we grant shall be done in the resurrection. With this argument Christ comforteth his in the Gospell, as we read in Iohn, in the dialog with Martha and Marie. The same argument bid Paule vse vnto the Thebalaionians, when he warned them, that they should not be grievedfull for them that are departed, as others which have no hope: and he straitwaie addeth the cause; namelye, the resurrection of the dead.

It is not the part of a verie honest and god artificer, to destroye all the foundation; and to the intent that some thing, which is amisse in the building, may be taken auaie: he will rather amende the fault, but will suffer still the foundation and nature, wherevnto the fault and euill cleaue, to remaine. But betwixte this and the resurrection, I meane in this life, what comfort shall we receive of death? The harme thereof is mitigated: for it is not inuincible as before, being Christ hath ouercome the same, and now by his life hath he ouercome it in his conquest vpon the crosse. But both is death conquered by Christ, when as yet still it striketh all men: The euerslaking continuance thereof is taken auaie from it. But death, if it be not eternall, it cannot now truely be called death; seeing by the decree of Aristotle, and other naturalists men, this is so proper to those things, that he called truelle a putrefaction, as a man can no whether be pulled auaie from them, so that it is impossible he should returne from thence to his habit. But if holie resurrection shall be giuen vs, according as we beleue, as God psumeth, and as the holie Scriptures testifie; we

shall returne to life. Therefore, it is not possible death, which no man committeth they call death. So that it is truelle said of the saints; that To the eyes of the foolish and vnwise they seeme to die. Will. 2. For which came Christ to ease the sorrowe of his blood after this sort; He that shall keepe the faith, to be that shall in faith hold fast my sayings, and so shall they last and consume a true faith by works, he without doubt shall neuer see death.

And therefore is not a little mitigation, if we consider, that by the goodness of God he will, in respect to passe, that of death, though it be euill, a good vie may be granted vnto vs. Under stand thou, that if a man take the same vpon him with an obedient mind, neither doth he to that punishment, which the iustice of God hath thought good to laie vpon vs. Further, let him that ouer-much sorroweth, consider that here in the goulie is mortification wrought, which they do meditate all their life long. God ment are stirred thereto, as by a most sharp and effectuall warning, to execute the commandments of God. The goulie sort be thine vsuall to thyselfe; If death be laid vpon vs, it was, because of contempt of the commandment of God. If those first parents of ours had obeyed the Lords, we had neuer been liable to so great a calamitie. If youner, if we be wise, we are bawne from voluptuous pleasures, and we contriue the indiffereces of the world; knowing well enough, that we shall shortly depart from hence. Therefore the strangers, we will continually meditate and talke of the haue, wherevnto we must arrive, and of our heauenly habitation. Also at the time of death, we will reioice, that all occasions of sin are taken auaie: then shall be the terme and end of our offences towards God. Which thing when Paule had considered, he cried out in wishing to the same: O vnhapie man that I am! Who shall deliuer me from the bodie of this death?

There is none that loueth God, and Christ, but he desireth to make an end of sinning. We desire this, death is the meane (as the state of things now stand) to passe from hence, and to cleane vnto Christ: for there is none fullie and absolutely ioined vnto him, vntill it be by death. But I said; As the case now standeth; because they, which shall be found alive at the coming of our Lord, as we read vnto the Thebalaionians, shall be exempted from this necessitie and latue. Now Paule openeth said, that he therfore desired death; surely, not for it selfe, but because he might at the length be with Christ; I desire (saith he) to be loosed, and be laid fall for him, and that it had bene put to his choice, it would haue seemed vnto him better state, yet liuing to haue bene clothed with glory,

glorie, as he saith in the latter epistle to the Corinthians; We would not be vncliohed, but be clothed vpon.

8 But as concerning the nature of death changed by the goodness of God, how of a damnable nature, it is made profitable vnto vs; not onely those things which we haue spoken of, but put vs in mind, but this also; namelye, that the same in Christ was made an onely sacrifice, pacifying and reconciling vs vnto God. And our death also, if we be ioined vnto Christ, and be for his truth, is made an acceptable oblation vnto God; so as we are said to be offered vnto him: euen as Paule wrote vnto Timothy;

I (saith he) am sacrificed or offered, and the time of my departing is at hand. And in the Psalmes it is written; Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. But there followeth an exceeding great reward after such a death: for

10 To be (as the apostle writeth in the same epistle) we die together, we shall also liue together: & if we alio fight together, we shall also reigne together. But that can more easly vs of sorrowe, than to acknowledge, that Christ took the same death vpon him: Therefore, for that which he hath suffered, why should we so sorrowe and lament, if it happen vnto vs; seeing he died vnto our desert, but we most deseruible: Whether could the diuine promises, or rather the league, covenant, and testament, be more aptly or better confirmed vnto vs; for euen as it is said vnto the Hebrews; Not anie one of these is ratified, vntill that death doe come.

Wiedie, Christian men may manie times bawie out of the scriptures, these and such other like comforts. But let them not maruell, if that alio sorrowe be not vterlicly taken from them: for the Lord will that death shall be grieuous.

Neither did Christ indure the same without sorrowe and teares; yet neuertheless they shall do these things in such sort, as the limits and prescribed bonds shall not be exceeded. And finallye, it may appere easilie by that which hath bene spoken, that things of the Gentils, mentioned since the beginning of this disputation, are to be retriued by vs; and what must be refused. We confesse, that the pleasures of the flesh, as corporeall things, must be mortified; but we yet grant not, that they proceed of the bodie; vntill it be by accidental manie, in that it is corrupted with sinne. But we wote it to be an viter enemie vnto sciences, as Plato & Socrates hath affirmed: for (as we haue alreadie expellid) the senses of the bodie do vnto much further to the attaining of them. And that we be much more auaie through suffering of the bodie it selfe, from the searching out of the truth, and from diuine things; we cannot easilie grant it to be in godlie men. For they;

while they refferre all things to the glorie of God, and Christ, do befoote little or nothing vpon the bodie, that is not done well and according to vertue. But admit that it doth happen sometimes, through our fault, in such sort as thou art firmest; thou oughtest not therefore to inferre, that the bodie is ill: rather feele thou, that the faults therein may be amended. But we utterly reiect that kind of consolation; namelye, that death must in no wise be lamented: because there is no remedie for the same. For we beleue the resurrection, according as Christ and the holie scriptures haue taught vs.

### Of Buriall.

9 Whether it be anie thing expedient for the dead to be buried, or to be left vnburiid. The verie. 7. Poets haue said that it is expedient; namelye, be any thing expedient for the dead to be buried.

Neceps dat horrenda, an rauca fluens Transporat prius, quic scilicet ossa quirit, that is: he buried. Not from being buried, but from being buried by the sea, as the poet saith; Tili vnde carni in graues, their bodies borne at till are set.

Whereouer, the common sense of all nations doth well-nere agree with this opinion. The Hebrews were verie diligent in anointing. The Romans burned the bodies with great pompe. Suetonius reporteth, that together with the dead carcase of most lewd Nero, was burned a great abundance of spices and pretious odors. But Papists at this date, and in ancient time manie Christians, prouided, that in remembrance of the martyrs, their bodies should be safe laid vp. In the first booke of kings, the 13. chapter, the prophet of God threatneth an other prophet (who did eat bread in Bethel contrary to the commandment of God) that his carcase should not come into the sepulchre of his fathers. But if it be that the matter had not forced, it should not haue bene appointed as a punishment. And in the second of kings, the 22. chapter, God promised vnto Iosias, that because he kept, rent, his clothes, and sorrowed for the wickednesse of the people, he should be brought into the sepulchre of his fathers.

In the second booke of Samuel, the second chapter, the men of Iabes-Gilead are commended and blessed by David, because they theued kindred vnto Saule and Ionathas: for they buried them. But and if so be it had pertained nothing vnto them, that kindred had they vnto them? In the 79. psalme David complaineth, that the vnburiing repaids, which were betrouers of the people of God, left vnburiid the dead carcases of the seruants of the Lord, to be meat for;

A consolation for the taking of death.

Iohn. 11. 1. The. 4. 13

\* Priuincia.

Will. 2.

Iohn. 11.

Rom. 8. 13.

1 Tim. 4.

Psalm. 116.

1 Tim. 2. 8.

Heb. 16.

Num. 23. 10.

Rom. 8. 4.

1 The. 4. 17

Phil. 1. 23.

glory,

That it mo-  
thing an-  
sweled the  
dead to be  
buried in  
not.  
verse 4.

fo, the foules of the aire, and to be come with  
beasts of the field. But if to be the matter forced  
not, the prophet would not have lamented as  
lamented for the same. These things notwithstanding,  
we are of the same mind that Augustine is  
of, in his little booke *De cura fufcipienda pro mor-  
tuis*; that 3 nothing answers the dead, as touch-  
ing their falvation, whether they be buried, or  
lie unburied. In the 12 of Luke, the Lord saith,  
concerning them that persecute the Christians;  
When they have killed the bodie, there is no  
more for them to doo.

The Lord denieth not, that they cannot tri-  
umph against them, that they cannot scorne  
them, or that they cannot cast them out to the  
heads and birco; but there is nothing else (saith  
he), that they are able to do against them, who  
he that shall be glorious, or shall bring  
them into harme. All the haire of the head are  
so numbered, as they cannot fall without the will  
of the father. Matthew the tenth. Cuius sunt  
things, which be done about the dead bodies of  
mortals, whiles it were the will of God, they  
should not be done; but if those they be hurt  
full to their saluation, how could it be, that God  
would not turne them alittle from such as he  
loathes? Augustine intreateth of these things, in  
his first booke *De civitate Dei*, and unto Pauli-  
nus *De cura promortuis*. He citeth Eusebius Ca-  
sariensis, (which repotheth) that in Gallia there  
were martyrs slaine for professing of Christ,  
whose bodies were burned, and their ashes  
shovelen into Rhodanus, lest they should be bu-  
ried. Where those holie confessors are, this  
little happy for this cause? 3 Iudge, no. The verie  
same thing happened at Rome.

Let us to answer unto the arguments ob-  
jected: Let this be the proposition to be con-  
sidered of; Those things which be done at funerals,  
and in burning of dead bodies, belong unto  
them which are alive, they be their consolations,  
their nothing profit of contraries. This understand  
ing by an argument of contraries. Even as it pro-  
fiteth not the wicked to be buried: so it hurteth  
not the faithfull to lie unburied. Certainely, if  
it did profit and further unto saluation, whyn  
were the state of those men, who offend themselves  
without buriall; and especially of martyrs, a-  
gainst whose dead bodies the pyrites are cast.  
That which Virgil and Poets say, (namely, that  
soules cannot passe alive, whiles their bodies  
be first buried) is to falsifie. But if thou wilt  
saye; Wee read of such a like matter, although it  
be not altogether the same, in the finding out of  
manie of the martyrs bodies, which appeared vnto  
divers, and they showed their dead carcases, and  
would be honourable buried; therefore they car-  
ried for sepulture; which thing wee read in finding  
out the bodie of saint Steeven. That Crisostomus

An answer  
unto the  
contrarie  
arguments.

also, and Prochafius, appeared unto Ambrose, he  
himselfe testified. Some such thing is reported  
of finding the head of Iohn Baptist.

But 3 beliesth that to consider here, that  
these apierings tend to that end; not onely that  
bodies should be buried, but that buried bodies  
should afford a soyl be digged by, and in delat  
be brought in, whereby the men might worship  
relikes and dead carcases, there must not be  
much attributed unto them; yea if they hapen  
under this pretence, they must not be credited.  
I tell me 3 plain that, if one should appeare to this  
in thy dreames, and should declare to thee, that  
his bodie is unburied, willing or desiring thee  
to lye the same, because he may not attaine un-  
to rest by reason thereof: if thou searching out his  
bodie, shalt find it according as he had shewed  
thee; wouldest thou therefore beleve that fabu-  
lous faining of Poets? 3 I thinke not. But thou  
wouldest suppose, that the same vision in thy  
dreames happened, without the knowledge of  
him that is dead; even as we oftentimes being  
alive, appeare in dreames unto our friends, we  
having no knowledge thereof: or else thou wilt  
suspect that it is done by the subtiltie of the vi-  
sual, that thou being deceived with that obvious  
opinion, thou shouldst erre from the catholike faith.  
And if to be we thinke, that such things hapened  
in the martyrs; therefore are we repayed.

The diuill careth for nothing else, but that  
perditions and idolatries may flourish: neither  
will he refraine from deceiving of men with  
the bones of holie martyrs. For seeing he hath  
all to pernicioully deluded mankind, in the  
symbols or signes of the holie supper of the Lord,  
(for he hath studied and indoloured to obtunde  
these things unto vs for soles, neither did it o-  
therwise fall out than he looked for) what mar-  
vell is it, if he do the same in the bones of dead men,  
serving our finnes haue most iustlie deserved the  
fire: yet would 3 not obstinate asseuer, that  
it should be impossible, but that God should some-  
times provide, that the bodies of his saints may  
be honourlie buried; aswell to shew what ac-  
count he maketh of them, and of those things  
that belong unto them; as also to reuile to vs  
the memorie of them. But to suppose as 3 le  
manie foule and vngodlie wrongs arise  
thereof, 3 am thounghtlie perswaded to beleue,  
that those toyes were done by the diuels in-  
uoced: 3 I am in a true iustie to asseuer, that it  
is not done for increasing of their saluation, 3  
heaping by of their felicitie. For how do they  
bestand or perceive what is done here, among  
vs, touching those things which belong unto  
them? Their state serueth not to knowe that,  
whiles God declarerh unto them. Which thing  
we must beleue that God did vnto Abraham,  
when he saith unto that rich man, which was ter-  
ment

mented in hell; They haue Moses and the pro-  
phets, let them heare them. Holubert, all those  
things, which be contained in parables, are not  
to be taken vnto arguments, which should  
serue for prauing of articles of our faith.

Whereas it is afterward said, that it se-  
meth to be the general mind of vs all, that se-  
pulture do profit some thing: otherwise they  
would not be so diligently cared for of all men.  
Euen answer, that this is a pyramine in no wise  
to be denied; Euenie man louch his owne flesh,  
neither hath he to hate the same, as he will haue  
it to be repined of the accustomed duties and  
honors. Therefore as touching them that lue,  
he willinglie grant; that buriall doth some-  
what profit; but not as touching them that be  
dead. When 3 saie; Them that lue: vnderstand  
euen themselves who shall be buried; (for while  
they lue and thinke of themselves, they will  
well vnto their owne flesh, and desire that they  
may be buried after the vsuall manner); or else  
those, which when they shall be dead, do anie  
waie pertaine vnto them by some affinitie or  
friendship, he willinglie grant that it somewhat  
profiteth them, to be buried and intombd. Whi-  
ch place first what is to be said of the prophet,  
vnto whom the unburying was appointed as a  
punishment. It was no doubt a punishment  
vnto him being alive, to remember what hard  
death that flesh of his should haue: which seeing  
it would in common sense be displeasing vnto  
him, it might draine him backe from sinne.

Let it passe, that by a figurative kind of  
speech, that which followeth is vnderstood of that  
which went before; that he should be out of his  
native country, being destitute of a number of  
helps and succors of his owne friends, 3 should  
be with a kind of cruel death. Cinto Iohas al-  
so, when buriall was promised vnto him, it was  
good he being yet alive, 3 weighing the things  
done before; that is to saie, that he should not be  
caried alive into captiuitie. And the men of  
Iared are said to haue dealt verie mercifullie  
with their mailers in burying of them; in so  
much as they shewed that vnto them, which they  
pore wretches would haue done to their owne  
lives, when as they remembered their owne  
end: for not one of them, but did chuse to haue  
his bodie buried after the rite and custome. And  
whereas the plaine complainth of the unbury-  
ing of the faints, there if plentifully reckoned  
by the heauie crueltie of the enemies of Gods  
people: because they being not content with the  
death of them, would create their crueltie euen  
against their dead carcases: not because he as-  
serteth that the faints for that cause should be  
in worse state. For (as Lucan the Poet saith);  
He that hath no coffin to couer him, is couered

with the beaues.

12 Euen as The death of the faints is preti-  
ous in the sight of God, so contrariwise, the  
death of the wicked is despicable: and not onely  
their death, but also their buriall. Although the  
losse of buriall seeme to be a light matter, yet it  
belongeth to punishment, 4 it is a certaine igno-  
minie. The prophet saith of the king; He shall  
be buried with an asses buriall. The godlie com-  
plainte, that the dead bodies of the faints were  
maintained in the streets. It is a kind of  
ignominie, which God would laie vpon Aba-  
lon. They cast him into a deep ditch, and a great  
heape of stones vpon him, that after a soyl they  
might seme to stone him; and that according  
to the lawe, which commanded to stone them  
that were incestuous and rebellious against  
their parents. Those stones made a shelo of an  
ignominious sepulture. (Abalam) while he li-  
ued, promised to himselfe magnificall things:  
he thought for a perpetuall memorie after his  
death to be put into his owne sepulture; but he  
was counted unworthy to haue the life thereof.

So did it hapen in England: the cardinal  
of Yorke builded a coslie tombe, and while he  
of tentimes came into the sepulture to see how  
the toyle went forward, a certaine foolish fellowe  
standing by, bad, that if he meant to be alie;  
tombe, he should go into it while he was alive;  
for that he should not be put into that tombe  
when he was dead. And so it came to passe: for  
the king, by reason of certaine things ill gouer-  
ned by him, was angry against him, 3 pu-  
nished him. So Abalam builded himselfe a se-  
pulture, but the iudgement of God suffered not  
him to haue the life thereof. What manner of mo-  
nument it was, that is not known. Some  
ment that it was an image; of this mind was  
Iosephus: some a pyramis; such as the things  
of Aegypt made in Memphis: it might be an  
obelisque; such as are seene at Rome. There is a  
huge one in a place called the Vatican, wherein  
is the ashes of Augustus. The forefathers some-  
time made these kind of monuments. Iacob in  
the bulke of Genesis, erected for himselfe stones,  
and titles, that they might be a monument. 3  
is said, that he did the same thing at the sepulture  
of Rachel.

Abalam was most ambitious, therefore he  
prouided a monument, that his name might be  
kept in remembrance: he would be famous,  
but he was worthy to haue his name wiped  
out by perpetuall obliuion. So was it decreed  
in Asia, that he, which had burned the temple of  
Diana in Ephesus, should not once be named;  
to the intent he might not become famous. Aba-  
lam ment to leaue a noble memorie, whereas  
neuertheless he had liued shamefullie, and most  
shame

In Sam.

Philistines

The laste  
of buriall  
is a punish-  
ment.  
Iere. 22, 19.

The carle  
nail of  
Yorke.

what ma-  
ner of mo-  
nument  
Abalam  
was.

Gen. 28, 22.

Gen. 32, 20.

the pride  
of the uns  
godlie.  
Gen.11. 4.

Shamefullie died. This is the pride of the ungodlie. In the bowle of Genesis, they saie; Come, let vs build a tower, which may reach vnto heauen. But they got confusio[n] for they, God confoundeth their tongues. But on the other side, the godlie do abate themselves, they ascribe all the glorie vnto God, but to themselves rebuke onlie.

Phil.113. 1.  
Dan.9. 27.

Not vnto vs Lord (saith he) but vnto thy name give the glorie: to thee belongeth honour, but vs to confusion. The godlie haue sometime erected monuments and tokens; but they merit no other thing, but to haue etant a remembrance of Gods benefits: they might fasten some names of places, that they might fasten some things in the memorie. But let vs consider, that this kind of glorie or feare, God would be overcome of his martyrs, to whom he promised punishments, not onlie while they liued; but also shamefullie repaches to be done vnto their dead bodies; namely, that they should be a fad vnto both beards, and that their ashes should be scattered. And God could otherwise haue turned these things from his chosen: but he ordered, that they should triumph also of the gods and ierues.

In Gen. 13.  
he by buriall  
must not be  
contented.

Neither are these things spoken on that behalf, that the burials of the dead whichen should be despised by them which are alie: for the bodies of them that departed, were (while they liued) organs and instruments of the holie Ghost. Therefore, euen as he should not despise the ring, garments, bolie, or such other things of our friends: so ought not vs to neglect the bodies of the saints, nor of any others, which be our neighbours. As are by God ioined vnto us in kinred. This dutie did the fathers dilige[n]tly performe towards Maie: Christ: therein it was appointed, that they should enioie the presence of the Lord, because in verie deed his kind of woold is allowed of God: and while vnder this figure we take care about the flesh of man being dead, and continue it not as a thing of naught, we after a sort testifie the faith of the resurrection, whereby God will one relesse the same; as who should faie, we will not despise that, wherof we knowe God will haue a care in time to come. This yet will I adde, that the fathers in old time had somewhat a more care hereof than our men haue: if we consider of their state, wherein they had no more regard, than we haue vnto temporall things, and vnto things, which concerned the flesh. Furthermore, by this dutie, we are stirred vp to do good vnto the poore: for if it please God, that we should do vnto the dead that which doth profit them nothing; how much rather will those whoe are allowed of him, whereby we benefit his children, and the members of Christ, which do faie and percelue the same:

14 But now let vs see, whether it make any matter of burieing more in one place than in any other. Augustine, in the place last rectified, affirmeth that it doth; They (saith he) which be buried at the monuments of martyrs, more often they felues to the fight of their frans, who visiting the churches, do comment with their fathers vnto those martyrs (so) whose memorie the place is dedicated: the spirits of those persons departed, whose monuments they behold. To this part doth Augustine incline. But (as he saith) it is objected vnto him by Paulinus; The fains (as it is twitten by Paule in the 2. to the Corinthians, the fifth chapter) shall stand, as well as verities. other men, before the iudgment seat of Christ, that there euerie man may receive according to that he hath done in his bodie, whether it be good or euill. Therefore the foules of them that be dead; are neuer a whit the better for the prayer and intercession of them, which do liue here. The answereth, that there be some, which haue no need of these things, as they which haue already attained felicitie: and that there be others, to whom is condemned to curclasting punishments, as by no supplications they can be deliuered from thence. But he will haue some to be found such, as haue so behaved themselves in their bodie, that they haue deserued to be holpen with the prayers of them which be yet liuing: and vpon this foundation thus laid, he concludeth, that it may somewhat profit them that be dead, if they be buried at the monuments of martyrs.

But let him take heed how firme is this principle of his: we in verie deed accept it not, being set downe without the scripture. The prophets, nor yet the latine haue not made mention of auit such thing: neither would the scripture haue silenced a thing to beere dullfall, and of to great danger, towards miserable deceased sinners; and haue spoken no where any one word thereof. But if thou wilt faie, that it is a most ancient tradition of the church: we grant it, but it is not proued or concluded by the holie scriptures; not onlie it is not contented in them, but it is in no wise proued out of them. And if the church do praie, it was not for this cause come in times past; to the intent the spirits of them that be dead should be deliuered: but (as Dionysius testifieth) it was in respect that the priest should do the part of Gods interpetour, and should in the rite of the praier, in some and certifie them that are present, that God had done by him that was dead; or that he was alio to be hope for: after this life.

15 So: obtrude thou to vs the second booke of Apocryphus: it is not in the canon. Furthermore, it was twitten in those daies, when Iuda was pished with the poke of the Grecians, whoe maners it had now not onlie received, but also imbraced

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quas of  
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imbraced the opinions, which caused of philosophie and deuises of mans reason, euen as it had received a wretched place, & bothell houses: after the verie which manner it received by chance the invention of purgatorie: which the prelates of the church by chance espising to be observed of godlie men, with a certaine religiousse, did not much praie to take the same verie alio; but they altered and corrected it as much as might be. Elchid Dionysius (whosoever he were) doth by a conecture plaue him downe vnto vs, in his Treatise De ecclesiastica hierarchia, where he objected against himselfe; Seeing the dead man hath alreadye after his corps for his felicitie: Not (saith he) to the intent he should be holpen with those suffrages; but because it may be declared to them which stand by, that God hath some concerning him: and thereby is giuen to the people present, as well comfort as assurance both of the resurrection, & of the bestowing of eternal rewards. So as the priest in that place, vnder the presence of praiera, plaith Gods interpetour.

And against the opinion of Augustine, which decreed in Council in the 26. canon, which beareth that at the oratories of martyrs, the dead should not be buried. And in the 13. cause, question 2. chapter *Præcipientum*, the same is decreed out of the Varenin Council. Albeit in the same place, in the chapter *Nullus mortuus*, out of the Magocien Council, the matter was brought to that passe, as none should be permitted to be buried in the temples, but bishops, priests, and abbats. And this doth reason proued; for temples are not for this purpose vsued, that therein dead bodies should be interred; but that sacraments should be ministered, that sermons should be preached, and that God should be praied vnto and praised in them. But now among the Papists, the churches are become churchyards, which they make onlie for gaue faie. And whereas it is expressely commanded in the decrees, that nothing should be taken for buriall; they seeme neuer to be satisfied. Ieron treating on a place in Genesis, saith; This man (I meane Ephron) would not rectie the things offered of Abraham, and that when he was overcome with gaue, he received them, is lightlie passed over: what that be done as touching them, which dare weise alone by violence: & wherof do Ambrose will to be done, when as he twitten in his Booke of offices, that gold must be bestowed vpon the church, not onlie that the church may do good vnto the poore, but also that there may be prouision made for the buriall of the dead. Gaue and superstition haue brought in this kind of abuse.

Let us not therefore be disquieted, if we be

not buried in churches: for against the opinion of Augustine, and against this peruerse custome speaketh Chrylstone, vpon the epistle to the Hebrewes; Therefore neuer doe be buried, The earth is the Lords. In the 1. cause, question 2. the chapter *Pheueus*. Yet is not the care; to lust, the care taking for buriall or sepulture, to be decreed; naie verelie, it is lawfull for them that be alie, to chose themselves a burying place, which we sa that the prophet did, which decreed the other prophet; for after that he heard he was dead, he comanded his disciples, that after his death they should burie him in the sepulchre, wherein the other prophet was laid. For he not onlie iudged, that it would be an honor vnto him, that his bones should be spared in the time of Iosias; but he also thought it not amisse with the meane time, that his bodie should be ioined with the dead bone of the other prophet. Iustlie therefore may we prouide, to haue our bodies buried among our ancestors, among godlie men, and among our friends, and acquaintance.

*I hat our foules, being loosed from the bodies, doo not sleepe.*

16 Althou Paule saith in the 12. chapter of 1st Cor. 13. the first epistle to the Corinthians; But then we breif. 12. shall see face to face, &c: that same abuse of time (then) doth giuen vnto vs, the state of the time after death; when the foules being loosed from the bodies, with one view and most cleare fight, shall behold things celestiall. Which yet Irenaeus granteth not, until the daie of resurrection: and he saith, that it is the part of heretics, to persuade themselves, that immediately after death, they passe vp vnto the heauens, to him that ruleth all things; and are carried to the sight of the father, without attending for the resurrection of the dead. And by as much, that we ought to suffer the verie same thing, which Christ would put in trial: who suddenly after death would not be raised vp, neither did he faithfully ascend to his father; but he carried these daies. And after his resurrection he was vnto Maie: Touch me not, because I haue not yet ascended to my father. Neither is it met, that the disciples (as Christ said) should be alone the master, wherof Irenaeus, euen as Christ ascended not immediately after his death: so must we expect the daie of the resurrection.

Christ then hath appointed a place desinit, wherein (when the foules haue put off their bodies, they may rest, euen until the coming of the Lord: and then, putting on their bodies againe, they may be brought to the sight of God. There are two places chaste, which are wont to be brought out of the scriptures for the confirmation of this saying. In the first chapter of the Apocalypse

Chrysol.

1. kin. 17. 13

1st Cor. 13.

Irenaeus opinion of the sleeping of foules.

John. 20. 17

Matt. 10. 24.

Writing  
place  
is  
to  
be  
the  
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Gen. 23. 17

The confes  
sion  
was  
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verfe. 9. Apocalypfe it is written; that The foules of the dead, which were slain for Christs sake, cried vnder the altar; How long (Lord) dost thou not iudge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And long white robes were giuen to euery one of them, and it was said that they should reft for a little feafon, untill the number of their fellowe feruants were fulfilled. And in the eleuenth chapter to the Hebrews, when they were reckoned by which excelled in faith in the old testament, it is added; that they as yet received not the promiffe, and that they without vs should not be made perfect.

17 This opinion feemeth to be received by manie of the ancient fathers; but none hath more largely written thereof than this Irenæus; who not onely bittred that his iudgment was, but inducured to confirme the fame by reasons, which neuertheleffe are his foundation, that he shoulde maketh this to be his foundation, that herein also we ought to be framed like vnto to Christ; that euen as he ascended not vnto the Father, till the resurrection was past; so ought not we to expeet the fame, before our spirits be exalted vnto God in heauen. This comparison generally is true; for we confesse, that we ought to be made like vnto Christ; but yet we do not admit the fame particularie, as touching all things. There manie things doth Christ, which are not necessarie to be done of vs. He suffered three daies before he rose againe, because he woult haue the truth of his death to be testified: neither did he, after his rising againe, go vnto his Father immediately, for so, to the intent his resurrection might be the more certaine, he (by the space of thrie daies) both appeared vnto his disciples, and also did cate with them, and offered himselfe to be touched. Wherefore, seeing it is not for vs to inducure such things after his death and resurrection; there is no let, but that our spirits may forthwith, after we be dead, ascend vnto God, who createth them.

Neither do we denie that, which he obiecteth, to be spoken by Christ; namely, that The seruant is not about his Lord, nor the disciple a beue his maister. But thereof there is no more gathered, but that if the Lord haue suffered persecutions, and reproches (as to be called Belzebub) much rather shall the same happen vnto his disciples. But yet must we not picke out hereof, that we must suffer particularie althings which Christ suffered. He was sacrificed on the crosse, and died betwene two thieves: which ought not to be expected, that it should happen vnto all the faithful. We grant that there be certaine places appointed vnto the soules, being loosed from their bodies; where they be now kept and contained, euen vntill the resurrection; yet not out of the sight of God, as who should say, they slept and

liued in Number.

18 That which they bring out of the Apocalypse, maketh not against vs. Soules are described to be vnder the altar, the which belongeth to their places. They are said to crye out, as though they expressed the desire of their excheaturre from vs. But who saith not, that to crye out, and to desire carnellie, is not the part of sleepers? Whose robes are giuen vnto them, because they haue already receiued a part of their felicitie. And they are commanded to looke for it, vntill the number of them that are laine for the name of Christ be accomplished: for then shall they haue perfect felicitie, when they haue attained to the last resurrection. And that which is alleged out of the 11. chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, hath the same meaning. For we confesse, that the old fathers as yet receiued not the small perfection; seeing they do still wait for the resurrection, which is met for vs all together to haue, euen as manie as belong vnto one and the same booke and head.

19 But by that reasons this opinion male be confuted, let vs now declare. First the dead, being at the point of death, said vnto the thefe; To daie that we shall be with me in paradise. This aduerbe of time [to daie] sufficientie declareth, that his felicitie was not to be begunned vntill the last times. But they, which maintaine this opinion, haue been accustomed to obiect, that this aduerbe [to daie] is not alwaies taken in the holie scriptures for one and the same daie; but that it may signifie a verie large time. For Peter, out of the saying of David, saith; A thousand years in thy sight are as one daie: so as it may be, that the thefe was said to be the same daie in paradise, although his comming thither should be deferred for manie hundred yeares. But Augustine vnto Dardanus hath not so interpreted that place; where he writeth, that this promise could not be referred vnto the humane nature of Christ; because the bodie was that daie in the sepulchre, and his soule (as he saith) in hell: vnto whom he will not attribute, that he was together out one and the selfe same time both there and in paradise.

And therefore he woult transferre this vnto the diuine nature: which had not bene met, if according to that promise (as these men will) the felicitie of the soules should haue bene deferred vntill a thousand yeares and longer. For doth Peter in that place they bring, will vs to interpret, that a thousand yeares in euery place should be taken for one daie: he onely inducured most significantie to declare the eternitie of God, vnto the which a thousand yeares being compared, would be but as one daie. Wherebeit, if at any time, daies are to be taken for yeares, that is not permitted to our iudgement; but

but thereof we are admonished by the word of God, as it apereeth in Daniel, when the weekes are reckoned vp. And in the fourth chapter of Ezechiel, where the prophet is commanded, that he should lie vpon his left side, three hundred and thirtie daies; and againe, thrie daies vpon his right side; and that in the same place, daies do represent yeares, the scriptures doe expresse the few vs.

20 They haue also an other thist: for they saie, that these two aduerbes of time, [yeffer daie] and [to daie] signifie the old and the new testament, which they gather out of the epistle to the Hebrews, where it is said; Christ yesterdaie, and to daie. Wherefore they would haue the meaning to be, that to haue the thefe to be brought to daie into paradise, should belong to the new testament. But this conceit of theirs is vaine; because in the epistle to the Hebrews, it must be understood, that Christ is yesterdaie, and to daie, and (as it is added) For euer, that his eternitie may be understood, the which they are wont to distinguish into three times: as if it should be said; He was, he is, and he shall be. The thirde count, wherein they shewd themselves, is, that it was said vnto the first parents; In what houre soeuer ye eate, ye shall die the death: and yet is it euident, that they did not persecute die after they had transgressed. So (saie they) it might be, that the promise made vnto the thefe, which seemeth to be spoken of that daie, might be deferred vntill a longer time.

But that, which these men take as granted, we denie; namely, that the first parents, when they had transgressed, did not forthwith perish. For death is accounted nothing else, but a departing from life; neither haue we life without God. So then they died, because they departed from God; and their soules were not reuered from the bodie, but after a sort buried therein: so as, if a man will inge true, we do not vnto presentie live a life, but a death: which the longer it is, the more grievous it is thought to be by them which iudge aright. But because we will not seeme to haue, we willingly accept the similitude both of the thefe, and also of the first parents: they had the beginnings of death immediately after the transgression, albeit they had not the triall of absolute death: so also the thefe was with Christ in paradise, albeit he obtained not that daie the perfect felicitie, which is attended in the resurrection. Wherefore the argument, which we haue already put forth, standeth firme; neither can it with fruitlesse arguments be overthrowne.

21 Furthermore, Paule writeth vnto the Philippians, that he woult to be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ; for that he doub-

ted not, but it would be an advantage to him. Which desire of his had not bene godlie, if after the death of our bodie, we should sleepe with our soules vntill the resurrection. That possit had it bene to Paule, to haue bene loosed from hence, if he should not straitwaie haue liued with his Christ? Clandestinely, while he liued here, he was of himselfe; A and now do not I liue, but Galat. 2. 20. Christ liueth in me. And according to this sentence, Christ was not to liue, but to sleepe in him after death. Moreover, while he liued here, he might acknowledge and loue Christ; but after this life, if he should be asleepe, he was of necessity to leaue off those actions.

22 There is also another reason brought against them, as touching the rich man and pover Lazarus: by that storie is shewed, that the spirits after this life do not sleepe, but either do enioie god things, or else are tormented with punishments. They answere, that this is a parable, and that therefore it maketh nothing against them. Vnto whom we faie, that all the fathers, which interpret that place, do not thinke it to be a parable; but manie rather thinke it an historie; among whom are Gregorie and Ieron. And Terullian goeth so farre, as he thinke the rich man liues Herod, and that Lazarus was John Baptist. Howbeit Chrysostome and Augustine sometime call it a parable. But this releaseth them not, seeing a parable is nothing else but a similitude deriued from the truth of a thing: as when the parable is brought in of the god man of the house, which diuided his inheritance to two of his children. Albeit that the same be a parable, yet is it expedient, that there be a good man of the house, that children be found among the nature of things, and that it be a custome among them to distribute the fathers possessions: otherwise parables should be taken of feigned and vaine things, which is against the nature of them. So as, although we grant that the parable was contrariued by Christ touching the thefe; yet is it necessary, that not onely rich men and pover men should be found; but that vnto our soules, departing out of this life, should be giuen either a place of torment, or else the bolson of Abraham.

Neither do we understand by the bolson of Abraham anie thing else, than a certaine place of rest and receptacle of soules, in the which is granted vnto them peace and tranquillitie in the sight of their God. For as we haue a peaceable conscience, and they loke vpon God being present. This place is said to be the bolson of Abraham, Gen. 12. 3. because vnto him God first promised, that in his seed all nations should be blessed. The same man moreover saue the date of the Lord, and he re- Iohn. 8. 56. tified. Of him also we first read, that He be- Gen. 1. 4. uered, and his faith was imputed vnto him. b) b) b) righte-

That we ought to be conformed to Christ, it is true, but yet not in all respects.

Matt. 10. 4.

Matt. 1. 26.

Dan. 9. 2. verfe. 15.

Heb. 13. 8.

Chal. 9. 2. verfe. 15.

Gen. 37.

Death is a departing from life.

The first parents were dead, but their soules were not.

Phil. 1. 23. verfe. 15.

Galat. 2. 20.

Gregorie. Terullian. Chrysost. Augustine.

22 parable is deriued from the truth of things.

what is vnto Abraham anie thing else, than a certaine place of rest and receptacle of soules, in the which is granted vnto them peace and tranquillitie in the sight of their God. For as we haue a peaceable conscience, and they loke vpon God being present.

John. 8. 56. Gen. 1. 4.





onele; that is to say, he died in this and out of his appearance.

2. Seeing therefore a disputation of the resurrection of the flesh is so profitable and necessary; we shall for good cause stand the longer upon it. First, if it be demanded why **God** did himself assume the same; this reason may be brought in, that he might make us partakers of his life, and so make us partakers of his glory. For as he himself cannot be obtained in this life, because of humane actions, neither contemplative, nor active, can be counted exquisite and perfect. For as concerning knowledge, there be a great many more things which we know not, than which we know. Which Socrates perceived, and said; that **Alas** one thing he knew; namely, that he knew nothing. Further, those few small things that we know, we have a very faint and slender understanding of them. Neither may we affirm this of natural things only, but of those also which are opened unto us by the Spirit of God. Therefore **Paul** said; Now we know in part, and prophetic in part, and we know these through a glass, and in a dark saying. We be of weak memory, and many times our memory faileth us. Also remembereth all things that he hath read, that he hath learned, that he hath taught, and determined; his knowledge which come later to mind, exclude the former; as one letter is taken out of another; and as in the course of waters, the latter washeth away the former. And whereas the knowledge of things do consist either in invention, or in teaching; what one of man is found to be excellent at invention; And very many are taught and learned to learn. Therefore, as touching things contemplative, we are of small benefit in this world.

Also in matters of practice, there is great want in us, being either the line of temperance, or else in honest actions we be very farre from perfection. For our virtues are weak and imperfect; therefore we cannot dye out of them any perfect and absolute actions. There happen moreover perturbations, or affections of the mind, which dye us to and fro, so as we cannot all together be inclined to do those things which be right. And from the body itself, which is frail and brittle as glass, many inconveniences do come. For if it be touched with diseases (which are grown to such a number as they have gotten the upper hand of the physicians art) if it be wounded, if it be lame, if it be itred, if it hunger and be pressed with misery and calamities; if it be it all hampered with penurie and beggerie, how can it be otherwise, but the mind will be moved, troubled, and grieved? These and many other things do sufficiently shew, that we are past all hope of

absolute felicity, while we live in this world.

3. This have divers men noted, and therefore have refused the inviting of perfect happiness to another life; but they thought, that the same must either be attributed unto the soul; or that they imagined, that the body, if it should be removed, would be an impediment thereto. And thus this error was infected Marcion, Basilides, the Valentinians, the Manichees; and such other perfidious sects; who affirmed, that there were two beginnings of things; namely, a good god and an evil. And seeing they thought, the evil god to be the author of visible creatures, they said also, that he was the maker of the body and of death; and that therefore the soul being freed from these things after death, should be happy; and that these should be no more of them to be refused again; which was neither and not further felicity. The same opinion had they, which thought that the soul is joined to the body, as a man is coupled to the ship, and as a thing moving unto that which it moveth; and therefore they affirmed, that it would not come to pass, that the soul after this life, should be joined again unto his body. For even as the shipman, as they which move and put forward a new burden, when they be out of their business, and have gotten livelihood, do not returne againe to their former labors; so did they think, that souls being once put aside from the burden some government of bodies, should not returne againe. And they were exceedingly for the soul must not be adjoined to the body; for it is the joyne and perfection thereof, and after they being joined together is made one person. So then, there is left remaining in those unto whom death is a beloved disposition to take unto them their bodies againe. Which **Plato** seemed not to be ignorant of, may yet Pythagoras; for either of them said, that there is a passing of soules from one body into another, for as they would have it, soles after death are removed into other bodies. And because they returned not to the same place againe, that was rather said to be an alteration of place, than a resurrection.

4. But what manner of resurrection seemed they have imagined, which have taught, that after the great perie, or perfect resolution of the heavens, all things shall be reduced as they now be; so that the first thousand years hence, we shall become even the same, both in number, and in vertue; that we now be; so that I myself shall be ready in this place, you sitting here, in such sort as I now teach, and you being present. The reason of this opinion is astronomical; for they will have it (as **Ptoleme** taught) that the highest of the heavens compasseth in it these hundred, thousand years, and by degrees; and that every there both enter and

by degrees, pass over one of those degrees; whereby it should come to pass, that after three six thousands years, every star should returne to the point from whence it was loosed, and began his motion. And seeing the state or situation of the celestiall bodies was then, even in the same manner that it was from the beginning, they thought, that all things shall returne to the same forme, in which they then were. I knowe there were some of them, which holding this resolution of all things, not to stir and stirre, but to staye thousand years; howbeit, this their reckoning is not allowed.

But ridiculous and vaine is each opinion, and is confuted by Aristotle; who affirmeth excellently, that it can not be, that the things which perish and decay in the meane time, should returne to the very selfe same in particularities, although the space of time you will admit in the meane season. Whereby, these men might be without contrivance; for who can remember them after six thousand years, especially, being from the beginning of the world, unto this last, six thousand years are not yet finished? I pass it over, that such a kind of decay is repugnant to the very nature of the resurrection, which is not of celestiall bodies, nor of farres, nor of degrees of the firmament; but upon the will of the high God. Besides this, the holie scriptures do shew, that by the last resurrection, eternal life shall be given unto them that be dead; so as they shall live no more. But such a resurrection be desired of celestiall bodies; for ever, the blessedness of saints would not be firme and steadfast, when they should consider, that they must be thrust forth againe unto the same travels and miseries, which they suffered before, while they were here. Therefore men have been much ereb teaching the resurrection of the dead. And among the Hebrews were the Sadducees, who believed that there were no spirits, and denied the resurrection of the dead. At this daye also there be Libertines, which make a trick at it; and the resurrection, which is spoken of in the scriptures, they onely referre unto the soules.

And in the time of **Paul**, there lived Hymeneus, and Phileas, who affirmed, that the resurrection of the dead was even then past; whose doctrine (as the apostle saith) was like a canker that hath labored corrupt, with such perverse opinions.

5. An other reason, for which God will reduce the life of the bodies of them that be dead, depending of his perfect justice, the which is not in this life declared. Where we see, that for the most part the wicked do flourish in power and dignities; and that they be gentle vices; but on the other side, that good and honest men be horrible intreated, and be in danger of most

grievous displeasures; which things (unless there should remaine an other hope) might seeme to be unjust: for neither also would it be just, if the soule onely should be either blessed, or tormented with punishments, seeing it hath had the body which is a companion in executing of actions, as well good as bad. Therefore it is meet, that together with the body, it should have experience both of woes and paines, leaving it all things by the same.

6. These things are spoken generallie. And now coming to the matter, we will divide this treatise into certaine principall points. First, we will bring the reasons, which seeme to hinder and gainst the resurrection of the flesh.

As the table of the statutes concerning the continuation of the soules with the bodies.



effected for a creation, the which is not done of things that be corrupt, but of nothing. *Isolobest*, it is not alwaies taken after this sort in the diuine scriptures. *Wherefore* the soule shall returne, and of his being shall impart into the bodie, euen as it do before death: and shall not onlie giue a being thereto, but it shall bring therewith all the properties of iust, and shall communicate them therunto. *In* dead there shall be some diuersitie, but yet not as concerning the essentiall beginnings: onlie the things accidentall shall be changed, the which may be altered, notwithstanding that one and the selfe same soule shall remaine. *For* others be the qualities and affections of children, and others of young men, and old men: yet is the person all one, and euen the same man, both in childhood, in youth, and in age. *It* hus then we may define the resurrection of the dead, *namely*, that it is a new coupling together of the soule into the bodie, by the might or power of God, that men may stand vnbloie in the last day of iudgement, and may receive rewards or punishments, according to the state of their former life. *Is* this definition all the kinds of causes are expressed. The forme is the Coupling together of the soule and the bodie: the which also is done to some as men be boyne, and therefore is done *secus* of *done* againe, *namely* after death. The effect cause is *secundum*, when we ascribe, that it shall be done *Is* by the might and power of God. The matter is the Soule and the bodie, which shall againe be ioined together. *Et* he end also, *That* at the last iudgement it may be determined of the vnbloie man.

the difference betweene the death of man, and the death of byrte beaust.

Eccl.3.19.

*For* furthermore, it must be considered, that there is no small difference betweene the death of man, which goeth before the resurrection of the dead; and that death, whereby byrte beausts do perish. *For* the death of man is called a separation of the soule from the bodie. *For* albeit that the bodie do perish, yet both the soule still remaine aloue: which happeneth not in byrte beausts, whose death is destruction of minn and bodie, both in together. *Whereupon* that which Salomon saith in Ecclesiastes, that The end of man and of beausts is all one, is not true, vnkile it be understood generally: that is to wit, to be destroyed: happeneth to both; but the kind of death is not all one, both in the one, and in the other. *But* of the sentence brought by Salomon, shall be spoken afterword: *I* made mention of it not, because vs may vnderstande, that euen as betweene byrte beausts and men, is giuen a double respect of death; so, if resurrection also should be granted to them both, the forme of the same should not be all one. *Wherefore*, although it be said of the bodie, and not of the soule, that it shall rise; yet without the soule, the resurrection shall

not be: for the same must of necessity be present. *But* yet it may after some sort be said of the soule, that it shall rise againe in two respects. The first, that euen as though death it create to some and direct the bodie; and in this respect after a sort to rise: so on the other side, when it returneth to forme and direct the same, it may be said to rise againe. *An* other cause is, that euen the soules are said to fall: so as if it be his propriety to rise againe which shall fallen, they also, being after a sort they fall, may be understood to rise.

*Therefore* Paule saith unto the Colossians, if *Col.3.1*, ye haue risen together with Christ, fauor ye of things that be from above. *Now* is there a double doubt but he speaketh of the resurrection of soules: *For* they are yet liued to whom he wrote. *Unto* the Romans also he saith; if Christ be risen by the glorie of his father, so walke ye also in newnelle of life. *And* unto the Ephesians, Rise from the dead, rise, and Christ shall illumine thee. *And* in the booke of Ecclesiastes the next chapter; Shrinke not awaie from God, that ye fall not. *Again*; He that standeth, let him take heed he fall not. *And* unto the Romans, as touching the not iudging of an other mans seruant, it is written; He standeth or falleth to his owne maister. *Seeing* therefore, that all these places are referred to soules, it seemeth, that both falling and resurrection belong unto them. *These* things are true, but yet it must be vnderstood, that in the holie scriptures there is put two sorts of resurrection, *namely*, a former and a latter. *In* the first, we rise in the soule from a grave; but in the latter, the soule is restored. *Now* at this time we speake of the latter; therefore said we, that the same is proper unto the bodie. *And* euen as in that manner, the soule riseth againe, and not the bodie: so in the latter the bodie riseth, and not the soule.

*These* two sorts of resurrection we gather, not onlie out of the booke of the Isphe proph, where they are pronounced blessed, which haue their part in the first resurrection; but we learne it also out of the Gospel of Iohn, where in the first chapter both are ioined together in one place. *First*, Christ spake there of the former resurrection, when he said, The time cometh, and now is, when the dead shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, and they that beleue it, shall live. *That* these tomes belong unto the first resurrection, it is sufficiently apparent, in that he saith; The time will come, and now is. *But* there is no man will say, that the hour of the latter resurrection was then present. *So* as then he ment, that they that dead should live againe, if they beleued in the sonne of God, who for their finnes were destitute of the spirituall life of soules; of whom Christ said in another

other place; Let the dead heare their dead. *And* unto the Ephesians it is written; When ye were dead in your offences and finnes. *And* unto Titus it is written of him; she that is quicken withoute continuing still in praies, and supplications before the Lord: but that liueth in worldly pleasures; she is dead while she yet liueth. *Unbelieueth* before justification by her finnes, which she of our owne accord haue done by our finnes, and she haue altogether need of this resurrection from death. *But* betwixt the first resurrection and the latter, there is, *very* much difference; *whereas* the first belongeth unto the elect onlie, and that their which shall be resurrected be made blessed; but the latter be longed unto all, as well miserable as blessed. *At* the which resurrection Christ added in the place of Iohn, saying; And marcellus, noe, for the time will come, when they that be as their graues, shall heare the voice of the sonne of God, & shall come forth; they that haue done well into the resurrection of life; and they that haue done ill, into the resurrection of iudgement. *Here* there is mention made of graues, that is of sepulchres: *Further* he saith; The time will come, and said not, that it is already come. *Whereas*, as there is appointed a first and second death, so is there also appointed a first and second resurrection. *Not* he, (as it hath bene already said) do shew interest at this present of the latter.

*Thus* if hath bene shewed, that the resurrection of the dead, is an action of those kind of things, which consist of matter, and not of nature. *Be* they that shall remaine, whether it be natural, or we will answer him after this manner. *As* touching the forme, the which I said is a ioining together of the soule with the bodie: the name of natural is not to be refused; *for* it is agreeable to the nature of man, that the soule should be ioined to the bodie. *And* if we consider of the efficient cause, and of the meane: those things do belittle go beyond nature. *Whereby* it cometh to passe, that we may easily answer to the third point of this treatise, wherein it was demanded; *Whether*, for the resurrection of the dead, there might be natural reasons giuen, and demonstrations made. *After* this manner, I say, being the thing it selfe passeth all the power of nature; there can no reasons be made for this kind. *In* deed there be some reasons of force great enough; but if they be diligently examined, they be probable arguments; yet respecting the nature of things, they be not necessary. *And* to make the matter more plaine, we must vnderstand, that demonstrations are those said. *For* there be some which resolve their questions into principles, which be knownen by

speculations at the first sight in the nature of things; but these be verie few reasons of this kind. *Some* knowe few speles can be shewed in the demonstration.

*Other* those, which although they consist not of speculations knownen at the first, and by themselves, yet the propositions, whereby they conclude, may resolve into those things which be verities of themselves knownen. *And* againe, there be certayne arguments, which consist of true and necessary principles; yet yet not euident in that science which teacheth them; but such as are knownen and true knownen in a higher and more worthy facultie. *These* kind of science is commonly called *Scholasticum*, that is, which faceth by turne. *For* a scholastic theoreme and concluded some things of harmonie and sounds, which be shewed and made out of certayne principles in Arithmetike; this kind of argument to demonstrate, yet to him that knoweth both the sciences, *namely*, Arithmetike and Musicke. *But* to him that is onlie a scholastic, it cannot be called a demonstration; *being* thereof is made no resolution into principles that be knownen at the first, and by themselves. *Open* is to it in the reasons concerning resurrection of the dead. *Some* reasons for the same are brought of natural propositions, the which be verie probable; but if the principles of them be examined, natural men, and such as onlie respect the nature of things, shall not be contented, because they cannot see a resolution into supernaturall causes, the which may moue a conclusion, and confidently approue the same. *But* goodly men, when they respect these propositions into the word of God, and in their resolution suffice and confirm them therein, they haue them for demonstrations, which in deed proceed not from natural knowledge, but from faith, which altogether dependeth of diuine graces.

*But* by what titles the philosophers, and they which leane onlie on natural reason, do set themselves against the reasons, which are brought forth of natural principles, must not be declared. *And* now to begin with those reasons, which seeme to haue more strength than the rest. *First*, they saie, that A thing imperfect is not capable of perfect felicitie; *But* the soule being separated from the bodie, is maintained perfect; *Wherefore* the soule, for obtaining of felicitie, must be againe ioined to the bodie. *This* argument the philosophers answer two manner of waies; *for* either they would say, that the part which is pulled from the other, is imperfect; *for* so much as it receiveth more benefit and perfection from that other; but that this is the nature of the soule, that it giueth his good things to the bodie, when as yet it receiveth nothing of it, else

As some-  
thing of the  
probable  
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rection.

that the  
soule being  
pulled from  
the bodie, is  
an imper-  
fect thing.



1. Kin. 17. 22. most plentiful liquor of wine. These things do  
2. Kin. 4. 33. pallie come to passe in nature. Therefore we  
3. Kin. 13. 21. must consider, that how often as bodies must be  
Mat. 9. 45. put into sepulchres; so often is the seed of the re-  
John. 11. 43. surrection committed to the furrows, to be re-  
Acts. 1. 10. newed againe. Some of the dead have bene ra-  
13. ceived by againe by the prophets, by Christ, by the  
apostles: yea and it is reported of some godlie  
men, which refused baire bralls unto their for-  
mer life. It is written of Syluester, that he resto-  
red to life a dead bull. And then say that Saint  
German called to life his ass that died, and a calfe  
which his familie had eaten. But thou wilt  
say, that these things be fables: I will not de-  
nied it; for manie things are mingled among the  
lines of the fables, which although they should be  
granted to be true, yet must we not of necessitie  
yeeld, that those baire beastes were refused to the  
same quantitie, for it might be, that not the ve-  
rie fame, but their like were repelented. Yet  
can I not say, that this were impossible to be  
done by the power of Gods; for he that made man  
of nothing, is able out of nothing to reuivie those  
things. Gregorie, in his first treatise of his mo-  
rals, wite, that it should be euident vnto all  
men, that it is much more hard to create those  
things, which haue not bene, than to repaire  
those that had bene.

19. Moreover, it is in God to be able to do all  
those things, which as they speake in the schools  
conferme not in themselves a plaine introducti-  
on to the other: for otherwise, those things,  
when they take abate and decrease one an-  
other; it is impossible that they should consist to-  
gether. Yet this hath not diminished anie thing  
of the omnipotence of God: for God is almighty  
though he cannot either sinne, or deny him-  
selfe, or being to passe that those things, which be  
past, should not be past; neither make that mans  
bodie, while it is, should not be a bodie; and that  
the number of thie should not be thie: because  
these be not impossible things by defect in him,  
but by reason of the verie contrarie of things.  
But the resurrection of the dead belongeth not  
vnto this kind: for as concerning soules, they  
perish not; but they remaine alie together with  
their powers and humane properties. So as  
they which are dead, may after a sort be said to be  
aloue in their proprietie and originall. Whiche  
Gregorius Magnus, out of the bishope of Iob,  
confirmerth after this manner: Wherein it is  
taught, that all things were restored vnto him  
two fold: at the first he had seuen thousand  
theues, there were restored vnto him fourteene  
thousand: he had three thousand camels (af-  
terward) he possessed five thousand: but yet he  
begat but seuen sonnes, and three daughters.  
But it is understood, that the number of children  
aloue was doubled, because (as Gregorie faith)

these seuen first remained still safe with God,  
wherefore it might be said, that he had fourteene.  
Seeing the matter is after this sort, all the dif-  
ficultie of the resurrection seemeth to be in the  
resurrection of the bodie: for when the same is  
dead, and that in such sort as there appeareth  
so much as the steps thereof; it seemeth impossi-  
ble to be repaired. Wholueit, seeing it is not  
into nothing, but dissolved into elements, as  
as the philosophers speake) into the first matter;  
therefore it must not be denied, but that it may  
be framed againe of the same matter, and of the  
same elements. Yea, and the verie substance  
of beastes, albeit they are extinguished by death,  
yet are they not reduced to nothing. So then,  
through the power of God, they might be made  
againe, as well of the matter, as of the elements:  
For God (as it is written to the Romans) calling  
those things, which be not, as though they were:  
neither is there anie thing that may resist his  
word. For euen as by the word of God all things  
were made; so by the verie same all things may be  
restored. And these things shall suffice concern-  
ing natural reasons, the which, as it hath bene  
said, are probable, but not demonstrative. And  
that which is touched herof, may also be inged  
of other articles of the faith: for those things,  
which are beleued of anie man, cannot by man  
naturalie be knowen. But will some saye, I be-  
leue that that is one God: who nevertheless  
by natural reason is concluded to be, here-  
tofore to the answer, that the philosophers indeed, in  
searching out of natural things, learned, that there  
is one principall beginning, which the Grecians  
called *ΕΝΟΝ*, and the Latines *DEVM*, that is,  
GOD. But that is not he, whom christian faith  
professeth: for we do not simple and nakedly  
believe one God; but believe in him that crea-  
ted heauen and earth, and that hath a sonne, and  
the holie Ghost. These arguments doubtes  
the philosophers perceiued not. Whereby that ap-  
peareth most true, which the apostle taught the  
hebrewes; namely, that Faith is an argument of  
things which are not seene.

20. Now, seeing thus it is, reason requirith  
that we should come to an other point of the  
question, and by the testimonies of the word of  
God confirme resurrection, which indeed cannot be  
trulie shewed by natural reasons. Whiche testi-  
monies, being comprehended in the old and  
new testament, according to the order of time,  
we will here beginne with the old testament:  
at the first with that, which we read in the  
chapter of Exodus; I am the God of Abra-  
ham, of Isaac, and of Iacob. This place did Christ  
use, when he was tempted by the Saduces, the  
name of Saduces, is deriued from the word  
7 *Ιουδα*, that is to saie, from Iudea: for they were  
iudaic men, who belidde the lawe given by  
Moses

Moses, admitted no other scripture: they stru-  
le byged the verie bare word, not admitting (as  
it appeareth) anie interpretation. And further,  
because they beleued not the resurrection of the  
dead, they thought in like manner, that there  
were no angels; euen as we read in the aas  
of the apostles. Also among the hebrewes in those  
daies, to touch that by the lawe were Pharisees,  
of the verie *Pharisae*, which signifieth, To dis-  
tinguish, interpret, and extend. These men not  
onlie allowed the lawe, but also the prophets as  
interpreters thereof; also they did expound and  
interpret the holie scriptures. Whence these al-  
so, there were certeine called *Essenes*, which were  
so called of the verb *Εσχω*, which is, To do. They  
were verie iust, and wrought with their owne  
hands, that thereby they might live and helpe  
the poore, in like manner as if we should call them  
labourers. And no doubt but they deriue them-  
selves, which Iudge, that they were so called of  
Ezra; that is, Holie: for the Etymologies of  
hebrew names must not be sought for in the  
Grecike tong.

Among the Iewes also, there were Gaulo-  
nites, so called, of a certeine principall man of the  
Iewish faction: these in all respects held with  
the Pharisees, saving that they held opinion, that  
tribute should not be given to hebrene nations.  
For they would, that the children of Abraham; to  
wit, the people of God, should be altogether free.  
All these things are plainlie set forth by Ioseph  
us, as well in his booke of the Iewes warre, as in  
his antiquities. But now I returne vnto the  
Saduces. By them all things in a manner were  
attributed vnto nature: they lived rigorously,  
using homlie and rusticall manners; so as they  
might seeme to be the Stoicks of the hebrewes;  
saying, that the Stoicks yeelded almost all things  
to the poudence of God, and to destiny; where  
as their men were of farre contrarie opinion.  
And albeit that the sects of the Pharisees and Sa-  
duces disagreed one with an other; yet did they  
agree together, to withstand Christ. So as the  
Saduces, because they would kill at the resur-  
rection of the dead, I say; Among vs there was a  
woman, whom seuen brethren, seeing they de-  
parted without children, took to wife, (Accord-  
ing to the prescript rule of Moses, I say, the which  
is written in the 25. chapter of Deuteronomie)  
In the resurrection of the dead, which wife of the  
seuen brethren shall she be? The scope of this  
question was, that the resurrection should not be  
admitted, because absurdities thereof might fol-  
lowe, which would be against the lawe of God:  
neither could those things consist without im-  
pediment thereof. Christ answered, Ye are  
deceiued. And yet are we not to be infected, that  
the ignorance, whereunto they were infected, did  
discharge them of fault: for therefore did they

erre, because they would not understand nor  
heare them, which rightlie admonished them.  
And of their error he sheweth two heads, or two  
fontaines; first, because they understood not  
the scriptures; secondly, for that they had no  
consideration of the power of God.

There be manie waies, wherein men may be  
deceiued about the scriptures; either for lacke  
of knowledge in the tonges; or because that pro-  
per speeches are not distinguished from those  
which be spoken figuratiuelie; or when a hard  
place is not expounded by an other place that is  
plainer; or when we do not marke, that some-  
time those things, which belong vnto the things  
signified, are attributed vnto the signes; and  
contrariwise, the properties of the signes ascrib-  
ed vnto the things signified. And he that would  
more plentifullie knowe of these things, let him  
peruse the booke of Augustine, which he proba-  
bly wrote of christian doctrine. But about the  
power of God, there is a double error; the first,  
when all things are assigned vnto him without  
anie manner of exception; the other, when to lit-  
tle is attributed to him. And with this latter  
kind of error were the Saduces infected: for  
then as they heard, that the dead should live  
againe after this world, they considered not,  
that there may be another life from this, in which  
we now live, and have need of meate, drinke,  
and recreation of children. Wherefore they,  
hauning our slender an opinion of the power of  
God, did not thinke that he is able to transmute  
men, after they be raised vp, vnto a heauenlie  
life, which should be more vnto the state of an-  
gels. But when they did erre, Christ, as we read  
in Luke) expounded, saying, The children of  
this world marrie wives, and be married, but at  
the resurrection of the dead, they neither mar-  
rie wives, nor yet are given in marriage, but  
are euen as vnto angels. And while he maketh  
mention of angels, he reprehended the Sadu-  
ces, which denied that there be angels.

21. And thus men shall be fully after the re-  
surrection, he sheweth the cause, saying; For they  
can die no more. Wherein must be considered, that  
the recreation of children was appointed  
for two causes. First, for that men which were at  
the first created, but two onlie, might be multi-  
plied. Secondly, that when they should be multi-  
plied to the last number, (manie times in the  
meane while) others should be substituted in  
their place. So that, seeing at the resurrection  
there shall be a full, complete number of persons,  
and that death cannot happen therein, procrea-  
tion would be unnecessary. Neither are the  
wombs of the euangelists, or rather of Christ, to  
be understood; as though he taught, that a cop-  
iousall substance should be wanting vnto them,  
which shall be raised vp. For he said not; They  
336. shall

that  
things God  
is able to  
doe.

Iob. 41. 10.

These  
things which  
a man  
may do  
not are  
yet he  
can do  
not.

Hab. 1.

And  
as  
the  
first  
of  
the  
first  
of  
the  
first

Mat. 11.

Moses

The error  
of the Sa-  
duces had  
two foun-  
taines.

Others  
were to be  
deceiued  
about the  
scriptures.

Errors as  
about the  
power of  
God.

Luke. 23. 46.

After the  
resurrec-  
tion there  
shall be no  
marriages.

The cause  
of procre-  
ating of chil-  
dren.

Ibidem.

Rom.8,6.  
Matt.8,9.  
28 Mat.

Luk.10,36.

2 ppos  
that there  
be angels.  
Gen.22,11.

Gen.18,2.

Gen.19,1.  
Exo.14,19.

Gen.31,2.

Mat.22,29.

Exod.3,6.  
After what  
manner the  
suburbs  
read the  
scriptures.

shall be angels: but, They shall be as the angels, and equall vnto angels. Neither is that to be maruelled at, which is written by Luke, That they shall be the children of the resurrection, and the children of God: for that must not be taken, as if it were denied, that the saints are also the children of God in this life. For other wise, while they live here, how should they cry; Abba, Father: or pale; O Father, which art in heaven? But the manner of the holie scriptures is, that sometime they ascribe things to be then done, when they are made manifest. And because it is not now euident, that we be the children of God, at the resurrection it shall be manifest: for When Christ shall come, then we also shall appeere together with him in glorie. Where it is written in Luke, that The saints shall then be the children of God. Neither is that to be passed over, that those things, which are there spoken by Christ, pertaine onlie to the resurrection of the iust. For the vngodly, when they shall rise againe, albeit they shall be immortal, yet shall they not alter the manner of angels become glorious and impassible. And these things spake Christ of the ignorance which the Saducees had, as touching the diuine power.

22 And inlike also might he saie, that they knew not the scriptures. For how could they denie angels to be, seeing it is written in the booke of Genesis, that an angell spake Abraham, that he should not offer his sonne, as he was minded to do: It is there also written, that there were three receiued by Abraham in ghostlike, whereof two at least were angels. And it is said, that they were with Lot. And an angell appeared vnto Moses in the midst of a bush, and set himselfe in the midst betwene the tents of the Israelites and Egyptians. And againe, vnto Iacob there were seene tents of angels in Mahanaim, and he mystified almost a whole night with an angell. Inlike therefore did Christ saie, that They knew not the scriptures. And the place he brought out of the second booke of Moses, as well because they besides the lawe receiued no scriptures: indeed they read the prophets, and the psalmes, no otherwise than we do the fathers, the books of the aparchas, and the Ecclesiastes of Solomon and Sirach: as also for that they alleged Moses against Christ. So as rightlie he did reprie upon them with Moses.

Neither was it the Lords mind, when he would answer them, to gather all the testimonies of the old testament: for then he might haue found oracles enow out of the counsel of the prophets, and out of other scriptures. And albeit these words; I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Iacob, are found in manie places of the holie scriptures: yet do Marke and

Luke expressely refferre them to the vision which Moses had at the bush; as we find in the third chapter of Exodus. When Iesus had on this wise confuted the Saducees, the people here amazed, wondering at the wisdom of Christ. But because the simple people is thought fonsit to want iudgement, therefore Luke added, that Certaine of the Scribes said; Master, thou hast said well. Wherefore the reasoning that Christ made, was allowed, not onlie by the common sort, but also by them that were learned. And without cause: for what more fit interpreters of the lawe of God will we haue, than the iudges, by whom it was giuen at the beginning:

23 But the foundations of this reason must be searched out more particuarly, that they may the more plainly appere. It is to be that the fathers, which be dead, were vnto the perfect, how should God see, he seeth God? And he they are dead, that is to wit, in the iudgement of men, and according to nature: but not before God. For it is written in Luke; All men liue vnto him. But, As the fathers liue vnto God, may the sonnes liue vnto the fathers. First, it is to be referred to the pfectiue of pfectiue of God: for all things that are to come, be present vnto him: neither can he be vnto the end of his purpose. Wherefore they which shall be raised by, though it be a thousand yeeres hence, are said to liue. As also, The fathers liue vnto him; because they reigne with him in celestiall glorie. The same forme of speaking vsed Iacob vnto the Romans, writing of Christ; In that he died to sinne, he died once; in that he liued, he liued vnto God, that is, he is with him in glorie, and sitteth at his right hand. But thou wilt saie; Thus it might be said, that not the saints themselves, but their soules do liue with Christ in heauen. Inuoid this is true, but by the figure Synecdoche, that which is a part, is attributed to the whole. For we doubt not to say, but that saint Peter, and saint Iames are in heauen with Christ, when as onlie their soules are conuerst there. See moreover, Paule faith, that we desired to be vnto hence, and to be with Christ: when he knew that onlie his soule should be with him, vntill the latter day of iudgement. And in the Euangelicall storie we read, that Lazarus was carried into the bosome of Abraham: and that the cruell rich man was carried into the torment of hell: whereas onlie their soules were brought to those places.

24 But against the arguing of our Lord there is a cauil objected; namely, that God called himselfe the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Iacob, because he was their God in old time while they liued, he helped them, and made a covenant with them. But this is a fond objection: because it is not said, that he was their God; but

the word is pronounced in the present tense, *ego sum*, I am their God. In verie deed, in the heuie the verbe substantiue is not put to, but it is absolute ly written *Anski Elobe*. But this maketh no matter, seeing the holie Ghost expressed by the mouth of the Euangelists, the verbe substantiue I namele *Ami*: for they wrote *ego sum dei dei*. But if the godlie, who be departed, haue no fruition at all of life, nor are not thereabouts to be called againe; what comfort are they to wait for of him, or how is he their God? For sover, a matter hauing certaine schoolers, he may saie, so long as they liue; I am their master: but when they be dead, he cannot so saie. Euen in like manner, as a wife, when her husband is dead, will not saie; I am his wife: but, I was his wife. And the father, when his sonne is dead, will not saie; I am but, I was his father. Euen so is it gathered, that life must after some sort be ascribed vnto those fathers which be dead, if God shall be true like to be their God: for there is no benefit bestowed vpon them, that be vnto the dead.

For do I make reckoning of those cauilers, which affirme, that God did god vnto the fathers departed, in their posteritie. For it must be considered in the holie scriptures, that the proposition is copulatiue; namely, that God would be God both of the fathers themselves, and also of their issue: and therefore the same must needs be true, as well for the one part as the other. Herein consisteth the strength of this reason, that we understand, that God both alwaies benefit, maintaine, and defend them, whose God he is. And when there was a covenant made betwixen God and men, God would be worshipped, and had in honour by them: and againe, that he would acknowledge them for his people. And who can be a father without children? Who can be a lord without seruants? Who can be a king without subjects? Certainlie none: and euen so God cannot be the God of them which be not. But this conuersion Christ shewed not at the first. But Abacuc, in the first chapter, touched the same, when he saith; Seeing thou art our God from the beginning, we shall not die: that is to wit, euertlastinglie. Therefore God suffereth not them, whose God he is, to be vnto the dead. And vnto doubtles he is worshipped, and honoured of them, whose God he is. But the dead do neither praise God, neither yet do they worship of him now him. Wherefore Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, if they haue a God, they worship him: if they do this, now are they not dead.

But let vs heare Christ himselfe, how he faithfully confirmed the reason that is brought. When he had said; I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Iacob: as though some man had answered; What then?

He added withall; But God is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. But against this saying, that seemeth to be which is written vnto the Romans; Christ therefore died, and rose againe, that he might haue dominion both ouer the dead, and ouer the liuing. Whereof some man would gather, that it is no absurditie for God to be Lord of them which be dead. There be some which answer, that Christ said not, that God is not the Lord of the dead: but, The God of the dead. So saie the verie truth, which seemeth to me but a slender shift in arguing: for it is manifest and euident enough, that the Lord and God in the scriptures are both counted one. And the word *Elobe*, which is read in the Hebrew, is verie often translated by the name of Lord. Wherefore the doubt must be dissolved another waie: as to saie with Christ, that God is onlie the God of the liuing: but that these must be diuine guided into two foles; because some of them haue their bodie as yet in them, and some be lost from the same, nevertheless, they liue all. For withstanding we denie not, but that it followeth hereof, that the soules of them that be departed, do liue with God. Wherein it must be added, that God is not a fauor of a part of those which be his, so as he would onlie haue the soule to be fauor: and as he is God both of the bodie and of the soule, so will he fauor both. For shall it be met for them, which haue serued God purelie and sincerelie, to obtaine onlie a halfe saluation: they shall in verie deed haue a full, whole, and perfect saluation.

25 By this manner of arguing of Christ, the Anabaptists are too loose beaten. First, because they thinke, that the old testament seerch nothing at all for vs, seeing Christ both plainlie take a testimonie from hence to confirme the resurrection of the dead; which also the apostles at diuers times did. Again, whereas they contend with vs for the baptisme of children; they will haue vs to bring out of the scriptures, expresse, plain, and manifest words, whereby is affirmed, that children should be baptised. Neither will they be content with the reasons and conclusions berued from the scriptures, when as Christ neuertheless intending here to proue the resurrection of the dead, brought no expresse testimonie, but such a testimonie, as from thence the resurrection might be inferred. And he himselfe bringing brought in a testimonie, added the *Minor* of the proposition; saying that He is not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. But there be others also, euen of our time, which thinke, that the testimonie alleged by Christ, was not knouen to the elder fathers: in such sort as they knew it sucile to belong to the resurrection of the dead. For they persuade themselves, that the old people had in deed saluation by Christ,

in receiving through him the forgiveness of sins, and perpetual felicity, when as yet they understood not these things. Even in like manner as the children of Christians are saved, when as they nevertheless as yet understand not the heavenly and christian mysteries.

They say that God, through temporal and worldly promises (namely of the land of Canaan and of innumerable issue) through victories, and riches, sed them, and kept them in his service: but that they acknowledged not Christ as the saviour from sinne, and prince of the resurrection, and of all good gifts. And they will haue it, that Christ first of all, revealed the secret mysteries of the resurrection, and derived the secret mysteries of the place which he haue now in hand; whereas they of the old time never understood of the same before. Such at this date are the Seruicants, who greatest decline and be deceived. How true they saye this, if they embrace the new testament: Doubles Paule affirmeth unto the Galatians, that The same fed promised vnto Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed, was Christ. And seeing he belated, and was testified; certainly he had not by the faith which was of temporal things, or of the multitude of posterity; but of Christ the sonne of God. For as it is written unto the Romans: We are iustificed even after the same sort that Abraham was; namely by faith in Christ: who also saith of him; He saue my daie, and relieved.

The Seruicants,

Gal.3, 16,

Rom.4, 23,

Ioh.8, 56,

Besides this, the prophets did so manifestly foreshew the mysteries of Christ, as they may seeme to be no prophets, but euangelists. But did they speake & write those things which they understood not? Surely, that had not bene the part of prophets, but of mad men. Neither is it likely, that this meaning of Christ was unknown; otherwise the Sadowes would haue answered, that that place was not to be understood by the forefathers, neither that it was interpreted of the life of the fathers. But the matter was to current, that some of the Seruicants had opened; Maister, thou hast said well. And as the euangelists teach: The Pharisee perceived, that Christ had put the Saduces to silence: which declared the matter to be so manifest, as there should be no place left to cavillation. Further, the Phariseis affirmed the resurrection of the dead: and seeing they were interpreters of the scriptures, there can be no doubt, but they poued the same by the scriptures. And that they were before the coming of Christ, it is sufficientlie declared out of the discourse of Iosephus, who affirmeth, that they were in the time of the Asmonians. Wherefore, Christ was not the first that enouched this opinion; neither did he

Luk.20, 39,

Act.23, 8,

to peruert the towle of teaching, as he poued his owne sayings by obscure and vncertaine things. When former he handled anie thing out of the scriptures, he alwaies brought forth those things which were plaine and manifest.

When he demanded of the Iezus what they belated concerning apellias; and they had answered, that he should be the sonne of David: he answered; And how commeth it to pass, that David in spirit calleth him Lord, citing the psalme; The Lord said vnto my Lord? And if it had not appeared vnto all men, that the same plaine was written of apellias, he should haue proued nothing. In like manner, when he spake of diuorice, he cited a place out of the booke of Genesis; Male and female created he them.

Mat.23, 44

Mat.23, 44

Gen.1, 27,

Gen.1, 27,

Mat.23, 44

And that saying also, which Adam spake; This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; and they shall be two in one flesh. Here also he compiled not his reason of obscure, but of manifest things. In like manner, when he treated of the order and dignitie of the commandments, he declared this to be the first and greatest commandment; Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God, with all thy hart, with all thy soule, and with all thy strength; and the other is like vnto this; Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. Wherefore, seeing he alwaies grounded vpon manifest and certaine things; why then will hee in this place haue his reason to be vncertaine and obscure, and neuer known before? But I will passe vnder these things, and will observe this, that these two vices; namely, ignorance of the scriptures, and of the power of God, may also at this date be objected to all them which be maintainers of twisted opinions: for they are infected with the ignorance either of both, or at the least wile of the one or of the other. So as when we haue access to the reading of the scriptures, we must inuoy to be deliuered from both those vices; whereby we may well understand the scriptures, and iudge rightlie of the power of God. Thus much shall suffice concerning the testimony brought by Christ.

26 John hauing respect to the course of times, I will handle the text of Ioh. which is in the 19. chapter of his booke: but before I set forth the words themselves, it seemeth good to touch that which he treated of before. And to the touch that those things, which were to be spoken, should the more diligenter be considered; he did moue men after this sort to giue eare to him; I would to God my words were written, not in papers, but in a booke, yea, and grauen with an iron pen in lead or in stone, for an everlasting continuance! So the latens in old time were grauen in tables of hyasse, least the writing should weare out. And in Ieremie the text, that of the sinne of Iuda was written with a pen of adamant,

Ioh.19, 39,

Ioh.19, 39,

Ioh.19, 39,

Ioh.19, 39,

Ioh.19, 39,

Ioh.19, 39,

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Ioh.19, 39,

Ioh.19, 39,

Ioh.19, 39,

adamant, so as it could not be wiped out. The words therefore he wrote of inuoye, which Ioh desired to print after this manner. The words are these; And I knowe the resurrection, not by naturall knowledge, but by faith; that my redeemer liueth. He beginneth the saying with the letter P, and which coupleth together as if he should saye; Seeing other faithful men beleue this, I also haue and confesse this with them, that my redeemer liueth.

He calleth him A redeemer; to wit, from death, from sinnes, and from all evils. He saith moreover, that He liueth; because he is the same time of life, and quickeneth all things that haue life. His vnbouldednes is Christ the sonne of God; for there is no other redeemer guen vnto men besides him. And therefore a little after he calleth him The last; because there were many partite and imperfect redeemers. And Christ is the last and perfect, whose resurrection is to be looked for. Albeit, the Hebrew word *acharon* may be referred to the time, as to faie; that redeemer of mine liueth, and at the last time he shall rise out of dust. His vnfaine attribute to the resurrection of Christ; for he was raised by with his bodie, which after the manner of the scripture is called dust. And vnbouldedlie, Christ in rising againe was the first fruits of them which shall rise. And he is said to haue risen in the last time, because his resurrection happened in the beginning of the last age; for there is no other age to be looked for, than that which we note line in; so that of Iohn it is called the last hour. We may verie conuenientlie also refer that saying to the resurrection of the dead, so as of that liuing redeemer it may be said; At the last time: that is, At the end of the world; He shall rise, to wit, He shall exercise his power vpon dust; that is, vpon dead bodies already become dust, in raising them by againe.

1 Cor.15, 20,

1 Ioh.1, 13,

Over this, Ioh making the matter more plaine, addeth; Afterward, that is to faie, At that time; this my hide, or skin, or flesh; which they haue giuene, pearled and backed (for these things with the word *Nacaph* signifie; that is to wit, scroves, diseases, and wounds) shall not be depicled of my redeemer, but in my flesh that is being in flesh; I shall see God. The Latin translation hath, *Rursus circumdabo pelle mea*; I shall be againe compassed about with my skin. Whereto Ioh to translate the same, it should seeme they had a respect vnto the verbe *Iacobus*, which signifieth, To compass about: and in the coniugatiue on *Niphal* it is said *Nikephus*, that is, They shall be compassed about; namely, my points, & newes, and members in this skin, and in this hide, and with my flesh I shall see God. Both the one sense and the other do affirme resurrection. With mine eies I shall see him; I my selfe, and

not a stranger; or after for me. He affirmeth that he shall rise in his owne; proper bodie, and not in another; for men as Christ toke againe his owne bodie vnto him, euen so likewise shall be guen vnto his owne bodie, and no other.

Wherevpon Tertullian *De resurrectione carnis* saith; I shall not be another man, but another thing; affirming, that there shall be no vncertainty of substance, but of conditions, qualities, and properties. Wherby, they speake contrarie to what at this date in the schools; to wit, that euerie man shall be another person, but not another thing; *Personarum sunt, diuersa sunt genera* of speaking do not alter the matter. I shall see (saith Ioh) I, which signifieth, For my selfe, for mine owne profit; for albeit he deale familiarly with me now, and seemeth to be mine enemy, he will then show himselfe to be mercifull and gracious vnto me. This is the consolation of the godlie, while they abide affliction in this world; euen to haue an eies vnto the resurrection, and therein to quiet their consciences. And while he saith; I shall see him with mine eies; he hath made manifest the two natures of Christ; namely, the diuine and the humane; for God is not seene with bodily eies. These things he so manifest, as they haue no need of greater light. Wherby it appeareth, that the fathers in old time were not ignorant of Christ the redeemer, nor yet of the resurrection from the dead.

27 Some saie, that Ioh spake these things touching the recoverie both of his health, and also of his goods in this life; and they are not of that mind, that he spake anie thing of the world to come. But that interpretation is strange and vaine, the which is two tooles to be confuted by argument. First, of the recoverie of health as concerning this life, he despaird; and to wit, the hope of resurrection he comforted himselfe, as it hath bene said; which is euident in the same 19. verse. 16,

chapter, where he saith, that God delated all his hope, so as he comparcth himselfe with a plant that is cut out, and springeth not againe; and the verie same appeareth in many chapters of his booke. Further, if he had spoken of this temporal restitution; it would neede to haue bene such magnificall speech, because he began the matter, wishing that his words were written in a booke, and grauen in flint, or in lead, for a perpetual remembrance thereof: It is a common matter, that calamities be removed from them that repent, and to haue their old state, and manie times a better restored by God: pea his friends promised, that this should happen vnto him, if he returned into the wale from whence they thought he was departed.

Wherefore Ioh spake these things, that they might all understand, that euen in the midst of death, he goddlike comforted himselfe with the

341. 11,

hope







which saie, that David indeed fore-told of these things; yet not so expressely and manifestly as they might be understood by others: but that onely by the apostles, after the coming of Christ, those things were expounded and made plaine. For they ascribe further, that in the old testament, the resurrection was altogether unknowne. But we saie, that the prophesies therein, and by the fault of teachers, who laing aside the scriptures of God, began to followe the opinions of the Greeks; rather bringing in the beeres of philosophers, than the sentences of the holie scriptures. This also might happen by default of the readers, who did not attentively, but negligently peruse the sayings of the prophets. Otherwise the prophesies would be plaine enough, as at the least wist not to darke and obscure, as they may by no means be understood.

For they be given to edifie withall, therefore they might not instruct men, bute they should be understood: and they would bring no more benefit to the church, than death a strange tongue, whose life in the church is forbidden by the holie script, because it tendeth not unto edifying. But against vs is objected a place vnto the Gentiles, where the apostle Paule testifieth, that The secret or myserie of Christ was hidden Manie ages from the children of men, that the Gentiles should be inheritors also, and of the same bodie, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the Gospell. But that the meaning of the apostles words may appere, we must make certaine distinctions.

35 The first is, to make a difference betwene the Jewes and the Gentiles: for vnto the Gentiles we will easilie grant, that the mysteries of Christ and spiritual lessons for the most part were unknowne. For it was no open possession of them; albeit that there were some among the Chinkins that knew those things. But the Jewes, which receiued the lawe from God, and had giuen vnto them most excellent prophets, were not ignorant of the mysteries of Christ; vntill it were in respect that they of set purpose contemned the word of God, as ife that they being blinded through affections, and blinded through hatred, would not heare them which taught well. An example may be the wicked Jewes, that when as Christ had said; Abraham saue my day, and reioiced, they were so thoroughly leered, as they would haue stoned him: when neuertheless among the Jewes, nothing was better knownen, than that Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, & other the patriarchs, both knewe the messias, & also prophesied of him. Whereby, they were blinded with wrath, as they inuerted the words of Moses, saying; Thou art not yet fifty yeeres old, and halt thou seene Abraham? Whereas

Christ did not saie, that he saue Abraham, in respect of his manhood, or else was with him: but that Abraham himselfe, in spirit and in faith, saue his daie. But we must also make a difference betwene the Jewes themselves: for the secrets or mysteries were not knowne vnto all. For among them, some were Epicurians, and altogether Atheists, which contemned diuine things: those understood little or nothing of Christ, and of his mysteries. Others were godlie, but petruce and unskillfull, who were not ignorant of the principall points of religion, and of those things which should be belieued of Christians. But others were learned, and well acquainted with the holie scriptures, which were in a manner all things touching the messias and the mysteries of him.

36 Furthermore we grant that the Jewes, according to their time, did much more obscurely see the mysteries of our saluation, than we do. For the prophetes are much more plainely perceived, when they are come to passe, than when they are not yet fulfilled. That the fathers in old time knewe those things, which belong vnto the messias hereby we may easilie perceive, in that they all declared him to be the sonne of David. For the common people, the children, and blinde men called him The sonne of David. And the scribes and Pharisees being demanded by Herod, Where Christ should be borne, named expressely, In the citie of Bethlem. And Esai in the 53. chapter, so notable, so plainelike, and so manifestly foretold the acts and mysteries of Christ, as he saith not to plaie the part of a prophet, but rather of an euangelist. In like manner, the death of the Lord, together with his triumph and victrorie, came to readie to hand in each place of the scriptures, as the Jewes appointed thoo. the messias, one of the tribe of Ephraim, which should be for the saluation of their nation; and an other they made of the tribe of Iuda, and him to be the sonne of David, which should obtaine the victrorie, and beare rule ouer all nations. And by this means the things which belonged vnto one Christ, concerning his two comings, they diuided vnto thoo. And the calling of the Gentiles, (whereof in the place before allegged to the Ephraimians, the apostle plainelike discouered) is shewed in the holie scriptures. For there we read, that All nations shall come to mount Sion, to worship Iehouah: and that Altars shall be built vnto him, when in Aegypt; and that All people shall speake in the language of Chanaan: also that From the east vnto the west his name shall be extolled, by offering vnto him acceptable and sweet sacrifices.

37 Certainlie, these things were verie well knowne vnto the Jewes: yet neuertheless, they

they were called hidden things, as touching creation and experience. For they belieued, that they should come to passe afterward: but the means, the time, the waie, and the manner holo, all men did not plainelike perceiue. Wherein are we happier than they: for both we understand these things, and we are not ignorant, both when and how they were ordered. And the apostles themselves, whom Christ had commaunded to preach the Gospell vnto all creatures, kept themselves long time among the Jewes, neither went they vnto the Gentiles, because as yet they knew not the time, the means, and the manner how they should preach to the nations. They waited for some certaine signe to be giuen them, which at the last they obtained by the conuersion of Cornelius the centurion. And moreover, the angels themselves (as the apostle testifieth in the epistle to the Ephesians) do understand hidden and manifold things of the church, as touching the summe and manifold wisdom of God. And so it willinglie consisteth, that there be certaine things in the holie scriptures, which be somewhat hard, being not yet perfectly vnderstood; but those (I saie) neither are, nor in old time were of necessity vnto saluation. And thus

I thinke, that the godlie Jewes, in the old time, held in effect the principall points of religion; and belieued those things which did suffice vnto pietie, and that the prophetes of Christ were well knowne vnto the godlie. And that if there were any, which knewe them not, we must thinke that the time happened through their owne fault. For Esai, in the 29. chapter, when he had reposed the people of Israel, saith; that They were come to that passe, that all the visions of the prophets, were vnto them like a booke sealed vp, which they might not read, if it were shewed vnto them. And he straitwaie added the cause, saying; Because his people honoured me with their lips, but their hart is far from me.

38 Wherefore, the fault must not be laied vnto the scriptures, but rather vnto the sloth and negligence of Men, who loue darknes rather than light: otherwise, The holie scripture is plain and giueth vnderstanding euen to the simple. So as they be verie ill aduised, which vnder the pretence of difficultie and obscurenesse laie aside the reading of the scriptures. And some such ye may find, which saie, they knowe not the secret mysteries of the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost: and that they knowe not whether they be one God, and whether one God be the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost. And in the meane time they neglect the diligent reading of the scriptures, and sometimes try to deceiue themselves, as they suffer to be abused vnto them, to be worshipped and honoured by God, him whom they thinke to be a

creature. In those mysteries they saie some felues dull of vnderstanding, when as otherwise they be sharpe enough of wit, and diligent to defend their owne inuentions. And whereas they challenge vnto themselves the knowledge of the scriptures, and boast that they haue the keie of them; neither do they enter in themselves, nor yet suffer others to enter.

But I returne vnto David Kimhi, who albeif (as I haue shewed) that he did interpret the place of the psalme to belong to David, who trusting in the goodnesse of God, hoped to receiue helpe in all dangers, and that he understood not these things to be spoken of the happy resurrection, (as except he had affirmed the same in an other place, I would faine haue iudged him to be a boocie:) yet did he not ouerpasse a certaine sentence of the elders, in Midrash, which is written after this manner; *Achare melamed melo malto bhi verba lo*, that is, He teacheth, that after death the loom; a most hard, not beare rule ouer him. But wherefore in this place they haue so greatly shunned the light, I leaue another cause, but the hatred which they beare against iustitians: which was greater than that, whereby with the people of Rome hated Vatinus. For seeing it is not unknowne vnto them, that the apostles; namely, Peter and Paule had used this testimonie of David, for confirming of the resurrection of Christ, therefore deuised they to manie sumbie & intricate expostitions, because they should not content vnto the apostles of Christ. And of all, it is to be noted, that the prophet was taught by inspiration from God, not by the power of nature: that resurrection should come: when the faith vnto God himselfe. Thou shalt not leaue my soule in hell, neither suffer thy holie one to see corruption. And much more in those things that followe; Thou shalt shew me the path of life, &c.

39 The prophete of David being plainelike expounded, it seemeth good to bring forth an other testimonie, which we read in the 26. chapter of Esai. There the prophet, at such time as the Israelites were grievously afflicted and oppressed with extreme calamities, would haue them comforted, by testifying vnto them that helpe should be expressed from God: the helpe I meane of eternal life, through the resurrection that should come, wherefore he burning his speech towards God, saith; Thy slaue men shall live: calling martyrs, of those, whose whole life was a martyrdom. The slaue men of God; because they fed with the gloie of God, through their godly works; and whom the same Paule calleth; Thine dead in Christ. And he addeth; Together with my dead bodie: coupling and afflicting himselfe to those elect of God, that shall be raised by. Certainlie, the piece of sentence ad-

dead, doth not a little serve for vehement affirmation. For he saith, that he speaketh of increase not of things unknowne, so such as were teined not unto him; but of those things, which he herself perceived, and after a long had already tasted.

Which we in like manner should imitate; namely, to aspie unto our owne felicity those things, which are promised by God into the future. And therefore, The flame of God shall live in that resurrection, which is now begun, when God reneweth his elect in afflictions: but shall be thoroughly and perfectly fulfilled at the last day, in the blessed resurrection. Whereupon, in the Acts of the apostles, the third chapter that date is called; The time of restitution of all things. And we must not forget, that the Volume which *Nabhiab*, may by another manner of *Nabhiab* be read in the plural number *Nabhiab*: so as it may signify; *My dead bodies shall rise*: as though God should answer unto the prophet (which said; Thy flaine men shall arise) and saie affirmatively; *Yea verily, my dead bodies shall arise*. Furthermore, it must be diligentlly considered, that the cause of the resurrection is expressed; for therefore the flaine men shall arise, because they be of God; but God is not God of the dead, but of the living; as Christ himselfe testifieth.

40. Besides this, it is said; Awake ye, ye Be ye raised up. Because the death of the goodlie is counted like a sleepe, as we oftentimes read in the scriptures. And he addeth; Reioyce ye: because saying there is speaking of the resurrection of the goodlie, that date must of necessity be most comfortable unto them. And he calleth them; The inhabitants of the dust: partly, because it happeneth to them to be disquieted, and to be in paces, while they be in this life; and partly, because after death they be released into peace. Afterward he, turning himselfe to God, saith; Thy dew is euen as the dew of herbs. For euen as they, being dried up in the winter, either else, through heate of the sunne, do againe flourish and was greene; by receiving the dew of heauen: so the dead, by vertue of thy goodnes and power, shall returne unto life. Wherein consisteth the elegancie of this similitude; that euen as these things flourish, and are greene without mans labour; euen so shall the dead rise againe by the power of God, without the force of nature. God hath painted out in externie things, the forme and image of the expected resurrection; or, likewise those things do spring, bud forth, flourish, and fructifie, which before were withered. Which similitude also Paule to the Corinths thus teacheth.

31. followeth in the prophet; The earth shall thrust forth his dead, and shall discouer his

blood; but thou my people enter thou into thy chambers: namely, while the blessed resurrection is at hand. Thou must patientlly abide the trouble, while thou wait for great a good labo for thee: For the passions of this life, if we compare them to the glorie to come, which shall be revealed unto vs, are not to be esteemed. Terullian, in his booke *De resurrectione carnis*. That which the Hebrews call *Chadarm*, and the Latins turne *Chadula*, he calleth *Lardus* of fishes; which he saith are for this cause dead in the water, that mate may be laid up in them, to be delivered out againe unto the life of man. When *h*ad *h*ad *h*ad bodies are put into the graves, to the intent that they should be brought forth from thence againe. But to returne unto the lodgings, or chambers, and closets, in the which God commandeth that the faithful should bestow themselves in the meane time; namely, before the blessed life. And if he be demanded, that the goodlie shall there do, while they be absent; I answer, that they be therein, to the intent they may loue, complaine themselves, fight, call carnestlly for helpe, and as it were to set forth in the bosome of the father, their griefs, and therefore both disquiet them. For it is not the part of goodlie men to beuolue their griefs in the streets, in taverns, or in barbers shops, or openlie to exclaim of their oppressions: for they must commit their cause to the iudgement. Euen in like manner as it is said by Peter, in his first epistle, the second chapter, that Christ himselfe did thus the same unto this for a little space.

The argument of this consolation is veried from the shortnesse of time, euen as Paule louote in the second epistle to the *Corinthians*; that The momentarie lightnes of the afflictions of this life, dooth breed vnto vs a great weight of glorie. And it is called a short time, which is appointed in the meane time, till the resurrection; and that not amiss, although it should be a long time; because this must be understood by comparison. For if a verie long time be compared with eternitie, it is a verie short time. After the same manner, the troubles of them that be flaine for the name of Christ (which praised God, that their blood might be reuenged) are to be to be at rest, to attend a certeine time. The testimony hereunto of the prophet *Esaie*, euen *Aben Ezra*, a famous interpreter among the Hebrews, referred vnto the resurrection of the dead. And the Chaldean paraphrast saith, that *the* God shall thus the dead into hell: which sayeth belongeth to the time of the resurrection. I might also haue brought those things, which the prophet in the same prophet, in the third chapter, and in the last chapter, concerning *bell-fire*, *Tophet*, fire vniuersall, the worms that shall neuer die, sulphur, the bellicoses, and such like:

like: but the time will not suffer, and I come to Ezzechiel.

41. This prophet testifieth, that he was led by the spirit into a field filled with bones. This happened two waies; first, because he sawe those things by the inspiration of God, and not by humane fancies or imagination; secondly, because those things were not shewed him in the bodie, but in the spirit, and vision of the mind. And it is to be understood, that the resurrection of the dead was openlie at that daie believed; & that therefore the prophet did veruie his argument from thence. He sawe bones that were drye, bare, withered, and wasme eaten; that the greater difficultie of recouering former life might be expressed. For dead carcases, that be whole and full of moisture, would perhaps be thought that they might more easilie be restored to life. God said vnto the prophet; Thou fonnest of man, thinkest thou that these bones shall liue? He answered; Lord thou knowest. In verie deed his faith was tempted, but he made a goodie answer, as one that was neither doubtful, nor yet Libertine. But if the resurrection of the dead were an article of the faith, and openlie received, why did he not boldly saie; They shall liue? I answer; because, albeit he did believe that the dead at the end of the world should be quickened, yet was he ignorant touching their, which were there shewed him at that time, whether they should be raised up in that houre; and therefore he committed the matter vnto God. So as, if there be any doubt objected vnto vs, touching the articles of faith; we will still and profitably followe his example, in referring the matter to God, saing; He knoweth, and is able. And seeing he hath made his will manifest vnto vs in the holie scriptures, we beleeue those things, which he hath shewed should come to passe.

And as concerning the vision of the prophet, he must vnderstand, that the citie of Ierusalem, being destroyed by the host of Nabuchad-nezar, and the temple overthrowne by Nabuzardan (the cheefe man that had to deale with life and death) there seemed to be an utter ruine of the Jewes, being in captiuitie at Babylon. Wherefore, the restoring of them into the land of Chanaan, was now in a manner despised of. But God confirmed and aduanceth their hope, denoting his argument from the *Mour* into the *Mour*; that is, from the greater to the lesse, and saith; Seeing I am to restore life vnto the dead (which is a far greater thing, than to restore from captiuitie, as I haue promised) which is much easier than to raise up the dead. And to the intent that the antecedent, that is, the resurrection of the dead, should be more thoroughly

perceiued, more euident, and more firme; he set before the eyes of the prophet, that vision. Wherefore, by the resurrection of the dead, which is a thing blaine, and of much more difficultie, he manly credit to be giuen, that it is to be don; which is temporall and of lesser importance. The verie same kind of argument ought lye to life, if we begin at anie time of doubt of wanting things necessarie vnto this life. In that temptation let vs saie; Seeing God will giue vnto our bodie eternall life and felicitie in the resurrection; surely he will not withstande from vs the necessarie sustentance of this life.

The Hebrews to order themselves in these daies, as they beleeued the resurrection of the dead; but of the returne into their native country they despaird: when as neuertheless God promised both. But the calamities, which presently disquieted them, to accomplish their senses; as either they forgot the promises of God, or else they gave little or no credit vnto them. God said vnto the prophet; Thou fonnest of man, thinkest thou that these bones shall liue? He answered; Lord thou knowest. In verie deed his faith was tempted, but he made a goodie answer, as one that was neither doubtful, nor yet Libertine. But if the resurrection of the dead were an article of the faith, and openlie received, why did he not boldly saie; They shall liue? I answer; because, albeit he did believe that the dead at the end of the world should be quickened, yet was he ignorant touching their, which were there shewed him at that time, whether they should be raised up in that houre; and therefore he committed the matter vnto God. So as, if there be any doubt objected vnto vs, touching the articles of faith; we will still and profitably followe his example, in referring the matter to God, saing; He knoweth, and is able. And seeing he hath made his will manifest vnto vs in the holie scriptures, we beleeue those things, which he hath shewed should come to passe.

42. The other and disposition of bones, in the resurrection, is most diligentlly taught by the prophet. If it bones being joined to bones, are bound and knit together with sinews. Further, they are replenished with flesh, which, because it cannot remaine vnseparated and whole to lye vpon, it is conuered with skinne. When the dead bodies were now become perfect, he commandeth the prophet to prophesie vnto the spirit, that it should come; and that they should be made things liuing with soule. There is two sorts of spirit mentioned; namely, of the spirit, which quickeneth the bodie; and of the spirit of God, which illuminateth and sanctifieth the soule. And for this cause the dead raised up, are not onlie said to haue skin vpon their feet, but also to be aded; And they shall knowe that I am God. Vnderstandeable God is knowne by the greatnes of his works: but that knowledge happeneth not without the spirit of God.

Exo.19,18.

Mat.27,51.  
and 28,2.

Deut.30,1.

Gen.1,2,7.

Apoc.7,9.

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Gen.41,5.

The resur-  
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A voice was heard: perhaps it was thunder; and there was an earthquake: for these things were used to be done in shewing of the excellent miracles of God. When the lawe was given in Sina, there was horrible thunder and earthquakes; yea and at the death and resurrection of the Lord, a great earthquake was made. The spirit cometh from the four winds, &c.

At the resurrection of the saints that be dead, the soules returne to their bodies from the high places of heaven; howbeit, by viuers and founteyne waies; because the adre and dead bodies of them be not heaped by together into one certaine place of the world. And all the waies both the scripture comprehend by the four winds; that is, by the east, west, south and north. And likewise the scattering abroad of the captiues, unto the four parts of the world is noted. Moles also in Deuteronomie, promised vnto the penitent Jewes, this resurrection from the four parts of the world. Wherby moreover we gather, that the soules of men are not byed in them: euen as God brethens a soule into Adam, and afterward to euerie man creaturely soules; euen so in the resurrection he will send them from abroad unto them againe: which also is a plaine token, that they which their bodies do not die. And where it is after added, that All these bones is the whole house of Israel: thereby we learne, that the speech here is meant as touching the resurrection of the godlie: for they be true the house of Israel. And the prophet saue an expounding great host, because as we also read in the Apocalypse, the compante of the faithful is a great number.

43 All these bones is the whole house of Israel. When he had now finished the proposition, he addeth the application. It may be noted, that the verbe substantiue [is] in all one, as if he had said, [it] signified; for those bones were not in buried the house of Israel, but they did becomen the same; euen as the seven vntuifull and empty eares, which were sene vnto Pharaoh, were the seven yeeres of dearth. I will open (saith the Lord) your sepulchres. But it must needs be, that the graues were open alreadie, seeing those bones were scattered in the field. Vnto this it is answered, that as concerning those bones, the graues were first opened: but if so be respect be had vnto deuteronomie, that is, the restitution of the Israelites into the land of Chanaan, they were yet to be opened. And whereas the prophet saith; And I will bring you into your land: some vnderstand it allegoricallie, as if the land of the Israelites should be taken for the kingdome of heaven, and eternall felicitie. But setting allegorie aside, I rather weigh this in this place; that the haunte of those Jewes is confused, who thinke, that the dead shall onely be raised by in

Judae. Whereas the prophet in this place affirmeth it to come to passe far otherwise: for to the dead alreadie returned, he promisseth a returne into the land of promise. Certainlie, it is a land and solidly desirous, so to tie the power of strength of God to a certaine place, as it may not be lost the same thing in one place, that it hath done in another. The graues do beoken the captiuitie of Babylon, and the lamentable seruitude vnto a tyrant, which God promises to release. Also the sepulchre of the Jewes was a dreame of desperation; which they ran into, casting al the hope of their returne. This sepulchre did God promise to vnlocke, by opening the waie of their returne to their own country. So in buried dead, the case standeth as touching assistance of the godlie, as when things be in great despair, then arrieth the daie. Ibrahe of heauenly belee. It is to say: two things are shewed by this soyle; the first is, The resurrection of the dead; the second, The returne of the Israelites into their country. And one thing is proved by an other: for the restitution of the Jewes is confirmed by raising by the drie bones vnto life.

44 Against this found and true interpretation, some do vehemently argue two maine objections, saying; first, that there is no speaking here of the vniuersall resurrection of all men, seeing those bones made alive are said to be the house of Israel. Secondly, that this was a fauour and imagined vision, and therefore, that nothing can be constantly affirmed thereby. Where vnto we answer, that inuen we confesse, that the prophet speaketh of the resurrection of the iust, as we haue alreadie said before: but in that it was a vision, it maketh no matter; neither doth it make anie thing the lesse, but that this vision was a general consolation, for confirming the hope of the general resurrection, as well as the restitution of the Jewes. For it is sufficient, that the argument is taken and benched from the resurrection of the dead. Also, the Hebrew interpreters do not denie, but that the same is to be proued out of this place. I rather is that of anie force, which some caull; namely, that the argument is from the greater to the lesse, is nothing worth. If so be that which is taken as the greater, be more vncertaine, or as doubtful as that which is inferred for the lesse. These men thinke, that the resurrection of the dead is more vncertaine, or as doubtful as the restoring of the Jewes into their native land. But they are far deueiled; because the resurrection of the dead is accounted as better knowen, especially to the faithful Jewes, vnto whom it was certain and euident; not by nature or sense, but by faith, through whose light those things become manifest and firme vnto our minds, which vnto the sense & reason of man be obscure. And that this

John 11,24.

The longer  
ment of the  
fathers  
touching  
the place of  
Christ.The nature  
of a nature  
and  
metaphor.

Mat.21,33.

Luke 21,8.

it was that death proue, that the Hebrews, which such occasions against the Christians, neuer contented with them concerning the resurrection of the dead; because it was alwaies receiued by them, and by their forefathers. Wherby on Marthe, when Christ had promised him, that his brother should be raised by, answered boldely; I knowe that my brother shall rise againe at the last daie.

45 But for the better explicatio of this caull, I thinke it good to reherse what the fathers haue said thereof. Tertullian, in his booke *De resurrectione carnis*, obiecteth the verie same against himselfe; and he answereth; that vnto a thing first be, the same can not be resembled into an other thing by a similitude. And therefore, vnles the resurrection be known by faith, and that it shall come to passe in buried dead, it can not (saith he) be applied to the restitution of the Jewes. A similitude he saith of a void thing is not met; and a parable of nothing is not conuenient. And certainlie, they that will, that the resurrection of the dead is inferred in this place metaphorically, must consider, that such is the nature of a metaphoe, that the thing should be translated from his owne proper place vnto an other. So as of necessitie a thing must first be, before it suffer a metaphoe; for vnles that laughter and gladnes were in man, he might not apply them to the cogne fields and meadowes. I saie rather, those metaphoes are chrestie commendeds, which be deriued from notable things, and from things that be nerer, and most knownen. The verie which thing cometh to passe in parables, Christ brought a similitude of the vine, which after it was well described, and in excellent order, it was left forth by to his husbandmen. This parable had not bene plaine, neither would it haue bin of force, vnles that vines excellentlie well handled, should be found in the nature of things; & vnles that the owners of farmes should oftentimes happen by to his husbandmen. Likewise he brought in a parable of a barren & vntuifull fig tree, the which for a yeere or two was dyed with compassie; and saying it brought forth no fruit, it was at the length cut downe. This parable also had bene brought in vaine, vnles that compassing of the fig tree, and putting in husbandrie of gardening, should not euerie where appeare. So let me obiect vnto me the monster Chimera, and such like monstres; which albeit they are not in the nature of things, yet wise men do frame the like shapen things. For albeit Chimera it selfe be not certain, yet are the parts thereof; the which be the lion, the goat, and serpents; which are euerie where sene.

46 But Ieron (saye they) was reprobred, because he interpreted not the place brought out

of Ezechiel, to concerne the resurrection of the dead. I grant; howbeit we must vnderstand, that it is a farther other thing for him to gather the resurrection of the dead by the words of the prophet, than it is to haue it pointed and confirmed by certaine & euident demonstration. This latter did Ieron denie, and that of a sound and right iudgement. For it was not Ezechiels mind to shew the quickning of the dead: it was knownen, and (as we haue said) it was at that time beleueed of the Jewes. Therefore, as out of a knownen principle, he deriued and confirmed thereby the restitution of the Jewes. Yet did not this father denie, but that the resurrection of the dead might be gathered hereby; yea rather, he saith vnto Tertullian, that vnles the resurrection it selfe should consist, there might no similitude be deriued from thence; and that no man confidently vncertaine things by things not certant. Therefore, euen as the life of withered bones (seemeth incredible), and yet the same shall be; so the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie, which was thought should not come to passe, shall be put in execution at the time appointed. But if anie man shall aske, why the similitude is rather brought from the resurrection of the dead, than from anie other thing, as it might haue bene; I would saie, it was therefore done, that by the waie might be shewed, that without mention of the resurrection made, that earthly restitution out of captiuitie should be no perfect and absolute tranquillitie & blessednes vnto them. And thus much hath bene said concerning this place.

47 Now let vs allegoe Daniel, he in the twelfth chapter faile. And at that time that Michael, the great prince stand up, who standeth for the children of thy people. And there shall be a time of trouble, such as neuer was, since there began to be a nation, vnto that same time. And at that time thy people shall escape, whosoener shall be found written in the booke of God: and manie of them, which sleepe in the dust of the earth, shall awake, to euertlasting life, and some to shame and perpetual reproch and contempt. But such as teach and instruct, shall shewe as the brightnesse of the firmament; and they which make manie righteous, shall be as the flames for euer and euer, &c. Daniel had set forth foure Sparhards, which by a continuall succession should preuaile in the world; and that the kingdome of God should preuaile at the last: but before he should obteine (he saith) that Antichrist should be destroyed, who tyrannicallie had oppressed the godlie. And vnderstande that which are Mahomet, the Pope, and all those which are against the religion of Christ. he telleth, that in the same last time, the afflictions and calamities of the church should be more

A. B. H. J. g. r. e. u. e. n. u. s.



Ole. 13, 14.

verf. 56.

lie and effectually fpeake the fame; From the hand of the feptuagint will I deliver them, and from death will I redeeme them. O death, I will be thy plague. O graue, I will be thy deftruction. This place did Paule vfe in the 15. of the first to the Corinthians, as an eminent testimony. Neither muft it moue vs, that he folloved not the Hebrew verities, but the Greeke interpreters: for albeit he change the words, yet he departed not from the fense. As the translation of the feuentie interpreters was then better known, and was well-known to all mens hands: and fo Paule doth fometimes vfe the fame, that euen the Gentils might vnderftand, that thofe things, which he taught, were extant in the holie fcriptures.

But as to the meaning of the prophet thus it ftandeth. Ye a little before had incurred bitterneffe againft Ephraim, that is, againft the kingdom of the ten tribes, prophesying deftruction, and moft certaine ouerthrow vnto them for their idolatrie and wicked life: afterward he gaue the comfort, which I haue rehearfed: to wit, that they fhould be delivered and plucked out from death, and from the graue. But thou wilt faie; how may it be, that thefe things are not repugnant one with another; namely, that they fhould be utterly cut off, and that they fhould be delivered? But there muft be a difference put between the Ifraelites. For on the one part, manie of them were of a moft obftinate mind, cleauing vnto idolatrie, and to moft grieuous finnes: to thefe belonged deftruction, becaufe they repented not. On the other fide, there were among them fome good men, holie men, and true worshippers of God; who notwithstanding that they were to be waiped in other temporal calamities, yet fhould they be delivered: and to them prophecie belonged the comfort which is brought. But the aduerfaries will yet vige more carnellie, and faie; We do not read, that the ten tribes were refcued, nor delivered from the graue of their captiuitie: nor of them perhaps returned, but they came not by great companies; neither was anie more refcued the kingdom of Ephraim, that is, of the ten tribes. This indeed is true, and therefore God in comforting them did not promife temporal redemption, or the deliuerance of this life: but the blessed refurrection, with euerafting felicity. And he faith, that he will redeeme them from the graue, and that he will deliuer them from death: and faith, that he will be the plague of death, and the deftruction of the graue.

As eafe in reading of the p<sup>re</sup>face.

In reading of the prophets we muft oftentimes vfe this rule; namely, that we fhould vnderftand the catchings to take place, as touching them, which be obftinate in finnes, and which will by no means repent: but that pro-

phesies and confolations fhall be moft certeinlie true and fulfilled towards them that repent. Repentance is removed from mine eyes. This added God, that he might appoint the certeinie of the refurrection: as if he fhould faie; I will not repent me of this veritie, it fhall in anie wife come fo to paffe. Ephraim fhall increafe and multiple among brethren. Vnder the name Ephraim, he vnderftandeth all them both Chrift their head, which fhall be heaped vp in the refurrection, with great honours and incredible ornaments. Afterward the prophet returneth with his prophecie vnto the wicked Ephraimites, and faith, that they fhall be utterly banifhed. Doubtles they were men of wealth, riches, and power: in the which things they putting their trust, thought that they fhould neuer come to ruine. But God faith; Behold, I will bring the eait wind, that is, Salmanazar the king of Affyria, which fhall dye by their fountains and veines: that is, not onlie the waters, but alfo the fpringing of the fountains, the verie originals and roots, fo as they may not be repaired anye more: and he will take auaite the treasure, and all pleafant befalls. This is the interpretation, which to me feemeth plaine and manifeft.

51. Albeit I note, that David Kimchi conuerfeth the fense into the p<sup>re</sup>terpofition fense, faith; I had deliuered the dominion of the twelue tribes out of the graue, & had redeemed them from death, and had bene the plague of their death, & the deftruction of their graue, if they had bene wile. By wifedome I meane verie repentance, that is, if they had repented, and heard my wordes. And becaufe they fhould not defpaire, by reafon of fo vnhappie a facrefice, the prophet fpeaketh to magnificallie of deliuerance a redemption, and alfo of plague, death, and abolifhing of the graue. Euen as if he had faid; Although that they had bene exting, and utterly abetled; yet I haue deliuered them. Whereby is gathered, that there is no calamitie of men fo great, but that God can either take auaite or mitigate the fame. Wherefore we muft neuer defpaire, but let alwaies before our eyes, that it is the propertie of God to redeeme from death, and to be the death and deftruction thereof. And if at anie time deliuerance come not, and that death be not taken auaite: God is not in fault thereof: but our otiose obftinacie and vnbeflee, becaufe we will not repent.

Paule, who was moft circumfpect in perufing the faierings of the prophets, deriued the argument (whereby he confirmed the refurrection of the dead) from that fame propertie of God, whereby he is pronounced in the fcriptures to be the conquerour of death, and redeemer from the graues: becaufe it becometh fometimes, that the propertie of God fhould beake forth into an.

an. he noteth, that the prophet doth fir by vnto repentance the kingdom of the ten tribes, by promiffing them, that God would be with them; who is fo mightie and magnificant a conquerour our death. Which exhortation certeinlie would be of no force, if we fhould defire of God that thing, which indeed would neuer come to paffe. And faying the apofle had affiance, that it would fo be; therefore he wifely glorious reioysings againft death, faing; O death, where is thy victorie? O death, where is thy dart, where with thou dilt perle all men? It is vnderftood, thefe things are wiffed from the by Chrift.

to whome  
from Cal-  
may be call-  
to agitate.

52. It muft not fenne anie maruell, if Chrift be called a plague; or deftruction: for this muft be vnderftood in refpect of euill things. And alwaies a new generation muft needs be the corruption of the thing which went before: for when fire is made of wood, the forme and nature of wood muft needs perith, otherwife the fire would not be brought forth. And as the philofophers of Logicians do commonlie affirme; The corrupting of euill things is numbered among good things. And we are wont to faie of a noble and happy emperor; he is a lion, a Wolfe, a dragon; he is fierce and terrible: but it is added; Vnto his enemies: whereas otherwife, vnto his citizens he is mercifull, gentle, and courteous. Yea, and in this felfe fame prophet, God named himfelfe like a beare, a leopard, and a lionelle; but that was toward the wicked and vngodlie: whereas otherwife he is mild and mercifull toward the faithfull. So as God hath tempered for vs a medicine out of the death and refurrection of Chrift, whereby we be deliuered, and death peritheth: in this manner as a wife phyfician vnfeth vnto the patient of the medicine, where with he is releued, and the ague of difeafe cringing vnto. And, of this wholefome medicine we vnto healthfullie, while as either by reading, or by preaching, there is mention made of the death and refurrection of the Lord, and with a liuelie faith embrace the fame: and alfo, when we make pofteffion of our faith by the feeling of baptifme, and receiving of the Lords fupper, for in the holie actions, both the death and refurrection of Chrift are celebrated. In the treatise of this place, Paule added; that Death is fwallowed up by victorie; namely, of Chrift.

Ole. 12.  
614. 21. 17.

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Colloquies  
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53. And this much true we fpooken concerning the places of the old teftament, of which foere might be more brought: but thefe I was minded to produce, and to ftand content with them. And I haue the more largelie expounded them, becaufe there be fome at this daie, which affirme; that in the old teftament there is nothing concerning the refurrection of the dead: or if there be anie teftimonie there extant, they faie it was not knowne vnto the fathers of thofe

times. Now come I to the teftimonies and affertions of the new teftament. Firft we read in the first of Iohn, which alreadie I haue oftentimes alleged; They which be in their graues, fhall heare the voice of the fonne of God and they which haue done well, fhall come forth into the refurrection of life; but they that haue done euill, into the refurrection of iudgement. And in the first chapter; He that beleuech in me, hath life euerafting, and I will raife him vp at the laft daie. In the 22. of Matthew, the 12. of Marke, and the 20. of Luke; I am the God of Abraham, the God of Ifaac, and the God of Jacob. But Gods not the God of the dead, but of the liuing. And in the 14. chapter of Luke, when Chrift had exhorted them that stood by, that they fhould be beneficiall vnto the poore; and that they fhould make friends vnto them; They haue not where-withall (faith he) to requite thee againe, but fhalt be refcued to thee in the refurrection of the iult.

In Iohn; He that loueth his foule in this world fhall lofe it; and he that doth hate the fame, fhall preferue it vnto euerafting life. And vnder the word (Soule, he vnderftandeth this life of the bodie; whereinto he is ouermuch affeared, and will not reuerie it for the Goffell faie fhall lofe the fame; becaufe in the refurrection it fhall be iudged to perpetual deftruction: But he that fhall lofe the fame, fhall recieue it fafe vnto eternal life. In the 25. of Matthew; Before him fhall be gathered all nations. And in the 13. of Marke; And he fhall fend his angels, and fhall gather his elect together from the four winds, and from the vttermoft parts of the earth, to the vttermoft part of heauen. In the 17. of the Actes, Paule preached this refurrection to the Athenians, when there were prefent with him the Stoicks & Epicures, in the ftreets of Mars: who bearing of that doctrine, partly they laughed it to come, & partly they faie; We haue heere dece another time of this matter. And they called him an enuoy of strange gods, & of new doctrine. In the fame booke the 2. chapter, when as Paule ftod in the college of the fcribes, pharifes, and priests, and faue himfelfe to lue in great danger, he cried out; I am a Pharife, and the fonne of a Pharife, and am iudged of the refurrection of the dead. And againe, in the 24. chapter, of the fame booke, when he had pleaded his caufe before Felix the prefident, he testified, that both he iult and vniult fhould rife againe. The verie which thing he rehearfed againe, when he was before Feftus, in the prefence of king Agrippa, and Bernice, his wife.

54. Bernice, and Peter in the first epistle, and first chapter, faith; that God, according to the abundance of his mercie, hath begotten vs a gaine

verf. 3.

Act. 26, 8.

verf. 15.

verf. 16.

verf. 17.



gaine vnto a liuelie hope, by the resurrection of Iesus Christ from the dead. And ye by the power of God are kept through faith vnto saluation, which shall be thewed in the last time. And in the latter epistle, the third chapter, he saith, that In those daies there shall be new heauens, and a new earth. Also Iohn in his first epistle, and third chapter, writeth; When Christ shall appeere, then we shall be like vnto him. **Whereof it is gathered, that Iesus Christ hath a bodie, and is risen againe; we also shall rise againe together with our bodies. In the 20. chapter of the Apocalypse, we read; And I sawe the dead, both great and small, stand in the sight of God, &c. Also in the 21. chapter; And God shall wipe awaie all teares from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, &c. In the 22. chapter also; Blessed be they which keepe his commandments, that their power may be in the tree of life. Paule in the eight chapter to the Romans; But if his spirit that raised vp Iesus Christ from the dead, dwell in you, he that hath raised Iesus Christ from the dead, will also quicken your mortall bodies. And in the first chapter; For if we be planted with him to the similitude of his death, euen so shall we be partakers of his resurrection. And in the 14. chapter; For we shall all appeere before the tribunall seat of Christ.**

**1. Cor. 15.** **Unto the Corinthians, the first epistle and 15. chapter, he intreating purposefully and diligently of this question, in such sort confirming the resurrection, that of his iudgement and meaning therein, it is not lawfull to doubt: It will not deaue out words from thence, because it should be met to rectie the whole chapter. Wholuer, this I will rehearse out of the first chapter of the same epistle; Our bodie is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the bodie. And God hath also raised vp the Lord, and shall raise vs vp by his power. And in the latter epistle, the six chapter, mention is made of our habitation in heauen. Not being made with hands: and that we desire to be clothed vpon, and that while we be in this tabernacle, we sigh, because we would not be vnder it, but be clothed vpon, that mortalitie might be swallowed vp of life. Further it is added, that All we shall appeere before the iudgement seat of Christ, that euerie one may receiue the things which are done in his bodie, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or euill. Unto the Ephesians, the second chapter; When we were dead through finnes, he quickened vs together in Christ, and hath raised vs vp together with him, and made vs sit in the heauenlie places, &c. Unto the Philippians, the third chapter; I may knowe him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his afflictions, while I am made conformable vnto**

his death, if I may by anie means attaine to the resurrection of the dead. **Unto the Colossians, the second chapter; Ye being buried together with him by baptisme, in whom ye are also raised together with him, through the faith of the operation of God, which hath raised him vp from the dead, Likewise in the third chapter; And Your liuen is hidden with Christ in God: wherefore when Christ your life shall appeere, then shall you be made manifest with him in glorie. Unto the Thebalonians, the first epistle, the 4. chapter, he admonisheth them, that They should not sorrowe for them that are sleepe, as others do, which haue no hope: for if we beleuee that Iesus died and rose againe, euen so God will bring with him those which sleepe in Iesus. And strait after; For the Lord himselfe shall descend from heauen, with a shout, and with the voice of an archangel, and with the trumpet of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Unto the Hebrewes, the second chapter; That by death he might abolish him, who had power ouer death. In the same epistle, the eleventh chapter; When Abraham at the commandment of God would haue sacrificed his sonne Isaac, of whom he had the promise of posteritie; he considered with himselfe, that God was able euen to raise him vp from the dead, from whence also he returned him, to be a figure of the resurrection. Iude, in his epistle, bringeth in Enoch for a testimonie, who was the seventh from Adam, and said; Behold, the Lord commeth in thousandes of his faints, to giue iudgement againt all men, and to reprove all the wicked. And some after; Looking for the mercie of our Lord Iesus Christ, vnto eternal life. Let it be sufficient, that we haue brought these things out of the new testament: vnto the which adde the article of the apostles Creed, wherein we confesse our felues to beleue the resurrection of the flesh. Further, all those places, wherein Christ is said, that he shall be iudge of the quicke and the dead, haue relation vnto this.**

**55** **Now that we haue seene the signification of the word, and also the definition; and haue sought, whether this resurrection may be plainlie set forth by naturall reasons; and further, haue brought testimonies, as well of the old as new scriptures: now it foloweth, that we speake somewhat of the causes thereof. It is the effect of faith, and it folloiweth iustificati- on. **Therupon it is said in the first chapter of Iohs He that beleueeth in me, hath life euerslasting, and I will raise him vp at the last daie. So as God, by his power, is the efficient cause thereof. For which cause Christ said vnto the Saoures; Ye eere being ignorant of the scriptures, and of the power of God. And not onelie God the father himselfe, but also the holie Ghost is cause of****

the resurrection. For (as we haue already said) it is written in the epistle to the Romans, I like Iohn 11. I am of him, which hath raised vp Christ from the dead, dwell in you, &c. **Pea moreover, the sonne himselfe, which is Christ Iesus, is a cause of this resurrection: for in the Gospell of Iohn he said; I will raise him vp at the last daie. And againe; Euen as the father raiseth vp and quickeneth, euen so also the sonne quickeneth, &c. further; They which be in the graues, shall here the voice of the sonne of God, and shall come forth, &c. In the eleventh of Iohn; I am the resurrection and the life. Wherefore, there is an argument taken herof; that Christ, by his death, tooke alwaie sinne, which was the cause of death. Certeine no man doubteth, but that the cause being remoued, the effect is taken awaie. In the first to the Corinthians, the 15. chapter; In Adam all men are dead, in Christ all men shall be reuiued: & as by one man came death, so by one man came the resurrection from the dead.**

**The small cause of resurrection is assigned to be, that the whole and entire man should be iudge at the tribunall seat of God, and should receiue rewards or punishments, according as he hath behaue himselfe. But the angels, although they shall be ministers of the resurrection, yet can they be no causes. Among the causes of the resurrection to come, the resurrection also of Christ is numbered: for Paule, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15. chapter, saith; If the dead rise not againe, neither is Christ risen againe: and if Christ be not risen, our preaching is in vaine. But we may argue on the other side, Christ rose againe; therefore we also shall rise againe. So then the resurrection of Christ seemeth to be the cause of our resurrection, which indeed is to be granted: yet not so, as that bette arise, wherein Christ was raised vp, and which is now past, is the efficient cause that per- formeth our death and thing, which should bring forth our resurrection; but because the diuine power and might, which is in Christ, seeing he is God, is retained still, euen as he raised him vp from the dead, so will he also quicken vs in due time. This we see come to passe in humane things. For he that is a white man, begetteth al- so a white sonne: not that the colour it selfe can procreate, but that those becomings of causes, which wrought the begetter to be white, do make him also white, which is begotten by him. Euen so our resurrection shall not be unlike to the resurrection of Christ. Further this must be noted, that the diuine actions, and heauenlie benefites, which are imploied vpon men, be (as Damascene saith) deriued vnto vs by the flesh of Christ, which now should be none at all, unless he had bene raised from the dead. Therefore by this**

means, the resurrection of Christ may be also called ours: because without that, we might not haue obtained ours. Again, if we should like philosophers followe Plato, aduicing vnto the four kinds of causes an Aduer, [?] patrice, we might say, that the resurrection of Christ was the extrinsecal cause of our resurrection. The small cause of resurrection is assigned to be, that the whole and entire man should be iudge at the tribunall seat of God, and should receiue rewards or punishments, according as he behaue himselfe. And thus much of the causes.

**56** **It folloiweth, that we should speake of the properties and conditions of the bodies, which shall be raised vp. The scholemen called them indolments or qualities: neither can I disal- low of those, which they haue reckoned; because I perceive them to be gathered out of the holie scriptures. Wholuer, I thinke not that all the properties were gathered by them; neither per- map it be: for in this life we cannot haue expe- rience of the glorie of the faints; but we shall then perfecte and absolute knowe it, when we shall come vnto it. The first condition that com- meth to my remembrance of the blessed, is immortalitye. And therefore, in the diuine scrip- tures, so often as there is mention of the life to come; the same is said to be eternal, as being that, which shall haue no end. Paule saith; This mortall must put on haue immortallite, and this corruptible bodie must put on incorruption. And seeing the punishments & rewards, which shall be rendered, according to the nature of works, be conspirciall; the subiect of nature, which shall be giuen them, must needs be im- mortall also. Furthermore, seeing it is no doubt, but that Christ descended into death; it re- maineth, that the life of the faints should be im- mortall. And in the first chapter to the Romans it is written; Christ rising againe from the dead dieth no more; neither shall death haue anye more power ouer him. Besides, in the first to the Corinthians, the 15. chapter; Flesh and blood shall not inherite the kingdome of God. Yet must not these things be taken for the verie nature and substance of flesh and blood: for they, which shall rise againe, shall be whole in- deed with these things. But the apostle hath spe- ced vnto corruption, vnto the which flesh and blood in this life are subiect: wherefore he added; And corruption shall not inherite incorruption.**

**57** **Upon this property folloiweth another; namely, that after resurrection there shall be no need, either of meat, drink, or of women: seeing men (as Christ taught) shall be vnto angels. Wherefore, the Mahometites, and the Saracens are herein shamefully deceived; who beleue, that after the resurrection, the blessed sort shall haue ministred vnto them abundance of meat,**

of the con- dition and properties of bodies, when they shall rise.

immortallite, as the first property.

1. Co. 15, 53

verse 9.

verse 50.

1. idem, transpige- tion.

Matt. 22, 30

foye

Alcoran.  
Auscenna.

verse. 37.

Luke. 22. 29.

χίλις ετών.  
Augustine.

Apoc. 20. 6.

why Christ  
did eat  
and drinke  
after  
his resur-  
rection.Catenas of  
Christus  
Luce. 24. 31.

John. 20. 29.

John. 20. 27.

stone of drinke, and a plentiful full life of tomen: for to hath their Alcoran taught. Yet hath Auscenna in his *Metaphysick*, not withoutly interpreted this, and saith; that those teachings are metaphysical, because (as he thinketh) the best pleasures of the life to come might not be expressed, (speciallie unto ignorant men) other wise than in termes of the vulgar delights, which by receiued in this world. These things I said were not withoutly thought, because euen in the holie scriptures are found such allegories or translations. For we read in the twelfth of Luke; Blessed be those seruants, which the Lord shall find waking, for he will giue himselfe about, and passing by, will minister vnto them. And in the 22. chapter of the same euangelist, it is written; I appoint vnto you a kingdom, euen as my father hath appointed vnto me, that ye should eate and drinke at my table in my kingdom. Yea, and among our most ancient fathers, there were verie many, which thought, that Christ at his latter coming, should reigne together with his saints for the space of a thousand yeres, in singular delights, and great pleasures. These men be called by the Grecians, χίλις ετών, of the Latines *Millenary*; of whom Augustine spake at large in his second booke *De ciuitate Dei*, and 20. chapter. Whereby they first twice an occasion of error; because Christ did eat and drinke together with his apostles, after his resurrection; secondlie, because the prophets do oftentimes make mention of these things, when they prophesie of the last times. Wherefore, vnto this purpose they looked a place out of this chapter of the Apocalypse: where there is mention made of those thousand yeres. To consist this error; of theirs: I first will saie, that Christ, with his apostles, did eat and drinke, to the intent he might leaue a most testified truth of his humane nature, and not to serue necessitie. For he had an incorruptible bodie, which was neither troubled with hunger, nor thirst. Wherefore the meat and drinke which he used, turned not into the substance and quantitie of his bodie; but they departed, and were reuelous vnto their first meat. Whereby it may be vnderstood, that there were certaine things, which Christ did after his resurrection, to testifie the truth of his humane bodie; and some other, for the setting forth of his glorye.

Catenas of Christus Luce. 24. 31. John. 20. 29. John. 20. 27.

when he ascending vnto heauen, was visible separated from them. And whereas the holie scriptures, as well in the prophets, as in the euangelists, make mention of meat and drinke: that (as we haue declared) is done by an allegorie, and by metaphors and similitudes long enough applied vnto teaching. This we may then by a testimonie of the booke of *Isaiah*, where wisdom is described, which mingled his wine, and prepared his table. Which things can not be agreeable vnto wisdom, whose nature is spiritual, and dithely in the minds of men: but vnder the name of meat and drinke, we vnderstand the knowledge of God, the secret love of heauenly things, and the love that floweth out of the presence of God. These things (I saie) shall vnto the elect be like most delicate meat and drinke.

And therefore, when as Marie sat at the Lords feet, and was maruellously refreshed with his doctrine; the was defended by Christ himselfe, when the was accused by Martha, in respect that the intermitte his business of preparing things necessarie to himselfe: for he saide; Marie hath chosen the better part, which shall not be taken from hir. Concerning the place of the Apocalypse, we must vnderstand, that the resurrection, whereby the saints shall reigne with Christ a thousand yeres; is not that, whereof we now intreat: but it is the regeneration, whereby we are iustified. And therefore it is there in expresse wordes added; And this is the first resurrection. Neither doth the thousand yeres name othe other time, than that, wherein we now remaine vnder the protection of Christ in his kingdom, which is the church. Neither is it aile doubt, but that the certaine and prescribed number is there put for an infinite number. So as those things belong not to the latter coming of Christ, but vnto the former. Which if those ancient fathers had considered, they had not so fallen into error. Wherefore, in that mostall life, they had need neither bodilie food, neither yet pccoration of children; for these things were vnto mostall life, but the other shall be immortall. And because there is nothing diminished of the substance of bodies, there shall be no need of that renewing which is made by meat and drinke. And because also none shall die, others shall not be substitute in their place by new pccoration.

8. An other contention of qualitye they haue called light, and splendent brightnes: whereof Paul to the *Philippians* saith; God will make our base bodie like to his glorious bodie, and a shew of this condition did Christ make, when he was transformed, where his face did shine like vnto the sunne. And in Matthew it is written; The iust shall shine in the sight of God like vnto the sunne. Neither did Daniel passe ouer this bright

1. Cor. 15. 43.

2. Cor. 5. 10.

1. Cor. 15. 44.

Wald. 3.

1. The. 4. 17.

some  
inquire.5. I  
specially  
not.2. Cor. 5. 10.  
not of adic-  
tion and  
passion.

Mat. 24. 31.

Mat. 24. 31.

Dan. 12. 3.

brightnesse of clearenesse, as we haue akeable heard. And Paul, in the first to the *Corinthians*, the 15. chap. saith; Now it is fowen in ignominie, then it shall rise againe in glorie. Wherefore, they thinke that this brightnesse must be deriued vnto the bodies of the blessed, from the bodies which shall rise: not as in a barbe speeche, as in a glasse; but shall be him indeed as he is: by which sight they shall receive so great love and glorie, as it shall shew from thence to their bodie. Neither is it vnknowne to aie, that the mind and the spirit both exultant the countenance, and make the bodie cheerful. Besides this, there is put an agillite in the bodies of the blessed: for the bodie and members shall be whole subiects vnto the soule, so as it shall neither contene no strive against it. Whereof Paul saith; It is now fowen in feeblenes, but when it shall rise in power. Wherefore in the booke of *Exodum*, the 29. chapter, it is read of the saints, that as sparkes they shall runne through the rides of trouble.

And Paul vnto the *Ephesians* saith; We that shall be found aliae, and the dead that be raised, shall be caught vp to meet with Christ in the aire. This no doubt will be a great reioicing, and nimble motion of our bodies, that we shall ascende vnto Christ through the aire. In this aliae the bodie of Christ exulted, seeing it walked vpon the waters, and gaue power vnto Peter to do the like: and seeing Christ himselfe was taken vp out of the earth into heauen. And here in it consisteth, that the soule shall perfectly gouerne the bodie, so as the weight and burden of the flesh shall be no hindrance vnto it. This property in verie deed belongeth vnto locall motion. Wherefore it is a wonder, that the *Vbiuists* admit this qualitie to be in the bodies of the blessed, (as they write in their bookes); and yet do affirme haue to be euerie where: so that they will not attribute places certaine to the bodie of Christ, and to our bodies, when we shall be blessed; as though locall motion may be without a place.

9. Quert this, vnto the saints after resurrection, on there is appointed an impassibilitie: for they shall not be corrupted no diminished with any passions, sorowes, or diseases. Wherefore the apostle wrote; It is now fowen in corruption, but it shall rise againe in vncorruption. 2. Of afflictions and passions in bodies, we must not iudge all after one sort: for some be hurtfull, which do waste and diminish the bodie, yea and finallye do consume the same. Such are hunger, thirst, sicke, sorrow, and others of this kind: from these afflictions the saints shall be deliuered. But there be other passions, which do rather helpe nature, and make it perfect, than hurt or impair it: such are the feelings of the senses. The

eye is not hurt, when it is affected with beautifull colours; neither the hearing with harmonie and tunes locall compass; neither is the smelling turned by good odours. So as our bodies shall not be occupied of these passions, when after resurrection they shall be in the euertlasting mansion. They say, that there shall be a subtilitie, which must not be vnderstood, as though the bodies of them that rise againe should be conuerted into spirit, 4. that it should be aie of elemental, as like vnto the wind, so as they may penetrate all things: but I refferre this subtilitie vnto the equallit, subtilit, and thare vnderstanding of the senses: as also vnto the affects, which do followe the bodie, and which shall not be grosse and full of implevements; neither shall they trouble the mind.

And to this purpose might be bent that saleng of Paul; It is now a natural bodie, but it shall rise againe a spiritual bodie. 2. By which it may be ment not, that the bodie should be transfused into a spirit; but he taught, that the humane bodie (saue the nature thereof, should, as much as may be, vnto the property of a spirit, as touching knowledge and affects. These notable properties haue the schoolmen gathered, being confirmed by the holie scriptures. And yet haue they not declared all: for saith Paul to the *Corinthians*; The eie had not seene, nor the eare had not heard things, which God hath prepared for them that loue him. Neither must we leaue vntouched, that neither the holie scriptures, nor fathers, nor schoolmen, in anye place, haue attributed, either vnto the flesh of Christ being risen, or to other faiths, the gift of vbiuities; or prerogative of no certaine place. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, that this beuise so pleased certaine men of our age: yea and the schoolmen especiallie. Thomas Aquinas saith, that it is hereby gathered; that because the conditions of blessed bodies do attaine vnto heauenly properties, their habitation after this life is in the heaues; yea above the heaues.

Furthermore, they dispute concerning the age of them that shall rise againe; and they affirme that the same shall be full growing, as firmas state, ripe and strong. And hereunto they write that, which is read in the epistle to the *Corinthians*; Till we meet together in the vnitie of faide, and acknowledgement of the sonne of God, vnto a perfect man, and vnto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ. But (by their leaue) the wordes of the apostle haue no relation to this purpose: for he intreated not there of the fashioning or gain of bodies, but of the infirmation of soules, as the wordes going before do most plainlie declare. But as concerning a perfect age of them that rise againe, 3. do not disagree with them: but yet (I affirme the same) after an other sort.

Exemplis

6 subtilit

11.

1. Cor. 15. 44.

1. Cor. 15. 9.

in no place  
attributes  
vnto the bodie  
of Christ  
glorified.

7

Eph. 4. 23.

When God created the first men, he made them not either infants, or creeps, or else imperfect, or deformed. And saying the resurrection is a certain new creation, or summing again, it is met that it should be like the first. So that, as those things, which God created, were verie good; that is, perfect in their kind: even so shall the bodies, which by his power shall be repaired in the resurrection, be perfect of nature.

60. But what shall we affirme of the properties and conditions of the twicken, when they shall rise againe, as concerning their bodie? For verie died they shall have immortality, but other qualities of the goodie they shall not obtaine. For rather, they shall be deformed with contrarie and plaine opposite qualities. They shall be altogether destitute of light and clearenesse: for as Christ taught; They shall be commanded to be call into the uttermost darknesse.

Neither shall they be without sufferings: for they shall be veyed with unmeasurable torments and graces. There (saith the Lord) shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, their worme shall not die, and their fire shall not be extinguished. Cheerfull also and nimble shall they not be, because they shall be call bound hand and foot in hell-fire. Neither (for the cause, which we have now alleged) shall subtilitie happen unto them, for so much as they shall live in teares and weeping, in most grosse affects, and in vehement desires: even as it is gathered by the evangelist call narration of the rich man's Lazarus. Whobit, among those things that I have spoken, this of ours must chieflie be remember: to wit, that through this diversitie of qualities and conditions, the subiect, that is, the substance of our bodies is not to be altered: for in anie world the same bodie and the same flesh is to be raised up.

Neither must we give care to Origin, which thinketh; that onlie the bodie shall be restored, but not the flesh. Wee must rather believee Christ, which said, after he was risen from the dead; Feele and see, for a spirit hath no flesh and bones, as yee see me haue. And if the same bodie shall rise againe, the same flesh and members shall also be restored. A place also shall be appointed for a place; for these things cannot consist without a place. But that the subiect shall be all one, Paul plainlie powned, when he said unto the Corinthians: This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. The pponounce demonstrative [This] doth plainlie declare the substance and verie humane nature of a bodie. For, as thou tellest me, that the same apostle, in the first chapter of the same epistle saith; Meats are ordered for the bellie, and the bellie for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them: It is also said,

that The blessed shall be as the angels: so as they

shall neither marrie wives, nor the women shall be married. So that purpose that varietie of sex be in the blessed, which rise againe; to what use, or to that end? We answer, that verie God, in the everlasting felicitie, will take astate from them that be raised up, the use and action of these parts: but not the substance and nature of them.

And being demanded why the things there to be taken shall remaine still, the use and action be taken away: we answer, that therefore they shall remaine, because they belong to the subiect, and perfection of an humane bodie. For if all these things should be taken away, what use and part should be left remaining? First, the flesh should be plucked out, the stomach, and all the bowels, whereby meats have their passage, and flowing humors are distilled. Further, it is met, that those parts, which we have right veyed, which we lived here, should be benighted with reborn together with vs. And seeing blessed men bid honestie and temperate use their throte, their taste, and their be-lie, and chastite keep their inferior parts: why should they not receive these parts, that they may be crooked together with them?

61. Neither is it a firme consequent; The use of certeine parts and members is taken away; Therefore they themselves also must be taken away. It doth not so come to passe in nature: An old barren woman, which can no more bring a fourth child, or give sucke, is not therefore deprived of hie paps; nor yet of those parts, which serve for procreation. For, and a valiant and noble commander, which hath bene manie times the eas in battell, when he dieth, hath his arm, which sometimes he wore, fastened about his tombe; although he is not to use the same anie more afterwards. And the ships, which sometimes have availed the victorie upon the sea, albeit that men cannot use them anie more; yet do they waite their way into docks, and will have them preserved there, for a perpetuall memorie of the things that were done. For and Christ himselfe also being risen from the dead, brought againe with him the scars of his wounds: and said unto Thomas, which doubted; Put thy fingers here into my side, and into the holes of the nailes, and be not unbelieveing, but faithfull. The wounds had already performed their part, for by them mankind was redeemed; and yet had they been if he was risen from the dead; to the intent it might be perceived, that it was the same verie bodie, which had suffered before. Elias also and Moses, when they had sated by the space of forty daies, had not in vaine their mouth, throte, and bellie; when as neuertheless they did not them a long time.

62. But I returne to Origin, who thought, that

that the bodie should rise againe, but not the flesh. But we in the Creed doe confesse not the returne of the bodie, but of the flesh. But this father, as we gather out of his booke *De Resurrectione*, saith; that There be two errors noted, as concerning the resurrection. The first he maketh to be ours, which thinke, that flesh, blood, bones, and the verie same members, are to be received, when we shall be raised up: for this he supposeth to be absurd and fond, and over grosse; because he thinketh, that it would followe there of, that we should eat, drinke, and marrie wives againe. But how locate this argument is, we declared before, when we shewed, that it is met and convenient, that without use and proper functions, these parts shall be received at the blessed resurrection. Another error he maketh of certeine heretikes, which altogether denie the resurrection of the dead, attributing eternal salvation to soules onlie: and of such, as were bold to call the resurrection of Christ, a fantastical resurrection; as who should saie, it were onlie thence by an imagined vision. Wherefore he, having first reborn these two errors, as certeine extremities, pretended to allow of a certeine meane waie. He said, that when the soule shall be separated from the bodie, the foure principall things wherof the bodie consisteth, retire themselves againe to their owne respective bowels of nature: so as the flesh goeth into the earth, the breath into the aire, the blood and other humors into waters, the heat into heaven. These he affirmeth, do not perill, when they come there; but are mingled with those elements, as they can be no more discerned or broken astate from thence.

Whobit, he affirmeth, that the bodies shall rise againe; and so rise againe, as to curie one shall be given his owne proper bodie, and not an other mans. The bodie of Peter (as he saith) shall be giuen to Peter; of Paul, to Paul: because it is not met that times should be punished in a strange bodie, and not in the same, by which they were committed. And after what manner this may be done, he thus declareth. In such there is ingraved by God a certeine nature and power of things, that it may be done to it all the matter that is to come, and the corporal substance of things which do come from there. Yet neuertheless, in the flesh of the tree are not saine the fruits, the flowers, the leaves, the branches, the bark, or the bodie: whereas otherwise, the nature or power of all these things hath being in the same. Even so he saith to be in the ashes and matter that remaineth of our bodies. And he calleth that power by the Greek word *ενεργεια*, which is *energeia*; or (as Erasmus correcteth it in his scholies to Ieronymus *causa*), that is, A preserving place, or seed-fozo

of the dead. And this he saith faith at the time of the last ingement, that fourth and but our humane bodies; but not flesh, bones, and blood, least in heaven we should have out of meat and drinke, of marriages, barbers, and of other herchers to waite awhile the uncleanliness of the nose.

And when he denieth that the flesh shall returne, he reborn the words of Paul, wherein he saith; that They which be in the flesh cannot Rom. 8. 9; please God. For the apostle, [By flesh] meant not in that place substance and nature; but corruption, uncleanness, and lewdness. Even as in the booke of Genesis, God said; My spirit Gen. 6. 3; shall not rest upon these men, because they be flesh. And by Paul it is written; But ye be not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if the spirit of Christ dwell in you. Wherefore Origin judged, that the bodie of them that rise againe, shall be *Homogenium*; that is, of one and the same nature. Now (saith he) we see both these, we heare both eares, and we go with feet: but then we shall see, heare, and go with that whole bodie. He moze over adueth the words of the same Paul: unto the Philippians, when he said of Jesus Christ, *μεταμορφωσις*, that is, He shall transfigure the bodie of our humilitie. For this he also understandeth to be spoken of the nature a substance of our bodie; whereas it respecteth onlie the changing of qualities and conditions. For the Greek word *μορφωσις*, from whence that verbe is deriued, belongeth to the predicament of qualitie, and to both words, which significth, Forme or Shape, wherof is deriued *μορφοειν*, that is to faie, Conformed. These things if Origin had weied, he had not so loule fallen, as to faie, that the bodies of them that rise againe, shall be aerie or elemental, so as they should not be subject, either to sitting, or feling; but shall be inuisible, and unpalpable. Yet did he leave them a place: for he said, that they should not be remanue, according to the varietie of places: where in the meane time, they which confesse, that flesh and bones shall be restored againe unto vs, do take astate place from them.

But I returne to Origin, who teacheth, that the bodies shall rise againe, but not the flesh. But these are distinguishable, as the general and the speciall kind; for enerie flesh is a on of the same, but enerie bodie is not flesh. For flesh is flesh from that which consisteth of blood, and veines, and skin, and also of bones and sinews. But of bodies, some be aerie or elemental; (such as Plato assigned to certeine spirits, a vnto our dusts, wherein, as in a certeine chariot, they should be caried, and loined to the outward bodie, which is the more grosse and more earthie. And those bodies, which he imagined to be on this sort, might not be either felt or perceived. There be also

other bodies, which may both be sense, and felt; when as yet they be no flesh: as is a wall, and wood, which be sensible bodies, and yet no flesh. So as the bodie, which is the generall wood, is drawn by the flesh into a speciall kind. Which is proved by the words of Paulus unto the Colossians, who saith; When ye were strangers from Christ, and enemies by cogitation in evil works,

Col. 1. 21.

Col. 1. 22.

Origines  
1109.

2. 10.  
The fathers  
must be  
well read.

Irenaeus.  
Iulianus.

He saith  
the Church  
is not  
without  
the  
resurrection.

hath he yet now reconciled in the bodie of his flesh, through death. And in the same epistle; With circumcision made without hands, by putting off the bodie of flesh, subject to sinne. This was the opinion of Origin, out of the booke 2. ad Coloss. as Ieron expouseth in his epistle against Iohn bishop of Ierusalem.

63. He graunte erreth in manie things concerning this matter. First, he sensible reasoneth of that sad-foe of dead men, remaining after death in the ashes of them that be departed. For what need is it to appoint an original of the resurrection in the matter of our bodie? The action of raising up from the dead, is all whole in God; neither are there any powers of the bodie, whereby it should spring by againe. And to note this by the words; for of the ancient fathers they seeme to be readie circumspicuous, because they seeme to attribute unto reason, and to a power ingrafted in the bodie, which is not distinguished in them that be dead. And this matter did Irenaeus in his 4. booke, and Iulianus in his apologie unto Antonius the emperors boyne, and Iohn that our bodie, when they have received the Church, are no more mortall, because that sacrament is become unto our bodie a perfect vertue everlasting. If these things should possibly be absolutely be understood, as they seeme to be at the first sight (as though they should teach, that the bodie and blood of Christ passeth into the true nourishment of bodie, and so in them to be the beginning of the resurrection) the opinion would be verie absurd.

For the verie meat of the bodie is concocted, digested & distributed among the parts, and is also converted into the substance and nature of man, which is nourished. But the bodie of Christ being impassible, cannot be changed into other bodie; euen as also it cannot be buried with them. Yet did those fathers truite sayre, so as their sayings be little understood. Wherefore, let be understood, that the faithful in the supper of the Lord doe receive bread and wine with the mouth of their bodie, and they with their minde and spirit doe receive the bodie & blood of Christ, euen in such sort as he was giuen unto the croisse for our saluation: and that in receiving these things by faith, we be justified and regenerated, we be confirmed in righteousness and spiritual birth. But iudication and regeneration

on, which be in the mind, doe make the bodie it selfe capable of resurrection. And in this respect we may saye, that the outward elements which we receive with our bodie, are a preparative to the resurrection; because they be instruments of the holie Ghost, whereby he stretcheth by faith in us, which is the verie original of resurrection.

64. Herein mozeouer Origin erreth, in iudging that the bodie, which he acknowledge in the resurrection, shall be of one and the same nature: so as the whole shall see, the whole shall heare, and the whole shall goe; as though it shall not haue eyes, eares, and feet, distinct one from another. Furthermore, Christ in his transfiguration, when he came to his apostles a pattern of blessed bodie, was not so changed, as that he went into a round figure, as be the bodie of the sunne, moone, and starres. His face remained general from the rest of his parts: for the rayes glistered, that his face did shine like the sunne. Furthermore, when as after his resurrection he did eat and drinke together with them, 3. Iudge he did it with his teeth, mouth, throat, and belly; not with his feet, or the skull of his head. Also he talked with them, and that no doubt with his tongue and mouth; not with his knees and legs. Besides, it is said in plaine termes, that he shewed his side that was pierced upon the croasse; therefore he had the same distinguished from the other parts of his bodie. So as these members were either members in verie dead, or else counterfeited members and illusions. If they were verie members, let these men agree, that bodie which their several members shall be raised in the resurrection. But if they were delusions and counterfeited things, the truth of the resurrection is ill proved by this.

But they will saye, that these were certaine prerogatives belonging unto Christ; because he was not, as we be, conuicted of sinne first; but by the helpe of the holie Ghost was fashioned in the virgins wombe. Therefore, say my part, I take the resurrection of Christ to be the image and similitude of our resurrection: so that if to him were restored his owne proper parts, they shall also be restored unto us. But they answere, that these things were done of the Lord, with his apostles by a certaine dispensation; when he was raised up from death unto life: otherwise he shewed the condition of his resurrection to be actie and spirital, when as he so beld with his apostles as they baret him not; and banneth not out of their sight, in such sort as he became invisible: as also, when he entered in unto them, the doors being shut. And the apostles knew him not, in respect that he himselfe was invisible, or that he was raised dead and buried: but because (as faith the euangelist) their eyes were blinded, that they should not know him. Wherefore, when as they

Apollonius  
the conuict  
was not  
blinded.

Mat. 23.

John 10. 19.

John 10. 19.  
John 10. 19.  
John 10. 19.

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John 10. 19.

into him afterward, he wisteth, that their eyes were opened; so the intent we should knowe their eyes to be letted, and no diuerse to be in the bodie of the Lord. Furthermore, he wisteth himselfe upon the sudden from their eyes, neither did they see him any more; because their eyes were let, that they should not perceive his departing.

Apollonius Tyanensis, when he was in the council before Domitian, was suddenly taken from among them, neither did he appeare any more: not that his bodie was made invisible, or vanished into airc; but because the eyes of them that were present, were held by the conuincing of diuels, that they could not see him while he was yet present, or when he went away. Therefore that which was done by diuinely forces, about the bodie of a prophane man, shall we deny unto the bodie of Christ, in whom was presented the perfect Gooddead? Also, the argument as touching the bones is weak: for it might be that he came in unto the apostles, by the house top, or in at the windowes, when as the gates were locked. And perhaps at his coming, the bones gaue place, and made passage for him. But what needeth much speech? Ezechiel mentioneth of the resurrection of the dead, speake nothing of an airc, or elemental bodie, but he saith that the bones came unto bones, and euerie one to his owne toint; that they were ioined together with sinewes, covered with flesh, and skinned put thereupon; and that at the last, they stood vpright upon their feet. And so the prophet describeth bodie, euen as he knew that it would come to passe at the resurrection. And Iob laboureth; In my flesh I shall see God, with these eyes of mine, neither shall I be another, but as touching substance, the verie same that I now am. These things are so manifest, as they haue no need to be explained.

65. And in the resurrection we shall not onely haue that bodie, which we now haue; but it shall also occupie a place: neither can it be together and at one time in manie places, because the nature of bodie, and especially of humane bodie, suffereth not this: for seeing they be limited, and described with their parts, members, and lineaments, they must needs be contained in certaine places. And yet notwithstanding at this date, there be found some so shamelesse and intemperate, who to defend their opinion, either of diuinitie, or of reall and substantiall presence of the bodie and blood of Christ in the holie supper, dare require of us to proue unto them, and that out of the holie scriptures, that a bodie can be without a place, and that it can not be together at one time in sundrie places. What if we againe for our part, should demand of them, that out of the same holie scriptures

they should shew vs by expresse words, that a definite bodie may be without place, or together at one time in sundrie places? Certainlie, but lesse they will be either canonicall bookes, than those which the catholicke church acknowledge, though they shall neuer be able to shew vs any such thing. Wherefore the voice of nature, which hath God himselfe to be author, must be heare. That doubtlesse hath decreed, that these things can not be: euen as our aduersaries them selves doe testifie. And Augustine in his epistle to Dardanus hath acknowledged, and Cyrillus also in his dialoges De trinitate, who testifie, that Euen the diuine nature, if it were diuinitie, should be of quantitie, and in airc toise in a place, nor might not auoid circumscription.

Certaine the grounds of nature are not to be noted, except it be when they withstand the word of God. But these things which I haue declared, are not repugnant thereto. Seeing then they cannot thinke it to be contrarye had in the holie scriptures, let them cease to labour them to obtaine unto vs articles of faith, which are not laboure to be coined without the word of God. But we will followe the teaching of the holie scriptures, which therefore they speake of the bodie of Christ, how euerly there attribute a place unto him: sometime saying, that he was in Galilee: otherwhile at Ierusalem: nota then in Behania, or in the temple, or in the house of Simon. And they to assigne him from a certaine place, as they may exclude him from another: for he himselfe saith, when he went to raise vp Lazarus; He is dead, & I am glad that I was not there. Whereby he testifieth himselfe to be so in the towe, as he was not at that time in Behania. And the angell (to the intent he might shew him to be departed out of the sepulchre) said unto the women; He is risen, he is not here. Thus he to went from thence, as he was not there present. After this manner both Christ speake, and the angell testifie. So as the humane nature of Christ was comprehended in a place, and was no where else.

But they will saye; When we aske the question concerning power, though afterward as touching the fact. Therefore saith I, that that power, which is not shewed to haue at one time broke out into airc, is no hindrance to any purpose. Again, I returne to the first demand, and I require, that they will shew me by the word of God, how this can be: namely, that a humane bodie is without place, and that it is together in diuerse places: but seeing they can not do this, let them cease to affirme, and to set it forth as a thing necessary to be believed. I knowe they will saye, that it is saynt and affirmed by Christ, as touching the wine and bread

That Christ  
his bodie  
is not  
in a  
place.

John 1. 1.  
John 1. 1.

Mat. 26. 6.

John 11. 15

John 11. 15

Mat. 26. 6.

John 11. 15

John 11. 15

John 11. 15

John 11. 15

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John 11. 15

John 11. 15

Matt. 26. 16. of the fupper; This is my bodie, and this is my blood. But these words are farre otherwise understood, and expounded by the wisest sort, than they understand them: therefore, a firme and certaine argument is not taken from a place diversely expounded. And this perhaps also they will object; There is nothing vnpoffible vnto God. I knowe that so it is written: Iohelb. 1. that fence must not be admitted without all

1. Tim. 2. 13. exception. For Paul crept, when he said, that God is true, as he cannot denie himselfe. And the fathers crept manie other things. And it is commonlie said in the scholes; that whatsoeuer things doe include contradiction among themselves, cannot be done by God. Further more, the Hereticks abused that saying, who being reuoyced by the Catholicks, that they affirmed absurd and vnpoffible things; answered, that With God all things are possible. Paulus Sarnotenus, which denied the diffinition of persons, and affirmed the father to be the same that is the sonne: and being rebegged by vs, that it is vnpoffible that anie should beget himselfe, gaunted the same to be vnpoffible, as touching vs, but that with God all things may be.

66 But I retire my selfe to the scripture, which acknowledge to great a continuation betweene a place and a bodie comprehended therein; as the place being taken aboue, it vtterlie foibiddeth the thing placed, to be; which reason would not be firme, but altogether feeble, if it were lawfull for a bodie to be without a place: for it might not be pained, that it hath no being, if the place be taken aboue. In Ioh. the seventh chapter, when as the prophet would say, that man after death had no being, saith; His place shall not knowe him: that is to saie; he shall not be. And in the 20. chapter it is written of the raising aboue of the twined out of life: The place shall not behold him: that is to saie, he shall not be. And David, in the 37. psalme, expressed the same more plainly, saying; Yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be: shew thou their place, and he shall not be found. And thus therefore hath the scripture speake. Whereupon Augustine, whom these men vnderstand with great impudencie refuse, is not to be accused, when he wrote concerning bodie; that if they be no where, they be not at all. For he did not leaue that forme of speaking onely of Aristotle, or of naturall philosophy; but of the sayings of the holie scripture.

Neither is there anie reason, why these men should imagine, that these sayings belong onely to this life, and to the present state we be in; sitting places doe also pertaine vnto the euertlasting felicitie, in the kingdomes of God. For Christ said to his disciples, when he aduertised them of his departure; I go to prepare a place for you. And againe; I will tar where I am, where

my minister should be. And in the Apocalypse we are taught; that The companie of the elect doe followe the lambe whither soeuer he shall go. And local motion cannot be without place. And that one bodie cannot be in manie places at one time, the fathers did so well know, as they would not attribute that vnto anie. And as they prove thereby, that the holie Christ is God, because he was together at one time in manie places, which they declare) cannot agree to a true creature. And to this opinion did Basil in his treatise *De spiritus sancto*, Didymus, Cyrillus, Theodoretus, and manie others condescend. But the scripture doth confesse the verie same of the bodie of Christ: for Peter, in the Acts saith, that Heauen must containe him, so long as, or vntill all things be restored. There is a great efficacie, and a great weight of significacion in the aduerbe of time [vntill] or [so long as.]. For it is shewed, as in the meane time his presence shalbe excluded from our places. There might perhaps be other things brought; but these I iudge sufficient for proving of these properties in the bodie of them that lie againe; whereof I haue hitherto treated.

67 Now I will to suffice these arguments, which were objected at the beginnings, as though they should make against the resurrection of the dead. If it is thus said, that by the imagination of Porphyrius, soules, for obtaining of the chiefe felicitie (which consisteth in the knowledge of diuine things) should elshe to all bodie; by cause those trouble and let the mind, that it cannot apply it selfe vnto heauenlie things. It may be for remedy for this cause to haue forsaken Plato, who affirmed a returne of soules to their former bodies. Where we answer, that this former bodie had respect to humane bodie; not as they were instituted at the beginning; but as they be now infested and corrupted. And indeed, god is God, as at the beginning he gaunteing vnto men that was cull, or that might hinder felicitie: He saue althings that he had made, and they were verie good. And it is a ridiculous discourse (I will not saie a twined) to as firme as *quod*, to be said as it were *quod*, that is a bodie as it were a sepulchre; because it is as it were the sepulchre of our soules. God made the nature of man to be bodilie, because it might be helpen by the bodie; not to receive detriment therof. This if it did aduertise in some part procure, it must not be ascribed vnto God; but vnto him. Neither yet in the meane time is it altogether vnpoffible, while we be conuertant in these calamities, if a man by faith be the same wall. Whereunto adue, that it shall be restored vnto vs to corrected and amended in the blessed resurrection, and so furnished with excellent conditions and qualities; as it

shall not diminit the desired felicitie, but it shall rather augment the same.

There was an other argument; namely, that after death the parts of our bodie are resolved into elements, from whence it is taken, and so mingled with them; as thence forth it can be no more disiectured and brought forth. But this is to iudge ouer meanlie and baselie of the power of God, when we will not attribute as much vnto him; as we grant vnto the indures of men in this life. If water be mingled with wine, there be such men, as can distiller the one from the other againe. Further, goldsmiths and finers of mettalles can resolve into their parts, those lumps, which are mixed together of gold, silver, brasse, and Steele. Neither doth there want such, as can of euerie dye and hard thing presse out oile, or liquid fatnesse. And what God (who is declared to be omnipotent, and could create the world of nothing) be able to disperse humane bodie out of the ashes againe? And therefore it is written in the Apocalyphe, the twentieth chapter; And the sea gaue vp hir dead, which were in hir; and death and hell deliuered vp the dead, which were in them, &c.

68 But it may be (saie they) that humane flesh should be deuoured either of fishes, or of birds, the which afterward may become the food of men, and be conuerted into the flesh of another man. Whereunto we answer, that certeinlie the dust and ashes are raised vp, not as they were the substances of fishes or of birds; but as they were of a man first consumed by them. Neither shall the latter man (which fed of those fishes and birds, and turned them into his owne flesh) be raised vp by the augmentation of matter of the other man, which went before him. The verie which answer may be made concerning the Anthropolophagi. And that the matter may be the more plainlie knowne; we must understand, that in the nature of things, there is no need about the keeping still of the substance of one and the selfe same bodie, that all things, which were in it, should perpetuallie remaine in the same. For the matter of our bodie doth continually flowe and fall awaie; the heares and nailles do shed, and are clipped; manie things flowe out by the mouth, by the nostrils, and by other extrinsecall parts: further, the naturall heat doth alwaie spend the vitall moisture; and the substance, which floweth out, is repaired againe by new eating and drinking; and this is some euerie houre, and yet do not the bodie cease to be the same in number. Which also we see come to passe in trees, whose fruits are gathered, whose leaues fall, and whose branches are ead yeare thied; when as yet the same trees do remaine verie long the same in number. So that if the whole matter together should be

ken aboue, that blisse might not be appointed: but because the matter auoideth by parts, and that the new matter, which is gathered by meate & drink, is ioined to those that were before; therefore vntie is retained, especially where one and the selfe same forme endureth, and is preserved.

69 Seeing therefore vnto the truth and vntie of a bodie, there is no necessitie, that all things, which passed through the same, should be in it; it may be that God doth not laie vp in the resurrection, such such as were consumed by the Anthropolophagi, the flesh of those, which did eat them; but that he will restore other things, which at sundrie times flowed from their bodie. And if perhaps anie thing should be wanting, he will supplie it by his power: euen as an addition of flesh was giuen to the rib of Adam, when Eve was formed thereof. But if a man will saie, that it may happen, that the Anthropolophagi did not feed of anie other thing than mans flesh; we saie that this is to small purpose, seeing they haue also other brute beastes, which they fed of. They do also vse milke, and the graines called millett, and paniche, and such other like meats. Wherefore the substance to some shall be all one, that it was in others; & it shall be diminited, which was too much. Where was brought another reason; If there be a resurrection to come, there had bene no need of new generation; But the same (as we saie) is continued, and God commanded it as well before the flood, as after. But they, which reason after this sort; ought to consider of two things. First, that procreation endureth to the end of the world; but that it is to take place no more after that time. Further, when generation was commanded, there was no condition added, that it should be perpetual. Wherefore the argument is most weak: for it is taken from the nature of things present, whereas this state of ours is sometimes vtterlie to be changed.

70 Besides this, it was said, that In death the essentiall beginnings of man are destroyed: and not the bodie alone, but the inferior parts also of the same. For the powers of the senses, namely, of sensent desiring and being angry, do perish as do those, which serue vnto nourishment and procreation. We answer; that the life indeed of these things doth succumb by death, but that the powers themselves are not extinguished, but be kept whole in the soyle, which is reared from the bodie: so that when the bodie shall be restored thereto, the exercise of them shall be refresh all, except that which declareth it selfe to belong either to procreation, or nourishment of the bodie in this life. Furthermore, it was objected; that one and the same vntie of bodie cannot be preserved, when as the life or continuance thereof shall be broken off. For the

the place and the bodie according to the scriptures, are ioined together.

verfe. 10.

verfe. 9.

verfe. 36.

the place also shalbe in the life to come.

Iohn. 14. Iohn. 17. 24.

which is to be raised of them, which are continued of flesh and bone.

Certaine men which liue by the eating of mans flesh.

And thus.

being, therein we be, considered in a certaine succession, or continuation of life. And inuad we see, that walking, when it is broken off, if it be afterward renewed, is not one and the same in number. And it was added, that in argumentation, the same thing happened as touching other qualities. For health being discontinued by reason of sickness, when the sick man is restored, health indeed returned; but it is not the same in number: for, as well the old things brought forth, as the new are diverse. Whereby it is taken, that this indeed is true, and although it is taken place in those efficient causes, in which the action, as thing it selfe brought forth, is distinguished from the efficient cause: as it cometh to passe in all causes created. But the resurrection is the work of God, wherein the action is not divided from the nature and substance of the agent it selfe. And lastly, whereas it was alleged, that the hope of those things, which passed away from the body, should be more strong; and that if all things should be restored at the resurrection, mens bodies should be of exceeding greatness: but if on the other side, all things shall not be laid by in those; that reason can be sufficient, why some parts should be restored more than others: I answer; It hath bene already said, that not all things which be cast forth of our bodies, shall be received when we rise againe: but onely those things, which make to a full and convenient quantitie. But why rather one sort than another are kept in those, we must commit it to the judgement of God, who disposeth all things with singular wisdom.

7 10 Now it resteth, that we dilate of those places, which in the holie scriptures seme at the first light to be against the resurrection. In the 78. psalme it is written; And he remembered that they were but flesh, their spirit or breath departing awaie, and not returning againe. For the exposition of this place, the scope must first be considered; namely, that God was led to take mercie of his people, because their iniquitie was knownen unto him. So as, because of their frailtie and feebleneste, therefore had mercie upon them; and scattered them not abroad with one onelle stripe. Sometime the spirit is said to be against the flesh, in respect that the flesh is said to be weak, and the spirit strong and valiant. So said Christ unto his apostles, when as they slept, while he was in paine; The spirit indeed is ready, but the flesh is weak; Matt. 26. 41. And Elia in the third chapter, describing the weaknesse of Aegypt, saith; Aegypt is flesh, and not spirit: that is; It draggeth itself with febleneste, it standeth not firme and strong. Yet sometime the flesh and spirit are taken both for one thing, and both between infinitie; even as

in this place: where the same thing is repeated in the latter clause, which is spoken in the former. In this place therefore, the spirit is not thing ment to be the soule of man, or the diuine inspiration; but the breath, blast, and wind, which being gone and past, perill, and are restored no more. Whether the life of man is finished, we begin not againe at the original; neither do we begin againe as trees and herbes cut to the root; but we lie in the dust, not returning unto our former state.

When I saie, that after death men be not like unto herbes, I am not against David, who saith in the 103. psalme; He knoweth his workmanship, he remembereth that we are but dust. The daies of man are as grass, and as the flourishing flower of the field; the wind cometh over him, and he is withered, and his place hath known him no more. Herein standeth the similitude, that the sudden and unexpected destruction of flourishing man, may be perceived: but in this is the similitude taken awaie, that men do not spring forth againe, like unto plants and herbes. There is the second mayer, that there is nothing found in man to promise God unto mercie, but miserie. What if spirit be taken for the soule, then we will saie, that the prophet doth weigh of man, and consider of him according to his owne nature and strength; and trulie pronounced, that his spirit doth depart, as it returneth not. For the blessed resurrection is a miracle, & not a work of nature. This scripture speaketh not of man, according to those things which he shall receive, though the bounty and power of God; but according to the faculties and strength, which he hath by nature.

Also it is written in the booke of Wisdom, the 15. chapter; His spirit shall go forth of him, and he shall not returne againe. And no man doubtles hath brought forth him from his mothers wombe, or from the originals of nature, the power to rise againe. Indeed our soule hath a being after death, but it hath no power of it selfe to returne unto the body which it hath. For rather, if God should reuocate from it his preserving power, it would fall to utter ruin. This is the common and received exposition of this place. Wherefore, there is an other sense, which cometh to my remembrance, no lesse profitable than both the former. When the fathers were pressed with questions in the desert, and were by their causes punished by God; they cried unto him, that they might be delivered: but this they did verie importunely, which was not to be done from God. Yet nevertheless, he had mercie upon them; because they were flesh, that of a corrupted nature: and for this cause they oftentimes fell againe into the same sinnes. Also

Also their spirit, that is, their earnest motion of fasting and inuocation of the true God: EHO. V. A. was not desolat in them; but in a manner passed by them, and retained not, seeing they fell againe to idolatrie, after the deliuerance obtained. Wherefore these were Chroni, that is, temporaries; as we read in the parable of the seed in the eighth of Luke.

71 In the 115. psalme, it is written; The heaven of heauens is the Lords, but the earth hath he giuen to the children of men. Whereby on some do gather, that men are so become bound to the earth, as heauen doth not belong to them. But they are farre deceived: for from God is all things abundantlie, the goodnesse of which hath no need of earthly commodities, neither hath it any manner of need of worldly wealth; and yet did it bring forth the whole world, without need of the whole world. Whereby it is proued; that he dwelleth in the heauens, whether these things ascend not; and where they cannot growe. Neither yet did the prophet so assure God to be settled in heauen, as he denieth him to be euery where: for the essence and power of God is in all places. But he is peculiarly said to dwell in heauen; because his presence is there ment to be more famous, more mightie, and more effectual: as well for the splendid and ample light, for the constant motion of the circles, and proceeding thereof in excellent order, and for the sundrie and manifold influences; as also, because from the parts about we haue winds, clouds, raine, hails, lightnings, thunder, &c. Neither doth the prophet vterly exclude men from heauen, as though they should neuer come thither: for whether they shall come, which haue liued godlie; but that must be at their time appointed. So as the Psalmist speaketh of the time of this life, as the state of things now stand.

But presumptuous men haue sometimes troubled the words of David; so that some haue thought, that it should be lawful for them to do any thing without the earth, to robbe and slay, to turne all vnto dole, as though God doth not marke these things, as he that onelle dwelleth in heauen, and walking about the limits of heauen, taketh no care of our doings. Again, others haue so wickedly twisted these words; that seeing God hath heauen to himselfe, and hath giuen the earth unto the children of men, there is no cause why we should aspire to heauen; but rather that euery man prouide for himselfe, (as many parts of the earth as he can get. And this mind they seme to be, which couple flesh to flesh, and house to house; so as they scarcely suffer a foot of land to be possessed by others. Further, the prophet proceedeth, and saith; The

dead shall not praise the Lord, nor yet all they which go downe into silence. The mind of the suppliant is, that God would spare the godlie men; lest they being consumed, there should be a want of such, as would set forth the praise of God. But thou wilt saie; If the senses of soules, and the life of them that be departed be taken away, will there be a want of such as should praise God? True in verie deed it is, that in heauen there will be no earth, but he hath appointed to receive fame and praise, not onelle in another world, but euery here also upon the earth: which will not come to passe, if the godlie be consumed by the wicked. And God hath so ordered this, as he brought forth men for this end. Wherefore he gaue also the earth vnto cattell, vnto lions, and also to serpents, flies, and creeping beasts; for all these things are there brought up and nourished, but yet not so as men be. For we be placed in the world, that we should publicly and let forth God: this cannot the dead do here, seeing they be far from this world. And therefore it is said; The dead shall not praise the Lord; namely, upon the earth.

Indeed brute beasts, and dumb cattell, haue their abiding upon the earth, and therein are fed and nourished; but they were made for the be-hoofe of man: but unto this manner of end they are not advanced; because they are not so indowed with reason, as they can giue thanks, call by on and celebrate the name of God. Whereby let vs gather, that the earth is giuen vnto men: not to the intent that they should raille abuse the same, and that they should deuoure the good things thereof: like vnto brute beasts; but celebrate and extoll the name of God, even as they are continuallie inuited by his benefites. Which being onelle done by the godlie sort, if they be oppressed by tyrants and wicked persons; who shall remaine to declare and sing out the praises of God: The wicked do blaspheme the name of God: so far is it off, that they magnifie & extoll it. The repetition of the word, namely [Heauen of heauen] doth broken a certaine famous and excellent region of the heauens, wherein God and Christ dwell with the saints.

72 But let be come vnto Ecclesiastes, where, in the third chapter it is written; That Men and cattell haue one manner of end, both the one and the other do die, and they haue all one manner of spirit or breath: and who knoweth whether the spirit of the sonnes of Adam go vpward, and the spirit of beasts go downward? The Lord hath a little before, that the successe of the godlie and of the wicked are all one; and that thereby it cometh to passe, that no man knoweth by the outwards fortunes and euents of men, who are beloued of God, and who be hated. But who be compared man with cattell, assuming that the

conditions and qualities of them all are one and the same. But these we distinguish, because some be general, and some special. As to the special, the conditions be not all one in creature first: for cattell be four-footed, but men be two-footed; the cattell are without speech, but man doth speake; cattell be not capable of wiles and vertues, but men are garnished with vertues, and polluted with vices. Wherefore Salomon, in that place treateth of general qualities, as well of men, as of beasts. For as men be borne and bred up, to cometh it to passe with cattell: as those be dissolved into ashes and elements, so doth it happen unto men, as touching the bodie: as beasts be fed with meate, and men with bread, with drinke, and ingender their young ones: so do men likewise.

And whereas it is said, that the spirit is well of one as the other is one, that must not be referred to the soule: as though Salomon intimated, that all men have but one soule; as Averroes, and the other of the Peripateticks do thinke. But the spirit be understood the twink of breath: for by virtue beafts and men do breathe all in one note. And the spirit of man goeth upward, and the breath of beafts doth come down: but who knoweth this? Who is able to peme it by strong natural reasons? It is not known by Salomon, that these things happen; but he saith, that the knowledge and understanding of these things are scarce, or not at all extant among men, as touching natural principles. And whereas he saith: Who knoweth? He (as Ierom interpreteth) doth thinke a difficultie: not an utter impossibilitie. For Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, and some other philosophers, attained after a sort to the knowledge of immortality of soules; by what means I stand not to pouse. In the same booke of Ecclesiastes, the ninth chapter, it is written: In the graue that thou goest vnto, there is neither worke, cogitation, knowledge, nor wisdom, &c. These things (as Ierom saith) pertaine vnto the good woorkes, whereby it is the part of the faithfull to approue themselves vnto God, while they liue in this world; because in the other life they shall haue no place. In this life must we beleeue the word of God, that we may be iustified; here repentance must be taken in hand; here the sacraments must be receiued; here almes must be bestowed: because after death, there is no place referred for these actions. And thus spake Christ in the Gospell of Iohn: Now know ye whilst it is date, otherwise the night will come, wherein no man can worke.

Gregorius Neocæsariensis referreth the places, which he haue alleged out of Ecclesiastes, vnto Salomon, who wrote these things of himselfe. Because, when he gaue himselfe to please,

he, in a manner set his mind to graue desires, and to be infected with these cogitations; namely, that the end of man and beafts should be all one; that after this life, in another world, there remaineth not either cogitation, or worke, or wisdom, or knowledge. And allowable it cometh to passe, that they, which be corrupted in such heathen cogitations, do sometimes euerie daie burne in the lusts of delights, and do more and more growe beastlie. So as this interpret; doth not thinke, that these things were approued by Salomon, whom he thinketh to make report of the things, which be affected of old, and of the which he repented: because this booke of Ecclesiastes is accounted among the Jewes; The Repentance of Salomon. Wherefore the voluptuous and delicate men, to confirme themselves in their beastliness, do saie, that as well men as beafts do die, and that there shall nothing remaine after this life. Let vs be therefore free no measure in carnall and earthly do: lights; and (as Paule saith;) Let vs eate and drinke, for to morowe we shall die.

Allo Olympiodorus an interpreter of the booke of Ecclesiastes saith; that first these things do belong vnto the life of the bodie; wherein (as it hath bene said) manie qualities are common, as well to men as beafts. Secondly, that they which bend themselves vnto pleasures and delights, do rather appoy to the nature of brute beafts. And therefore he will haue vs here to be admonished, that we should vnto our selves from these things, lest we in our manners degenerate into brute beafts, whereas we be made vnto the image of God, and ordered to become one daile vnto angels. As he, he interpreteth them to be men, which rightly be reason; but those to be beafts, which haue vnto themselves themselves to flesh and affections. But who (saith he) knoweth those men, which belong vnto the one sort, of those which belong vnto the other; seeing the conditions of men are secret and hidden: So as it may be, that Salomon spake these things vnto the person of voluptuous men; or else (as it seemed to Gregorius Neocæsariensis) he had in remembrance his owne person.

For Job, in the 14. chapter, seemeth to make mention of twofold condition. When either thou dost dote, the rivers, and the sea. For after that dote, he sayeth againe, and returneth in his former state. And rivers, although they get that they be emptied of their waters; yet are they abundantly refilled vnto them againe. And the sea, albeit euerie six houres it depart from the dry land; yet cometh it the same againe. Yet it saith not to both men, when he is dissolved by death; because he returneth no more, neither is he refilled to his former state. These things

doth Job there lament, and that trulle in hee doth, if man should be considered in his owne proper nature; namely, without the lood of God, and without Christ. But if it be considered, that euen he himselfe, that was intangled in these things, hath a baile, wherein he bring himselfe, doth not onlie renewe againe, but returneth from death to life; we must otherwise determine of him. It is further to be noted, that a time is limited, wherein the dead returne not to life: seeing it is there written; Vntill that heauen shall passe away. In which words are noted the end of the world, Job then denieth not, but that men shall rise againe, after heauen is passed away.

And much more doth he seeme to affirme this, when in the same place he seemeth to compare death vnto slepe, and maketh mention of men that shall be awakened. For slepe is not perpetuall; but heretvnto is ordained, that it should be limited by watching. And he added in the same place; Who shall bring to passe, that thou wilt hide me in the graue, vntill thy wrath be overpast? Whither forme of speaking he speaketh, that there shall be an end of Gods wrath; and that death shall once haue an end. And yet more plainlie he saith; And to appoint a time wherein thou shalt remember me. And he afterward beareth record, that he waiteth for a renewing. And straightwaie he saith; Thou shalt call me, & I will answer thee; namely, I rising from the dead, thou vndoubtedly shalt stretch forth thy right hand to thine owne workman: ship. And some haue expounded the same place by an interrogative point, as though it should be an argument from the lesse to the greater: (saying; Shall a tree cut downe, a river, and the sea be restored to their former state, and man not attaine thereto?) It is not likelie, seeing man is farre better than these things, and doth with no lesse care regarded him.

And vndoubtedly Aben-Ezra graunteth, that the resurrection in that place is understood. But while these things seeme to be somewhat more difficult, which are spoken in the 7. chapter of the same booke, where he saith; Mine eye shall not returne to see good things. Whereby it is this must be understood, as concerning the good things, which pertaine vnto this life. For after the resurrection, the dead shall not returne againe to eat, to drinke, to beget children, as they did before, while they liued here. Therefore he saith; Thine eye shall see me no more: which seemeth to be nothing else, than that after this world, there shall be no bargaine, covenant, a recompense betwixt us, as there was before. So to this he addeth; The cloud is gone, and returneth no more: euen so, he that descended into the pit, ascendeth not; neither returneth to his owne

house, neither knoweth anie more his owne place.

These things (as I haue hitherto warned) are spoken as touching the strength of nature: and if a man be considered to be without God and Christ, as he is in his owne nature corrupt and imperfect; and also, if death and hell be weighed of according as they be indeed. For these things cannot be overcome by natural strength. Wherefore it is said; that In hell there is no redemption: because no man by the helpe of man, or by the power of nature, can be called backe from thence. But if we embrace Christ vnto a perfect faith, so farre as hee overcome sinne, death, and hell; we haue thereby great redemption in him. And in the booke of Samuel 1. Sam. 26. we read, that it is God which leadeth vs downe vnto hell, and bringeth vs backe againe. For there are we to passe over, that by similitude which Job speaketh of the cloud, which suddenly goeth away, is noted the transience of our life. Euen as Iames bid also in his epistle, when he saith; What is your life? Euen a vapour that appeareth for a little while. Afterward he saith; I shall not returne to his owne home. Which is nothing else, but that these conditions of this life, shall not be receiued againe after resurrection; to wit, that anie man shall againe be a prince, an householder, husbandman, citizen, or in such other state. Neither did Aben-Ezra dissemble, that by this place also the resurrection of the dead is not dispoised.

There was another argument brought out of the words of Daniel; because he wrote, that manie should rise againe, and did not saie [All] whereby grew a suspicion, least he should make the resurrection particular, yea (as it is shewen to be) vniuersall. Whereby, he expounded this saying of his, and declared, that he might not saie [All] (saying manie are to be found as liue at the last daie, when he verie bad shall not die, but be changed. Wherefore, the prophet in that place touched the resurrection, as well of the goodie, as of the wicked: where he saith; Some shall rise vnto ignominy, and others vnto glory, and that everlasting life. Neither also is that anie hindrance, which is spoken in the plaine; namely, that The wicked shall not rise in judgement: because he there treateth of the cause, and not of the nature and substance of them. They shall not stand (saith he) but their cause shall be overthrown: for they shall not be quitted at the tribunal seat of God, but shall be condemned. These answers haue we made to the objections, and (according to our promise) haue here expounded the principall points of this treatise. And now there remaineth, that we in briefe earnestly rehearse the law here, to haue a part in the first resurrection; providing, that our faith may be excellent

As conclude of this doth the principall point of this treatise. And now there remaineth, that we in briefe earnestly rehearse the law here, to haue a part in the first resurrection; providing, that our faith may be excellent



excellent, our charitie feruent and effectual, our hope firme and constant; and that our actions, aswell inward as outward, may be christian and well ordered, and that we subdue the wicked motions and affections of the flesh; altogether confirming our will and mind unto the lawe of God. In performing wherof, we shall after the former, obtaine that latter and blessed resurrection.

## The xvj. Chapter.

Of the taking vp of Elias, and Henoch.

In a 2<sup>da</sup>.  
book.11.

A division  
of this treatise.

verse.44.

At compar-  
son between  
the taking  
vp of Eli-  
as and ge-  
noch.  
How and  
whether,  
Elias was  
taken up.

**N**OW I earnestly god to discourse of the taking vp of Elias; and what I have determined to speak of, I will divide into of three principal points. first, I thinke it meete to be understood, whether Elias ascended, that is, what place he hath occupied by his ascending; secondly, whether he be dead, and whether he inioine his bodie, or hath put off the same; thirdly, if he liueth, whether he shall returne vnto vs, and to what end he was taken vp. But so much as this last; namely, to be taken vp, was common, aswell vnto Henoch, as vnto him; as we read in the first chapter of Genesis. He will intreate of them both together. Wherbeit, this testimonie of Henoch differeth from the historie of Elias; because therein is no mention of the place, whereunto Henoch was translated. But in berie deed it is written of Elias; that he was taken vp through a whirlewind, into heauen; albeit some man may suppose that whoso Schismas, to be of the genetice case, as though it were said, In a whirlewind of heauen; that is to saie, that Elias was taken vp in a heauelike whirlewind. But the interpretation that is receiued in a manner of all the expounders, is that that word should be understood, as put in the accusative case; and not only the place, vnto the which Elias ascended. Yet haue we no hierarchie any thing certaine; or defined, because the name of the word heauen, is manifest, and vnder that name manie things are signified.

Heauen (among the Hebrews) is this aire, wherein the earth and water was compassed, And sometimes it signifieth those upper spheres, which are garnished with sunlike and manifold starres. Also those high feates of the blessed, which are manifest far and wide above those visible spheres, are called heauen. Albeit manie in this our time account heauen to be a certaine spiri-

tual and bodilesse place of the blessed, which is called euere the same. But this is nothing else but to mingle together the highest with the lowest, and the lowest with the highest. We leaue this vbiuagare and fained heauen, faine not that the seats of the blessed are bodilesse; but are wide and largelie spred, beyond the compasses of the starres, and beyond the firmament it selfe. Whereof also we thinke it cometh, that it is said that Christ ascended about all heauens; as the apostolicall historie teacheth, and as it is written in the epistle to the Ephesians; where it is properlie understood, that he came to the lower most parts of the earth, (for he was conuernt among men in this world); so must the heauen, whether he ascended, be properlie understood to be the highest; if respect be had vnto the Antithesis; or contrarie. And vnbonded creditalls must be giuen vnto the testimonie of the angel, wherein it is said; that he should come to iudge from thence, whether he by ascending went. And Peter in expresse wordes affirmeth, that Heauen must containe him, vntill the resurrection of all things. In which wordes the aduerbe [Vntill] hath great force: for it is euen as if it were said, He shall not come out of heauen vnto vs, before all things shall be restored by the last iudgement.

2. Whether onlie be the latter fathers (as Bede and Strabus) of our time, whose testimonies be re- cited by Peter Lombard: that they affirmed hea- ven to be Emperour: not so called, as though any thing were burned in them with fire; but because of the fire light, with which him the place is perpetuallie lightened: & they will haue it, that the angels were there placed, immediately after their creation. And Ambrose and Basil, be- ing men of great authoritie among the ecclesi- asticall fathers, were of the same mind: for they, expounding the wordes of the six daies, deman- ded whether the darknesse was created by God; And they answered, that darknesse had no ex- istence and proper nature, which may be brought forth by creation; but that seeing it belonged vnto ymagination, it followeth of it some aspect; the firmament being vnder put as an arch or vault to an vnshapen matter. For they saie, that before the world was made, God himselfe liued in a most plendient light, which being that first, remained, when the firmament had bene compassed about with inferior things. So as the light being hindered, darknesse did result vnto the world.

And of this coniecture of theirs, they bring an example of a man, who being placed in the middle earth region, which is cleare with light on euerie side, maketh and pitcheth himselfe a tent, either of coule cloth, or of berie thicke lea- ure. This when he hath well closed vp, the light

the habi-  
tation of  
the fauor.

light re-  
gion be-  
tween the  
firmam-  
ent and  
the earth.

the firm-  
ament, which  
is not about  
the firmam-  
ent.

whether  
Elias was  
caught up.

1<sup>da</sup>. 1. 2.

is excluded, and darknesse therewithin ariseth out of there. By these things it plainlie appereth, that these fathers doo affirme the outwardmost part of the firmament to be most bright, which is the most happy habitation of the fauours; & doo mean, that the innermost darknes was after- ward chased away by God; when as vnto the firmament he ioined vnto the celestiall spheres, the sunne, the planets, and the fixed starres. As so Augustine in his booke De ciuitate Dei, as gainst the philosophers, which thought Christians to note, because they confessed that humane bodies haue a place in heauen after the resurrection. For they thought it not possible, that vnto earth, and other portions of the elements, seats should be granted in so high parts of the world. Against these (3 late) doth Augustine earnest- lie contend; which he ought not to haue done, if he had affirmed the heauen of the blessed, to be altogether without a bodie, and to be found in euerie place. For he might easilie haue answered; We saie not, that the bodies of the fauours, after the resurrection, shall haue place in the high regions of the world; but in the spiritual heauen, that is, euerie where. But of this mat- ter there hath bene enough spoken already; for it is in an other place treated of more at large; and I now call it to remembrance, to confirme the third signification of heauen, which nameth that there be most bright regions beyond the starre circles, which are scene of our eyes.

3. But of some perhaps it may be thought a rash inquisition, that we haue propounded; for the holie scriptures doo not define any certaintie of these significations. Elias onlie they tell us, that Elias was taken up, and that Eli- zaus saw him a little while, and that he after- ward beheld him no more. And Chrylosto- me, in an oration which he made of Elias, saith; that it is a point of wisdom, to staie our senses within those termes that the scrip- tures teach; otherwise, it is not safe to wander out of them in our owne discomfites. And Cyri- lac saith; That that place he was taken up, God knoweth; as if he should saie, that it extendeth not to the knowledge of man. But because manie of the ancient and latter writers haue taught somewhat of this matter, and no small number are desirous to heare somewhat of these things; therefore haue I entred into this treatise; in disputing wherof, I will not incline my selfe to coniectures and inuentions of men; but will onlie make relation of those things, which are brought by writers of most authoritie; and as touching those things, I will declare what may seeme to be iudged probable.

First of all we are not to doubt, but that E- lias, while he was taken vp, passed through the middle of this aire, for euen from thence fell

his cloke. Furthermore, whether had Eliuzus looked, when he cried, My father, my father, &c. Ibidem. 11. The holie historie also agreeth therunto, which sheweth, that the children of the prophets fore- told Eliuzus, that his master should be taken a- way from his head: that is, Above his head, and through the regions of the aire. Which out of manie places of the scripture may be pro- ued, to be called by the name of heauen; for there, in diuerse places we read; The fowles of the heauen, while it is manifest enough, that they die not, but through this lowermost part of the aire. And they, which after the flood builded the most high towne, would haue had the top there- of to haue reached vnto heauen, that is, vnto the high aire. And does this, the spies, which at the commandment of Moses, went into the land of Chanaan, to the intent they might aduance the height of the fortresses that were there, de- clared, that they did reach vnto heauen; that is to saie, they were built so high into the aire, as they were inuincible. It is said in like man- ner, that Moses came bread from heauen; becau- se Ganna rained vnto the Israelites; certeinlie, not from the celestiall shewers, but from the re- gion of this our aire. Also it is said, that Elias did shut heauen, and open it; when as vnder the name of heauen was signified the clouds, whereby, at the prayers of Elias, the raine was before prohibited, and afterwards diffused.

4. But if thou shalt demand, whether the bo- die of Elias remained in this aire heauen; that bode Chrylostoime in the place now alledged demeth, speciaillie by this argument; For becau- se that in this aire, is the seat, not of fauours, but of satan. For Paul vnto the Ephesians saith, that the duell is the prince of the aire; yea, and he rather thinke, that satan did maruell exorci- sing, when he perceiued Elias to be so farre car- ryed by those his regions in a chariot, and with fierie horses. Furthermore, what should Henoch and Elias there do in that wildesterie, neuer from the societie of the holie spirits, which liued quiet- ly and happilie in the bosome of Abraham? Moreover, it is verie lielle, that God would haue the men that are so bare and acceptable vnto him, to be interieued in a sacre better mansion, than they receiued vnto the earth; which could not haue bene, if they should be re- tained still in the aire, which is turmuled with raines, with tempests, with winds, with haile, and with fierie discommodities. What that shall we affirme, as concerning the starre spheres; shall we thinke, that Henoch and Elias were receiued therin? so berie. What should they do there vnto their bodies? Christ telle they should be caught with the dailie mo- tion fro the east to the west perpetuallie, & also be carried) with other motions of those spheres;

whether  
Henoch and  
Elias  
were taken  
vp into the  
haerie  
spheres.

Ibidem. 3.

Gen. 1. 1.

Deut. 1. 1.

Psal. 12. 1.

Ecc. 4. 3.

1<sup>da</sup>. 1. 2.

Eph. 2. 1.

Ephes. 4, 10

unless a man perhaps will imagine, that they abide in the poles themselves; which would be altogether ridiculous. Neither are the seats of the blessed appointed to be in those visible heavens: for Christ is said to have ascended above all heavens. And he himself testified, that where he is, there he would that his ministers also should be. Therefore, even they also are carried up above all heavens.

3 I knowe indeed, that the Stoiche philosophers  
iudge, that the soules of all men remaine aliu  
after the bodies, for a great space of time (fo  
saint) but not for ever: and that they did thinke  
(as Seneca testifieth in his treatise *De consolati  
one ad Martiam*) that they do haue, and be con  
uerfant for a time in the aire, where they shoul  
be thoroughlie cleaned and consumed; whato  
euer foule and vnpure thing they haue adu  
unto them, through the vncleane contagion of  
their bodies and lufis: and that when they be  
thoroughlie purified, they shall be liued by eu  
en unto those fphires, which are garnished with  
stars: that they may thereby receiue most  
pleasure, through beholding of celestiall  
things: but yet, that at the last they shall be di  
solved and perturbed. Again, I am not ig  
norant that Cicero, in his booke *De somno Scipio  
nis*, affirmed, that the soule of that excellent  
man Scipio was among the stars; from whence  
he shoul not onlie behold celestiall things, but  
also thinke for the earth like a little point in  
the centre of the world; as I shoul see, that men do  
for greaue busie themselves to amplify their  
possession of empire, in a part that is both lea  
and lowest of all the world. But these be fables  
and fowle deuises of Ethnicks. And yet do I not  
that Co cannot preserve human bodies, either  
in the aire, or within their visible circles of the  
heavens. Doubtless, of that which Co is able to  
do, cannot be concluded, that it is done: for he  
is able to do manye things, which neuerthelesse  
he hath decreed not to do.

whether  
Enoch and  
Elias were  
carried in:  
to the high  
seats of the  
blessed  
saints.

Chylæ first  
of all indu-  
ed with im-  
mortalitie.  
1. Co. 15, 20

15 **John** declared the third significance of hea-  
 ven: and there remaineth to be considered, how  
 these things were, when they were taken a-  
 way. And hence, were carried to the high fea-  
 t of the blessed fancies. **Whish** fiercely not to be,  
 because bodies enter not in thither, before they  
 be glorified: which thing the Scripture hath at-  
 tributed to neither of these two. **Hereto** more-  
 over is added, that **Christ** being raised from the  
 dead, immortality was first of all other at-  
 tributed unto him: for he is the first fruits of the  
 dead. **But** when as these things were done, the  
 source of **SED** had also as yet taken humane  
 flesh upon him: much less was he entered with  
 his body into heaven. And **Irenaeus** himself, in  
 his treatise against heresies, attributeth lo-

much vnto Christ in this matter, as he thinketh, that the soules of the Christians departed, doe not enter into those blessed seats, before the resurrection : when they shall put on their bodies anew, because Christ alwaies was not lifted vp thither, till after the resurrection. How true his iudgement was, hereof I stand not to dispute : but I easilie gather, that it is no fitt thing, that these two were carried vnto the blessed place, before that Christ (who is the first fruits of all men) had gone thither.

The words also of the Lord seeme to persuade  
 this, who in the Gospell of Iohn saith; No man  
 ascendeth vp to heauen, but he that hath de- John 3:13  
 scended from heauen, cōme the sonne of man,  
 which is in heauen. Whereby he denieth, that  
 anye ascended into heauen before himselfe: for  
 by the verbe of ascending in that place, he hath  
 respect vnto the p̄terperfect tense. For if it  
 should be vnderstood in the future tense, or time  
 to come, that saying would not be true; for he,  
 which becometh in him, shall ascend into heauen.  
 Neither doubt I toaken the testimonie alreadie  
 brought, if anye shall saie, that Christ ascended  
 into heauen by his owne power and strength;  
 but that Henoch and Elias were lifted vp into  
 heauen by the power of God, and not by their  
 owne strength; because also the bodie of Christ  
 had not this power, that he might ascend vp  
 of himselfe, that is, of the nature of flesh, but of  
 the diuine nature. These arguments came now  
 into mind, as touching the three significations  
 of heauen.

John let be come to caute the fūdic epitions of le leame. David Kimhi, not the meaneſt interpretoꝝ of the Hebrewes, thinke; that 3n the taking up of Elias, his garments were consumed with fire, except his mantle, which fell from him : yea and that himselfe was extinguished, so that euerie one of the elements of his bodie was dissolved, and returned to the element like vnto it selfe ; but that his spirit went into heauen, vnto the societie of angels, and there enioied the highest felicitie. But the verie same Nino Ocolampadius ( a man singularly well learned) seemeth to be, when he expouneth the end of the prophet Malachie. And as concerning Henoch, the Hebrewes thinke, that he liueth, But where it is said, that he was taken up, & recelued by God : that cometh to passe, by reason he departed before the time of nature had appointed, for he liued onlie three hundred and thyeke yeaeres : whereas as his forefathers, before the flood, liued vntill eight hundred, and nine hundred yeaeres. And they note, that he, although he were well accepted twice, yet that he was prone vnto sinne : and that therefore God frowning him, would haue him to depart vnto a sharpe and vntimelie death. And

*Elias and Henoch.*

verf. 11.

3

4

Earthlie  
paradise.  
Looke part.  
1. pl. 12.  
Br. 17.

perhaps some would twist into this purpose, that which is written in the bible of Eldredde, the 4. chapter. He was specificc taken awaie, that wickednesse should not alter his hart. But contrariwise, men of our religion doe thinke, that he was appointed vnto Menoth: because he was an excellent man, and that God would therefore make him to be famous, by a wonderful taking of him awaie. Vnto the foule so separated from the bodie affected to the feasts of the blessed, doubtles it must needs be, that the bodie do penetrate the celestiall fires, feelinge the use afflicte these feasts to be aboue all the hea- uens. But we must vnderstand, that the masse and greatnes of bodie do indeed hinder bodie, that they cannot passe through: but spirits which be without a choyce, are not hindered by them.

7 Others dare saie, that they were brought in to a berke quiet chace, and to a blessed condition. But if thou be theye to define the place, their mind is, that they be in earthly paradise; where Adam and his wife Eue were placed at the beginning. This opinion seemeth but little to be allowed of; because that same paradise was destroyed by the flood, neither is it anie more extant at this date. For the waters of the flood yafed some cubites above the tops of the highest hils. Albeit some of the Scholē-blainers thinke, that by a certaine privilege, the waters were forbidden, that they should not touch the garden of pleasures. And they bring a reason, that the waters of the flood were sent for the punishment of sinners; but at that time there lived none in paradise, but Henoch, together perhaps with some angels. Therefore they conclude, that that place was not destroyed by the waters. And among others, Scotus defendeth this opinion. And it is a wonder to be said, how blunders and fondie opinions haue bene written by the Scholē-men concerning the state of paradise of pleasures. But this also seemeth very absurd, that Elias was caught up into the highest place, and afterward was depose into the terrestrialall garden. Further, this must be granted, that in the holie scriptures cannot easilie be found, where *Gien-Eden*, that is, The garden of pleasures, is called heuē. Wherefore, I haue not found the same anye where.

Seeing then it is said, that Elias was taken  
up into heaven; that must not be understood of  
the terrestrial paradise. Truc it is, that heaven it  
selfe formerly sometimes to be called paradise:  
for the Lord said vnto the shepe, This daie shall  
I be with me in paradise. Which saleng (as  
Augustine affirmeth in an epistle vnto Darda-  
nus) must be referred vnto the diuine nature:  
for: ife thinke, that it might not be applied to  
his booke, which late in the grane; nor yet vnto  
his soule, being in the infernall places: vnlesse

by the infernal places, a man will understand the bosome of Abraham, where it is believed that the soule of Christ was together with the fathers. Volvbit, Augline in his treatise *De peccatorum meritis & remissione*, the first booke and 3. chapter, saith he of this mind, where he saith; that Perhaps Elias fell in paradise, as the first Adam was before he was cast out from thence; for sinne And the occasion of erring on this wise, was the booke of Ecclesiasticus: where in the 44. chapter we read; Henodi place et approched himselfe unto God, and therefore he translated him into paradise. *Unde* here into we are mislead, that that booke is not canonical. Further, that the Latine interprety hath not faithfully translated that place, because in the Greeke there is no mention made of paradise, but onely faith: He was translated.

But perhaps the Vbiuquits of our times Scribble  
quills.  
would say, that these men were taken up into  
their heaven, (which they affirm) to be in eu-  
ery place. Holoweth this would be nothing else,  
but to send them into *Vopia*, which is in no  
place. And certeinlie, if they retaine their bodies  
fill, they must of necessitie be compacted with  
some body. For that is most true, which *Au-  
gustin* told unto *Dardanus*; Take aboue place  
from bodies, and they shall be no where; and be-  
cause they shall be no where, they shall not be at  
all. Neither both he speake these things (as some  
thinke) after the manner of a natural philoso-  
pher; seeing he expounded a question of *Plini-  
us*; for *Dardanus* had demanded of him, whe-  
ther the humane nature of *Christ*, by reason  
of the Godhead joined therewith, were euerie where:  
and therefore might also be both in hell, and  
together with the these in paradise. So that we  
must assure our selues, that all things created  
be defined and distinguished by certeyne places,  
but yet after their owne manner: for bodies are  
corporeal in a place. But spirits be therein (as  
the *Schole-men* say) indistinctlie; because they  
haue a substance and nature limited. Wherefore,  
the angel that was truly Iohn in the *Isle* of  
*Pachinos*, was not at the same time in *Ephesus*;  
and the same that was truly *Daniel* in *Babylon*,  
was not at the same time with *Jeremie* in *Ju-  
da*. To be euerie where, is onelie attributed  
unto God.

8 Another opinion also is of them, which do  
thinke, that they were caried into the bosome of  
Abraham; whith they do understand to be a  
place of rest, wherein the spirits of the faithfull  
are in happy state. And they saie, that it is called  
the bosom; either because they are there brought  
together by the father Abraham, euen as young  
children are caried in the bosome by their pa-  
rents; or else, for that it may be thought to be a  
certaine haucn of saluation. For so are called

verse. 16

g The obli  
guise.

Apoc. 1, 9.  
& 5, 2, &c.  
Dan. 9, 21.

6  
of the bo-  
some of Z  
brahim,  
and what  
the same f  
expounde  
to be.

Of Christ  
descending  
into the  
infernal  
places.

the harbours in the sea, which be safe from tempests. And unto Abraham it is said, that he was the father of faith; not that the blessed fathers before Abraham time are thereby excluded; but therefore doth this bolome beare the name of Abraham, because, in the holie scriptures, his faith is more manifeste and offerre publicly. <sup>1</sup> But this place, if it be aloft, and that it be in dignity above the earth, <sup>2</sup> *holo* is it said, that Christ descended into the infernal places: <sup>3</sup> It should be said rather, that he ascended. Some perhaps would answer, that by reason of his buriall it is said that he descended; and that the figure which concerned his body, by the thing *Synedech*, was translated to his soule. <sup>4</sup> But there be others, which saie, that this article is not distinguished from that which went before; but is rather put in for expounding thereof: so as the better should be; he was buried, and therefore he is said to have descended into hell. And indeed the synods of Nice and Constantinople, and some synods of Toledo, and some that are mentioned by Hilarius in his booke of synods, left out that particle. And Rufinus testifieth, that it is not had in the Romane synod. <sup>5</sup> *See* moreover, Irenaeus and Terullian, being verie ancient writers, when they recited the rules of faith, omitted this descending. <sup>6</sup> *Wholbeit* manie of the other fathers made evident mention of the same: and especially Athanasius in his *Synbole* or Creed.

Augusine.

Two sorts  
of infernal  
places.

Phil. 2. 6.

Mat. 12. 40.

But some man will doubt, whether the bolome of Abraham, wherof we have begun to speake, may beare the name of infernal places, so as Christ should be said to have descended into the infernal places, because in his soule he was there together with the fathers. <sup>7</sup> Augusine in his 9. epistle to Euodius, writeth, that he never read in the holie books, the name of infernal places to be written on the god part. <sup>8</sup> But that the matter may the more plainly be opened, we must understand, that the fathers appointed two sorts of infernal places; that is to wit, the uppermost, and the lowermost. <sup>9</sup> *Whilch* Irenaeus testifieth, in the end of his booke against heresies: where he byingeth those words which are written in the 86. psalme; Thou hast plucked my soule out of the nethermost hell. And he also noted that, which is spoken of the Lord; that the sonne of man should be in the hart of the earth three daies. <sup>10</sup> The which in verie deed cannot be spoken of the sepulchre, seeing it was upon the upper face of the earth, that is, between out of maine bone: but it is evident, that the hart signifieth the verie middle it selfe. And thus much spake he of the nethermost hell. <sup>11</sup> But of the uppermost he saith, that doubles the soules of the saints do go into an inuisible place, appointed unto them by God: where they shall abide, un-

till the time of the resurrection; and after that they shall come unto the sight of God.

Also Origin in his third booke *de dyalogo*, Origin, pag. 804. saith; that The soules departing from hence, are divided either into the infernal place, or into the bolome of Abraham. And straightwaie after, The infernal place is called the uppermost earth, the lowermost is called Tartarus, that is, the deepe botome. <sup>12</sup> But the name of Tartarus seemeth to be taken out of Plato, which useth the same in his tenth booke *De Republica*. And Origin, in the forelast booke, pag. 804. attributeth unto the soules departing hence, a place upon the earth; where they may learne those things, which they knew not, while they lived here; least (forsooth) they, which be departed out of this life, should have an excuse, when they had not yet heard the preaching of the Gospell: for it would seme, that such may pretend ignorance. <sup>13</sup> Therefore, even as the *Discipuls* framed a purgatorie, so hath this man, with certaine later men, framed an eruditio. <sup>14</sup> *But* all these things are without scriptures. <sup>15</sup> Augusine; interpreting the 85. psalme, proceeded in this distinction of the higher infernal place, the lower, and he confirmeth the same, not onely by the words of that psalme; but also by the evangeliall storie; because it is said, that the rich man, when he was in tormentes, lifted up his eyes, and saue Lazarus and others, as it must needs be, that those blessed soules were in the higher place. <sup>16</sup> *See* and Abraham is brought in, to have affirmed, that it was not lawfull to go from them unto the other; but that there was betwene them a great chasme, that is, an exceeding great gulfe.

Moreover, this difference there is betwene them, that in the lowermost there are punishmentes and tormentes, which are not in the uppermost. <sup>17</sup> Whereupon it is written in the booke of Ecclesiastes; That the soules of the just be in the hand of God, neither do the tormentes touch them, &c. <sup>18</sup> *See* and Christ, when he being upon the cross, said, Into my hands, Lord, I commend my spirit. <sup>19</sup> And straightwaie he added; Lord thou God of truth. <sup>20</sup> Wherby it is concluded, that the soules of the godlie are in the hands of God; and are redeemed or plucked away from the punishmentes and tormentes of the wicked. And allow it that this be cherlie spoken of Christ, yet both it also belong unto David, and the other members of Christ. <sup>21</sup> For the Lord said, that Where he himselfe is, there he would also have his ministers to be. <sup>22</sup> For the soule of Christ was not onely among the fathers in the bolome of Abraham, but that it was also in the lower hell; but yet without punishment and offense. And this doth

Leuit. 24.

Witt.

Leuit. 24.

Job. 21.

36

Dan. 3. 52.

Chilbroke  
de Eccl.  
ch. 12.  
number  
added to  
Augusine.

Eccl. 3. 19.

Gen. 27. 31.

Job. 21. 26.

Eccl. 3. 10.

he layeth upon the 2. chapter of Daniel, in setting forth the hystorie of the three children, which were molten into the fire oven: for there was a fourth apert with them, which was called the sonne of God. <sup>23</sup> *Wher*in (as Ieron sayeth) the same was shadowed, who descended into the furnace of the wicked, without any fault or sin, or paine to him.

Augusine wrote more of this matter in his 9. epistle to Euodius, but verie ambiguously and obscurely. <sup>24</sup> For he saith indeed that Christ descended into the infernal places; but he saith, that that he did there, he was in a manner ignorant. <sup>25</sup> But he affirmeth, that it was believed of the universall church, that the first father Adam, was delivered from thence by him. <sup>26</sup> But he demaneth, that if so be the fathers in the bolome of Abraham, were not troubled with any sorrow or torment, what did Christ for them by his coming? These things doth he there handle in that place, and disputeth at large. <sup>27</sup> But in his booke *De corpore*, at *quod vult Deum*, herelike the 79. he maketh mention of them, which dare affirme, that Christ in the infernal places toke out those infernals, which then belived in him. <sup>28</sup> And in his booke *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, in the definition 78. 79. he declaredly the matter more plainly and manifestly. <sup>29</sup> First he saith, that before the coming of Christ, all the soules of the godlie descended into the bolome of Abraham: but that after his ascension, all the faithful soules do go unto God. <sup>30</sup> By which saying no doubt but purgatorie is overthowne. <sup>31</sup> *Wholbeit*, we must not passe it over, that this booke is not accounted for the lawfull writings of Augusine. <sup>32</sup> *Wher*in indeed that it is not reckoned among the lawfull writings of Augusine; but whose fewer it was; it is an ancient booke, and contineth good instruction.

And certainly, as touching either part of the definition, Ieron assenteth, who upon the third chapter of Ecclesiastes, interpreting the words of Salomon; That the end of man and beasts is all one; saith; These things are not spoken, as though Salomon thought, that the soules of man was dissolved in such sort as is the life of a beast; nor yet as though it should go to the selfe-same place: but that before the coming of Christ all men were carried into the lower places. <sup>33</sup> Which be moveth by the words of Iacob, who said; He would go downe mourning for his sonne, (Joseph) even to the infernal place. <sup>34</sup> Also he bringeth the testimonie of Iob, which saith in the 21. chapter, that As well the just as vniuert are descended into the infernal place. And albeit (as he saith) it is not all one to be dissolved and preferred; yet is there but small difference between the being dissolved as the life of a beast, and to be kept still in darkness. And in the ninth chapter of the

same booke, the same author interpreting these words; In hell, whidher thou goest, there is neither worke, nor cogitation, nor knowledge, nor wisdom: All the spirites of godlie men, *see* and Samuel himselfe, before the coming of the Lord, were in the infernal place. <sup>35</sup> *Wholbeit*, I thinke that there was particular mention made of Samuel; because he by a woman witch was brought unto Saule.

But he added, that after Christ, it doth not so come to passe; and he allegeth the place of Paul, which he wrote unto the Philippians; I desire to Phil. 1. 23. be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ. <sup>36</sup> But they (saith he) which be with Christ, live not in the infernal place. <sup>37</sup> We may also adde, that to the these it was said by Christ, when he was by on the crosse; This day shalt thou be with me in Luke. 23. 43. paradise. And this opinion is confirmed by Nazianzen, in a funeral oration which he made for his brother Callistus, where by a consercion true to him he saith; Thou hast ascended into heaven, and there thou art at rest in the bolome of Abraham; if aunc such place be now extant. <sup>38</sup> Where he seemeth to doubt, whether the bolome of Abraham be yet remaining after the ascension of Christ. And in the same oration he saith, that it is the sitting of the wiske; that The soules of the godlie, when they be loosed from the bodies, are brought into the sight of God. <sup>39</sup> The verie which thing did Cyrillus write, in the ninth booke upon the gospell of Iohn, the 2. chapter, where he saith; that The soules of them that be dead, dwell not upon the earth, neither yet are thrust forth to tormentes, as are the soules of sinners; but do escape into the hands of the heavenly father, the beginning being made by Christ. <sup>40</sup> *Wholbeit*, the more ancient fathers thought, that the soules of the godlie should be detained in the bolome of Abraham, until the blessed resurrection; as we have already declared out of Irenaeus.

Hilarius likewise was of the same mind, Hilarius; wherunto I will declare in few words; not onely as touching this opinion, but also of the infernal place. <sup>41</sup> First upon the second psalme he affirmeth, that The spirites of the wicked after death do not wander upon the earth; but that they come either to paine or reward in mebbaticall order. And this he prometh by the hystorie of Lazarus, and the rich man; because he was alreadye tormented in the fire, while his brethren yet lived: unto whom he desired that Lazarus might be sent. <sup>42</sup> Further, he maketh mention of the place of rewards, the which he calleth The bolome of Abraham; and also of the place of punishmentes, the which he affirmeth to be in the earth; inclining to the place in the Apoc. 5. 3. pocalypse, where it is written, that None might open the booke of them which be in heaven, or which be upon the earth, and which be within the

1. Sa. 28. 14.

Nazianzen

The bolome  
of Abraham

Cyrrillus.

Hilarius;

Luk. 16. 23.

Apoc. 5. 3.

pp pp m. li.

cardi.

Phil. 3. 10.

earth. Whereby he noted, that euen the places, which be within the earth, haue their inhabitants. What also might be brought, which is written to the Christians; that In the name of Iesu euerie kinde must bow, of things I faide in heauen, of things vpon the earth, and of things vnder the earth. Whereupon, the same author vpon the 120. plaine; God heareth the spirits of the godlie in the bosome of Abraham, euen from the time of departing out of their bodies, untill the time that the kingdome of heauen be come.

Tertullian.

And Tertullian, as touching euerie point, faithfully not to haue disgraced. For against Marcion, in the fourth booke, § 274. page together, that he doth thinke, that the infernall places are one thing, and the bosome of Abraham another: because the bosome of Abraham is higher than the infernall place. Which he confirmed by this, that the rich man is said to haue liued by his eyes in his toments, when he sawe Abraham and Lazarus. Whereby it appereth, that Augustine borrowed his argument out of Tertullian.

Luke. 16. 9.

Furthermore, in the 275. page be twelfth of the bosome of Abraham; The same 3. saie is a regit on, although not beauenly, yet higher than the infernall place. And he addeth, that the same shall be giuen for a place of solace, for the soules of the iust, untill the resurrection. Afterward be defineth the bosome of Abraham, that it is a temporary place, to receive the soules of the faithfull, wherein is described the image of that, which is to come. Which (as I suppose) he theretofore speakes; because the perfect and absolute blessednes (which shall happen in our countrie after the resurrection) is there begun. But in his booke *De anima*, page 685. he saith, that The infernall place and the bosome of Abraham are vnderneath the earth. So as he seemeth not to agree well with himselfe; vntill a man will saie, that his booke *De anima*, together with other bookes last found out, are none of his wordes; albeit they may seeme in the stile to imitate him. Finally, he concludeth, that The kingdome of heauen shall be opened, together with the finislyng of the woold: that is to saie; The entrance into heauen shall not be opened, untill the woold be at an end.

Phil. 1. 23.

Luke. 23. 43.

By these things it appereth, that the most ancient fathers did not iudge, that the soules of the godlie do ascende into heauen, till the resurrection be past; and that the latter toylers be dead, that after departing from the bodie, the blessed soules do immediately attaine vnto God. Mercie the scriptures, which are set forth by the spirit of God, incline vnto the latter toylers. For; Paule saith; I desire to be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ. The 2. do said vnto the theefe; This daie shalt thou be with me in paradise. Vnto which purpose, there might also

be other diuine testimonies heaped together. Yet neuertheless, John the twentieth Bishop of Rome, folloved the opinion of the elder fathers, and thought, that the soules of the blessed do not behold the presence of God, untill the last daie of resurrection: and he was to obstatine in his opinion, as he tomd not change the same, vntill he was compelled. For the Diuines of Paris (using the helpe of Philip the king, surnamed Pulcher) made him to recant. For this thing twiteth him, with his whole hingsome, from his obedience: whereupon the Pope recanted, perhaps not from his hart, but through feare; least his popehoode should be pulled from him. Wherefore he openly recanted, and that not without sound of trumpet; as Gerion testified in his sermon of the passeouer. But the boome of Abraham, I meane the seats of the blessed soules, and the infernall place of the wicked spirits, come to the knowledg euen of the popes. For they described Orcus, or hell, to be that, wherein the wicked are tomented. And they also made mention of fields of pleasure, wherein they placed the soules of iust men, who should be light themselves therein, with songs, with no trines, and with philosophical contemplations.

12. Now it seemeth also good to examine, what opinion the Hebrewes be of. In the holie scriptures, there be many names of infernall places, whereof I will rectie some that be the more notable. [It is called in the Hebrew *Scheol*, of the verbe *Schal*, which is, To seeke, or To aske; because heli seemeth euermore to craue, and neuer to be satisfied. In the 16. psalme it is said: And Thou shalt not leaue my soule *Leshchal*, in hell. It is also called *Abaddon*, which is, Perdition. In the eightie eight psalme sayd faith, or thy trouth, *Enabaddon*, that is to saie, In perdition? Who shall declare thy mercie and thy faith, or thy trouth, *Enabaddon*, that is to saie, In perdition? [Further, it is named] *Beer Schebach*: of the which we read in the 55. psalme; 3. Thou hast made them to go downe into the pit, or into the place of consuming. *Abaddon* is called *Shalem*, which is, The shadowe of death: whereof it is long in the 107. psalme; They that dwell or liue in darknes, and in the shadowe of death. *Abaddon* is another name, wherby it is called, which is much more frequented by the latter Iewes, to wit, *Gehinnom*. But wherby the same is to be called, it shall be good to vnderstand. It is compounded of three wordes; *Gue*, that is, A vallie; *Bea*, A founte; and *Hinnon*. The proper name of a man. So as it was a vallie possessed in old time by the sonne of Hinnon, nere vnto the cite of Ierusalem: where the Hebrewes in ancient time had builded a notable high place, for the toying shipping of Moloch, whom they thinke was Saturne; vnto whom they sacrificed men, burning their sonnes and their daughters.

Gehinnom.

The

This place was also called *Tophet*, that is, A timbrell, or bell: because in those horrible ceremonies they rang their bells cratching loud; least the crying and lamentation of their infants, which were burned, should be heard of them that stood by, and of their parents, in Against this high place did the prophet Ieremie, in the 19. chapter prophesie, that it would one daie come to passe, that it should be cut downe, and that the place should become shamefull and detestable: to that, where the dead bodies should be buried, which thence it came afterward to passe, the place of punishment of wicked men (by a fit metaphor) was called *Gehinnom*. First, because a vallie I meane a lout; a vile place; both reprobate heli, which is thought to be vnder the earth. Secondly, because of the fire therein with the wicked are tomented, as in that place children were burned. Lastly, because the place was wicked and detestable, wherein were cast not onlie dead carcases, but also all the filth and uncleannesse which was tholen out of the cite of Ierusalem, as an vnpure and wicked foules are thrust forth of the kingdome of heauen into hell. Also, our Sauour called hell, The veremost darknes: that is, the chiefest and extreme darknes. For euen as the spirits of the blessed do intice an incredible light, to the soules of the damned do lue in extreme darknes. But he often bids the word *Gehenna*, and said, that *Gehenna*, is a fire: to the intent he might exaggerate the vehemencie of the griefe and torment.

Ierem. 19.

Why the place of punishment of wicked men was called *Gehinnom*.

Matth. 23.

Matth. 23.

Matth. 23.

Matth. 23.

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Eliae in the 30. chapter called that place *Tophet*. An vnquendable fire, whose felow should be much wold and burnings. He also saith there, that it is a beach, where with the fire is blowen, that it may be a great deale the more bloudy.

And Ezechiel in the 32. chapter, calleth it The nether parts of the earth, & the lake. And Chasid in the 2. of *Jerusalem*, described this place to be manifestly false; It is better for thee to enter into the kingdome of heauen, lame, and with one eye, than hauing two eyes, or two feet, to be sent into hell. And by exposition he addeth; Into the vnquendable: for their worme doth not die, & the fire neuer goeth out. And thus much of the name of hell.

13. But the Rabbins appointing two infernall places, do alledge three reasons. First, that it is written in the booke of Genesis, the 15. chapter, how it was said to Abraham; Thou shalt be put to thy fathers. *Ques* that saie they were not his parents and his fathers? *Ans* that they were not his fathers, they were as the booke of Iosiah, the 24. chapter, doth testifie. But it agreeth not with the iudice of God, that he would haue Abraham to be in a place of paines, wherein isolaters were punished. Therefore they conuene, that there were two infernall places, in the one whereof Abra-

ham was placed, and in the other his ancestors. Into which place also they thinke that Iacob supposed his soules should be gone; & whither he himselfe also should depart, by reason of sorrowe; for he saith; Mourning will I descend into the infernall place to my sonne. But Ieue are not to believe, that he thought together with his sonne, to be cast into hell. Albeit Rabbi Schemm, minding to instruct this place, saith; that The particle *Al* signifieth not To, but For: as though it stood in the place of *Ad*; that is; For this influence of my sonne I will go downe to the infernall place; that is, (as this man thinketh) vnto the grave. As though there were here no mention made of the infernall places, or of the spirit of Iosiah thus placed there. But the Chaldean paraphrasist is against him, wherein is written, *Leth*, No. And the particle *Leth*, signifieth, To, Neere, or Toward: therefore he saith; I will go to, neere, vnto, or toward my sonne. For can this be vnderstood of the grave, because Iacob did not thinke, that Iosiah was buried in a grave; seeing he thought him to be toment in pieces, and deuoured by a cruell wild beast.

The same also do they gather by the histore of Samuel, who is said to haue risen againe, being raised up by the witch, who was not libell to haue bene in toments with the wicked. And they induce to prove much more plainly this distinction of the infernall places by his wordes, wherein he saith, that the daie after, Saule should be with him, that is, in the infernall place; and yet not in the same part, because Saule, who would aue counsell of a witch, and killed him selfe, is thought to be rent among the damned spirits. But Samuel is thought to be among the number of the godlie and blessed. They agreed not further, and leaue the toment of the most vniuersall woman Abigail, who thus spake vnto Dauid; Thy soule shall be found in the bundle of life; where, by the bundle of life, or of the liuing, they vnderstand the congregation of the fathers, resting with Abraham. After that, the addeth; But the soules of thine enemies [shall God call out], euen as out of the middle of a sling; because the vnbeliefe are cast one from another among the lower infernall places; that is, vnto diuers kinds of toments. And to this purpose also some make a testimonie of Dauid, wherein he saith; Lift vp your heads 60 yeares, and the king of glorie shall enter in: as though that these things were spoken by the angels, when the Lord should enter in vnto the fathers, vnto the bosome of Abraham, for the spoiling of principallities and powers: as it is taught in the epistle to the Christians.

By others also is brought the 4. booke of Ezechiel, albeit it is apocryphall, and is not found in the

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

Gen 37. 35.

2

1. Sa. 28. 14

3

1. Sa. 25. 39.

4

Psal. 24. 7.

Eph. 4. 8. &amp; Col. 2. 15.

5

By ap. m. 14.

verfe.32.

Iohn.14.5.

the Hebue. Yet it is alleged by Ambrose, in his booke *De bonis mortis*: for there, in the seventh chapter, it is said, that It shall come to passe at the last daie of iudgement, that the dust and the graues shall restore the bodies of the dead, and that the thore-houses or receptacles of soules shall render them vp: and so the resurrection shall be made. But those thore-houses or receptacles, wherein soules are kept, Ambrose doth interpret to be the manie mansions, which be in the house of the father, according to the saying of Christ: and also to be those places, which Christ said that he went to prepare for: his apostles, when he ascended vp out of this world unto the father. And when as Ambrose had these disputed against the philosophers, which affirmed, that the soules of iust and wise men, when they depart from hence, do passe into the bodies, either of bees, or of nightingales, that there they might delight themselves, either with sweet exercise, or pleasant musike: he saith, that they should rather have taught, that they went unto *debut*, that is, into an invisible place, prepared for the dead. Whereby it appereth, that the name of infernall place is general, as well unto the place of torment, as unto the place of rest, whereas the name of that yell belongeth onlie unto the tormented.

Apoc. 9.

verfe.3.

2

1.The.4.13.

12. But what is the cause that led the ancient fathers into error, (to thinke that the soules of the faithful should abide in the bosome of Abraham, untill the last resurrection) it is uncertaine. Wherfore, they seeme to have taken hold of certaine places of the scripture, which they did not rightly understand. For it is said in the Apocallipte, that The soules of the flaine are vnder the altar, and criue unto God, that he would once at the laste reuege the blood of them that be slaine. But they should have considered, that the altar is not the infernall place, seeing in the eight chapter of the same booke it is said to be in heauen, and in the sight of God: neither doth the altar betweene any other thing, but Christ himselfe. And we are taught by that vision, that the spirits of the godlie, euen after this life, do reioyge in the kingdome of God, vnder the protection of Christ. Further, whereas they heard in the holie scriptures, that those which depart are called dead: that also after they referred vnto the soule, when as it rather belongeth vnto the boodie. For that which like them that be asleep: neither can it truely and properly be said to be dead, seeing it shall returne vnto life, and that there is no waie to returne from hence death into dead. So as it is terrible compared to sleepers, who beinge deliuered with heauie sleepe, yet are woken at the length: to be awakened againe.

13. Neither must we passe it ouer, that whereas it is said of the infernall place; that All men,

euen vnto the comming of Christ, should be brought thither; and that afterward the spirits, at the last-woile of the damned, shall there be kept till. Some there be, which thinke, that there can be anye space found so large, as may hold so manie spirits or soules. And they seeme, that euen as they appoint heauen to be in euery place, so they would appoint the infernall places to be euery-where. Neither do they consider, that mens soules be spirits, and therefore do not occupy a place as bodies do. Indeed they be in a place, but yet definitele (as I haue already said before): not that they fill a place with their greatnes; or quantities of measure; but after the resurrection, when they shall be indwelt with bodies, God will not want places, wherein they shall be punished for their ill deedes, either vnder the earth, or above the earth, or in the waters, or in the aire. These things had I to saie, as touching the diuers opinions of infernall places. And by the testimony of the most ancient fathers, and also of the latter poets, and likewise of the Hebueus, I haue proued, that there be two kinds of them: to whom I ascribe to haue spoken probably, yet do I not saie, that they haue rightly and soundly vied the places of the scriptures.

Iohn.3.19.

1.Cor.2.

1.The.4.11.

1.Cor.15.

1.Cor.15.

1.Cor.15.

1.Cor.15.

15. But now, if I should be asked vnto what place Henoch & Elias were translated: I will saie, that absolutele I knowe not; because it is not shewed vs in the holie scripture. Yet, to followe the reason most likely to be true, I would saie, that they were brought to the place of the fathers, or bosome of Abraham: that there waiting for the resurrection of Christ, they might live together with the blessed fathers; so that afterward, with him beinge risen againe, they might be lifted vp above the heauens. Wherfore, it may be said, that this privilege had but before others; to wit, that whereas the soules of the faithful were in the bosome of Abraham without bodies, they beinge yet aliue, had place there. But as for their bodies, whether they were glorified, that is a thing hard to be determined: yet may it be said, that in the verie taking vp, they were changed; with that kind of changing I mean, which is described in the first epistle to the Corinthians; namely, that Corruptible did put on incorruption, and mortall immortallize.

The verie which shall come to passe in our taking vp, whereof it is written to the Hebrewes, and euen that we shall goe to meet with Christ in the aire: for it is written to the Corinthians, that In due we shall not all die, but we shall be all changed. But we saie, that Christ is the first fruits, and therefore it ought to be affirmed, that he first of all other attained vnto rest with his boodie.

What this may be answered, that this must be

verfe.

Iohn.3.19.

1.Cor.2.

1.The.4.11.

1.Cor.15.

1.Cor.15.

1.Cor.15.

1.Cor.15.

he understood of the highest seate of the blessed, thertvnto he beinge raised from the dead, was the first that came: but we speake here of the bosome of Abraham, & not of the highest region of the liuing. Further we might saye, that the holie fathers in the bosome of Abraham, in that they were at rest, that they were well, that they reioiced, that they were exempted from the punishment of the damned; they had all this by Christ. For the verue of his death was not onlie profitable to vs, but also to the fathers, which were before his comming. Wherefore in the Apocallipte the 11. chapter it is rightlie said; The lambe was slaine fro the beginning of the world. Neither must he be heard, which in our age hath not interpreted, but peruered that place. For he translated; That they were fallen, that they were shipped the beast, whose names were not written in the beginning of the world, in the booke of life of the lambe which is slaine. To what end had he inuered the parties of this speech? That necessitie constrained him: Seeing the words in the Greeke are *ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἀρχὴ τοῦ κόσμου* in the beginning of the world, & not of the world, as we haue it in the booke of life of the lambe which is slaine. That is, whose names be not written in the booke of life of the lambe, which was slaine from the beginning of the world.

16. Neither doth that let, which is written in the gospell of Iohn; No man ascended into heauen, but he which descended from heauen, euen the sonne of man which is in heauen. For here is no speech of ascending vp above all heauens, whither Christ was first of all carried; but of the taking vp vnto the bosome of Abraham. For, so farre as concerneth that highest ascending, we grant, that none attained vnto that before Christ. Wherefore Henoch and Elias went vnto the fathers: and there, together with them, attended for Christ; who beinge come, they accompanied him into heauen, together with the rest. Neither did the bodie hinder their taking vp vnto the bosome of the fathers. For, that meane may be taken by, together with him, Paul sheweth, saying; that He was rapte into paradice, and whither (saith he) in the bodie, or out of the bodie, I knowe not. Whither which words is gathered, that both might be done. Albeit a certaine Hebue, the highpriester of Ierom, understandeth it farre otherwise: thus (as the same father in the prelog vpon Daniel reporteth) when he mocked the Assyrian highpriests, which are not found in the Hebue; yet are they named to be of those prophets waiting, and especially the translating of Absak out of Iudaea into Babylon, to beinge meate vnto Daniel, that was in the den of lions, said: Where is there anye to be found in the ancient histories, that was translated with the bodie vnto places of such distance?

And when as a certaine man that had no great skill, answered, that Ezechiel was carried out of Babylon into Iurie: the Hebue comforted him, and shewed, out of the wordes of the prophet, that that translation was done in spirit, not in bodie. And he saith; Euen Paul, that apostle of yours, beinge crucified in the lawe, durst not saie that he was rapte into heauen with the bodie: but he was rapte in spirit, whether in the bodie, or out of the bodie, I knowe not. But he, in speaking after this manner, did not rightlie weete the wordes of the apostle, according to his owne meaning. For if Paul had thought, that rapturing with the bodie had bene impossible, certainele he would not haue vied a diffinitive proposition, but a simple proposition. Wherfore, thus he wrote, because he thought that both might be. But this I marvel at, that that Hebue re-membred not the taking vp of Henoch & Elias: vellele perhaps he thought, as manie other did, that they died in the taking vp. But there be two things, that seeme to withstand the saying, which I haue affirmed. The first is, that it is declared by expresse wordes in the holie historie, that Elias was taken vp into heauen by a whirlewind: therefore it seemeth not that he went vnto the bosome of Abraham. It may be said; Perhaps by heauen in that place is meant the aire, through which there is no doubt but he passed: for, so did Elias sit him passe aliue, and from thence did his mantle fall vpon the ground. Wherfore, the scripture speaketh not there of the first going vnto the fathers, but of the latter, wherein he ascended together with Christ above all the heauens. But the first exposition is more probable.

That moreover, which seemeth to let, is this; namely, that if now these two men be consensant with their bodies in heauen, now are they parted, neither do they expect anye other thing, as touching felicitie. But in the epistle to the Hebueus, the 11. chapter it is written; that the fathers, whom the apostle reckoned by, yet though they had the testimony of faith, they attained they not the promise, God prouiding somethinge better for vs, that they should not be made perfect without vs. Wherein the promise is not generalle to be vnderstood, because euen the fathers, while they liued, did obtaine diuers things, which God promised them. Wherefore the said apostle somethat before saith; that they overcame kingdomes, and attained the promise. Wherefore, in the place now alleged, he speaketh of a certaine and speciall kind of promise, which cometh to the resurrection of the dead; because they shall not be raised from the dead, before that we be risen againe. But this seemeth to disagree with the wordes of the apostle, because then God had prouided nothinge better for vs. For, according to this sentence, the resurrection shall be

Ezech.8.3.

1.Cor.14.9.

2.Kin.4.11.

verfe.33.9.

1bidem.33.

shall be alike, and at one time, both unto them and us. Therefore I thinke that this must rather be referred to the benefit that we haue, in comparison of them. For we are borne after the coming of Christ, when the promise is fulfilled, concerning his incarnation, death, calling of the Gentils, a preaching of the Gospells, and we live in a farre greater light than they liued. Wherefore it is meet, that we should be also inuolued with a greater faith than they had. And thus much shall suffice touching the first part of the question; which things I hauing expounded somewhat at large, it may be easilie known by them, what answer must be made to the other two parts.

17. *Wherefore, it was demanded, whether those two men were dead? Holobolick, it appeareth alreadie, that I do not thinke them to be dead. For confirmation whereof are brought the wordes of Paule, which he wrote in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrewes; Henoch pleased God, for he approued himselfe vnto him, and he was translated, that he should not see death. But they which be of the contrarie mind, saie, that he did not see death after a vniuersall waie and manner, as other men do, which being at the point of death are perceived to haue pangis, or else are flaine while they liue vpon the earth. But these men were taken awaie being aliue, and euen in the verie taking were extirpated by a new kind of death. Neither do we there want such as asseure, that the translation of them be lengthieth vnto the soule, which died not with eternal damnation. And they cite that which is written in the 8. chapter of Iohn; If anie man shall keepe my saying, he shall not see death. And on the other side, in the third chapter of Iohn it is said; He that beleeueth not the sonne, shall not see life. We read also in the 39. psalme; What man is he that liueth, and shall not see death? But certeine it is, that they which be iustified, do beleeue in the sonne of God, and do keepe his sayings, so far forth as the state of this life will giue leaue; who neuertheless, as we all feele, do die a bodilie death. Wherof I will shew briefly, and translating and death after this manner, that preeminence had Henoch and Elias aboue other men; All the clea and faithful of Christ, as touching the soule, are translated from hence vnto God; and are not condemned with enuiling death.*

And I am not ignorant, that sometimes; Notro see death, is referred to the soule, euen as the testimonies, which we haue alreadie brought, do declare; but sometimes on the other side, it is referred to the death of the bodie, as it is manifest by Simon, vnto whom it was reucaled, that He should not see death, till he had first seene the Lord Christ. Yea and the

sonne of God himselfe saith; There be of them which stand here present, who shall not taste of death, vntill they see the kingdom of God; that is, the preaching of the Gospell spread ouer the whole face of the earth; as (as others will) vntill they shall see the transfiguration of Christ vpon mount Thabor. Neither is there anie doubt, but that the death of the bodie is tokened in both these places. Further, those wordes of Paule to the Hebrewes alleged a little aboue, are so significant, as they seeme whole to testifie, that Henoch is not dead. But they that be of another mind, do vye that which is written in the same epistle of the Hebrewes; namely, that he is decreed, that all men shall once die. But we answer, that these generall propositions must not alwaies be vnderstood without anie exception. True indeed it is, which is now affirmed as touching the ordinarie and common manner; but yet it is not thought to passe thereby, but that God, by his speciall prerogative, and certaine peculiar will, may exempt some from the lawe of death. Wherof that shall become, either of vs, or of others, which shall be found aliue at the last day. Doubtlesse, They shall be caught vp to meet with Christ in the aire. And Paule vnto the Corinthians said; We shall not all die, but we shall be all changed. Whereas this, if the wordes of that saying be vnderstood with extremity; how will it be true, that men once die, seeing Lazarus the sonne of the widowe, and also the daughter of the ruler of the synagoga, whom the Lord raised vp from the dead, and did once, but twise? And it is thought by Augustine, and diuerse others, that those manie bodie of the saints, which rose after the death of Christ, and appeared vnto manie in the cite of Ierusalem, when they had performed that which they were appointed to do, seldom in their graues as they did before.

18. *Wherof also saie, that it is written vnto the Romans; That Death by one man entred in vpon all men; and that in the first epistle to the Corinthians the 15. chapter, it is said; As in Adam all men are dead, so in Christ all shall be made aliue; that it may be taught, that the life lost in Adam, is recovered againe in Christ. Vnto these sayings we answer manie waies. First (euen as I said before) that these generall propositions must not be vnderstood without p<sup>ro</sup>u<sup>is</sup>ion and exception. Secondlie, I will confesse, that Henoch and Elias, in their owne nature, were subiect vnto death; and in that they are not dead, but do inioie eternal life, that they obtaine by Christ. Holobolick, an other answer there is, much more perfect; namely, to saie, that the same changing, whereby we affirme that the bodie of those saints were glorified in taking up, was a certeine kind of death. For*

fore Iustinus Martyr in his dialog with Triphon saith, that the word in the last time shall perish, and not perish. It shall not perish, seeing it shall not be reduced to nothing. But it shall perish, because it shall be changed to better: for the light of the sunne and moon shall both be purer and greater than now it is. For we shall haue a new heauen, and a new earth; for because all things shall then be made new.

Wherefore, that the death of Henoch and Elias is not altogether taken awaie, but rather deferred; because they shall come in the last time, & shall be in fighting against Antichrist; of which opinion was Terullian, who in his book *De anima*, page 68. saith; Elias and Henoch were translated, and their death is deferred. For they are referred to die hereafter, that with their blood they may extinguish Antichrist. Again, in the same booke, in the 67. page; Elias shall come, not from the departure of life, but from the translation thereof: he shall not be restored to his bodie, from which he was not exempted; but he shall be restored to the world. The same father of the Iewes calleth Henoch an *Isaac*, or one ready apparell for eternitie. And in his booke *De trinitate*, 603. he saith, that God translated Henoch into the society of his owne friendship. And seeing it is a new death benefit him, whom he loveth, and wistly well vnto; it is not likelie, that God translated Henoch for to kill him. But Irenaeus, in his fourth booke, a thirtieth chapter, is of the opinion, that Henoch hath exercised a meilage against the angels, who were thought in old time to be fallen, though a naughty desire towards women: and he saith, that he is euen as yet preferred vnto us, for a testimonie of Gods iudgement. And these things may suffice, as touching the second point, whereby is proued, by probable reason, that they seeme not to be dead.

19. *It remaineth, that we seeke to what end they were taken up. Some saie, that it was done, to the intent we might haue before our eyes a certeine figure and shew of our resurrection: as if so be that the taking up of these, were a litle example thereof; to teach vs, that we are not to measure our felicitie by our liueth the terme of this life. But in my iudgement, examples ought to be cleare and manifest, for that otherwise they are but weak profes. Certeinlie, in this place there is no mention made of resurrection, either ours or theirs. The figure of Iouas the prophet doth manifestlie shadowe the resurrection, who was cast vp aliue out of the belly of the whale. But Paule to the Romans doth plainly shew the resurrection, after another sort; If ye haue (saith he) his spirit, which raised vs Iesus Christ from the dead, the same shall quicken your mortall bodie. As if he had said;*

Seeing the spirit is one, it will bring forth the same effects. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians, the 15. chapter he saith; If Christ be risen from the dead, we also shall rise againe. Which he therefore speaketh, because it is not meet that Christ, which is the head, should liue; and we that be his members should remaine in death. And in the first chapter to the Ephesians he wistly; According to the greatnesse of his power, and according to the strength of his mightie power, which he wrought, by raising vp of Christ from the dead. Again, in the second chapter, he wistly vs to him, saying; When Eph. 4. 1. we were dead in our sinnes, he quickened vs with him, and together with him raised vs vp from the dead, and made vs to sit at the right hand in heauenlie places. These be the arguments, whereby the apostle of the Lord doth conserme resurrection: neither did he send vs to the rapturing either of Henoch or Elias.

There be some, which saie; These things do therefore happen, to leaue vs an example doubtlesse, not of our resurrection, but of our last taking up, whereof there is mention made in the 1. Thel. 4. 17. *Philadelphians.* Of this opinion was Terullian, in his booke *De resurrectione carnis*, 87. page; They are not yet dead, but they be documents of our perfectness to come. And Irenaeus in his first booke wistly, that they be an example of our assumption to come. And I haue shewed, that by the example of their taking up, the bodie, which are now a burthen vnto vs, shall be no hinderance to the assumption. For that hand of God, which fashioned man of the limbe of the earth, put him afterwarde into paradise. And be adoth, that a certeine elder, which was after the apostles, taught; that not onlie Henoch and Elias were rapted into that place, but also Paule the apostle: as we read in the second epistle to the Corinthians. And so grant, that in the wordes of Paule there is mention made of paradise: but that the same was in the garden of Eden, wherein Adam first was, it is not proued thereby. For the apostle adoth, that he was taken up to the third heauen; that is, to the highest and most perfect.

And indeed Iohannes Damascenus affirmeth, that there be three heauens; namely, the aire, wherein the birds do live; the second heauen he accounteth to be the region of the celestiall spheres; and the third to be the highest seats of the blessed saints, which by a certeine elegant metaphor, is called paradise. The similitude thereof is derived from the garden of pleasures, wherein Adam was placed: euen as the region of torment by a metaphor, before declared, is called Gehenna. For these places are more fitly expresse by metaphors, than by proper names. Also, that same elder aske the question of

whether Henoch and Elias be dead,

verf. 5.

Iohn. 8. 51.

Iohn. 3. 36.

verf. 49.

Luke. 2. 16.

Iohannes Martyr. verf. 12. 8. 2. verf. 12. 8. 2.

Terullian.

Cord. 4. 12.

Irenae.

1. Thel. 4. 17.

2. Cor. 12. 2.

1. Thel. 4. 17.

of himselfe; by what means they could continue there so long without meat? And in answer-  
ing he retireth himself to the strength of Gods  
power, whereby Ionas was also preserved three  
daies in the belly of the whale: and whereby the  
companions of Daniel remained safe in the for-  
nace, when it burned vehemently. The might  
also adde the fasting of Elias, and of Moses, by  
the space of 40. daies: but these things are from  
the purpose. Others say, that Henoch was there  
forze taken up, that his preaching by that means  
might become the more fruitful.

That he would in that age was degenerate, and the Gaieties prevailed in number a poison above the children of God. Their idolatry did Henoch, either by his preaching, or prophesying reprove. Therefore, by a verticulent scale of taking him up, God would leave his fount and profita- ble doctrine. And then in the 4. chapter of Ecclesiastes, he is said to be translated, for an example of repentance unto the generations : because a forme and example of repentance was given unto the generations, that is, unto men. Neither are they silent to be the last generations, but rather the generations of those men, which lived at that time. For if he had died after the manner of other men, he should not have bene thought to be beloved of God, or of him to have bene affixed and sent to preach. But seeing God as it were by his stretcht out hand from heauen, caught him up into him, men could not doubt but haue in admiration an or- der thing to be vniuersal. Where there be, that attribute all this to his owne honestie and righteousness: for it is said in Genesis, that he walked before God. And in the booke of Ecclesiastes, and also in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we read, that he pleased God, or he appointed him selfe unto God. And by faith (as the apostle saith) he pleaded or appointed himselfe unto him: which undoubtedly was no baite faith, but was a goodly good woorkes. Wherfore, and was taken up, for because of edifying. And what is spoken concerning him, must also be transferred vnto Elias.

\* 20 Again there reflect, that we examine the opinions of them, which thinke, that these men were taken up, to the intent that about the latter time they should returne, and should take upon them a dangerous fight against antichrist. And albeit that this were the opinion of most ancient fathers; yett it is imbraced, without testimony of the holie Scriptures. And indeed as touching the returne of Henoch, there is no word crident in the diuine oracles. And those things, which are spoken in the 44. chapter of Ecclesiasticus, that he was an example of repentance vnto the generations, must rather be vnderstood of the men of his owne time, than

of them which shall live in the last time. But 3  
 3e, that the occasion of erres came, because it  
 is written in the booke of the Apocalypse, the ele-  
 venth chapter; that two men with singular  
 pnyfic are crolled, which in the last age of the  
 world shall fight against antichrist. And we are  
 taught, that they shall be the witnesses of Cob  
 against the beast; and they shall preach 1260  
 daies. Of these is described the manner of their  
 apparell; namely, that they shall be covered  
 with sackcloth. And they are commended as  
 two olive trees, and two candlesticks in the  
 sight of Cob: and it is said, that there is power  
 given them to close heaven, that it shall not  
 raine: which perhaps doth somethat seme to  
 waune for Elias.

And they shall be able (as it is false said) to turne water into wine. This is also added, that they shall be flaine of the beast, but that after those daies they shall be raised up by the spirit of God. Upon this occasion were the ancient fathers led to thinke, that Henoch and Elias shall retorne againe at the last. But these are the imaginations of men, neither are they taught by the holic scriptures; seeing in that place is no mention either of Henoch, or of Elias. There must grant indeed, that certaine men were to be sent unto the church in these last times, being indued with the spirit of Henoch and Elias, who should sharpe lyne against the Woman, antichrist, and idolatry of the beast, and with verie torment be flaine: but the retorne of these men is not there in verbe doct set forth. But they are said to be two, because they shall be manie, and not one onely; and yet of no large number, if they be compared with the twiced and idolaters. Neither is it ante rare thing in the scriptures, that a number certaine is put for an infinit number. The verbe which thing is done there also, (seeing the certaine and definite number of daies of their preaching is awynted).

21 But there is a place abounded as touching of Elias haunting in outward things some likelihood of truth. For on this wise it is written in the booke of Malachie, in the end of the last chapter; Behold I send vnto you the prophet Elias, before that great and terrible daie of Iehoua shall come; and he shall conuert the hart of the fathers vnto their children, and the hart of the children vnto their fathers, least perhaps I should come and finite the earth with a curse. These words persuaded the Hebrewes that Elias should come, before that Spessias should be giuen. But we interpret this Elias to be Iohn Baptist, hauing learned the same of Christ, who had mentio[n] of this thing in the xiij. and xvj. chapters of Matthew. He verelike in the eleuenth chapter, in paying of Iohn baptist; This is that Elias, And

Matthe.  
Ninth.

*Elias and Henoch.*

in the 7. chapter, after his transfiguring upon mount Thabor, when the disciples had said vnto him; Whie doe the Scribes and Pharisees say, Elias must first come? As if they should say, for this cause they receive not us as Apellias sent from God, because Elias is not yet come. Christ answered them; Elias indeed shall come (according as they iudge by the words of the prophet Malachie: 1.) but I came vnto you, that he is already come; but they heare him not, and he is haue come vnto him that would they would. Then his disciples understood that he spake those things of Iohn Baptist. Seeing therefore that we haue Christ to be the interpreter: our of the propheticall sentence, we must rest vpon him.

Neither is that, which is spoken by Malachie; to wit, that the Fathers hearts shalbe conuerced vnto the children, and againe the childrens hearts vnto the fathers, to be referred (as maie be diu-  
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But yet not to differ any thing, I will shew how Iuliane Marry hath interpreted the words of Christ. In his dialog with Triphon, he saith, that Christ in the 17. chap. of Matthew answered the apostles, that Elias indeed shall come, as the Scribes and Pharisees saie, at the last time; that is, at my latter coming. But in the meane time, so long as I was now gone, I am not without him Elias; for ever John is Elias, whom I have now in the spirit and power of Elias: but in my second coming, I will have Elias himselfe present in his owne person. These things both Iuliane twisell out of the words of Christ, and he conceiveth to ground upon that word *adversary*, that is, He shall come as though

Christ by his saying affirmed, that Elias shall yet come, seeing he said; He will come, in the same manner of speech, which the Scribes and Pharisees used.

22 Also, by the wordes of Malachie himſelfe it is vnderſtood, that thoſe things which he ſpoken, belong to the firſt, and not vnto the latter coming: for it is ſaid ; Leaſt perhaps I ſtrike the earth with a curſe . ſoꝛ at the laſt time, albeit that the Iewes be conuerſed, yet ſhall the earth be ſmitten with a curſe ; ſeing all things ſhall be burned. But it ſeemeth to be ſomewhat againſt the interpretation of Chriſt, and the angell, in that Iohn being demanded whether he were Eli

as he in plain words denieth it, saying; I am not; as we read in the first chapter of the Gospel of Iohn. Butt must be considered, that he answered according to the mind of those which demanded of him; for they inquired as touching the person and full name of Elias, as they which thought that his soule should retorne into an other bodie. This badge of theirs, Iohn cōfuted; yet did he not denie, but that he came in the spirit and power of Elias. This also seemeth to be a lie, because he denied himselfe to be a prophet, when as yet the Lord said in Malachi; Be- hold, I send unto you my prophet Elias. &c. To answer two waies. First, that Iohn had not respect unto euerie prophet; but vnto that excellent prophet, which was expected of all men, namelie vnto spheias; that prophet he denied himselfe to be. Also we must take; that he did not denie the verie thing inuoe, but onelie take from him selfe the name of being called so; and was content with the title of a forerunner, and of a voice of a crier in the wilderness. And this he did, that the people should not follow him as the true of God, but should fol- lowe Christ the prophet and onelie spheias. We a wised conscience; hauing the people [unto] sundry opinions; he was induceth to set forward all men vnto Christ, and to reuile authoritie vnto him.

Feb 1898.

ONAS.2,2

Dan.3.93

1 kin.19,1

Exod.24,

verfe.16

Gen. 5, 22.  
Eccl. 24, 16  
Heb. 11, 9

1140

Opinions  
touching  
the return  
of Menoch  
and Elias



Luk. 11, 16.

In what sense the connecting of lines is attributed unto gods p. 110.

1. Cor. 8, 15.

John. 10, 13.

Elis. 4, 3, 1.

John. 1, 19.

1. Cor. 3, 6.

1. Cor. 15, 10.

Jesus, because of the blindness that was cast upon them. Unto which thou must add, that the land was smitten with a curse; I mean the land of the Jebus, the which by reason of their incredulitie was destroyed & laid waste by Tams and Vespasian. It is said that Elias, that is, John should turne the hearts of the fathers unto their children, and the hearts of the children unto their fathers. By which words there seemeth to be attributed unto a prophet of minister, more than is fit. For it is the part of God, and not of a prophet, of aile man, to change the mind & hearts.

But unto this we answer, that when we aspern upon the like speeches, we must not understand an outward ministerie apart from the spirit, strength and power of God: but that some one certaine ministerie must be (as I may say) conglutinated & wrought together in them. Which if it be understood by the figure *Synecdoche*, there is nothing to let, but that the same which is proper unto the one, should be attributed unto the other. So Paul saith, that he begat the Countiessians by the Gospel. And Christ saith unto his apostles, Whose finnes ye forgive, they shall be forgiven. Wherein, these and such like phrases the ecclesiasticall prelates haue abused, and haue twyced them to confirme and enlarge their owne tyranie; as though it might for this cause be lawfull unto them, to challenge unto themselves auctorities, pounces, kingdoms, and empires; when as neuer thesells they haue their owne outward ministerie speccially ioined vnto them by the spirit. The holie scripture weth the fomes of speaking, to stir by and inflame men the more to the studie of the word of God, and to the loue of the holie ministerie.

But now, if these things should be severally considered, and set apart by themselves, we be taught far otherwise. For God saith in Elis; I ouen it is, that do forgive finnes. And by John it is said of Christ; Behold the lambe of God, behold him that taketh away the finnes of the world. And concerning the ministerie, Paul saith; Neither he that planteth, neither he that watereth is anything, but it is God that giuech the increase. And againe, when the same apostle had said, that he laboured more than the rest; Yet not I (saith he) but the grace of God that is in me. And when it is said, that The hearts of the fathers shall be turned unto the children, and the childrens hearts unto the fathers: it must be thus understood; namely, that it should come to passe, by the preaching and ministerie of John, that the faith and charitie of the first fathers, that is, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, shall be deuised unto their children. So as the children shall be like to those parents, which in times past were beloved of God, and were habitations of the holie Ghost. Therefore, betwene them that be

reminded the unitie, which by reason of the time of the posteritie had bene discontinued. Yet notwithstanding, John by his ministerie, did not the lesse performe it, but deuised it (as it were by hands) unto Christ to be finished.

2. These things haue I argued concerning the place of Maladie, according to the interpretation of Christ and the angell, from which interpretation the Jebus doo varie much varie. Tiphon disputing with Iustin Martyr, is bold to say, that he knoweth not whether Ierusalem be boyne, or not boyne. But this he affirmeth, that he shall not take that power, vntles that Elias come, who should anoint him and declare him vnto the people. And this he not onlie once saith, but he also repeateth it thise: whereby it appereth, that his opinion of the returne of Elias, speaking not by first among the fathers of our church, but that it was deuised from the Jebus, whose fables and imaginations should not be so much haue hindered the ancient fathers. But the ocean of the error (may some say) that God himselfe hath seemed to giue, who absolute said in Maladie; Behold, I send vnto you Elias the prophet: but he said not, I will send a certaine man vnto you in the spirit and power of Elias. As who should say that God doth not use such kind of speeches in other places. In the 30. chapter of Ieremie it is written of the Ierusalem, Strangers shall not haue dominion ouer them, but they shall serue the Lord their God, and David their owne king. Also in the prophet Ezechiel the 4. chapter, and else where, such promise is oftentimes repeated, namely, that David himselfe should gouerne the people of God.

And so if to be David are understood the godlie and holie princes, or rather Ierusalem himselfe, that was the principall patrene of all these, and that the returne of David as touching his person and substance (of his bodie) was not looked for: then in like manner should they, and especially the Scribes and Pharisees haue understood those words which were spoken by Maladie concerning Elias. But they not onlie be not a iust iudicio; in the interpreting of the scriptures, but rather so, the hatred against Christ, who I said did peruerse abuse that it is impossible. But yet there resteth a doubt; by what reason it is said, that John came in the spirit & power of Elias, seeing Elias shewed manie signes, but John shewed no miracle? Wee must like that the likeness betwene John and Elias is understood of some, to be as touching the zeale, boldnesse of rebuking, consist with things, and such other like: or that there was a knot of their condition in the ministerie; because either of them hauing found right religion fallen awaie and consumed, was there vnto ordered, that he should restore the same. Which thing both of

recl. 4.

Eze. 34, 13.

8, 13, 14.

Num. 11, 23.

John. 10, 41.

2. Cor. 12, 12.

1. Cor. 15, 10.

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them; namely, Elias and John performed with a mightie spirit. John Chrysostome, upon the latter epistle to the Ebraheanians, intreating of Stritchsa, saith; that both of them were alike in office: for John was the forerunner of the first coming, and Elias of the latter.

25 Further, we must not lette it ouer, that Elias came in uerie dad; namely, when Christ was transforned vpon the mount Thabor. He was present together with Moyses, even as it should seme in his owne proper bodie. He shall come againe at the last time, to be to iudgement, with other saints which shall be raised from the dead, but not to fight or to be slaine of Antichrist. Some man perhaps will saie, it is a wonder that these raptings did happen in the old testament, & are not written of in the new. Yes verelie, they are had also in the new. For Christ (of whom the old raptings were haues) was taken by into heauen in the sight of his apostles. And Paul saith, that he was rapt into the third heauen, whether it were in the bodie, or out of the bodie, &c. And Philip the Deacon, as we read in the Acts) when he had baptised the Eunuch of Aethiopia Candaces; he was caught awaie by the angell out of his sight; and found himselfe to be at Azotus. Therefore there be notable examples extant, as well in the old testament, as in the new; whereby we are warned, that we should at the least wise ascend into heauen with our mind, and there be conuersant before God and Christ Iesus. Our conuersation (as Paul hath taught) ought to be in heauen.

Neither let us be forgetfull that we, so long as we lue here, do wander and strafe from the Lord; happy no doubt are such raptings. Damnable on the other side are the raptings of Dathan and Abiram, who were caught quicke into hell. And foule and shameful were those which the Poets extoll; namely, of Ganimeides, Proserpina, and of others; whose examples must euen as much be avoided of all men, as the former examples must be expressed with as much imitation as we can. And thus haue we spoken sufficient of the question proposed, whereof I ment to haue said but a little. But in travelling therein, I met with a number of by-turnings and points, which I might not passe ouer, that I was constrained to speake of bytie more at large, than I was determined. And as touching those things which I haue defined, my mind was not to teach them as things firme and certaine, or as perfect triued out by the holie scriptures; but as likelihoods of truth, the which we may gette with liuelihood of faith. And if anie man can alledge better proofes, I am ready to heare him. Neither haue I minded to content earnestly about those things which I haue at

firmes; and this do I also persuade and counsel others to do.

The xxij. Chapter.

Of the end of the world, of the last iudgement, of eternall life, of the equalitie of rewards, and of the restoring of the whole world.



As to the time of continuance of the world, we haue no certeinie in the holie scriptures. Augustine continueth in his first booke vpon Genesis, against the Manicheis, reckoned six ages of the world. The first, from Adam vnto Noah; the second, from Noah vnto Abraham; the third, from thence vnto David; the fourth, from that time to the transmigration into Babylon; the fifth, from that time vnto Christ; the first, from Christ until the last iudgement. Wherefore that age, wherein we now lue being the last, may be called the brecrepe; or verie old age; and of Iohn it is called the last hour; but how long it shall continue, we knowe not. Augustine vnto Helychius, who had somewhat curiously questioned of the end of the world, answered; that he wist not either measure or recken the spaces of times, vnto the end of the world; because it is written, that Of that daie knoweth no man, neither the angels, nor yet the sonne of God himselfe. Which place Epiphanius interpreteth in the booke which he calleth *Anchioratus*; affirming a double knowledge, one of the execution of tyme; & another of the inward science. And then (saith he) God the father hath both waies the knowledge of the last iudgement: of the inward science doubtlesse, in that he hath knowne the time thereof: forscience of the worke; because he hath already executed iudgement. He hath giuen all iudgement to the sonne; and as touching himselfe, he hath sufficientlie iudged. And the sonne hath knowledge of that daie, as touching the knowledge; but as touching execution, he hath not; because he is not yet come to luge. But the angels in neither sort knowe of that daie. First, in verie dad, the houre & time of iudgement is hidden to them: further, the worke of execution God hath not put committed to them, that they should go forth and take awaie all offences.

Howbeit, this expostion seemeth to be verie subtil and twisted. Augustine hath more plainly interpreted it; that The sonne knoweth not of that daie, not as touching himselfe, but concerning others, whom he causeth not to knowe that daie; neither hath he revealed the same by

John. 3, 18.

Augustine.

Man. 24, 36

Epiphanius

How the Sonne hath knowledge of the iudgement daie, and how he hath not. Iohn. 15, 31.

Augustine.

his doctrine. But if thou wilt see, that after this manner, the father also both not knoweth it, because he hath not shewed the same date, of instructed anie man as touching it: he answereth. Yes he relie, he hath revealed it to the sonne. Wholbeit I would yet more simple understand that sentence, as touching the humane nature of Christ, which by the ordinarie and naturall condition, knew nothing more, than was declared unto him by the diuine nature.

Some haue had a mind to cawill, that albeit the date and the houre is not knowen, yet that by coniectures we may attaine to the knowledge of the time, because that Christ did speciallie speake of that date, but not of the time. What this subtil point noteth helpeth them, because it is written in the first chapter of the acts: 3. It is not for you to knowe the times and moments: which in Greke is written, *οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν*. And that, which we read in Matthew: 13. When the Gospell shall be preached ouer all the world, then shall the ende be: Augustine expoundeth: The Lord shall not come, before the Gospell shall be preached ouer all the world. And by this it is not knowen, howe faine, after such preaching, he will come. In the epistle to the Colossians, the first chapter, the apostle writeth, that Euen at that time, the Gospell was already preached ouer all the world: and yet we see that iudgement is still deferred. The Lord, in the Gospell of Matthew, sheweth of manie signes of the last times: but when we see them, we understand not whether as yet they be thoughtfull come to the iust measure, so as they should be reckoned euen for the verie same things, which the Lord hath shewed them. But it is sufficient

for vs to knowe, that (as Paule saith) this our age is the last: so as another age after this is not to be looked for. And touching this time of ours Christ saith: I will be with you, vntill the end of the world: wherein he sheweth, that the end of our age is the consummation of the world. And when he instructed the sacrament of the Eucharist, he said: Ye shall shew the Lords death vntill he come, in which saying he declared, that our sacraments shall endure, vntill the end of the world.

Spanie are led by contentions, which are but toake (I will not saie vaine) to appoint the time of the last iudgement. They bring forth an oracle from the tradition of the Iehewes, which they attribute to Elias, and his scholre: namely, that the world should endure fix thousand yeres. And those yeres they distribute after this manner: to wit, that two thousand yeres were spent before the late, two thousand yeres under the late, & two thousand yeres they appoint to be under the kingdom of Messias. And others haue feigned (which cometh all to one

purpose) that the world shall endure fix dates, euen as it was made in fix daies: but as touching the lasting thereof they appoint fix euerie date a thousand yeres: as though this had bene the mind of Dauid, when he said; And a thousand yeres before there as yesterdaye that is past. Also there be others, which thinke, that the mystical bodie of Christ, that is, the church, shall liue vpon the earth 3. yeres: which number Christ liued in the world, as touching his bodie, which he toke of the virgin: but to euerie yere they distribute fiftie vsuall yeres, that they may make a yere of *Isaie*. All these things are inventions of men. And it is a miserable thing, that whereas we haue so manie clere and manifest things in the holie scriptures, concerning faith, hope, charitie, and the bonds of other vertues, wherein there is nothing obscure; we will leaue those vterly neglected, and with great superstition followe other things, which are vncertaine, and seruile vnto saluation. This doth the diuill endeavour, that we should earnestly occupie our selues in questions, which be infinite & vnpossible: leaue asid other things, which should be necessarilie kept.

But when we heare mention to be made of the last iudgement, let vs rather prepare our selues to watch and praye, lest we be found negligent. True certeinlie it is, that Augustine saith, that Prophesies are fomer fulfilled then vnderstood. Therefore, when we see some of these signes, which Christ set forth vnto vs, as tokens of the iudgement to come, let vs saie with our owne selues: Perhaps the wrath of the Lord is now to be poured out. Let vs feruently desire of God by prayers and most earnest faith, that he will be mercifull, and reconciled vnto vs, for Christ his sake. Concerning the ages and spaces of times, he heretike Marcion, Cerdo, Praxeas, and Valentinus haue shamefulli deuised, as may be seene in Terullian and Irenaeus.

4. The deferring of punishments, which God doth vnto his owne nature, seemeth to inuite men to the wrath of God: although it hath not the like strenght of working in all men. Therefore, when we see some punished, and our owne selues in the meane time spared, it is met that they should weigh this goodness of God, whereby he should breatheth forth vs, to the intent we should correct ourselues. Of which thing Christ admonisheth vs, when he said (at what time that wood was brought burn of some that were daime with the fall of the tower of Siloa:) Doe ye thinke that they alone haue sinned? As though he should haue said: Not onlie they haue deserved that haue sinned, but manie others ought to haue suffered the like. But God will shew forth certein particulare examples of his iudgement, which one date shall be general. And the punishment

ment of the vngodlie is deferred, but yet it shall most certeinlie come at the time appointed. The parable of the fig-tree, which the good man of the household commanded to be cut downe, seeing it bare fruit, admonisheth vs of the selfe-lame thing. For the husband-man obtained, that the cutting downe thereof should be a little while deferred, for that he would bring it, and husband it, if perhaps it would bring forth fruit: which if it did not, then it should not onlie be digged vp by the roots; but be also throwne into the fire. Here are we taught, not straitwaie to forsake our vices, when they offend, but patientlie for a time to expect: and that euen as God himselfe doth, so should we by necessity prouoke them to repentance, not omitting in the meane time hyppocritic admonitions.

But it is worthy to be noted, that the verie same men, whom Paule said were punished, (when they were deliuered up to the lusts of their owne hart, and vnto shameful affections, and also vnto a reboltate mind) shall againe be punished: which therefore is done, because that first kind of punishment deale them into pleasures and delights: for he declared, that it shall one date come to passe, that they shall haue great and grieuous punishment laid vpon them.

But how doth this agree with that which the prophet Nahum writeth in his first chapter: namely, that iudgement and punishment are not vnto time for one thing. Seeing these men were punished once, whie are they punished againe? Certeinlie, that sentence so commonlie frequented, that God punished not twice, is not to be written in the prophet; although it be so read in the seueritie interpreters. The words are after this sort: What doe ye deuile against the Lord? He will make an end, neither shall tribulation anie the second time. Which words some of the Iehewes (as Jerom reporteth) do interpret of the Assyrians, who sining they had gotten the bitorie at the first time against the kingdom of the ten tribes, thought that they had bene able in like manner, to haue prouailed against the kingdom of Iuda, which the prophet said should not come to passe; and saith, that after the first tribulation, a second should not followe. Anded this exposition may be boine without.

But there is another, which is more plain: namely, to saie, that these things are spoken against Senacherib, which besieged Ierusalem, vnto whom God threatened an absolute and peris destruction. I will (saith he) so blocke out, as I shall not need to rile the second time against him. One plague shall be sufficient, thou shalt be vehementlie afflicted therewith. Neither do the prophet dreame, as manie do imagine,

that there is a measure of punishments predestined vnto God; as though it were not lawfull for him to punish one and the selfe-lame man more than once: if this should be granted, we must faile, that the Aegyptians, for so much as they were punished in the red sea, are now free from hell fire; and they which were destroyed in Sodom, and in the flood, now at length be in rest. Which sayings vnderstande are most absurd: for as some in this life do recurre the holie Ghost, and grace, as a carnell peece of the happinesse to come, being those, which both in this life, and in the life to come shall haue reward: so on the other side it may be, that the punishments of some begin in this life, which shall be augmented in an other life. As it is to be thought, that Nero, Herod, and Saules, do now faile punishments farre more grieuous, than those which they here tasted of. Yet in the meane while I denie not, but that God as touching his elect, is content with those griefes and punishments wherewith he punished them in this life. As Paule said to the Corinthians, that One among them should be deliuered vp vnto Iatan, to the end his spirit might be fawed in the daie of the Lord. And againe he saith; that Some are here corrected of the Lord, least they should not be condemned with this world.

5. But when God will deale after this sort, or else this seueritie, to punish both here and afterwards, that is not put vnder our knowledge. Therefore, according to the commandment of Christ, he is alwaies to be feared; forasmuch as He hath power both to kill the bodie, and also to cast the soule into hell fire. Wholbeit, this we may asseure, that they which perish in affliction and trouble, and repent not, shall be more grieuouly tormented againe: and they on the other side, which being warned by afflictions, do recurre vnto Christ, shall (after sufficient chastising with the punishments of this life) obtaine euercasting saluation. Therefore, according to that which we haue said, Paule admonisheth wicked men, that holocauste they haue bene punished; yet, vnlesse they shall repent, greater punishments remaine against the daie of iudgement. And his meaning is, that the patience of God, whereby he suffereth them, doth not forgeth impunitie; but giueth them an occasion of beginning true repentance. God is declared to be both mercifull and god, but yet so, as his forbearing and clemencie hath ends and limits. And by reason of this deferring of punishments, which happen in this life, the apostle is compelled to make mention of the last iudgement. Otherwise, seeing manie are spared in this life from punishment, others are verie seuerelie handled, God might be thought to deale vniuallie. Therefore he blyeth them

with the feare of the last iudgement, and after  
meth, that the deferring of vengeance bringeth  
the greater punishments. Whích thing Vale-  
rius Maximus an Ethniké writer speaketh of;  
namely, that God by the gréuousness of punish-  
ments, recompenseth the long delay of puni-  
shing. Whereby it is plaine, that Paule dispu-  
ting against the Ethniks, which knew not the  
holic scriptures, reproveth them by those things,  
which might be known by the light of nature.  
So then there is a certaine naturall know-  
ledge graffed in the hearts of men, concerning  
the iudgement of God, which is to come after  
this life. And this do euen the fables of the Po-  
ets declare, which have placed Minos, Rhada-  
manthus, & Aecacus as iudges in hell. Wherefore  
they shall be the more gréuouly punished,  
which have borne the longer bozne withall; be-  
cause the condemning of God, addeeth no small  
weight vnto their finnes: which contempt se-  
meth to have crept vnto them, while they in such  
sort neglected a long time his gentleness and  
patience.

Paule addeeth. But thou according to thy hard-  
ness and vncircumcised heart, heapest to thy selfe  
wrath in the daie of wrath. It is a hard heart, that  
is not mollified by the benefits of God, nor yet  
is broken by his threatenings, or feare of punish-  
ments. And this rebellion against God we  
distinguish into six parties by originall sinne, and  
partly by a custome of sinning: so that we are  
now in a manner without any feeling. To be-  
lieue well, seeing it belongeth vnto vertue, it  
hath two extremes. On the one side there is so  
great facilitate, that some will believe any thing,  
whether it be an intimation of man, or a supersti-  
tion: or else the word of God, that though they fasten  
vnto them: this vndoubtedlie is a fault. On the  
other side, there is so great diffidence to believe,  
as they will not admit, nor not that which is ma-  
nifestly appointed by the word of God, unless  
they some reason be satisfied therein. Betweene  
these two dangerous extremes, there is a cer-  
taine meane; to wit, that we should easilie be-  
lieue those things which are to be believed, when  
they are sincerely offered vnto vs, making a  
godly trial of them by the holic scriptures: so  
by that rule all things must be examined. Paule  
teacheth this Græke word *εὐκαταλαβέσθαι*, which signifi-  
eth, To take easily, or to lay up in store: for we  
commonlie vs. to lay up in our treasures, those  
things which we will not persecute vs; but will  
afterward occupie them at some other time. And  
this accordeth with those who vngodly persons:  
for they did not then feele the wrath of God, which  
afterward they shall feele, as tides are greater,  
which are euerie daie heaped together. The penitencie  
faith; that These men heaped vnto themselves

wrath, because they should not impute their puni-  
shments vnto the crueltie of God. By this  
kind of speech he teacheth, that it was their owne  
felices which brought this misdeed vpon them-  
selves. And this word of [Heaping v.p. trea-  
sure], is oftentimes vied in the holic scriptures.  
In 2<sup>de</sup> entronome the 2. chapter, God saith of verse 24.  
the transgressions of the Israelites, that they  
were sealed by in his treasures. Ieremie also in verse 17.  
the 50. chapter teacheth, that God would purge  
out the treasure of his wrath, and of his iudg-  
nation.

6 And whereas Paule to the Romans addeth,  
Against the daie of wrath, it doth sometimes  
happen in this life, when God seemeth that he  
will not suffer any longer, and secretly punish  
some tokens of his feueritie. Which thing we  
perceiue doth happen in the captiuitie of Babylon,  
in the destruction of Sodom, and the overthrow  
of the Egyptians. And the prophet euerie where  
describeth the most bitter punishments of God,  
vnder this title, that they be layd up in store  
against the daie of wrath. And wrath is here  
taken for vengeance, by that kind of figure, where-  
by that which followeth is expressed by that which  
goeth before. But the moste towaie is, to referre  
those things, which are here described, vnto the  
last daie of iudgement. Which he noteth out by  
three marches; first, by wrath; secondly, by reu-  
elation; and lastlie, by iustice. Vengeance he as-  
cribeth vnto God, least it should be thought to be  
a thing of small weight. He addeeth also, Reuela-  
tion, because here things be hidden; but there  
all things shall be made manifest. He addeeth also  
this word *ἀποκαλύψαι*, that is, Iustice, least (as  
Chrysostome noteth) some should pervert  
themselves, that the iudgement of God should  
proceed from an angrie mind. Vndoubtedly,  
there shall be shewed a most gréuous vengeance  
but yet such vengeance, as shall haue iustice  
therein. Therefore we ought to haue that  
iudgement continually before our eyes, neither  
at any time to take any enterprises or actions  
vpon vs, but that we haue the eye of our mind  
bent therevnto. And this is to walke before  
God, which thing Abraham was commanded  
to do; and is euerie often required of vs. And to  
walke before God, is nothing else, but to thinke  
that he doth most intenciuely beholde what  
things we euer doe.

But alas, it is a wonder to see, how continu-  
allie this meditation of the iudgement to come,  
is taken abate from the sight of the vngodlie.  
But he shall render to euerie one according to  
his works. But when he saith, that to euerie one  
shall be rendered, it plainlie signifieth, that none  
shall escape this iudgement. In the iudgements  
of men it oftentimes cometh to passe, that  
one is punished, and another is not so much as

accused. He addeeth; According to their works:  
to let vs vnderstand, that there shall be no ac-  
cepting of persons. There shall be ordeale: as  
consideration of the causes, and not of the men:  
they shall be iudged according to their works  
and deeds, of what state and condition to euer  
they be. Indeed the mercie of God is now verie  
ample, but yet so, as the feueritie of [his] iustice  
is not wanting. Albeit that Moles perceiued  
manie properties of God, which seemed to ex-  
press his goodnes and clemencie; to wit, that  
He is gentle, mercifull, slowe vnto wrath, rich in  
mercie and truth, which would keepe in store his  
pittie or mercie for a thousand generations:  
yet he perceiued it to be added in the end, that  
God will not declare the wicked man to be an  
innocent. And that he visiteth the finnes of the  
fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and  
fourth generation.

7 But whereas it is here and there said, that  
all, and that all shall be made iust; some  
haue thought, that in the end all men shall be sa-  
ued: that the benefit of Christ may extend as far  
as be the fault of Adam. Of this mind both Ori-  
gen seeme to be. Holbeint, in the holic scrip-  
tures, as touching the punishments of the ban-  
ned, it is said, that Their worme shall not be  
extinguished. And Christ is said, that At the last  
iudgement hee will throwe the damned into  
eternall fire. But if thou wilt canill, that this  
word [Eternall] is sometime in the holic scrip-  
tures applied vnto things, which endure a long  
time: and that it is not alwaies required, that  
they should be without end; we answer, that  
this cannot be applied vnto this question. For  
those things, which by reason of long continu-  
ance, are sometimes by a figure called eternall;  
whereas otherwise they shall haue their end, are  
poured, euen by the holic scriptures to haue  
an end, and at the length to breake off. But  
if this be not manifest, let vs alwaies vnder-  
stand [Eternall] in his owne proper signifi-  
cation. And seeing in the holic scripture there is no  
mention made of a change to come, after the  
sentence giuen by the high iudge, touching the  
state and condition of things, we will absolu-  
tely vnderstand his words. For whatsoever shall  
be pronounced, shall be so fulfilled.

Neither is that necessarie, which they inde-  
avour to proue; namely, that the benefit of  
Christ should as largelie extend, as did the ban-  
nidge and losse procured by Adam. Albeit I  
hesitate, that there be some, which say they read-  
ily answer, and that they may seeme to defend,  
that so manie be partakers of the benefit of  
Christ, as were hurt by the fall of Adam, are  
brought to saue, that Euen as death came vpon all  
men by Adam, so the resurrection shall be spread  
vpon all men by Christ; although that this be

next in the twicken, doth tend to destruction  
through their owne fault. But vnto this opini-  
on I do not unwillingly agree: for it is here meant  
of that kind of resurrection, which Christ shall  
performe, by abolishing of sinne. Which, seeing  
we cannot appoint to be in the wicked (as they  
which will remaine in their finnes) they cannot  
be partakers of this resurrection: and the resur-  
rection of them doth belong to the feueritie of  
iudgement, and not to the boundlessness of mer-  
cie. For if the Lord truly pronounced of Iudas,  
that It had beene better for him if he had not  
beeene borne: the same may we affirme of these  
men, that it should be much better for them, if  
they rise not againe. And further, if these men  
may seeme to haue found a particle concerning re-  
surrection, as though [the particle] By Christ,  
should respect to manie as they be, they be per-  
suaded by the death that came in by Adam:  
that (I beseech you) would they saie, if so be  
I should vied the same kind of argument as tou-  
ching sinne and righteousness? For so all men  
would saie, that they be iustified by Christ, as  
sinne was deriued vnto all men by Adam. Cer-  
taine hee they haue no right; for a far lesse  
number do obtaine righteousness by Christ,  
than are contaminated in their birth by origi-  
nall sin. Therefore, that is firme, which we said  
at the beginning; namely, that the gift of Christ  
is not so largelie extended, as was the losse that  
came by the fall of Adam. Yet must we not  
denie that gift to be of the like strength, as well  
because there wanted nothing in Christ, as tou-  
ching merit and worthinesse; but that those  
manikind must be iustified by him; seeing that  
the large scope of his grace and benefit is  
daytime within the limits of diuine predestina-  
tion: as also, for that it is a greater power to  
blot out a multitude, yea an innumerable sort  
of finnes by satisfaction, than it was to spee-  
dome sinne ouer all men. And this reason do  
Paule touch in the fifth chapter of the epistle to  
the Romans. Wherefore, when it is said, [All]  
as well on the one part as on the other, the speech  
must be referred vnto such a generalitie, as is  
not one and the same, but which is proper to both  
of them. For euen as Adam hath his familie of  
the posteritie, which is deriued from him; so  
doubtedly Christ hath his familie of all believers  
and iustified persons. And verie well hath he  
expressed, which Augustine beliveth, agree with  
this place; namely, that By Christ all shall be  
made iust, euen as manie as come to the blessed  
resurrection, which they shall attaine by the  
grace of Christ.

*I hat all mens glorie in heauen  
shall be alike.*

8 The fathers, when they interpret the place  
P. 2. 11. 19. of

3<sup>o</sup> in 2<sup>o</sup>.  
14, 2<sup>o</sup> 14, 17.

of Paule, wherein it is said; There is another glorie of the sunne, and another of the moone: they expound the same, as though it should concerne the diuerſitie of rewards: so that after the blessed reſurrection, ſome ſhould become more excellent than others. *Y*et ſome ſhould be in this place twigh well the matter, this is not ment: which thing the conclusion brought in, doth manifeſtly declare. For thus Paule inferreth; It is lowen in corruption; it is lowen in dishonour; it is lowen in power; it is lowen in infirmite; it is lowen againe in glorie; it is lowen in a natural bodie, it is lowen againe in a ſpiritual bodie. *W*here if it appereth, that this diuerſitie is onlie to be vnderſtood betwene the bodie, which we shall put off at our death, and that bodie which shall be reſtored in the reſurrection: neither is there any thing concluded, of a difference to be betwene the bodie of the blessed. *T*he effect of that which is to be conſidered in this comparſon, is betwene the bodie put off, and the bodie reſtored. *C*hrist ſpake no otherwiſe than generallie, concerning this matter; to wit, that in the euerglaſting habitation, we ſhall be like vnto angels: wherein neither men ſhall marrie wiues, nor yet women be giuen in marriage. *T*heſe things are not ſpoken of me, to the intent I should proue, that there is altogether equalitye in that place; but I affirme, that neither of both can be confirmed out of the holie ſcriptures. *B*oth opinions are probable; neither do I thinke it of neceſſitie to ſalutation, which of theſe two be true. *P*robable perchaunce it is, that there is ſome difference among the ſaints, but I do not thinke that this can be ſet downe by the ſcriptures. *T*he which thing that it may appere, let vs looke what places they bring in.

*I*f ſt they ſaie, Vnto euery man ſhall be giuen, according to his works, and euery one ſhall haue a reward according to his labour. *A*n Daniel it is written; They which teach others, ſhall be as the light of the firmament; and they which inſtruct others vnto righteousnes, ſhall ſhine as the ſtars. *T*hey reſpond alſo by equiuities; ſaying there is a diuerſitie in puniſhments, the ſame muſt be granted as touching rewards. *A*nd that puniſhments are not alike, they proue by the words of *C*hrist, wherein he ſaith, that it ſhall be caſier for the men of Tyre and Sidon, than for Coraſim and Bethſaida; and alſo for the men of Sodome, than for Capernaum. *F*urther it is written; In the houſe of my Father there be manie mansions. *A*nd beſides this; if we ſhall be like vnto the angels, they haue ſundry orders among them. *P*erchaunce, the ſed being caſt into the earth, bringeth forth fruit, theſe fold, ſerue fold, or a hundred fold. *A*nd in the parable of the talents,

according as there be more or fewer reſtored vnto the Lord by his ſeruaunts, the diuerſitie of the gaine is recompensed with ſundry rewards. *A*nd in the Apocalypſe; *S*ome do followe the Lambe wherſoeuer he ſhall goe, which ſeruaunts ſhall not be granted vnto others. *H*e that ſhall obſerue and teach [the commandments], that man ſhall be called great in the kingdom of heauens. *A*gain he ſaith; *H*e that deſireth to be the greater among you, let him be made the leſſe of all. *A*nd in the latter epistle to the Corinthians; *H*e that ſoweth ſparigling, ſhall reape ſparigling; and he that ſoweth in bleſſings, ſhall alſo reape of bleſſings. *A*ll theſe Fathers agree vnto this opinion. *A*nd it ſeemeth, that by theſe meanes is ſtirred by the ſcribe and inducer of liuing well. *T*heſe and ſuch other things they be, which are brought to be brought for this part.

*S*ome on the other ſide, let vs heare them, which affirme rather an equalitye in the rewardes of eternal life. *F*irſt, vnto them which haue laboured not alike in the vineyard, a perie is giuen indifferently; and the god man of the houſe beſideſtandeth the muſt murrers, and theſe that he doth iuſtly; neither doth he excuse himſelfe by a diſtinction of reward ſubſtantiall, and accidental, which the aduerſaries haue deuſed. *T*hen, they out of the apoſtle Paule, in an other place, we heare; that God ſhall be all in all. *A*nd *C*hrist ſpeaking of the reward of iuſt men; *T*he iuſt reward (ſaith he) ſhall ſhine as the ſunne in the fight of God. *B*ut no greater light there is, than that wherewith the ſunne is indued. *A*nd no man may ſee the ſun, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heauens. *W*herfore alſo ſhall haue the light of the ſunne; he is, the high glorie alike. *A*nd againe *C*hrist diſputing with the Saducees as touching the reſurrection, ſaith, that we ſhall be like to the angels; neither doth he proceed any further, to appoint ſundry diuerſities. *F*urthermore, where as there be ſundry differences of the ſaints in this life, that happeneth by reaſon of the fleſh, which they carrie about with them; wherunto, according as ſome be more or leſſe addicted, they profit more or leſſe in regeneration. *B*ut in the kingdom of heauens, when all blemishes of the fleſh ſhall be excluded, we ſhall be perfect: neither toll there be cauſe why one man ſhall be let more than another from perception of the perfect good thing.

*A*lſo *C*hrist promiſed to his apoſtles, that they ſhould riſe vpon 12 ſeats, as iudges of Iſraell. *B*ut hath not Paule obtained the ſame reward, although he be accounted the ſirſt among the ſame fellowſhip; whereas neuertheleſſe he laboured more than the reſt? *Y*ea rather, he hath alſo made the Corinthians partakers of the ſame reward, and both them all believers, when he ſaith; *B*ut do you not knowe, that we ſhall

Rom. 8, 18.

iudge the world and the angels? *A*nd in the laſt chapter to the Romans it is written, that *T*he portion of this life are not to be compared to the glorie to come, which ſhall be revealed vnto vs. *B*ut if ſo be that God, in giuing of eternal life, hath not reſpect to the worthineſſe of our works, how ſhall we proue theſe degrees of rewards? *T*he ſhall obtaine felicitie by the mere liberalitye of God: wherfore we ſhould ſaie for a diuerſitie of rewardes at his merie, and not of our owne works. *B*ut we ſee that thoſe men, which defend the contrarie opinion, do theſe cleane vnto this ground: as if ſo be we ſhould deſerue enlaſting life by our works, and that (as they ſpeake) of condignitie. *W*hich thing if we ſhould affirme, vndoubtedly God might ſeeme to be vniuſ. if he would not aligge greater rewardes to them which haue deſerued them alſo others.

2<sup>o</sup> in 2<sup>o</sup>.  
14, 2<sup>o</sup> 14, 17.

*B*ut now let vs come to the weighing of thoſe arguments, whereby they induce to theſe that this difference of rewardes is neceſſarie. *F*irſt, they obiect that *T*here ſhall be giuen to euery man according to his works. *W*hich we ſaie muſt be generallie vnderſtood, as touching glorie and damnation. *A*nd this interpretation we haue out of the ſcripture, in the epistle to the Romans, the 2. chapter. *A*nd *C*hrist, by the laſt ſentence of iudgement, that *T*o euery one ſhall be giuen his owne proper reward, thus expoundeth it; to wit, when he calleth thoſe that be on the right hand into the kingdom, & calleth thoſe on the left hand into deſtruction. *T*heſe, he whole labours haue bene goodlie and iuſt, ſhall be good; but he that hath laboured ill, ſhall fall to ruine. *W*here beſide, which *D*aniel hath in the 12. chapter, to wit; that *M*aine which ſlept in the duſt ſhall be raiſed vp, ſome doubles vnto glorie, but others vnto ſhame; and that they which haue taught others ſhall be like the firmament; and they which haue inſtructed others to righteousnes, ſhall be as the ſtars, do proue nothing neceſſarie; becauſe the ſelfe ſame things, which haue bene ſpoken before (as it is often ſeene in the ſcripture) are repeated in the claſſe in the ſecond place. *T*he difference which ſeemeth to be aligged, is of the firmament and of the ſtars.

2<sup>o</sup> in 2<sup>o</sup>.  
14, 2<sup>o</sup> 14, 17.

*B*ut whereas they, which teach, and thoſe which inſtruct others vnto righteousnes, be euery one of the ſelfe ſame degree, there ſhall not, euery one and the ſelfe ſame reward, be vnto euery one of them ſundry rewards, ſeing they laboured all alike. *W*herfore if it appereth, that the ſame thing is ſpoken afterwarde, which was affirmed before; to wit, that more excellent. *B*ut if thou ſhalt alſo, why *D*aniel rather made mention of them, which teach, than of others? *T*he anſwer is rea-

die; to wit, that theſe men were rather to be confirmed, becauſe they were more abandoned vnto perſecutions than others were. *T*heſe had they need of conſolation: ſo; it becometh them to be of a good courage. *Y*et thereby is not proued, that the ſelfe ſame promiſes ſhould not be made vnto the reſt, ſeing *C*hrist plainly ſaith; *T*he righteous ſhall ſhine like the ſunne in the kingdom of God. *F*urthermore, *I*erom in expounding of this place, when he hath plainlie treated of that ſentence, added; that *S*ome did demand, whether the goodlie vnderſtand man, and goodlie learned man ſhould haue all one glorie? *A*nd he ſaith, that we may anſwer according to the translation of Theodoſius, that one ſhall be as the firmament, another as the ſtars. *Y*et ſome ſaie, that he alreadie ſhewed, that it is all one thing that is ſpoken on both parts.

*A*s touching the argument which they doe bring in of contraries, we ſhould not much paſſe. *F*or we grant it to be a probable reaſon, but yet not neceſſarie; for this manner of argument occurrerth ſaithly; as if ſo be a man will ſaie, that he can kill himſelfe, therefore he can quicken himſelfe; and manie other inſtances might be brought, but yet becauſe ſaie I omit them. *W*herfore I grant, that in puniſhments there is ſome diuerſitie, which neuertheleſſe ſoloth not to be in rewardes; ſo; by our works we deſerue puniſhment; but on the other ſide, we deſerue not felicitie by them. *S*o that the argument or reaſon for theſe contraries are differing; or unlike. *I*t is true that *C*hrist ſaith; In my fourth, fathers houſe there be manie mansions. *A*s if he ſaith not, *S*undry mansions. *A*s if ſo be I ſhould ſaie; *I*n *C*hrifto there be manie Zones, but if the gheſts be intertained in them all after one manner, the Zones ſhall not be altogether diuers, but of equalitye, if ſo be that in euery one of them the ſelfe ſame dinners, and the ſame ſuppers, and whole the ſame commodities be ſet before the gheſts.

*A*s touching arguments we ſaie, that the ſcripture granteth, that they haue among them ſundry orders and ſurſections; becauſe God beſt the miniſterie of them for the gouerning of the world; but at the end, all principles and powres (as we haue ſaid) ſhall be aboliſhed, ſet as they doe we knowe, whether there ſhall be any more a diuerſitie of orders or degrees, as touching felicitie. *F*urther, they that affirme ſundry orders to be in angels, their minds, that they differ in ſpeciall kind, and perhaps in the next general kind; which cannot be affirmed, as touching bleſſed men, or our ſpirits. *W*herfore the ſimilitude betwene vs and angels agreeth not as touching all things. *F*or then ſhould we take all angles to be of one forme, or one order, whether they haue all a like or equali baptein

To the first. Math. 5:19

To the fourth. Math. 23:8

To the eighth. Math. 15:

To the ninth. 2 Cor. 9:6

To the tenth. Math. 23:27

To the 11. Apoc. 1:4

Wilde. 2.

or no. But these matters no man can define by testimonies of the holy scriptures, seeing verie few things are taught vs concerning the affairs of angels, because they were not necessarie vnto our saluation to be known. He that shal obiect & read the comandements shalbe called in the kingdom of heauen. We answer, that vnder the name of the kingdom of heauen is vnderstood the church, wherein they are greater to be esteemed, which teach rightlie, & do those things, which they shall teach: and in the elections of the churches, they must be preferred before others. And those are to be lesse esteemed, who beake the lest of Gods commandments, & teach others to beake them. Except perhaps thou wilt saie, that they which beake, & teach others to beake the comandements of God, shalbe in eterna felicitie: which thing is most absurd. Neither is it any difficult thing to perceiue that mently the parable of the seed, wherof a part fell vpon good ground, and giuech fruit, thirtie fold; when as of other parts there is had euen thirtie fold, or an hundred fold. There is none but vnderstandeth, that these things belong to the state of this present life: because Gods word fructifieth not in all the globe after one sort. Neither doth the parable of the talents respect anie thing else; for be that vseth Gods gifts well, is made worship to be placed vnder manie things: graces are increased in him, & he is made more capable of spiritual gifts. 12. Also they cited that saing vnto the Countie of France; He that soweth sparigale, shall also reape sparigale. Which saing also may appertene to the recciuing of spiritual fruits in this life: for that be liberal in almes, do abound in spiritual good things: & also offendments cometh to passe, that God more abundantly ingrateth graces vnto them, to the intent they may haue the more plenitie, wherof to be mererfull. So then, as touching all these things we may vnderstand, that a sparing harted shall be, if we loose sparigale. Wherefore there is no thing necessarie proued, as touching rewards of eternall life. And whereas the Lord said vnto the apostles; He that will be greater, let him become the least of all: it is nothing against vs, seeing it may be vnderstood as touching the church, wher those things be acknowledged for graces, which be before themselves looble. But the thinge vnto the Apocalypse; that They that keepe virgins, do followe the lambe where-soeuer he shall go: & also that the hundred fiftie thousand, long a long which might not be song by others: and those things brides, which are allegged out of the booke, are obscure; since it is said to be sealed vs, and that it is not easie, yea rather of verie few to vnderstand. And it apperteth not vnto vs, whether the things shewd, do belong vnto the life present, or vnto

the life to come. We grant, that they which be of the purer life, be more apt to penetrate these secrets of God. And on the other side we are taught, that where-soeuer Christ is, there also shall his ministers be. Wherefore it is prouided, not onely vnto some, but also vnto all, which ferue Christ, that they shall followe the lambe. 13. Concerning the fathers, he saie that grant, that they attaine a difference of rewards. But in this place it is onely called into question, whether this opinion may be proued by the testimonies of the holy scriptures. Further, they do not also alwaies speake with one consent. Ieron in his epistles, when he had commended a widow, and that he seemed to compare her vnto a virgin, saith; that he liked not to put this difference betwene the faints: whereas yet he himselfe seemeth to be a earnest defender of these differences. Neither do we make anie great account that it was said, that men are made sluggish, who otherwise by this diuinitie of rewards would be encouraged to lue goodlie. For they, which be not moued through the love and faith of the word of God, and through a hope of excellent felicitie; neither also will they be easilie stirred by to do well, in respect of these differences. But if they should do otherwise, they might rather be counted hirelings, than souldiers of God. Neither (as I said before) are these things spoken by me; to the intent I would utterlie denie such a difference of rewards: but this onely I ment to saie, that they cannot be proued by the scriptures. Wherefore, among those that shall be raised from the dead, we put a difference: because the habit of the damned soules shall be one, and of the blessed soules shall be another. Spozouer, we denie not, but we may well be, that when the saints consder in their mind, that God by himselfe did manie ades, and those verie excellent; they will perhaps conceiue thereby more delight and ioy, than others, which cannot remember with their senses, that to manie and to great ades were don by him: which neuertheles is vncertaine, but is brought as a thing probable. But this sheweth I thinke to be frivolous, which the Schol-men beuile, I knowe not what, as touching crownes of laurell, and substantiall & accidental reward. 14. The same men also reason manie things, as touching the state of felicitie; and they be made among other things, whether the knowledge which is gotten here shall be lost: as when he shall come into the heauenly habitations, there shall be no difference betwene the learned and vnlearned. This is a curious search, seeing it hath small or no profit at all. First it were good to come thither, and then should we be careful of the means how we should attaine thither, rather than with a superfluous inducitur

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

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To the 11.

To the 11.

who gifts and free graces shall be given to him as he will.

Can be put purpose is great.

To the 11.

Of the change of things at the day of iudgment.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

indemour to dispute out of the condition, qualitie, and forme of the blessed. The holy scriptures call vs not to this inducitur: and perhaps there is nothing concerning this matter determined by them. But as touching the difference of the elect in the eueralting habitation, the place serueth not to dispute anie more: thereof we haue spoken sufficientlie, when we intreated of the conditions of them that shall rise againe. But that gifts and free graces shall at that time be abolished, it is no maruell; seeing they be giuen for the advancement of faith, which then shall continue no longer. Yea, we haue experience at this time, when as the gospell is in a manner euery where preached, that those gifts, which we spake of before, are either taken awaie, or else they be verie rare. As touching languages, whether they shalbe then abolished, some man perhaps will demand; Shall not the faints in heauen speake? Answer to this purpose is giuen, that either we may communicate with others, those things which we knowe; or else to demand of others those things which we want. But among the faints, in the kingdom of God, it seemeth, that neither of both shall be necessarie: because both in God and in our selues, all things shall aboundantlie enough be knownen, and be had. But if perhaps such a familiar custome shalbe granted vnto vs, it is verie likele, that all shall vse one manner of language, seeing we shalbe one people, and shall haue one and the selfe same countrey. But vnto such as shalbe imputate to demand, what thing that shalbe, which the faints shall then vse; I grant freely, that I knowe it not. Whereas notwithstanding I remember there be some who affirm, that the heauenly tongue shall then be in vse: but vpon that certeinie they affirme it, let themselves take heed. Of the change of all things.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

To the 11.

whereby the celestiall bodies gouerne inuention things, which then shall forsake their right and accustomed order. Whereby, by these vertues we may vnderstand the angels, which by a continuall turning, turne about the figures of the heauens. Perhaps they shall then either cease from the accustomed worke, or else they shall erreuate it after some new manner. After he had gathered these things out of Matthew and Luke he addeth out of Ioe; that there shall be eclipses of the sunne, and of the moone; The sunne (saith he) shall be darkened, and the moone shalbe turned into blood, before that great and horrible day of the Lord come. And out of the 65. chapter of Eiaic; Behold I create a new heauen, and a new earth. And straightwaie; The moone shall shine as the sunne, and the light of the sun shall be taken away, that is, of the daies. And out of the Apocalypse; There shall be a new heauen, and a new earth. Albeit no mention is there made of amplifying the light, either of the sunne or of the moone. Ieron interpreteth that place; that such shalbe the light of the sunne, as it was in the first seven daies, when the world was created. For by the sinne of our first parents, the light (saith he) both of the sunne and of the moone was diminished. Which saying some of the Schol-men vnderstand, not as touching the verie substance of the light, but that as the world was men, receiue lesse fruit of those lights, after the fall, than they had before. Wherevnto, these things are obscure and vncertaine. Wherevnto I ad, that some of the Iacobines thinke these to be figuratiue speeches; for that in the starres there shall be no change; but they saie, that vnto men being in heauenlike, and betwailing the vniuersall state of their things, shall come so small fruit by the light of the sunne and moone, as vnto them these starres may seeme to be darkened, and altogether out of sight. But contrarie, when they begin to be in happier state, and to haue according to their owne desires before, then at the last, the light of the sunne and of the moone shall seeme to be doubled vnto them, and to be lighter by manie degrees than it seemed before. Which exposition as I denie not; so I confesse, that at the end of the world shalbe a great change of these things. Wherefore I grant both to be true, either that in this life there happen things of our times to Iosaphat, as the daies, which other wise be most cleare, seeme most darke vnto vs: and also, that when all things shall haue an end, the state of creatures shalbe diuersed. Yea also it happeneth that sometimes, while we liue here, those lights of heauen are remoued from their natural order: as we read that it came to passe, when Iosia sought, and when Christ suffered.

Mat. 24:29. Luke 21:25. Ioe. 2:31.

verse 17. Eia. 30:26.

Act. 2:11.

Iosia. 10:22. Mat. 25:33.

addeh,



A Gmili-  
tude.

nature, he pieweth it by a similitude taken of the degrees of our age. For youth of children, we are made young men; and of young men, men; and of men, old men; we are not as touching the nature of man decreed; but by those changes we are transferred from a lower estate, unto that which is more excellent. Wherefore, when that last burning shall come, which the scrip- tures plainly teach shall come, the whole world shall be set on fire. And as gold and silver, when they are melted in the fire, verily not, but are made more pure; so the world shall not by that fire be destroyed, but be renewed. And this mind also were some of the Chinese writers, as Heraclitus Ephesus, and Empedocles Siculus, and others; who peradventure had received these things of their elders, but corrupted them with twisted opinions.

An opinion  
of the hee-  
tike called  
Molomary.

21 There have bene also manie of the Chris- tians in ancient time, which thought, that the creatures shall remaine after the coming of the Lord, and that they shall serve unto some use for the elect. For they thought, that when Christ shall returne, there shall then onlie the resurrection of the godlie, which also they called the first resurrection; betwixen which the latter, where in the twicked shall be raised up, and there shall be the space of a thousand yeres; and during this time shall Christ wholie reigne in this world, to- gether with the saints; and all this space the world shall be bound, as it is described in the booke of the Apocalypse. And they seeme to have taken an occasion of their opinion, not onelie out of the Revelation of Iohn; but also out of the prophe- t. For they, when they possesse of the kingdome of Christ, make mention of manie things, which seeme to pertaine to the kingdoms of this world, and unto pleasures and delights.

Apoc. 19.

And they, which live in this error, looke of the Grecians called *χρησται*, of the Latins *Milimarij*. Neither doubtlesse were there onlie of the common sort patrons of this opinion; but even the principall and most ancient men in the church, as Papias, Irenaeus, Iulianus Martyr, Victorinus, Lactantius, Tertullian, and manie other famous Ecclesiasticall writers. Whom I joine not with Cerynthus, for hee seemed manie other errors as touching our Saviour: for he said that, which we said that these fathers held, he ad- ded a double impietie. First, that the saints shall so reigne in this life with Christ, as they shall abundantly enioie all the pleasures of the bodie: which is nothing else, but againe unto lusts, dishonours, glustionie, and such other filthines to contaminate nature being renewed by the resurrection. Another error of his was, that in that kingdome of Christ, the ceremonies of the lawe and sacrifices of Moses should be re- newed: which errors none of those fathers, whom

two spale of bid followe.

22 Neither should it be anie hard matter, to confute that manies by the scriptures; but be- cause we have don this else where at large, we will now cease to speake thereof. Whelike this I will adde, that Augustine, in the twentieth booke *De civitate Dei*, the seventh chapter twelth; If these men had said, that Christ, in that space of a thousand yeres, will bestowe upon his saints some celestiall graces, their saying should have bene the more tollerable. In this place he sig- nifieth, that he also was sometime of the same mind. Iohubert, afterward weighing things bet- ter, he iudged that place of the Apocalypse, from whence all that suspicion seemed to flowe, must be otherwise expounded; namely, by these thou- sand yeres, to understand all the time, which passeth from the ascension of Christ, unto his last iudgement. Neither ought the number of a thou- sand yeres anie thing to offend us: for it is com- mon to the holie scriptures, by a number cer- taine and definite, to signifie another number uncerteine and not definite. Which thing, al- though it may by manie other places be pro- ved, yet here it shall be sufficient to note onelie one. Christ fall vnto his apostles; He that for- saken his house, or father, or mother, or children, or wife, or brethren, &c. shall receive a hundred fold; where, by an hundred fold, we under- stand a certeine great, and in a manner infinite recompense. So God promisseth in the lawe, that He would do good to them that serve him, un- to a thousand generations: which signifieth na- thing else, but to their posteritie for a verie long time. Wherefore Christ (as thinketh Augustine) reigneth with his saints all this time, which is signified by the number of a thousand yeres.

Man. 17. 3.

But how it may be said, that satan is bound in this time, it cannot be so easilie answered: for even now also the church is grievously be- dyed by him. But Augustine thinketh, that he is therefore bound; because his strength is weak- ened, and Christ hath overcome the strong ar- med man, so as he cannot now in such sort rage as he would; but especially because he cannot turne the elect, a those that be predestinate un- to everlasting life, from their appointed saluati- on. Albeit, as touching this time, even before Christ ascended up to heaven, satan was no lesse hindered than he is now; that he might not be able to disturb the elect from eternal life. But here it might be answered, that they which fol- lowed, were few in number before Christ: for the diuell ranged and spoiled in a manner euerie where, throughout the world, except some of the Israelites, and a few others. But now, after that the Gospel was spread abroad throughout the world, the power and strength of satan is much more restrained. And this may suffi- ciently

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entlie appere by the creating of oracles, and by the overthyng of idolatrie in a manner euerie where. Wherefore I thinke with Augustine, that this renewing of creatures shall not serue to this life; that the saints should live them living with Christ in anie temporall kingdome in this world.

And as for the prophecies of the prophets, which are euerie where set forth touching the kingdome of spessias, and which make mention of certaine things carnall, and that belong to an earthly kingdome, they are so to be taken, as we understand them, to describe by such me- taphors (as are commonlie thought agreeable to the greatnes and maiestie of our king- domes) the kingdome of Christ, which he now ex- erceth in the church, which in the daie of iudg- ment he will then forth with great power.

And this the prophets themselves have suf- ficiently signified, seeing they have interlaced manie things, which ferre errede belofe, and went beyond the course of humane things. For they say plainly, that they shall speake hereafter of things celestiall. But to returne to our pur- pose, I thinke, that the world, as touching the nature and substance thereof, shall not utterie perish, but rather (as bytesth Elsie, Peter, and the booke of the Apocalypse, and also Paule in the same place) that it shall be renewed. And of this renovation, there are set forth two prin- cipall conditions: the one is immortality; and the other is light. The Schoole-men have noted, that that light shall not be such as can cause heate: for itt should so doe, all things should some be dyed by and burned. And it is no difficult thing to find light, which ingenereth not heate: for there be found manie precious stones most bright, which give no heate at all.

23 Now that these things are thus decla- red, let us consider of the other parts of the world, whether they also shall be preferred: as plants, pretious stones, metals, brute beasts, and such like things. The Schoole-men thinke, that man, being renewed, which is the prin- cipall part of the world, other creatures shall be renewed also. Which saying is most true; for it is gathered by the words of Paule. But as touch- ing the parts, they thinke that onelie beaven, and the elements, and the bodies of men shall remaine. Yet (in my iudgement) the reason that they bring is weak: for they affirme, that on- ly those things shall have immortality, which after some sort were made fit for it. Such is a celestiall bodie, which is altogether simple, and is not changed by contrarie qualities. The e- lements also, which as touching parts are in- genred and corrupted; yet as touching the whole, do alwaies abide. So saie they also of man, who although he have a transitory bodie,

yet he hath an immortall soule. Yea rather, the bodie it selfe was so made at the beginning, as it had possibilitie not to die: wherefore it shall not be abhorred, if immortality be also commu- nicated to it. Iohubert this reason is weak: for two causes; first, for that without anie au- thoritie of the word of God, it taketh auaie re- nomination from manie parts of the world; se- condly, because that which it affirmeth, is euen as doubtfull as is that which is concluded, namely, that those things onelie shall be re- newed with immortality, which by their constitu- tion seeme fit for the same. For seeing this im- mortality is the liberrall and merie gift of God, it cannot depend of anie means or power of na- ture. For that power of God, whereby both the beavens and the elements shall be renewed into immortality, can preferre also the other parts of the world.

And as the elements remaine whole, although their parts be ingendered and corrupted, euen so also do generall natures of brute beasts and plants perpetuallie endure, although their particulars are renewed and perish. If thou demand what utilitie these things shall have, if they remaine still; I answer: they shall have the selfe-same, as then can attribute unto the elements. For euen as then we shall have no need of the elements, no more shall we have need of brute beasts, or plants, or other parts of the world. In my iudgement, it had bene a better reason for them to have said, that there- fore they thinke that other things shall not re- newed, because the scripture maketh no mention of their preferation. Albeit I see also that this reason is not of necessitie: for though the scrip- ture hath not made mention of their creatures apart by themselves, and expressely; yet it is sufficient, that it hath generallie signified, that creatures shall be renewed; neither do they ever except anie thing. Further, if we should content by reasons, that the sunne (as they say) shall therefore be adorned with greater aboun- dance of light, because it is met that after a sort it should receive a reward of his labours; so may the rest of the creatures also saie, that they have with no lesse labour and skilfulie done service unto men, than the sunne hath. Adde moreover, that there is no lesse inclinati- on and naturall desire in other creatures to pre- ferre themselves, than is in the sun, moone, beaven, and earth; wherefore if the one ought not to be frustrated of their desire, no more ought the other.

24 These things might probable be said on both sides. And Paule unto the Ephesians and Colossians saith, that All things shall be re- newed by Christ, whether they be things in hea- ven, or things in earth. But this also in verse

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both sides.Eph. 1. 10.  
Col. 1. 20.Certaine  
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though the honestie of enery particular man is not sufficiently known unto this. Neither is it of necessitie required, that the godlie should be discerned of men what manner of persons they be while they live here. Christ, while he liued here among mortall men was not known. And we (as the Apostles hath declared unto the Colossians, the third Chapter) have our life hidben in God: and when Christ which is our life shall appeare, then we also shall be made manifest with him in glorie. Again we reade in the first of Samuel: it is God that looketh into the heart: but men onely knowe those things which are apparent. I knowe there is a fable

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From among  
the Com-  
muni-  
cations  
of the  
Church  
of God.

1 Cor. 11

Acts. 16.9

led the Church of God. It is not presently without spot or wrinkle, but in the day of Jesus Christ it shall be.

2 But they erringlie erre which at Inst. Cap. onelie the Romish Church for the Church. We denie not but that there is an other among Churches, but we graunt it not to be the same which dependeth of the wealth and dignities of this worlde. Wherefore among Churches, that must be taken for the better, which doeth most fastly in spirit, doctrine, and holinesse. But at this day onelie successions and Cathedrall seats are had in great estimation: whereas notwithstand- ing Christ hath not tied his grace unto these things. And if so be that at Rome or Constantinople doctrine be polluted, the Sacraments mangled, and discipline corrupted, how can we at the counsell of those Churches as more excellent than the rest? Merelie this should be nothing else but to seek graces of thornes, and figges of thistles. In ancient time the Apostolicall Churches were, Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and other such like: but what is there at this daie? Alas there be manie errors and superstitious: and there is little wanting but that they degenerate into Turkish blasphemies. Let the Church be Catholike, for places do not separate believers: euen as the place in like manner, (as saith Chrysostome) al- though it be one, doth not ioine the faghter. For if in one & the same place there be two Lodges which commaund things repugnant, doubtlesse their seruantes will be diuided: for as Christ hath taught, We cannot in one Mandat, and the selfe same worke serue two.

3 But it is perpetuallie objected against Inst. Sam. by Hosiun and Staphylus, and other persecutors of the Gospell, that we agree not among our selues as touching the matter of the Sacrament, freer will, and other things. We cannot denie it: but that we therefore say, that the reformed Church is no Church: it doth deade the spirit of the Lord is the spirit of peace. It would possesse vs all whollie if we were whollie regenerate: no doubt as yet we are not so. The Church is instituted, that it may be without wrinkle hereafter: now it is not, one day it shall be, when Christ shall haue overcome all his enimies. I thinke there be none but do like of a consenting together, but yet, fauing the truth, otherwhile it cannot be had. Dissentions in the Church are neuer forthwith rooted out. These men when they declare these things, do seeme to set forth mere wonders, as though that there hath neuer bene dissentions in the Church. But (I beseech you) let them consider the be- ginnings,

ginnings. The people of Israell, which was the Church of God, would often times haue killed Moles in the wilderness. Coré, Dathan, and Abiram raised a tumult, and contended for the Priesthood, which by the express worde of God was assigned to Aaron. What tumults were there betwene Dauid and Saule? yet was there an expresse worde of God as touching the kingdom. The house of Iuda had the kingdom at the handes of God, and yet there became a schisme vnder Roboam. After that age, the Prophets succeeded: on the one side they were true, on the other side they were false: they spake things that were repugnant. What which was affirmed, the other denied. The Israelites being returned out of captiuitie, were sent into sundrie parts: into the partes of the Elichi, Pharees & Saduces. Who will saie if a church was not thence? And so it is nowen thing where the Church of God is, there dissensions to be. If they shall denie this to be done in the new Testament, I knowe not whether they erre willingly or unwittingly. What happened betwene Peter and Paul in the time of the Apostles? Peter followed the Jewish custome to the hinderance of the Ethnikes which were conuered. Paul reproved him. Paul and Barnabas (whom the holie Ghost had ioined together in the ministerie) so disagreed, as they departed one from another. The time of contention for the retaining or not retaining of Iudaisme continued a long time. The contention was past our into Augulline & Jerome. The one would that euen in the holie Scriptures certainties might be grounded by dispensation, the other earnestlie denied it. In the time of the Apostles & a little after, the Christians had manie sectaries among them: namelie the Cerinthians, the Marcionites, the Gnosticks, the Carpocratians. Admit that the Ethnikes had taken our Argument and had said: You cannot agree as touching your Christ: We haue holie ordinaunces of our Gods. Which hath beleue, these of those? They al say that they be Christians. I beseech you let us consider of the Church among the Corinthians, the which is very much commended by Paul, saying: that they were instructed in all wisdom and in the worde. Where they quiet among themselves: There were Schismes among them: They saide, I hold of Peter, I of Paul, I of Apollo. But thou wilt say they disagreed as as touching matters of weight. What was at that point, that they thought simple fornication no sinne: So as it behoued Paul to instruct them concerning the same. Of the resurrection it selfe, they

iudged amisse. If there be errors in the Anabaptistes or in others, we agree not with them. In the latter age the Arians did shake the Church for the space of 150. yeares: and there were Ethnikes which were agrieved therat. For Themistius wrote of this matter unto the Emperour Constantius. Grant me that the Ethnikes which then were, reasoned against the Church: How are Christians diuided among your selues? In one Church was a Catholike Bishop, in another a Nouatian: as at Constantinople was Chrysostome and Agelius. In Africa also were throughout enerie Church were two Bishops, a Catholike and a Donatist. A part would haue Images: Epiphanius counted it as a thing detestable. What shall we say as touching the Supremacie of the Pope? They would haue it to be an article of necessitie unto saluation: but haue they all receiued the same? Gregorie said that this is the title of Antichrist. The Bishop of Constantinople sued against the Bishop of Rome. At length the whole East part acknowledged not the Romane Bishop: and yet they saide that it was the Church. They say that they haue the Popedom ioined therewith: God he knoweth. But to deale frankly with them, let vs graunt them this: It is a token that they are whollie carried vnto lewdnesse, and it is rather a conspiracie than a veritie. Dauid had the kingdom of God, yet was it not quiet: Such is the Church.

Of the true nature of the Church looke after Place 6. Art. 16. and 38. &c.

### Of diuers Ministeries of the Church.

4 But none let be obserue that the Apostles were to that end chosen, that they should institute the seruice of the Gospell, & should publish vnto the believers the things which they had heard of Christ: But the things were ordeined to this purpose, if they should defend those things which are cōtē in the Gospell and the holie scriptures: which they should be receiue to be defended, as they must not ad vnto them anie new things, and forge traditions at their owne will. Further the holie fathers which were Bishops, when they take in hand to write, doe conesse themselves to be handlers of the holie scriptures, and would not, that those things which they write should be accounted of so great authoritie as we attribute vnto the Canon of the Scriptures. Say rather they said that anie doctrine should be giuen vnto them, if they speake anie thing against the

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the holie Scriptures. Wherfore, to the Apostolical doctrine were adioyned manie miracles, whereby their authoritie is confirmed: which we saw was not don in traditions of the Elders. Again we are sure that the Apostles wrote by the inspiration of the holie Ghost: which we dare not affirme of our Bishoppes. Whereupon we conclude, that the Apostles could not erre in those things which they wrote: but we see that the Bishoppes have oftentimes decreed amisse as concerning the rules of Religion: as it appeareth in the Councell of Ariminum, and also in the second Synode of Ephesus, and also in manie other: yea and they erred verie much in their Actions. At Chalcedone and Constantinople were Synodes gathered together, in which Chrysostome was condemned and deposed, which also was done in the name of those Bishoppes which were accepted Catholicke: And there might be alleaged manie examples of this sort. Also Paul writing vnto Timothy prayeth him to saue that which was giuen him to keepe, declaring that he ought neither to adde nor diminish any thing of the doctrine of the Gospel received: This is to perswade the thing giuen him to keepe. And hereunto that the Apostles be vnto Bishoppes and ordinarie Pastors, as in old time the Prophets were vnto the high Bishoppes and Bishops. For the Prophets might bring bokes and mixe them with the Canonical Scriptures: for Samuel added his bokes vnto the Scripture: Eley, Ieremie, and the other Prophets added their monuments vnto the Scripture, which the Scribes, high Priests and Bishoppes might not haue done. The Apostles called the Gentiles, abrogated the Ceremonies of the lawe, which was beyond the compass of the high Bishoppes and Bishops. Wherefore the Apostles testeth forth himselfe by sundrie titles, that when we reade him, or heare him, we may thinke that we heare not the woordes of a man, but oracles pnted out of heauen.

As in the Scriptures there be manie places by which it may be proued that the doctrine of the Gospel shoulde be published throughout the whole world by the ministerie of the Apostles. As in Eley the 24. and 29. Chapters, and in Malachie, and almost euerie where in the Prophets. And if so be, the Gospel were published throughout the world, then coulde not the Jewes saue that they had not hearde of it: especially when as preaching began at them, according to that saying: Out of Sin shall go the lawe, and the word of the Lord out of Ierusalem. Neither did the Apostles turne vnto

the Gentiles vntill they had notice sene the obstinacy of the vnbelieving Jewes. For then they went vnto the Gentiles, whose verities also had ministers of the word of God before, although not in such plenty, and ordinare succession as the Jewes had. Among the Gentiles liued Melchizedek, Balam, Job, and the Sibils, whose testimonies as touching Christ are reueiled of olde writers. Ioseph liued in Egypt: Ionas was sent vnto the Nineuites: Daniel and his companions preached in Babylon: Nehemias & Esdras liued among the Persians: all which men kindled some light of true godlines amongst the Gentiles, but at length the doctrine was made fullie compleate by the Apostles. The Jewes therefore are confuted by an argument taken a minori [that is, of the lesse.] If the Gentiles being farre off, and at the ends of the world doe heare, howe haue you Jewes not heard? And this manner of expostition doeth Chrysostome follow. Neither is it anie maruell that Paul in the tenth Chapter to the Romanes writeth, that the Gospel is published euerie where, for to be sufficient the same thing vnto the Colossians in the first Chapter, and that thus, first he saith: In the truth of the Gospel, which be- fore preached throughout the world bringeth forth fruit. And towards the ende of the same Chapter he saith: The Gospel which is preached vnto euerie creature vnder heauen. Also in the sixteenth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romanes, he declareth with bold great endeavour he labored to publish abroad the Gospel in all places. From Ierusalem he (vnto Illyricum) haue I filled all the countries round about with the Gospel. And now seeing I haue no more place in this quarters, as I goe into Spaine I will come vnto you: If one Apostle did so much, what doe you thinke that the rest of the Apostles and Euangelists did: Matthew preached vnto the Ethiopian which were in the furthestmost parts, and Thomas vnto the Indians, which enue they themselves at this day testifie. And in the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Romanes, it is written, that the faith of the Romans was spoken of through the whole world. And this diligence of the Apostles ought to stirre by men of our time, by continuall preaching to restore Religion now decayed. Wherefore that commendement of the Lord which he gaue vnto the Apostles, to go into the whole world and preach the Gospel to euerie creature, ought also to be of force in our time, that euerie man in his place which he is appointed vnto, should by preaching not suffer sound doctrine to be abolished.

What the Gospel in the Apostles time was caried abroade into all the parts of the world, some expound it by the figure Synecdoche, namelie that it was not preached in the most principall Kingdomes and Dominions: and that at the last time the same and redound of this doctrine went from thence vnto the Nations adjoining. And of this minde was Ambrose, who saith: Where the person of the preacher wanted, there the same was present. And this he proueth by a similitude. The wonderfull wilkes, which God had wrought in Egypt to perswade the Israelites, were by same known in Ierico, as Rahab testifieth to those messengers of spies whom Iosua sent. No nation as yet in the Apostles time by publicke authoritie of the magistrates professed Christ. For this came to pass onlie in the times of Constantine and Theodosius. And hereby is easilie perceived, what they meant which wrote that certain Nations were newly conuered vnto the Gospel: which doubtlesse they affirme of Englishmen, as though in Gregories time they came vnto Christ by means of Augustine his legat, and Bishop of Canteburie: and also of the Saxons, that they in the time of Charles the great, receiued the faith of the Gospel. This inuade might be as touching the publicke possession of Cities and Regions, when neuertheless, Christ was long time before preached in those places. And as touching Englande, it had preachers of the Gospel euen from the beginning, namely in the time of Eleutherus the first, and had them in such sort as those Bishoppes continued vnto the time of that Augustine which was sent by Gregorie. And that Ilands as touching the feast of Easter, obserued the old manner of the East Church, and specially of the Church of Ephesus, for they doe celebrat it the 14. day of March. Wherefore the same Augustine (as I thinke) rather brought in a Examplum subiection vnder Pope, than pure Christian Religion: And thus much was iudged of the Saxons and such other like nations. Augustine in his booke de natura & Gracia, the 2. Chapter, affirmeth, that in his time there were some countries far off, although verie far, vnto whom the Gospel was not as yet preached: which I thus vnderstand, that the word of God was not publicke received and belized. He writeth also of this matter in an Epistle to Heichicus, which is in number the 80. But Chrysostome most manifestly maketh on my side in his 10. Homilie vpon Matthew, and also vpon the 24. Chapter of Matthew, when he interpreteth these wordes: This Gospell of the kingdome shall be pre-

ached throughout the whole world for a witness, and then shall bee the ende. No doubt but the Gospel was preached before the destruction of Ierusalem: for the ende in place must be referred vnto the publicke placement of the Jewes, which was destroyed in the time of the Apostles: for Iohn liued euen vnto the time of Traian. The Gospel then was in that first time preached almost euerie where, but not euerie where receiued: nay rather the preachers were in euerie place greuously persecuted, as Christ had foretold. For they shall deliuer you (saith he) and shall scourge you in Councels and Synagogues, and ye shall be brought before Kings and Rulers.

So as there were verie fewe in a manner none, which either heard not the preaching of the Gospel, or at the last time heard not of the noble and excellent faith of Christ: And yet it may be, that in process of time the name of Christ was by negligence and incredulitie abolished as the Portugales report of places found out by them in their iourney, wherein they failed from the Gades into India. Whereupon some are wont to moue a curious question: what is to be thought of those which are boine either in wilde woods out of the companie of men, or in those places where Christ is not preached, and his name not heard of: vnto whom we what shall become of the people found) are in deepe somewhat excused, not that their damnation be so grieuous, as shall theirs be which haue heard the Gospel and contemned it: yet neuertheless they haue the benefit of saluation, seeing they haue in themselves the cause of their damnation, namelie, original sinne and manie other finnes the which vnbondredly haue bin added of them. What God without the outward ministerie can reueale Christ vnto them we doubt not, and perhaps he sometimes of his merie doeth so (but not of desert as wicked Sophisters affirme, if so be they doe what leys in them: as though they were able to merit it (as they saie) of congruities.) But of this, thus much by the waie. Doubtless that must be attentiuely considered, that it was no light miracle, yea rather it was wonderfull, that in so short a space of time, the doctrine of Christ coulde be spread vnto aboide throughout the world, when as it had so many aduersaries the diuell, wicked persons, and also tyrants, the high Bishoppes and Bishops, & the wise men, both of the Jewes and also of the Gentiles, and when as otherwise, as touching humane aeries, the simplicity and rudeness of the preachers was great.

Chrysostome  
condemned  
and deposed:  
60.

1. Tim. 14.

The Apo-  
stles are  
to the high  
Bishoppes  
and Bishops:  
61.

In Rom.  
10.

Eley. 24.  
16.  
& 29. 19.  
Mal. 11.

Eley. 23.  
Acs 13.  
96.

No nation  
professed  
Christ:  
62.

English  
men  
received  
the Gospel  
by means  
of Augustine  
his legat:  
63.

Augustine  
brought  
in the  
Christian  
Religion:  
64.

The time  
of the  
destruction  
of Ierusalem:  
65.

The Gospel  
was preached  
almost  
euerie where:  
66.

Mat. 10. 17.

What shall  
become of  
the people  
found)  
67.

A miracle  
of the  
spread of  
the Gospel:  
68.

Within the space of xx. or xxx. yeres, the preaching of Christ was in a manner euerie where heard, as Chrylosome writeth; but it was verie long before the wise and learned Philosophers could speake aboade their doctrines further than Greece. And in such sort were they at the length published in some places, that verie fewe understood them or gave credit to them. The doctrine of Spasme met perhaps may seeme to have bin published with wonderfull expedition : but we must consider that those things which he preached as touching the effect, were no new opinions, for he denieth not the Creato: of heauen and of earth; he belieneth that the soules be immortall: he commendeth Christ as a Prophet: he affirmeth the resurrection of the dead; he setteth forth also eternal punishments and eternal felicitie, and verie manie other things which are contained in the old and new Testament. Wherefore it maye iustlie be called an heresie. And in dede they be fragments of the Ariens. For he commendeth Christ but yet as a creature, he builded therupon yppon another mans foundation. But Christ and the Apostles when they began to preach the Gospell, found all the things vnto strange from their doctrine: so that it was an incredible miracle that the heauenlie doctrine could be published aboade in so short a time, and that in some part it remained of long time wel nere in all places, for there came vnto Christ some families of believers almost throughout all prouinces and Cities.

8 But prophesie is a power giuen from God through the inspiration of the holie Ghost, whereby the secrets and counsels of God may be knowne and expounded vnto others for the edifying of the church, whether those things be present or past or to come. And God reuealeth his counsels for the comfite of the Church. Therefore saith Salomon in the 29. of Proverbs: Where there is no prophesie the people shall be scattered; for prophesie is of great force to haue men in their dutie. They prophesied in scriptall instruments, for in the first booke of Chronicles p. 25. Chapter, they are appointed which should prophesie in Cimbals and Harpes. Paul in the 14. Chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, teacheth that Prophesie must be done to edifying, he that prophesie speaketh to men to edifying, to exhortation, and comfort. And if so be that all doe prophesie and there come in one that beleecheth not, or vnlearned, he is rebuked of all men, and is iudged of all, and to the secrettes of his heart are made manifest, and so falling downe vp-

on his face he will worship God, confessing that God of a truth is in you. The diuell also as hee an Spe of God would haue all his traine whippers and phantasticall Prophetes of Sibill, who did first and tume in their ceremonies, not to edification, but to destruction, God in Deuteronomie doth earnestly forbid, that none should aske counsell of a Spagitan, Soothsayer, or Diuiner. (saith he) will raie vnto you a Prophet, him ye shall hear. And by two signes he saith ye shall knowe him to be the Prophet of God, both if the things come to passe which he hath foretold, and also if he leade not his behest to Idolatrie. I know that place of S. Peter in the Actes of the Apostles, is most truly applied vnto Christ, yet also it may be understood not amisse, as touching the Prophetes, of whom the people should aske counsell: yea and in the Psalm, the people com-

phetes in olde time were of the tribe of Iuda, for all administration and care of holie seruices pertained vnto that tribe. Wherefore they that were chosen out of that tribe, were brought that after they had bin well and godlie instructed, they should afterward offer sacrifice and teach the people. And they were taught euen from their childehood, that godlinesse being planted betimes, it might fasten with the more continuance and steadfastnesse. They were exercised vnto no other trade of life, than to teach the lawe, to offer sacrifice, and to pray for the people. But thou wilt aske: these be the gifts of God, why then should they be learned of a Master? I answer I graunt they are the gifts of God, yet there is no let but that young men may adorne their mindes with godly arts, the which afterward, the holie Ghost may use. They were called the children of the Prophetes, because they held and reuerenced in stead of fathers the elder Prophetes, of whom they were taught. Also discipules and hearers in the holie scriptures are oftentimes called children. Paul to the Galathians, My little children (saith he) of whom I now traueil in birth, And vnto the Corinthians: Children

lay not ye for parents, but parents for children. Also in Iohn Christ oftentimes calleth his Discipules, Children. And Iohn in his Epistles, Little children (saith he) beware of Idols. Elsie in the 8. Chapter saith; Seale the law in my Discipules. And straight way he addeth: I and the children which the Lord hath giuen mee. Vnto these children of the Prophetes the Nazarites of other tribes did oftentimes foist themselves, those were utterlie seuered from the common people, and they caried some shew of our Prophetes, who also might haue bin suffered, if all things among them had not bin contaminated with superstitions. For they had volues, inuocations of the dead, Hailles and whatsoever else rather than that which becometh. Vnchrestie golic things erected Scholes & Colleges, that in them yong men should be brought vnto god learning and godlinesse. Neither was there any Cathedral Church, but a Schole was ioined therewith. At Alexandria and Antioch bid Pantenus, Clemens, Origen, and other most learned men, publikelie profess. At this day also among the Canonikes a place is assigned for the Scholemaster: but he doeth nothing lesse than teach the youth. And herof cometh so great darkenesse euerie where in the Popes gouernment, either because the youth are not taught at all, or els because they are taught wicked things. Samuel was president of this College. Before his time there is no mention made in the holie scriptures of anie such fellowship of Prophetes.

Of taking a spiritual charge, looke the Oration that becometh in Thole canies.

10 But when as God chose Debora vnto the spiriteritie of iudging, being weakie in her, he straight waie made hir very famous, and honourable through the gift of prophesie. By which grace, and perhaps many other miracles more, she was constituted by God, and confirmed by miracles, as a woman chosen to so great an office. Neither was onlie this woman indued with the spirit of prophesie: for in the holie scripture we reade of other women also which were in such sort instructed by the holie Ghost. Marie the sister of Moses, Hanna the mother of Samuel, Holda in the time of Iosias the king were Prophetesses. And in the newe Testament (to speake nothing of Marie the virgin, of Elizabeth the mother of Iohn, and of Anna the daughter of Phanuel) the daughters of Philis the Deacon, (as it is writen in the Actes of the Apostles) were Prophetesses. Neither thinke I it ought to be denied, that some of those women, indued with the gift of pro-

phesie, did openlie teach the people, in declaring of those things vnto them which had bin theued them of God: (seeing the gifts of God are not therfore giuen that they should be hidden, but to intent they should further the common edifying of the Church. And yet hereby it followeth not, that what God doeth by some peculiar priuilege, we should forthwith deuaie it into an example vnto vs: because according to the rule of the Apostle, we are bounde vnto an ordinarie lawe, whereby both in the Epistle to Timothie, and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he commaundeth that a woman should keepe silence in the Church. And of the silence commaunded, be assigneth causes, namely, for that they ought to be subiect to their husbands: but the office of a teacher doth declare a certaine authoritie ouer those which are taught, which must not be attributed vnto a woman ouer men, for she was made for man, whom to obey the ought alwaies to haue a respect, which thing is also appointed hir by the iudgement of God, whereby he saide vnto the woman after sin was committed, Thy disposition shall be towards thy husband. Further the Apostle deuied a reason from the first fault, wherein he saith that Eue was seduced, and not Adam. So as if women should ordinarie be admitted to the holie ministrerie in the Church, men might easilie suspect that the diuell by his accustomed instrument would bereine the people, and for that cause they would the lesse esteeme the Ecclesiasticall function if it should be committed vnto women, whereby by the ordinarie rule, and by the Apostolical rule, it ought to be appointed vnto men. Wherebeit if God doe otherwise sometime, yet can he not be iustly accused, for so much as all lawes are in his power. If then sometime he send a Prophetesse, and adorne hir with heauenly gifts, the same woman speaking in the Church, must vnbondredie be hearkened vnto, but yet so, if her state be not forgotten. Therefore the two testimonies of Paule, which seeme to be repugnant one to another, may easilie be reconciled. In the first Epistle to Timothie he writeth, That a woman ought to be silent in the Church. Which toward the ende of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he most manifestlie confirmeth, doubtin in the same Epistle he commaundeth that a man prophesying or praying, should haue his head diucovered, but the woman while the prophesie, should haue it couered: whereby doubtlesse he teacheth, that it is lawfull for a woman both to speake, and also to prophesie in the Church. for it would not seeme, that so

Long before  
the  
philosophers  
came could  
be speake.

Why the  
doctrine  
maye be called  
to an heresie.

In 1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.  
Looke p. 1.  
place 1.  
A definition  
of prophesie  
etc.

Prou. 29.  
12.

Verfe 1.

1. Cor. 14.  
3. & 5.

The  
Dre  
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Deu. 18.  
1. & 11.

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1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Sam.  
10. v. 9.

1. Tim. 2.  
11.

1. Cor. 14.  
34.

1. Tim. 2.  
11.

1. Cor. 14.  
34.

1. Tim. 2.  
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1. Cor. 14.  
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1. Tim. 2.  
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1. Cor. 14.  
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1. Tim. 2.  
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1. Tim. 2.  
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1. Cor. 14.  
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1. Tim. 2.  
11.

1. Cor. 14.  
34.

1. Tim. 2.  
11.

1. Cor. 14.  
34.

Why the women that prophesie are commended to be covered on their head.

Tit. 2.3.

In Rom. 13.

The office of Deacons

The office of the Elders.

doing the should have bin commanded to cover hir head, if the were utterly to keepe silence in the holie assemblie. After this sort the matter must be expounded, namely, that the precept of silence is a general precept, but the other, which is for covering of the head when they pray or prophesie, pertained onlie to those which were *prophetesses*. They berlie are not forbidden to prophesie, for the common edifying of the Church: but least they forgetting the propriete of their owne state (by reason of the extraordinary office committed unto them) should be proud, they are commanded to have their head covered: whereby they might understand that they have yet the power of man above them. *Wherever* where in the 2. Chapter to Titus, it is commanded that the elder women should admonish the younger women of temperance, & that they should love their husbands and children, and should likewise be diligent housewives in their familie: this must not be understood as touching publicke doctrine or Ecclesiasticall sermons, but of private exhortations, which are made to be used by the elder sort unto the younger.

11 When Paul saith in the 12. to the Romans. He that distributeth let him doe it with sincerity: he touched the office of Deacons as they were at that time, and ought also to be in our time. Their office was to distribute to the poore the Almes and oblations of the faithful. Let them doe their office (saith he) with simplicitie, let them withhold nothing by craft and ill practise. For naughtie and deceitfull men, when they haue dealing in publicke receites, doe nothing sincerely, but use wonderfull guiles and subtilties. These things would Paul haue to be removed from this kind of ministerie. Others think that in giuing with simplicitie, he meant; without any respect unto worldly praise, which some seek for in the bestowing of other mens Almes. But the first interpretation in my iudgement seemeth most fit. And whereas he addeth: He that willet let him doe it with carefulnesse: although I doubt not but that there were many kinde of governments in the Church, yet to confesse the truth, this me thinketh is most like to be understood of Elders: not in berie deede of them which had the charge of the word and of doctrine, but of those which were appointed as assistants unto the Pastors. They, as being the discreeter sort, and imbued with a greater zeale and goodnesse, were chosen out from among the laitie. Their office was chiefe to attend unto discipline, and to take heed what euerie man did, and in euerie house and

familie to see what neede euerie one had, as touching that which belonged to the soules to the bodie. For the Church had hir ancientes: as, if I may so saie, hir Senate, which according to the time provided for profitable things. Paul describeth this kinde of spirituallie, not onlie in this place, but also in the 1. to Timothy. For thus he writeth, The Elders are worthy of double honour, especially they which labour in the worde and doctrine. In which wordes he seemeth to signifie, that there be some Elders, which teach and let forth the word of God: and there are others, which although they doe not this, yet as ancientes and Elders they doe gouerne in the Church. This did not Ambrose leane vnto, when he did expound that place. *Then* he complaineth, that euen then, either through pride, or through the thoughtlesnesse of the *prophets*, they were in a manner twome abate. For while they, which haue the gouernment of the Church seeke to ouerwe all things vnto themselves, they prouide as diligent as they can, that they maie haue no fellowe officers ioyned with them in that rone. *Wherefore* Paul willet that they which haue this charge, should doe their endeavour, and remove slouth and sluggishnesse. Further he addeth: He that sheweth merie, let him doe it with cheerfulnesse. And this seemeth to haue bin the office of widowers and of olde men, which were to that end maintained by the Church, that they should take care of strangers and of them that were sicke. For good cause he commandeth these to haue cheerfulnesse. For men that be weake and afflicted, are much relieved, if they see their necessities are ministered vnto with cheerfulnesse. For they, which with a scornfull countenance and heauie cheere doe these things, seeme to adde sorrow vnto them that be sorrowfull: for thereby they misdoubt that they be chargeable and trouble some to their brethren. By means whereof, they are oftentimes brought to that point, as they count death much better than such a life. Thus much spake Paul concerning the publicke ministers of the Church, which he vpon ill cause calleth *regulators*, to wit, first gifts. For at these things, although it seemeth that they maie be gotten by humane arte and industry, yet shall we neuer bring to passe any thing in that kinde by our owne labour, vntill we be holpen by the grace of God, whereby those things which we doe are made profitable and effectfull. For they which are occupied in these offices, maie in deede without the helpe of God, obtaine the praise of men and well liking of the people, but they can

1 Tim. 5.17

Teaching of Elders.

Rom. 13.

The office of widowers and olde men.

Why the ministers are called regulators.

not further the saluation of soules & commoditie of the Church. And as touching this matter, they oftentimes haue Gods fauourable and gracious vnto them, which neuertheless obey him not with a sincere will. But this is to be exceedingly lamented, that this gouernance of the Church is so miserable decayed, that at this daie, not so much as the names of these functions are anio where extant. In the stead of these they haue put *perbeaters*, and I knowe not what *Archdeacons* and *Subdeacons*, which serue for trieling and vaine actions, about that superstitious Aulter of theirs.

12 And in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 16 Chapter, we haue a notable place as concerning the visitation of Churches. For Paul for the same cause would returne to the Corinthians, & first surcey the Churches of Macedonia: & because he could not straight waie trauell to Corinth, he desired to send thither Timothy. And howe necessarie the visitation of Churches is, the state of humane things doeth declare: by the which we callie perceiue that things do oftentimes decaye and fall to ruine, vnlesse they be noted and then renewed to their first order and situation. *Wherefore* we are not to doubt that this is no humane but an apostollicall intention. But it behooueth, that they which visite, should be men of great authoritie, of honest and goodlie life, and also wel intructed in the holie Scriptures. For if so be they shall not by the worde of God perceiue those things to be peruerse which they would amende, they shall bring nothing to passe. *Peraduenture* thou wilt saie: seeing all Churches haue their owne Pastors, what neede is there that other men should come vnto to visite? This is answer, that it oftentimes happeneth, that the men of anie Church do not so greatly esteeme their owne Pastors, as other wise good men, because through continuall conuersation they grow in contempt: but when they shall come before this 4. soure which be of other Churches, being men of great name and authoritie, they may be a great deale more callie creded, and the ordinances of the Pastors, if they be good ordinances, maie be maintained by the authoritie of these men: if they be not good, they maie be amended. Now it is grolme to an ble, that this office of visiting is assigned vnto *Primates* and *Archbishops*: because those men which were imbued with the more ample gifts of God and which did erect others in learning & holines, were wont to be preferred to the higher places, to the chiefe sees, and more notable Cities,

But forasmuch as we see, that in the most places at this daie high degrees are by the fauour of princes and by peruerse election, commended vnto vnuaile men, what profit can these men bring by their visitation? *Wherein* not a whit, but oftentimes no small inconueniente.

Of calling, and especiallie vnto the Ministerie.

13 *Where* ill be they gather, which thus saie: *Churche* happen not to this: that man is not of Gods: *For* who suffered either moze or moze greivous things, than did our Saviour Christ? And yet was his calling most lawfull. *Wherefore* a great comfort is here offered to the ministers of the Church, and to lawfull magistrates, that although they see manie troubles laid before them, yet that they should not despair: for those things piced of the Diuell: *the* berlie hate all lawfull calling. For he saith, that God wil blesse it, and that his strength shall be manifested by the same. And seeing sturme of impediments be of two sorts, some in the minde of men, and some which happen outwardly, both kinds are laide in our waie by the Diuell. For in the minde he woeth that men maie despair and become of faint courage, and thinke that they shall not be able to beare to great a charge & so to become negligent. But if he prosper not this waie, he from elsewhere offereth enemies, he troubles, seditions & troubles. But if it were some which are neither lawfull called, nor yet doe their duetie, the Diuell both nothing at all disquiet the, for he suffereth the safelie and soundlie to sleepe on both sides. But God putteth himself among these troubles, and manie waies confoteth them that be his, first by his word: for he saith: *where* that they are to suffer manie things. *Secondly* also he layeth before the examples of such as suffered manie things in the following of their vocation. Furthermore against the first impediment he giueth strength and fauour of minde. And if anie man do with stande him, he discourageth him and maketh him fable. *Thus* the kingdome of Christ standeth and shall stande for euer. *Thus* the kingdome of Dauid, though it be shaken with manie violences, yet it shall stand. *Wherefore* euerie man ought to abide in his calling, and not to despair and become afraid of aduersities.

14 *First* be must vnderstande, that God doth oftentimes immediately (as they speake) by

In 2. Sam. v. 8.

A calling must not be commended by a bare facillie.

Whom we see to our callinge lay in our way by the Diuell.

Where as some be the proper men.