

PART I



THE
COMMON PLACES

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD
BY NATURE AND SCRIPTURE

PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI

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Part I. – The Knowledge of God by Nature and Scripture

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Monergism Books

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Editor's Note – During the EEBO-TCP Transcription Process, all the text was hand transcribed according to visual representation; and as such, sometimes the letters s, l, f & t are misconstrued with each other, these letters regularly being almost illegibly similar in the original facsimile script. Though it is rare for these errors to remain post-edit, unfortunately they may remain if uncaught. My sincere apologies in advance where such errors occur. As the Puritan Edward Leigh once said "If thou findest faults and Errata in the book, let love cover them, for to err (as the Satirist saith) is the sad privilege of mortality, and he (of all men) erreth most, who challengeth a privilege from error." Also, the symbol <H&G>, when included, signifies omitted Hebrew & Greek. Lastly, some archaic words may be updated to more contemporary terminology; but changes have been kept to a bare minimum.

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PREF. I. To the Most Excellent, Mighty, and Religious.

Princess Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the true Christian faith, &c.

If almighty God (most gracious sovereign Lady) had but as meanly furnished me with understanding and utterance, as he hath plentifully enriched your Majesty with many most excellent gifts and graces, my pen at this time would run more agreeable to your Highness ears, and my words pierce more deep into your Princely breast. Then might I, though with some boldness, yet with all humbleness, approach your presence, and present you with such matter, as God by his holy spirit hath offered me: and in such manner as might be most liking to your godly disposition. Not that I poor simple man can prefer aught as yet unknown to your excellent Majesty, to whom God in his son Christ hath imparted as great abundance of his wisdom and knowledge, as flesh and blood in this life can well conceive, but that I have of long time been carried with an extraordinary zeal and desire incomparable once in my life, by some perpetual record of your royal name, to give an outward testimony of mine inward heart, and an assured

seal of my bounden duty, so long borne to your manifold virtues, religious profession, and high estate. And for the better performance of this my determined purpose, perceiving myself, though not unwilling, yet unable to publish any work wholly of mine own devise, worthy the regard of so great a Prince, and the reading of so judicial a censure, I resolved at last upon this book: a work, not so long, as learned; containing matter, not so hard, as true: written by an Author, not so late, as famous, which I have faithfully translated, and partly gathered, and wholly dedicated to your excellent Majesty. For as all scripture inspired from above, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be wise unto salvation, and perfect unto all good works: so in this work is drawn a perfect form of the most ancient religion, and true service of God set down by the Apostles. In it is reproved the huge heap of heresies and errors sprung up in the church, since the incarnation of Christ, with the particular discovery of the Roman Antichristian kingdom: In it is comprised a due correction of sundry defaults in life, and defects in government: In it is delivered a perfect instruction for soundness of conscience and sincerity of conversation to all estates: besides many special comforts to the troubled, exhortations to the slow, persuasions to the doubtful, encouragements to the forward, reprehensions of the obstinate, explications of hard scriptures, distinctions of difficult sayings, discoveries of false arguments, and definitions of diffuse questions. And as for the Author in a word or two: never was there yet found any adversary so envious, as to deny his learning; nor so subtle, as to refell his arguments; nor so wise, as to over-reach his discretion; nor so terrible, as to drive him from his godly purpose; nor so malicious, as to slander his life: wherein he bestowed his time, and behaved himself not only as a right Evangelist, but (if it be lawful so to say) as a

very Apostle. Wherefore, I most humbly beseech your Majesty, that according to your accustomed gracious favor, it will please you to be partaker of these fruits of his, and protector of these labors of mine, sown and sprung up, ripened and gathered, begun and ended within the walls of your Highness Court, by your most faithful and loyal subject and servant.

But now in making mention of this matter, I cannot but call to mind with joy and reverence, that this our native country did first of all kingdoms in the world, faithfully receive, and publicly profess the religion of Christ. And it rejoiceth me much more, that after so long and so foul a fall of the house of God, this of all other kingdoms did first openly endeavor to repair the ruins thereof: a principal laborer in which work was D. Peter Martyr, who long sustained upon his own, and almost only shoulders the greatest weight of this burden: but most of all do I praise the Lord even from my heart, that after Satan our ancient enemy had given a sharp assault upon God's saints, who began to lay both their heads and their hands to the new building of this temple, the Lord, by your Majesty, though weak in respect of your sex, yet strong by his power (who chooseth the weak things of this world to confound the strong, that his power might appear in our infirmity) repelled his violence, defeated his practices, withstood his force, overthrew his accomplices, and proceeded to the re-edification of his church. O that blessed day, wherein your Majesty was placed in your royal seat, to restore the decayed church, so long captivated under cruel Pharaoh and idolatrous Nebuchadnezzar! Wherein the blood of so many thousand servants of God was saved from the vile hands of Antichristian tormentors: wherein the desperate estate of poor silly afflicted banished souls was recovered and restored by a mighty hand and stretched-out arm, from Babylon, to Jerusalem; from Dan and Bethel, to the holy hill of Zion; from superstition,

to religion; from idolatry, to true worship; from the heathenish mass, to a Christian Communion; from papistical rites, to apostolical ceremonies; from beads to prayers; from legends to sermons; from bondage to liberty: and even as it were from hell to heaven. O that all Christian English hearts would celebrate that happy day with all joyful solemnity, with all praises to God, and prayers for you, who reduced us in triumph, yourself as principal captive leading the dance before the ark of the Lord! It was your Majesty that revived those good and godly decrees, which your most renowned father and gracious brother had made for the repairing of the Lord's tabernacle. You sent laborers unto the building, you prescribed them perfect rules, whereby to square every stone and piece of timber according to the pattern that the Lord showed Moses in the mount: You commanded them to raise their building upon the foundations of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner stone. But O lamentable case to be sorrowed of all such, as seek salvation in Christ alone, and sigh with unspeakable groans to see the perfect finishing and furnishing of the holy temple. The enemy hath sowed tares among the good seed, Reum and Samsai with their adherents have bended themselves against the children of God. The son of perdition exalting himself in the temple of God, above all that is called God, hath spread diverse nets, laid many snares, digged deep pits, used sundry, some bloody, some crafty means to hinder the work, and to destroy the workmen: now by out-crying's and horrible roaring's of the Romish bull: now by attempting foreign power, to depose your Highness from your state, and discharge your loyal subjects of their allegiance: now by assaying how he could prevail by more than civil sword: now by raising sundry dangerous and damnable sects and sectaries to diminish the credit, and hinder the good success of the Gospel: now by sophistical writing and printing against the

received truth, mightily confirmed by the invincible word of God: and lastly by conveying in that secret seminary of sedition, which closely and craftily entering into this realm, under pretense of long prayers, devour widows houses, lead captive simple women, and other silly seduced souls; travel by land and sea to make proselytes double worse the children of hell than they themselves: and so rob your Majesty of your subjects, God of his creatures, Christ of his members, the people of their salvation: and under a colorable cloak of defending themselves, and bewailing their own estate, in their pharisaical libels, over-boldly dedicated to your Majesty, and the Lord's of your Honorable privy Council, do traitorously insinuate and unjustly accuse you and your most moderate laws and statutes of intolerable rigor and cruelty. But such as their doctrine is wicked and worldly, such are their words false and forged. Howbeit, all these their pestilent devises and designments notwithstanding, as your Majesty hath begun most godly, and most marvelously proceeded, so go you forward most happily from faith to faith, from strength to strength, and from glory to glory, until Christ shall tread down his and your enemies under his feet and yours. Arm yourself, most mighty Princess, with the principal spirit of fortitude, strengthen your heart with the certainty of the truth, repose your faith on the only written word, cast your hope and care upon the providence divine. So shall you never need to fear, neither the main forces of your professed enemies, nor the dissembled practices of your pretended friends. For so renowned is your name and honor among all godly Princes, as no envy can diminish your glory; so truly do your people love you, as no secret treason can be hid from your person; so wise and circumspect is your Council, as no foreign practices can prevail against you; so strong is your Kingdom, so well furnished your munition, so terrible your navy, and so steadfast your

fortune. Again, so valiant are your subjects, so many in number, so frequented with victories, so ready to your defense, so assured to their country, and so zealous in religion: On the other side, so godly are your own purposes, so miraculous your proceedings, so peaceable your desires, so bountiful your benefits, and so clear your own conscience; so clear, I say, specially from the blood of all men, as there remaineth no more in this work of yours, but that you utterly shake off all fear, and put your trust in the Lord of hosts, and so finish this glorious building. Which being performed, bless you with Solomon all the church of Israel, and with all your people give thanks unto God the father in his dear son, because he hath dealt mercifully with you, and made you more gracious and honorable in his sight, than any King and Prince of the earth. And now, as your Majesty for your own part, by the special assisting grace of God, hath been hitherto, and is at this day, and shall by God's grace forever be thoroughly settled and grounded on the right side, of all questions now in controversy between us and our adversaries; so to the end that your people may continually understand how they have been carried away by false teachers from the sincerity and singleness of the Gospel published by the Apostles, and established in this your realm, unto a multitude of erroneous opinions and man's inventions: and that no faithful subject hereafter may justly complain of ignorance, or pretend a readiness to follow the truth, if it were rightly taught, and easy to be found; your Majesty of your godly zeal, hath vouchsafed to suffer the works of many learned and true professors to have free course in all your dominions to all good and godly effects and purposes. Wherein you have not only performed all the good parts of a gracious Christian Queen; but have thereby saved infinite souls, which otherwise without the benefit thereof had lived still in blindness, and died in

danger of everlasting damnation. Wherefore, seeing this book of D. Peter Martyrs Common places, among and above all other books written of like argument will most fully and sufficiently satisfy all those that read the same with a single eye, and bring not with them consciences insensible, seared up with an hot iron: and seeing all the doctrine herein comprehended, is agreeable to the word of eternal life, and conformable to the religion restored in this your Realm, I am eftsoons most humbly to desire your Majesty, that the same may obtain free passage throughout your Kingdom. Whereby your Majesty, besides all other benefits, for the which I stand most deeply bounden unto your Highness, shall heap upon me a gracious favor, by vouchsafing my labors so great a credit: upon the Author himself, by giving him so famous a testimony: upon your natural subjects, by granting them so singular a commodity: yea and upon yourself, by witnessing to all posterity and succeeding ages, how highly you esteem the learning and virtue of so excellent a man. Finally, you shall do that, which will redound to the glory of almighty God, to the credit of the time, the increase of the church, the furtherance of the Gospel, the extirpation of error, the advancement of virtue, and to the utter overthrow of all ungodliness together with Antichrist and all his adherents.

At your Majesty's Court in Greenwich, the 8th of May, 1583.

Your Majesty's most humble subject and faithful servant,

Anthony Marten.

PREF. II. To The Christian Reader.

Among all the sundry and manifold affairs of this short life of ours, there is nothing (good Christian Readers) that so nearly toucheth man, whether we regard the end whereunto he was first made, or the salvation, which he hath obtained by Christ, or the love he hath to his own kind, as doth religion. For if man be carried with a continual desire of increasing mankind in the propagation of the flesh; with how much more ardent desire is he led to multiply the spiritual seed of souls? Because he knoweth, even by the light of nature engrafted in his heart, and by a consideration of the power omnipotent, and provident government of all things, not only that man consisteth of two parts; the soul and the body: but that though the body die, and be dissolved into dust, yet the soul is immortal, and never perisheth. And therefore all people in the world, in what country soever they live, and what manner of God soever they serve, do most highly esteem their own religion: whereby they think, of mortal and corrupt creatures, to make a long and everlasting generation, and of a daily dissolved knot of society, to make a perpetual bond of friendship. And for

this cause, when all other questions and debates, between man and man, between state and state, between kingdom and kingdom, whether they concern the body, or the temporal goods and possessions, are easily decided, and in process of time are finished, and the adversaries at the length reconciled: yet the controversy in religion, which toucheth the conscience, which concerneth souls, which pertaineth to eternal salvation, not of one only, but of innumerable others, is never finished, is never pacified, is never quieted. And as this happeneth generally between all religions in the world; so the nearer that religions be of likeness, the harder it is to discern the difference; the nearer the adversaries be of country and kindred, the sharper is the contention, and the more desperate is the hope of reconciliation.

Now then, if ever this position have been found true, between any religions or any people in the world, how clearly is it seen in the differences of the Christian religion: but how sensibly is it perceived here among our own nation? For who can without great lamentation and grief, yea without abundance of tears flowing from his heart, remember the endless strife which groweth as well by words as writing between the Romanists and us for the cause of religion? Or what heart doth not melt, to see the intolerable rage and unmerciful cruelty, which the pretended Catholics execute against the poor professors of the Gospel? Would to God that once all we, which be as it were of one faith; and for whom Christ shed but one and the self-same blood, and which hold the grounds of one and the self-same religion, and which have but one and the self-same word, for the comfort of all our souls, would once condescend to one and the self-same doctrine! Which we might easily bring to pass, if they that make themselves the rulers of the Lord's house, would seek not their own, but Jesus Christ's: if they would not trust

in their own righteousness, but in the righteousness of faith, which Christ hath obtained for us: if they would judge themselves; that they might not be judged of the Lord: if they would once with indifferent ears, and obedient hearts, give place to the truth, when it is laid before them out of the holy word, or when their errors be plainly confuted by invincible arguments and authorities: if they would shake off the dregs of their own vain opinions, and the maliciousness of their own cruel minds towards us, and with a single heart and faithful zeal towards God and his truth, would read and understand, and laying aside all the trust and confidence that they have of their own cause, would come and confer charitably with us, with all desire of true knowledge and sincere understanding of the heavenly word. Or if they that call themselves ancient and catholic, would once effectually show that their doctrine was written or taught either by the apostles, or by the primitive church. Or else when they call us new masters, would show where any one opinion which we hold, is newly sprung up and devised of us; and which we do not sensibly prove to be derived from Christ and his apostles. Wherefore, to the intent that all ye, my beloved brethren, whose salvation in Christ I regard as mine own, may have continually before your eyes, if ye be of the reformed church, how to answer your adversaries, or if ye be of the deformed synagogue, how to discern your errors; I have laid before your eyes, in your own mother tongue, the sum of all D. Martyrs doctrine: not your countryman indeed; but yet one, that for your sakes passed many dangerous brunt's by sea and by land, before kings and princes, publicly and privately: that left his own wealth and quietness, to instruct you in truth and godliness: that rested neither day nor night to teach you the right way of the Lord, and who contemned his own life to gain you to the Gospel of Christ. Innumerable books at this day are written by many zealous and

faithful men, wherein the errors of the Romish church have been discovered; but yet in none, nor scarcely of all are so clearly confuted all the arguments of the adversaries, as in this book. Many hard questions in the scriptures by many have been assoiled, but nowhere so many and so difficult, as in this book. Behold therefore here in the steed of all volumes one, to satisfy both the learned and unlearned, the true professor and the false worshiper, in all the ways of godliness, and all the principal 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 soever thou be, thou wilt never be satisfied. Five years continually have I traveled herein: that since the Lord hath not endued me with such sufficient knowledge and utterance, as I might be accounted worthy the room of a builder in the church, yet at the least-wise I might serve the servants of the Lord, in bringing to their hands such excellent stuff and matter, as the most skillful artificers and messengers of Christ have already prepared for the work. What pains, diligence, and faithfulness I have used therein, I shall not need to be mine own witness, others will testify for me. And to show the manner of my proceeding, and the manifold lets I had before I could achieve to my purpose, by reason of the heap of Editions, and multitude of Additions that came forth together, while the work was in hand, were over-long to recite. Nevertheless, by comparing of this book with the last edition in Latin, printed this present year of the Lord 1583: which also at my special request and instance was in many places amended, and greatly increased, the same will most evidently appear. Yet this must I needs show you (good Reader) both for your contentment, and mine own discharge; that if you find that the number of Common places herein, and every particular section in every place concur not in each respect with the said last Latin

copy, understand that we have gained somewhat thereby: seeing you shall there perceive, that I have heaped more matter of Common place out of Master Martyrs Commentaries, than did Massonius a learned and painful man, who gathered together the Latin book: or else I have placed some certain things in a more exquisite order. All which notwithstanding I did by the advice of very learned and excellent men. And besides sundry and manifold additions, which out of the Commentaries I have inserted into the Common places, you shall find the Disputations, which he made at Oxford with certain learned adversaries of the Gospel: and also a notable sermon of re-edification of the church, and some learned epistles, neither in the Latin book, nor before extant in print, but brought to light by mine own industry and diligent search.

And least any should mistrust, that I being not exercised in the study of divinity, might not be able to perform so great a charge, and faithfully to translate so notable a work, wherein is comprehended so manifold learning, so incomparable knowledge, and so divine understanding; especially I living in the Court, as it were in continual peregrination, and as a Rechabite among the children of Israel: I thought it good for the satisfying of you (my dear and well-beloved brethren in the Lord) to let you understand, that although the time of coming forth of the book were hereby prolonged, yet the faithful translation of the same was nothing hindered. For by this means I had fit opportunity to confer and examine the same with sundry persons of great learning and judgment: neither did I presume to bring it into light, before I had found out the perfect sense of everything, and was fully resolved in every word, clause, and sentence, which was hard or doubtful. And here withal add, that what want of skill soever might be ascribed unto me, that hath my care and diligence fully supplied. Wherefore, all godly

Readers, being by this means persuaded, it shall be very profitable for them to bestow some time in the study of this book: whereby perhaps the better learned themselves may more readily and with greater light discern the hardness and doubtfulness, which otherwhile appeareth in the Latin book: especially, where some of the ancient fathers be cited. Whereby also the less skillful and learned sort, by applying their minds to the reading and remembering of those things, which they shall find herein, shall be fully satisfied in the greatest matters, and be able to stop the mouths of the most learned adversaries, in the chiefest controversies of religion. And for this cause would I exhort the ministers of the word, not to let pass so good an occasion. Whom in the name of Jesus Christ I exhort, that they having taken upon them so weighty a charge, will not be negligent in their excellent vocation, but will wholly dedicate themselves day and night to all manner of godly readings necessary for their function. For the better performance whereof, if they do not know how to order their studies, and to benefit the church, I have at the end of this Preface set down a brief way and example for them to follow, with the right use of common places of the scripture. Wherewith, if everyone, because of my brevity, shall not think himself satisfied, I refer them, which understand the Latin, to Hyperius, an excellent writer to this purpose in his book *De ratione studij Theologici*, where they shall be fully instructed. And when they are by this manner of means made fit heralds to proclaim the name of the Lord in Zion, I would desire them, and all other which seek the truth, and would gladly have the church of the Lord to be restored to the right form that God hath prescribed in his holy word, that they will set to their hearts and hands to the building up of the same: and endeavor by all means possible to reduce the wandering flock unto their own sheepfold.

And first of all ye my good Lord's, whom I honor, reverence, and obey in my heart, with all duty and service; ye to whom the servant of God our dear Sovereign hath committed the sword of government; ye which be the nurses, and pillars, and defenders of the English church; ye which be unto us, as Moses, Joshua, and Samuel to the children of Israel: continue ye the great care and zeal that ye have always borne to the true religion: and provide that both by the faithful execution of her Highness laws, and by the virtuous example of your own life, the church of England may be commended and well-spoken of among all nations. But principally I beseech you put to your helping hand, that the Bishops, pastors, and all others, that have any commission to govern the church and causes ecclesiastical, be so chosen, as their godliness of life be of all men allowed, their soundness of doctrine clearly approved, their boldness in professing thoroughly well tried, their gifts of edifying of all men perceived; and which seek not for the desire of honor, but receive for edification of the church, the livings, honors, and authorities given unto them: which being performed, ye shall be rid of infinite care and business; otherwise your labors will be no whit lessened, nor your heavy burden lightened: but the appeals unto you will be daily increased, and the troubles of the church remain unpacified. And this will be one special furtherance to the building up of the Lord's temple.

Furthermore, ye that be the Bishops and chief Prelates of the congregation; my honorable Lord's and reverend fathers in Christ, which have committed unto you the care of the Lord's house, and of the ministers of the same; I beseech you for the discharge of your own offices and consciences, for the more speedy re-edification of the temple, and for the desire ye have of the chosen's felicity, ye will have a watchful eye unto

your charge: and that ye will neither for favor, nor for affection, nor for private commodity, no nor at the special suit of any mortal man, admit any other ministers, than such as be learned, grave, and of good report among all men: and unto whom God hath given gifts to edify in the congregation. That ye will likewise provide by your government, that all things may be done to the glory of God, to spiritual edification, and to a decent order in the church. That ye suffer no notorious fault to escape unpunished, and that there be no occasion given to the adversaries to speak evil of the Gospel for your sakes. That ye will by all means possible reconcile the diversity of opinions, and make that we may speak and think and believe all one thing in Christ Jesus. That ye will live in a continual peregrination in your diocese: and not only visit all your particular churches (if it be possible by yourselves, if not, by your faithful and well-chosen officers) but eftsoons also search and inquire, whether your decrees be executed, and all disorders amended. Remember if any part of the Lord's house fall to decay by your default, it shall be required at your hands; but if it be kept in good plight by your diligence and good oversight, ye shall reap an incomparable reward in the kingdom of heaven. What remaineth now, when ye and other excellent men have by your writing, and by your teaching and preaching both confirmed the true religion, and confuted all superstitious doctrine; but that all the adversaries will be ashamed and yield, when they see your diligence in governing, and unblamableness of living joined with the godly zeal of your preaching: if they perceive you to condemn all things as dung in comparison of the Gospel of Christ, and to be ready, if need shall require, to lay down your life for the brethren: finally, if ye mortify yourselves to the world, that ye may live unto Christ. For unless life and government be joined with preaching and teaching, ye labor in vain, and withhold the truth

of God in unrighteousness, making the word of God of none effect. And ye shall but lose your labor in rising early, and in late taking rest, and in eating the bread of carefulness. For if all these things be not performed of you, whatsoever ye build up with the one hand, ye pluck down with the other.

Again, ye that be the heads of both the Universities, have ye a circumspect eye that there be no corrupt member within your Colleges; and where ye perceive any such to grow up, let him be examined and weeded out from the good come, least he persuade Israel to commit sin and idolatry. Cease ye not, but declare him to the magistrates which may take further order for him, least he by his liberty infect other places in the realm.

And generally, all ye that be the common people, which live in hope of your felicity, and look for the second coming of our Savior, be ye diligent in hearing and reading of the word. And cease not there, but if there be any necessary place which you do not easily understand, compare it diligently with other places of the scripture which concern that matter. If this will not suffice, consult ye either with some godly and learned man, or with this and such other learned books how that place should be truly understood. And for this cause specially (beloved Readers) I have set forth unto you large and ample tables, whereby ye may, by the alphabet of letters, find out a full exposition of all those things, which this book setteth forth out of the holy scriptures necessary to salvation. Those read, I say, with all humility; but be not too curious in searching out of the mysteries, which be too high above you: but desire God always, 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 yet still lead in blindness, since it is their own willfulness that causeth their error: it is their own negligence that maketh their ignorance: it is their own malignant heart that driveth the Lord to refuse them. When Augustine was

converted from Manicheism to the true religion, he was commanded by the spirit of God, To take up the book and read. And the Eunuch in the Acts, when he was diligent in searching out of a mystery that tended to salvation: God sent Philip to interpret unto him. And think we that he will not send his spirit to interpret unto us, when we earnestly desire him by prayer to vouchsafe unto us the right understanding of his word?

Now last of all, though with grief and lamentation of heart, I convert my speech unto you the pretended Catholics of England. O ye blind guides, the leaders of the blind into the destruction of their souls! I bewail your woeful case, howsoever ye yourselves rejoyce in your evils. The God of this world hath blinded your minds, for ye disdain the glorious Gospel of Christ, and deride the plain sincerity thereof; ye are enemies to the true church, even to them that Christ bought with his precious blood; ye hate your own flesh and blood; ye storm and rage against your mothers children; and that more furiously and maliciously than against the Turks and infidels that have no knowledge of Christ. Ye are deceived and seduced in the way of the Lord; and your ignorance is willful because ye will not take up the book of the holy scriptures, and labor earnestly therein, that ye might try and search out the truth: but ye follow your own ways, and the deceivable paths of your forefathers: neither will ye suffer the simple sort to read it, or the true interpreters of it. Ye know that there is but one true religion, and that there be assured marks to know the same by: but ye in so divine a thing choose rather to try a certainty by such uncertain marks, as the corrupt heart of man doth devise, than by the infallible rule of the word of God. Ye know that all things in the world, which are out of square, must be compared by that rule and pattern from whence it was derived. 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 up according to the platform drawn for the same. A key is shapen according to the print of the original. Every offense committed against the law of man, is examined by the law provided against that offense. If it so fare in temporal things, and that by reason of the uncertainty of man's judgment, human things must be tried not by man's will, but by men's rules; how much more then must the doctrine of God's religion be tried by the rule of God's word, and by no other means? Howbeit, ye will have no other judges of controversies but yourselves, nor any others to interpret the truth, but yourselves: you consider not that ye be our adversaries, and that no adversary parts may be their own judges: ye see not that we are grown of equal number with you; our books and volumes as many, and as great as yours; our arguments not only in number as many, but in proof and substance more invincible than yours. The fathers do differ; yourselves do vary; Councils do err; all men be liars: but the word of God is true and endureth forever. Why do you not then confess, that the written word is the most equal and indifferent judge; and that the spirit of God speaking out of it to the hearts of men, is the very right and just interpreter of the Lord's will: and that no mortal man may presume to know his will further than he hath declared unto him out of his holy word: but ye intermingle all, both divine and human things together. Ye make the ways of the Lord to be your ways: ye think it impossible that Christ sitting in heaven can rule his church upon the earth by his spirit, and by the government of Christian magistrates, unless he have one principal prelate on the earth for his vicar: (and him only will you have to be the bishop of Rome) unless the counsels of men do establish after their manner that, which the counsel of God hath already decreed after his manner.

Besides this, of an insatiable hatred that you bear unto us, and unto the truth which we profess, ye cry out against all our translations of the bible, and ye continually beat into the ears of the simple, that they differ one from another, and everyone from the truth; and for this cause ye forbid men to read them at all, unless they be translated by yourselves. We grant indeed that our translations differ in words, but very seldom in sense: if at any time in sense, yet never in matter of great importance. As for differing in words, we prove that there was never yet any mortal men, two, three, or more, that without an apparent miracle could speak, write, and interpret one and the self-same thing, after one and the self-same manner, with the very same words. Which interpreters notwithstanding, whilst they keep the true sense, are not to be condemned, though they vary in words: wherefore to say the very truth, the difference of our translations is rather in sound of words, than in sense or meaning. And where there be any alterations, they be seldom any corrections, but explications. But put the case there be some few escapes of small weight in some of the first editions, and perhaps some few in the latter, by reason of mistaking some Greek, or Hebrew, 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 look into the whole scripture for their own comfort and edification? Shall the few small faults of an interpreter forbid a wounded conscience to seek a medicine for his malady, and a salve for his sore? Shall men be denied the use of all vessels, gold and silver, if any crack or flaw happen unto them? Shall every precious jewel that is not adorned with the finest gold, and with the best foils, be cast away? Shall every good land that hath a bauk or bunch, be left unmanured? Shall every good man that is able to do service in the Common-wealth be abandoned, for committing one or two small offenses? If we see no precious thing in the

world, that for any accidental blemish is contemned and cast away? Shall the rich diamond of the word of God be kept from the use of Christians, because of some few words misconstrued by some unadvised men? Will ye deny the New Testament lately translated by your Jesuits into English, to all the English pretended Catholics, because some certain words be misinterpreted therein: some childishly affectate, and some in the very sense itself corrupted? You should have dealt more charitably with us, and not so unjustly have accused all our translations: but especially if you had spied anything amiss in the first Editions, which are mended in the latter; you should not so maliciously have laid those things to our charge; and with more travel you should have learned the truth of the Greek before you had objected unto us such things, as now turn to your own shame and reproof. I thought to have spoken somewhat at large in the defense of our translations: but since that learned Divine Master D. Fulke, whose great labor and diligence in the church I can never sufficiently commend, hath so strongly, and so lately confuted all the causes objected against the same, as all you that be the adversaries shall never be able by all your replies to shake the credit of that book, much less to convince or disprove it; therefore I pass it over with a word or two: assuring you, that we have done nothing partially; but so far as God hath lent us his talent, we have searched out both the Latin and Greek in all those places, wherein might be any mistrust of corruption, and wrong interpretation. Again, if we according to the Greek copies have translated otherwise than your Latin translations will bear, so long as the same agreeth with the rest of the doctrine of the holy scriptures, it is warrant enough for us to use the same, and too great rashness of you to deny it. Furthermore, we confess, that we in our translations are not so precise, but that where the words of the Greek, or Hebrew, or Latin be so difficult, as

they cannot be lively expressed word for word, especially in the English tongue, we have sometimes added a necessary word by the sense of the place to be understood; which you have not done in your translation of the new testament: and therefore have you left such imperfect sentences, and have given such absurd terms, as every good man doth pity and lament your great fruitless labor. Furthermore, it may be, that we have not in every word kept the proper English of the Greek or Hebrew, as neither ye have done altogether out of the vulgar Latin in your translation; yet nevertheless will the circumstances always bear the same: and so can it not be justly said, that we have any way altered the sense. But now would I not have you think, that we have spoken this, as though the doctrine which we teach cannot be defended, unless our translations be justified at large. For our doctrine is unreprouable, and that which we defend is sound, and the very same that Christ left in his word, that the apostles and all the fathers taught in the primitive church; that we have received from them by the testimony of their own writings, and have many times sealed with our own blood: finally, that we have confirmed with innumerable books and writings, and that we will still steadfastly defend so long as we have breath in our body. Whereupon also we conclude, that since all our translations are consonant to this doctrine, consonant to the original copies of the Greek and Hebrew, and consonant to that, which the apostles and fathers taught in the primitive church; they be sufficiently authorized of themselves, without receiving any further defense from us.

But what do ye of the Seminary of Reims think, if we should receive into our church the translation, which ye yourselves lately made (simply I mean, and nakedly without any of your corrupt notes, and blasphemous glosses) would not the very same confirm all our opinions in the chiefest matters, as

much in a manner as our own translations? For it is not your fantastical and new devised terms, that can make Christ's true religion contrary to itself: that can alter the sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, that can either enfeeble our true and grounded positions, or strengthen your false and forged objections. Neither can the name of [Chalice] in steed of Cup, turn our Communion into your Mass; nor [Supersubstantial] instead of Daily, or true bread from heaven in the Lord's prayer, turn natural bread into the body, flesh, and blood of Christ; nor [Hosts] instead of Sacrifices, convert our sacrifices of Thanks-giving, Prayer, Alms, and Mortification into the unbloody sacrifice of the Mass, and hanged up Idol of the Altar. Nor can the name of [Penance] for Repentance, establish your Satisfactions; nor [Condign] for Worthy, take away the worthiness of Christ's death, to erect your merits of Condignitie; nor [Invoke] for Calling upon, establish your Invocation of Saints; nor yet any other of your new inkpot terms (to wit, [Impudicitie] for wantonness; [Longanimity] for long suffering; [Precursor] for forerunner; [Evangelize] for preaching the good tidings of the Gospel; [Azyms] for unleavened Bread; [Parasceve] for the day of Preparation; [Scandalized] for Offended; [Contristate], for making Sorry; [Propitiate] for making Reconciliation [Depositum] for a thing committed to the hands of another; [Victims] for Sacrifices: [Prepuce] for uncircumcision; [Contradicted] for Spoken against; [Resuscitate] for Stir up; [Holocaust] for Burnt offerings; [By juncture of Subministration] for, By joining together of that which serveth, &c. and infinite other such obscure and new invented words; (which might easily enough with some small Periphrasis, without hindrance of the sense, have been put in plain English) that can make good any of your heathenish superstitions. What need the common people be now set to school to their dying day, before

they can learn that out of Latin, by strange and difficult words, which already they know as perfectly as their Pater Noster in plain English, with a long-acquainted custom? Was this Christ's and his Apostles manner of teaching? Did they not speak in the plainest terms they could possibly devise, to make those whom they spake unto understand them? Did not babes and sucklings understand that, which the Lord himself spake? Was not for this cause the gift of tongues sent down to the Apostles, to the intent they might interpret everything to every man in their own natural language? Wherefore, be ye better advised hereafter, in accusing of our translations, before ye have purged and perfected your own; and before your gains in this matter may be comparable to the travel that you have taken therein. Now then, since all these translations of ours have been done by faithful, learned, and godly men, and of a good, sincere, and godly purpose, we praise God perpetually, and commend the good endeavors of them. And we most humbly and earnestly desire of God, that because there is no perfect wisdom nor knowledge in man, unless it be given from above: and that there were never any mortal men, that without the assisting grace of the spirit of God, could do anything so truly and exactly, but others after them might find some imperfection therein, it will please him for his sons sake to lighten continually the minds of men of understanding, that they may daily put to their helping hands to the perfect polishing of this excellent translation. And let us magnify the Lord of heaven and earth, that hath turned the envy of you, which be our adversaries, to the advancement of his own glory, the increase of our diligence, the refutation of your errors, and benefit of his church. For ye hating us unmercifully, because we deliver the word of God unto all the people indifferently to be read in their own mother tongue; and yet being forced to confess, that the same ought not to be

detained from them, have even against your own wills, in some respect set forth the glory of God: and so by the self-same sword, wherewith ye thought to have destroyed us, ye have pierced your own bowels, confounded yourselves, overthrown your own counterfeit and false doctrine, and marvelously established the truth of our profession. And herein moreover are we beholding to God, though not unto you (which meant not thereby either to pleasure us, or to edify the people) insomuch as by the narrow sifting which ye have made of our opinions, and translations, we know the very uttermost which you are able to breath and bray out against us. And that by this means, if yet there remain anything that lieth in our power to perform which hitherto hath been neglected, we may run thereunto with all willingness of heart, till at length we come to that principal mark, whereunto we tend with all our desire and godly endeavors.

Moreover, ye contend more vehemently for all those opinions of yours which we deny, than did the ancient fathers with the Montanists, Marcionites, Arians, and other damnable sects which denied the true humanity or divinity of Christ: or as though the holy scripture had as plainly and precisely commanded those things, as it did every other thing that ye and we both alike confess. And yet Christ and the Apostles in setting down all things in the scripture necessary to salvation, gave not so much as a word or sign of any such opinion. If your opinions had been of necessity to believe, as ye pretend unto us that they are; or if so the pleasure of God had been, that we should embrace them, would the holy Ghost have passed over in silence so weighty matters; and for the which he knew so great controversy should afterward arise between the true church and the false? Would our merciful God, that so tenderly loveth his elect, and so desirously would have them all to be saved; and who suffereth not his truth to fail, nor

his Gospel to be hidden from any, but from them that perish; would he, I say, hide from his own, any of the necessary principles of religion? If he kept nothing back from the Ephesians, but showed them even all the counsel of God; would he be anything less merciful unto us than he was unto them, by not showing to us in his written word, that which by epistles and preaching the spirit taught unto them? No verily; but what he showed unto them, that hath he showed us, that is to say, hath plainly taught us in the holy scriptures. Wherefore lay aside all maliciousness and hatred towards us, and discern with a pure heart and a single eye, what the good and acceptable will of the Lord is.

Again, you would make the authority of your church to be far greater, than the authority of ours; because of a great consent of many Prelates and Bishops. You weigh not that there is neither authority, nor council, nor conspiracy, nor consent, nor custom, which is not agreeable to the will and word of God, that is of any force. We know that another foundation besides Christ Jesus, which is already laid, can no man lay; and therefore the true builders will build no other matter upon that foundation, but such as is derived from the rock Christ Jesus: but ye have built your own vile trash upon the same, and therefore the matter being such as neither Christ commanded to build with, nor any of his servants long after him used, nor yet is answerable to the same foundation; we conclude, that neither your church is Christ's church; nor yet the builders thereof, the Lord's builders. But we for our part have a more certain and assured word of prophesy for the knowledge of our church, and whereby we take not upon us to work the Lord's work, with any other stuff than the Lord himself hath appointed. We build altogether upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner stone. And we finish the temple, even

according to that pattern, which is no less evidently set down in the everlasting testament of Jesus Christ, than was the Jews temple unto Moses upon the mount. Therefore is ours the true church, and shall continue forever, whereas yours shall consume, perish, and come to a fearful end.

Furthermore, ye boast that the church of God hath long continued quiet without any general resistance till now of late, that the learned men in Germany and else-where began to disdain that the truth of God should so shamefully be abused by covetous and careless men. Ye consider not that your forgeries crept in by little and little, now one thing and then another, whole ages between: that they sprung up of devotion; of a pretense of holiness; of a wrong conceit of God's omnipotency; of a zeal towards religion, but yet without knowledge: that many times your opinions either were not resisted, because learned men were otherwise better occupied in confuting of more gross and palpable heresies: or if they were resisted, those monuments have perished by the envy of your side; or else through many barbarous nations which invaded Christendom: that many of your opinions grew by mistaking of councils, and misconstruing of the fathers, and of their dark and hyperbolical speeches, and not of any authority received from the primitive church: that your church of Rome might more liberally and without resistance (and therefore more dangerously) raise up errors, her city being the mistress that commanded all nations: that those errors of yours were pretended unto the common people to be taught out of the word of God, and that it behooved to keep them upon pain of damnation; that the godly were humble and charitable: and besides the opinion they had of the authority and learning of bishops and councils; either for charity they would not, or for fear they durst not find fault with any ordinance made by them: further, that God had not as yet put into the

hearts of kings and great estates to defend those that should find fault with the corruptions of the church; that the professors of the Gospel had not prepared so smooth stones, nor had so apt slings for the purpose as now they have: for God had not yet prepared the art of Printing, whereby the word runneth very swiftly into all parts of the world: that the kings of the earth had not as yet drunk the full draught of the whore of Babylon's cup, nor thorough the infection thereof had shed the unjust measure of innocent blood; because the mystery of iniquity had not yet wrought all his force, neither was that man of sin so notoriously revealed; whom now the Lord doth every day more and more destroy with the spirit of his mouth. Further, that the time was not yet come, wherein God by his eternal providence had decreed to build up the walls of decayed Jerusalem, neither yet was the judgment of God so near at hand. Lastly, that all things were not yet fulfilled, which Christ and his spirit prophesied should come to pass before the latter day.

Give over therefore these insolent and vain boastings: for the Lord doth all things in time, in measure and in weight; his purposes are far from men's cogitations, he oftentimes maketh the vilest and basest beginnings to grow up to the greatest advancements of his glory; and he knew before all eternity, whom he had chosen to himself. The sins of your forefathers shall not excuse your willful obstinacy: for I say unto you, that not only they, but the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah would have converted before this time, if either they had seen the wonders that have been done in your days; or else had heard the hundred part of preaching, instructing, and confuting of those errors, that ye have heard, and learned, and thoroughly tried. And since our preachers have preached unto you, not themselves, but Jesus Christ; not any devise of their own, but what they have found in the holy word: and have

taken this labor upon them, not for ostentation of their own learning, or for envy they bear to your persons; but in defense of the truth, but with a zeal of the Lord's house, but for reformation of Christ's church, but for the manifesting of your false opinions, and for the earnest desire of your salvation, ye should have embraced them as the Angels of God, much less have persecuted them to the death. Ye should have taken this faithful travel of theirs, as an infallible token from heaven; that as God, before the first coming of his son, sent many prophets betimes in the morning to rebuke the sins of the people, and to show wherein the priests had violated the law of the Lord, and how grievously the false worshippers had defaced his holy sanctuary; so now before his second coming, he hath sent heaps of these godly and zealous preachers, to lay open the errors of the church, and to gather into the sheepfold the wandering flock, and those whom he had predestinated to his kingdom before the foundations of the world were laid. If none of all these things will serve; if nothing will make ye relent; if not yet at the length ye will return to the true church, for all the spiritual and supernatural signs and wonders of your days, for all the admonitions that have been given you, for all the arguments that have confuted you, for all the word that prevaieth against you, for all you see the latter day creeping towards you, and the son of man as a thief in the night-stealing upon you: if still ye will be self-willing and obstinate; if still ye will give more credit to yourselves, than to the lively word of God; if no not yet ye will leave persecuting of your brethren, by fire and sword, by malicious lies and reproaches, and by all manner of wicked ways ye can devise; and that contrary to godliness, contrary to justice, contrary to all humanity, contrary to the law of nature, and contrary to your own consciences, ye will have the judgment of religion in your own hands, and will have no other

interpretation, but such as yourselves devise: behold I pronounce unto you that the mighty God Jehovah cometh; he cometh, and that speedily in his own person, riding upon the wings of the wind. He will not now seek anymore revenge upon Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for his people of Israel; nor yet upon Dioclesian, Julian, and other heathen tyrants for oppressing the Christians: but he will require the blood of righteous Abel, at the hands of his own brother Cain; of Lot, at his own city Sodom; of Jacob, at his own brother Esau; of Zechariah, at the prince of his own people; of Christ, at the hands of his own Jerusalem; and of his saints and martyrs of England, at the hands of their own countrymen, kinsmen, and brethren. He will not reprove you for intermitting your unbloody sacrifice of the mass; and for not offering up his son every day to his father, which himself once for all offered upon the cross, seeing he never commanded you thus to do. No, but he will condemn you for mangling his sacraments, and profaning his ceremonies with your false services; for giving unto creatures any part of the honor that is due unto himself; for turning your ears from him when he crieth unto you out of his holy word; for refusing the congregation of his saints, and joining yourselves to Baal-Peor; for grieving his spirit when he sounded his voice into your deaf ears; and for that ye have persecuted him in his saints upon the earth. Now the time approacheth, wherein the Lord shall prevail against you, and shall tread all his enemies under his feet. Then shall ye know that the Gospel of Christ is his power unto salvation, to all them that believe: and that he hath continually, since his departure, spoken and interpreted to you, by his holy spirit, speaking out of his word, whatsoever is necessary to salvation; but ye would not hearken unto him, no more than the Jews would unto Christ, when he told them plainly that he was that very Messias. Therefore since ye will not give credit unto him, by

the soft still noise of his spirit speaking unto you in his word, he shall come in a mighty consuming fire, with a voice more horrible unto you than was heard upon mount Sina; more terrible than was there the face of his majesty, victoriously leading captivity captive, joyfully with all his saints; and triumphantly 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 reject as they that would not suffer him to reign over them: they shall be cast into the uttermost darkness; where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

But all us that have been obedient to his word in this life, and have sought our righteousness in Christ only: and which do sigh and groan for his coming, he shall raise up on high unto him, and we shall see the salvation of our God. Let us therefore with joyful and true hearts look up to heaven above, for our redemption draweth near. Let us fix our eyes and minds upon our mighty God, which cometh in triumph and victory. Let us run forth together with palms in our hands to meet our bridegroom coming unto us. Let us spread our garments before him in the way, and cry; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest. Then will he receive us gladly and embrace us; and because we have continued with him in his temptations, therefore shall we eat and drink with him at his table in his kingdom, where he reigneth everlastingly, and shall judge the world with righteousness, and his own people with equity.

PREF. III. A Brief way how Ministers should order their Studious Exercises.

For to benefit themselves and their flocks, and also what good use they may have by travelling in the Common places of the Scripture, and in such books as are already gathered to this purpose.

These things do I write to the Ministers and Curates of the several congregations, but specially to them, which hitherto have not observed any convenient order or method in their studies, whereby they might be able to edify the Church, and discharge their duties in so excellent and honorable a vocation. And first I exhort them, that they will give themselves to a continual and earnest reading and study of the holy scriptures, which is able to make them wise unto salvation; and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness. For unless they have the scriptures very familiar unto them, they will stick at many things; and while they have not what to say, they will either speak that, which rashly cometh into their own mind, or else what other men have invented. And they which give themselves to this study, it shall be requisite that they have the knowledge of the tongues, especially of the Hebrew and Greek; wherein the holy books

of the scriptures were first written by the Prophets and Apostles: for he that dependeth altogether of interpreters, seeth with other men's eyes, and speaketh in another man's mouth. Further, it is necessary that a Minister be well acquainted with the histories and examples, not only of the holy scripture of the Old and New Testament, but also of all profane writers: and that he be perfect in the histories and chronicles of his own country, that he may show unto his hearers what in old time was either profitable or hurtful to their ancestors. Besides this, to the intent he may reap some fruit of his study and labor, two things above other are necessary.

First, that he conceive a certain sum of doctrine, which he must draw together as it were into one body, and distinguish the same again into their members or common places; that while he teacheth, he may know unto what places or chief heads the places of the scripture, which he will interpret to the Church ought to be referred. The other thing is, that he know what way of teaching to take for the commodious and profitable showing to the people that, which with much study he hath learned: so as it may serve for the instruction, edification, and comfort of the hearers. An example of the first kind is the ten Commandments, which afterward both Moses and Christ himself drew into a shorter sum on this wise; Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, and with all thy cogitation, and thy neighbor as thyself. So as under this double love, to wit, of God and our neighbor, Christ comprehendeth all the whole doctrine of religion and Christian life. Howbeit, if ye look more nearly into the matter, both the loves are very largely extended: for the love of God stretcheth unto his service, as well inward as outward; and together with faith it comprehendeth the obedience, which we owe unto him: likewise, the love of our neighbor is divided into infinite kinds, according to the diversity of

men with whom we deal. And in like manner did the Apostles, as Irenaeus testifieth, comprise in those few articles of the Creed the sum of Christian religion: which articles in their sermons and writings they did more diligently expound.

Nevertheless, because such expositions are not taught in the holy scriptures in one certain place or continued order, so as they can be perceived of everyone, except he be a very attentive reader, it is altogether necessary that they, which shall profit the Church, do know not only the sum in general of the heavenly doctrine, but that they can distinguish it into parts and kinds, and distribute the same into their parts and places; both that they may understand how largely they extend, and what may be godly and soundly said as touching each one of them. Thus have many and godly learned men of old, but especially of our time done. And to this purpose are these Common places of our famous Divine D. Martyr Vermilius, according to which form every learned and diligent man may gather to serve his own use, take out of such store-houses abundance of treasure when he shall instruct the people. And they that have once promised so to do, do with greater diligence read over and study both the holy and profane books, and do more diligently weigh whither everything must be referred.

And because there be many things found in the writings of the Philosophers, which they by the common sense and laws of nature did teach concerning manners and the study of virtue: and that in the histories of strange nations there be store of all kind of examples, whereof cometh a singular use in preaching; whether ye will reprove the licentious life of our time, or exhort your hearers unto virtue, you shall pick out of them things profitable for your Common places.

But now it shall be necessary for a Divine, not only to have matter of doctrine gathered abundantly as well out of the holy scriptures, as out of the profane writings; but to be also furnished with the ability of teaching, that he may know how to frame sermons rightly, and aptly to dispose the 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 speak those things in a right order, which shall be necessary for the hearers to know. And herein shall the Minister observe chiefly two things: one, that he thoroughly know the true and natural sense of that place of scripture, which he hath purposed to expound: secondly, that he apply the same to the capacity and instruction of the hearers, according to the condition of the time and place. As touching the first; it shall be needful above all things to know the argument and state of all that holy book, from whence that place is taken; least by neglecting this, he labor without fruit, and speak those things, which never perhaps the author thereof meant. As touching the other point, it shall be requisite to look into our times also, and into the endeavors and manners of our men; but especially to mark with all diligence the present state or condition of the Church which they serve, and when they preach, to warn diligently those that hear them, that those things, which the Prophets and Apostles spake in old time to the men of their age, do very fitly agree with us and our time. For this maketh them to be very attentive, and taketh away weariness, which oftentimes is wont to invade them, when they think, that whatsoever was spoken or written in old time, pertaineth nothing unto them, nor unto these days of ours. And this manner of application ought to be such, as the Apostle teacheth; that Whatsoever is said, should serve unto edification of the Church. Which rule we shall then follow, if all things be applied to the comfort and instruction of the hearers.

Moreover, the present state, or some sudden chance otherwhile requireth, that they shall digress into some common place: howbeit, this must be so done, that it appear they do it not without a special cause. Wherefore, least it should be thought that they altogether go from the matter, which they took upon them to handle, and to break off rashly from that which they purposed to speak, not without mistrust of some particular affectation, the place of scripture which they have in hand must be applied, as much as is possible, to the argument of their digression; and the words thereof in like manner must be repeated and urged: and finally, their speech must handsomely return from whence it digressed; that the hearers may perceive nothing is spoken altogether from the state or argument of the place, which they handle. In like manner that digression must not be over-long and tedious, least both they forget the original points and divisions of the text, and also be induced thereby to mislike of the learning and teaching of their Minister.

And as concerning the manner of speaking or utterance, which also must be well considered of, that is best to be liked, which is spoken with a voice neither too high nor too low; neither with bitter taunting, nor with too much cockering; neither with one long continued tune, nor yet with any rash raising or letting fall the voice; neither with over-dullness of uttering, nor yet with words drowned by hasty speaking. Finally, it must be such, as is neither affected, nor more lofty than is convenient, neither yet over-homely or vile. For since the greater part of the congregation is unlearned, whatsoever carrieth a show of a close cunning, and no vulgar manner of teaching, seemeth unto these obscure and troublesome: and for this cause the hearing is tedious to them, and they reap but small fruit of that, which they understand not. Again, least the doctrine should be the less esteemed

by reason of a base manner of speaking, their speech must be somewhat more lofty and grave, than that which they familiarly and commonly use, yet so nevertheless, that the gravity thereof be tempered with perspicuity and plainness of understanding. Again, in admonishing and reproof, the Minister must so use the sharpness of the Evangelical seasoning; that in the meantime he utterly abstain from bold railing and taunting, least he be thought rather to speak things of a stomach, or of private hatred, than to seek the salvation of them that have 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 ministry.

CHAP. I. Of the Ends of Good and Evil among the Christians.

Augustine, in his 19th book *De Civitate Dei*, the fourth Chapter, very well declareth, how Christian hope is carried unto those good things, which cannot be seen. For if thou askest (saith he) a faithful man, what he maketh to be the end of good and evil things, he will answer; Life and death everlasting: which things cannot be seen, nor comprehended by man's reason. And therefore the wise men among the Ethnics being puffed up with pride, would not settle their hope upon those things. For which cause, some held, that the ends of good things, are the goods of the mind; some the goods of the body, and some, either virtue, pleasure, or both joined together. But God laughed them to scorn, and saw how vain their cogitations were. For they would rather account those things for the chief good, which be tempered with many miseries and calamities, than to receive those sincere, perfect, and most firm things, which are offered by the word of God. For who can worthily express, unto what miserable and horrible mischances this body of ours is cast out? It is sick, it is wounded, it is dissolved, made crooked, torn, and maimed. Oftentimes men become blind, oftentimes deaf.

And as touching the mind, they are oftentimes mad, oftentimes frantic, and they that most labor about the truth, cannot attain to the knowledge of the same, without intermingling of infinite errors. How could the Ethnics boast of virtues, as the chief good things, seeing we have them as witnesses of our calamities? To what purpose serveth temperance, which is therefore given, to bridle drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the foul and shameful motions of the mind? For these things declare, that it hath no place, but in minds, which be yet subject to corruption. The which corruption, the more inward it is, the more miserable it maketh us: and, as a domestical enemy, violently assaileth the secret parts of our hearts. These affections (saith Augustine) are vices: because (as Paul saith) they hinder us, 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 deceived in the choice of good things, and avoiding of evil? Certainly, if we were not bewrapped in errors and darkness, we should not need of this remedy. But seeing it is used, it argueth, that men are not yet happy; but are folded in great and grievous errors, unless wisdom do help on every side. Also justice, whereby every man cometh by his own, is necessary for none other cause, but to suppress robberies, extortions, and violent dealings. And yet, neither can that so prevail among men, but that just and honest men oftentimes suffer many things, both shamefully and unjustly. Now what shall we speak of fortitude? The same doubtless armeth men patiently to abide all sorrows, dangers, torments; yea and death itself, if necessity shall require. Among those so great evils, these wise fellows durst appoint the chief goodness. Which evils nevertheless, they said might sometime be so increased, as a man may kill himself. Oh happy life (crieth Augustine) that seeketh the help of death to finish it! For if it be happy, why do they cut it off, and shun it? But if it be miserable,

why do they place in it the chief goodness? Thus are they derided of God, because they despised that hope, which is neither seen, nor attained unto by man's reason. And because they mocked it, when they heard it preached in the word, therefore hath God, by his heavenly doctrine, condemned them, as fools and ridiculous persons.

2. Another sort doubtless, perceiving the often fallings into wickedness, and that of very excellent men, thought by their religious procurements; yea rather by their superstitions, and worshipping's devised of themselves, to cause God to be favorable unto them; of whom afterward they might obtain all good things. And this for the most part was the opinion of the common people: who after a sort judged not so evil as did the Philosophers. For these men were so puffed up in the pride of their virtues, and civil duties, and with the knowledges of natural things, that they thought these things to be sufficient unto themselves for the obtaining of felicity. But the common people were not ignorant both of the filthiness of sins, and of the daily offending's of the Majesty of God. Wherefore they thought it good to fly unto religions, the which since they had them not pure and uncorrupt, they fell into idolatry. And here came in the Hebrew people among them, and took part with both. For by reason of the ten commandments, they boasted that they had the sum of all virtues among them: and that if they fell at any time from them, they had ceremonies prepared for them, whereby they might make satisfaction. Against these things Paul disputeth in his Epistle to the Romans, and sheweth, that it cannot be, that we should obtain righteousness by moral or natural duties: because as well the Jews, as the Gentiles, do not in their life and manners express so much, as they acknowledge that the law of nature, or Moses law requireth. Neither must we grant, that we can fully and perfectly observe the law. For then might we

attain unto perfect righteousness by works: which would be a plain absurdity. For herein standeth our righteousness, that our sins shall not be imputed unto us; but the righteousness of Christ shall be imputed to the believers. No doubt but there happeneth some renewing, when we being justified do work rightly: but yet this is not through perfect. Also grace is given to the regenerate, but yet not such, as removeth all the lets which do hinder the perfect keeping of God's law. Neither do we, in the teaching hereof affirm paradoxes or strange opinions, or set forth things that be contrary unto Paul; but we chiefly maintain those things which are most agreeable to the apostolical doctrine. But as for the rites and ceremonies, which on the other side the Jews brag of, when they be without Christ and faith, they are accounted detestable before God: as Jeremiah, Isaiah, and the prophets, which were interpreters of the law, have most plainly taught. By all these things it is easily gathered, that whereas all men, of all ages, professed themselves to seek for the chiefest good, yet that they which wanted the true and perfect knowledge of God, did as it were, but grope after it in the deep darkness, and wearied themselves in bootless labors.

These things being on this wise declared, I will now more largely and particularly treat of human ends, following specially the course of Aristotle: and will show between-whiles wherein he, as touching this matter agreeth, or disagreeeth with the holy scriptures.

3. Aristotle in his first book of Ethics, endeavoreth to prove, that before human things there is set forth some certain end, because all human things desire some good thing: and that good thing whereunto they tend, hath the consideration of an end, and so human things have a prescribed end. And therefore doth he make mention of good, because it is the chiefest thing whereof felicity hath his name, and because the respects of good and end be

very near alike: in so much as some have thought that good and end are all one. And therefore Aristotle commendeth the old proverb, that All things do covet good: which may not be understood of any one thing; for it cannot be, that there should be someone certain end of all things, but everything requires his own proper end. For a horse desireth not the chiefest good of a man; neither doth a dog wish for the perfection of a horse, but everyone his own perfection. To bring the reason of Aristotle to a plain syllogism, thus it is. What soever things desire good, they have an end set before them: Human things desire good, Therefore they have an end set before them. The Major proposition is manifest: for in desiring of good, they rest when they are come unto the same. And seeing the motion and action is there finished, there we say is the end. The Minor is proved, because all human things are comprehended under art, method, action, and choice. And I wonder much at them, which by the good that Aristotle speaketh of, do here understand, not only the chiefest good, but also think that God himself is described, which only good they say is desired of all things. And this reason they bring; that it is God himself which offereth all the good things of anything desired, and all those things are most perfectly contained in God, therefore no man can desire them, but he desireth God himself. But who seeth not that this is accidentally, which is utterly removed from sciences, seeing they do not teach the things that happen accidentally. And if this reason were of force, we should by this means prove, that unchaste men, when they be delighted with any form or beauty, should wish for God: which thing would be ridiculous. We grant in deed willingly, that in God are most perfectly comprehended all good things, even as the number of seven comprehendeth all the former numbers: which also the holy scriptures do testify. For in Exodus, God saith unto Moses, which desired the sight of God's

countenance: I will show thee all my good. But Aristotle had no desires of this conjunction with God: the prophet David knew them, who said in the Psalms, It is good for me to cleave unto God. But that this is the sense of this place; which we have expressed, the sequel doth show. For the philosopher treateth of blessedness, which although that all men wish for, yet for so much as they have placed the same in diverse things; to wit, in riches, honors, pleasures, and virtues, hereof it cometh, that diverse men desire diverse kinds of good things, all which things nevertheless would participate with the nature and form of a general good. Yea, and the philosophers having respect to the very same thing, wrote sometimes of the ends of good and evil.

4. But let us weigh how those things agree with the holy scriptures. First, that all things do desire good, it seems to be a certain imitation of God almighty the author of creatures. For he while he made every particular thing, had respect unto a good end. According as it is said in the book of Genesis, that God saw the light, the great lights of heaven, the stars, herbs, and plants, and other things, that they were good. Finally, he rested the seventh day, perceiving that all things, which he had made were exceeding good. Wherefore this endeavor of good things, is in all things the step and impression of the divine property. As touching arts and doctrines, we will easily grant that they desire good by themselves, and of their own nature, albeit that the same turn to evil and some unto them which be not regenerate in Christ: and therefore it comes oftentimes to pass, that the secrets of salvation are hidden from men, which be furnished and adorned with good arts and sciences, and are open to them that be simple, according to that saying: Thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and hast revealed them unto babes. And Paul unto the Corinthians the first Epistle:

Take heed to your calling (my brethren) how that God hath chosen not many wise men, but the foolish things of the world, that he might make the wise men ashamed. Which words would have no place, if arts and doctrine might attain to the leave good things, and unto that which might make us acceptable unto God. Howbeit these things, although they be good in their own kind and nature, yet to us, if we be unbelievers and arrogant, they are turned to evil. As touching choices and actions, the scripture saith in the book of Genesis, that The heart of man is inclined to wickedness, even from his first childhood. And Paul well near in the same sense said unto the Romans; For I know, that in me, that is in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. Wherefore we must say, that it is a fault of nature procured by Adam, that men not regenerate by Christ, are prone unto those things, which are in very deed wicked, unjust, and filthy, and which are exceedingly repugnant to the law of God: and that if afterward they be instructed by the discipline of precepts, and by moral virtues, or else that they be endued with an excellent wit, true it is that they overcome the fouler sort of appetites, and of their own choice are carried unto certain civil and moral things; but yet unto those (as we said before) which both be sins, and turn to destruction. Wherefore we must constantly affirm, that the choices and actions of them which be not regenerate, are prone unto evil, as it is written in Genesis. Which nevertheless is not against Aristotle, because those evils are apprehended under the consideration of good things. Yea, and we that be regenerate, are in a manner perpetually, whether we will or no, drawn unto sins, and those we most earnestly desire; yet by grace and the spirit we resist those desires, that at the length through faith in Christ we may become conquerors. But as for the rest of the creatures of God, we doubt not but that they seek for good, because they are governed by the laws of

God, and whatsoever they do, they do it by the law of nature: albeit that even they, for the sin of man, are compelled to be subject unto vanity. But of faith, hope, and charity, and else of the grace and impulsion of the spirit of God, Aristotle made no mention, because he knew not those things, which nevertheless do desire the most true good things.

5. Also human things have not only a prescribed end, as we have taught, but that end is manifold, and in that diversity of ends some be more excellent than others, for so much as this manifoldness is of those kind of things which have an order in themselves. And Aristotle speaketh of them for no other cause, but that he would of many ends choose the most excellent, which he showeth to be man's felicity. Wherefore to this effect doth Aristotle reason: Human ends are many, and one is to be preferred above another. A proof of the former part is: Because of ends, some be actions, and others beside actions, are works; and of sundry arts and doctrines there is not one end: so is the multitude of ends showed, partly by their sundry natures, and partly by the diversity of their beginnings, according as they are desired by other arts and sciences. The other part of the proposition was, that one end is better than another: which is proved, in that the ends of the principal arts and sciences, which Aristotle calleth ἀρχιτέκτονας, be much more noble than the ends of other faculties which be ordained unto them. Whereupon may be made two syllogisms: The first; Whatsoever things have a sundry nature, and belong to diverse faculties, be not one and the self-same things; Human things have a sundry nature, for some of them are actions, and some works, and do belong unto diverse faculties (for arts, actions, and sciences are diverse.) Therefore the end is not one. The other syllogism is conditional: If faculties have 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 another; Therefore ends shall have the same order. Aristotle sheweth that this faculty hath action for her end, and that an excellent action; and therefore (as Eustrathius saith) would have it to be understood, that those be not the perfecter sort of actions, which have a work remaining when they be ceased, but that very often-times the contrary doth rather happen. And truly if a man shall rather think that the faculties are better which leave some work after the actions, than those which are spent only in the action; such a one would think that the felicity of man is more imperfect than his works, seeing it standeth only in action. Wherefore ye must understand, that sometime the one happeneth, and sometime the other: to wit, that sometime the work which remaineth is more excellent, and sometime the action. For the end of the physician is a work, namely health, which is remaining in a man when he is cured: which end if it be compared with a dance, which is the end of the art of dancing, it is much better. On the other side, the end of the art of building ships, is the ship itself, the work (I mean) which is left after the building: but this end being compared with navigation, which is the action and end of shipman's craft, is more imperfect. So that as touching worthiness, it maketh no matter, whether the end be a work or an action: for sometime one is better, and sometime another. But this is certain, as saith Aristotle, that wheresoever the works are the ends, the actions which go before those works, and for which they are made, are excelled in worthiness, and the reason is, because they are ordained to another thing. And it is no marvel that Aristotle in his book of Ethics writeth so diligently as touching ends, since that manners, virtues, choices, affections, and other human things be so plucked a sunder, and be of diverse natures and kinds, that unless they be joined together by

some science or method, they cannot be taught, neither are they ordered and joined together by any other thing, than by the ends. And in the foresaid book of Aristotle we have only one general and steadfast rule. Every work that remaineth after anything brought to pass, is more worthy than the same; wherefore it behooveth that a work be not employed to any other actions, than unto that only action whereby it is brought to pass. And that we may the better perceive the matter, we must understand, that after the works already brought to pass, do follow other actions. For when a house is built, it is inhabited; and when health is restored unto him that is sick, he beginneth to be diligently occupied according to his nature: so when the work shall be referred unto these latter things, it is more unworthy than they, because it is ordained unto them. But there be certain most noble actions, which cunning works do neither go before, nor yet follow: such be the actions of virtues. Unless thou wilt say, that frequented actions, which be right and just, do at the length leave a work behind them, that is to say, a habit in the mind, after which do follow actions of virtues: which if thou say, I will not much contend; although I know that Aristotle hath another meaning, neither did he at any time, so far as I remember, call a habit, a work.

6. But since we speak so much of ends, it shall be good in my judgment to define what an end is. The etymology of the word is showed two manner of ways, one is of the Greek word τελέω, or τελεύω, which is, I make perfect, or I finish: whereof is derived τέλος, which is a certain perfection of those things, which are referred to itself. It is also taken for the term and uttermost limit of anything. Wherefore death also is called an end, not that we wish for the same, or that we be made perfect thereby; but because it is the term and uttermost time of our life. The other etymology is, that it

comes of τέλλειν, that is to say, to spring or arise up, because before every action or thing brought to pass, it doth shine forth like the sun that ariseth; and it is defined of Aristotle to be that for the which another thing is, and it self is not for any other thing. And Aristotle said because there be many arts, actions, and sciences, there be many ends. And first he showed the diversity of ends by their natures, and then in respect that they be of diverse faculties. He saith that riches, according to the vulgar opinion, are the ends of household government, whereas in household and politic government, 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 showed of certain doubts, that are against those things which we have spoken. For if you shall hear 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 work. For he seemeth to leave out την θεωρίαν, that is, contemplation, which nevertheless in his Topics he reckoned up as an end. And Quintilian in dividing of arts, the second book, and 19th chapter, assigned three sorts of ends; work, action, and contemplation. Yea and Aristotle himself in his Ethics, at the end of the book treateth of contemplation, and teacheth that the same without doubt is a great part of man's felicity. Wherefore this distinction shall seem to be maimed, when the third part is omitted. But hereunto we will answer, that under the name of ἐνέργεια, contemplation itself is contained. And it is diligently to be noted, that Aristotle said not πραΰσις, but ἐνέργεια, because under the name of πραΰσις, he had not comprehended contemplation: so as the division is not imperfect, neither Aristotle contrary to himself, nor yet is he against

Quintilian: for although these three are rehearsed in the end, yet is there two of them comprehended under one word.

7. But the holy scriptures are herein more excellent than Philosophy, that of men they appoint two sorts of ends: whereof the one may be obtained while we live 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 fully and most perfectly enjoy his sight, which Paul writing to the Philippians did most earnestly wish to obtain; I desire to be loosed from hence, and to be with Christ. And the same Apostle said: Now we see as through a glass, and in a dark speech; then shall we see face to face. Again; Now we know in part, and prophesy 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 unto us, which after many labors and miseries of this life we shall have laid before us in heaven. But the chief end and principal good of this life, is, that we be justified by Christ, that we be received into grace by the eternal Father, unto whose wrath we were thrall from our nativity. Wherefore justly said David: Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered: blessed is the man unto whom the Lord hath not imputed sin. Which place did Paul for good cause cite so diligently unto the Romans. And to conclude, those are here blessed, which have Jehovah for their God, and do trust and believe in him with all their heart: and those not in vain did Paul call blessed. Neither is the blessedness of this life altogether distant from the end and principal good, which with a constant faith and invincible hope we look for in the world to come. For even the chief good of this life is none other thing, but

the self-same, which at the length we shall have. Only a difference of degrees and perfection passeth between them.

8. It is demanded moreover, that because we brought a reason why the work is more excellent than that workmanship, whereby it is brought to pass; to wit, because it is ordained to the work, whether this be generally true; that whatsoever is directed to another thing, as to an end, is of less estimation than the same, which, as it may seem, is not to be granted. For it is the duty of a shepherd to look to his sheep, that they may be in good plight. This he endevoeth to bring to pass by his cunning: where nevertheless he far excelleth his sheep. For who doubteth whither a man ought to be preferred above sheep. Yea and the angels, as it is said unto the Hebrews, are ministering spirits, for the salvation of the elect; whereas nevertheless their worthiness and nature excelleth men. And finally, Aristotle writing of generation and corruption said, that the end of the celestial bodies is, that men should be begotten, whereas yet none of the Peripatetics 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 only of actions, but not of those actions that are efficient, to wit, of heaven, of angels, and of a shepherd. Howbeit this availeth nothing. For things efficient attain not to their ends, but by actions, wherefore the self-same end is to be assigned unto the thing efficient, and to the work thereof. But we must understand, that as it is in Aristotle's 2nd book De anima, the 35th and 37th 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 οὔ, and ὅ. That is to say, whereof, and to which. As for example, a creature which doth engender hath the end,

Wherefore, to wit, that eternal and divine end, namely, perpetuity, which it would attain; 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: and the end of nature which is in plants, is to bring forth fruits and 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 less honor, and so is referred unto that end, which is Wherefore. And the end which is Wherefore, is the more worthy, as matter which is directed to the form. And no man is ignorant of this, that the form 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 less worthy, because it is unto such an end. So of the angels and of heaven. The end of heaven Wherefore, is to be resembled unto God, and to make other things perfect, which is the better end. For heaven in the doing of these things is better than if it did them not. Likewise in angels, the end is to obtain God, and to keep us: in doing whereof, they be more worthy than themselves, if so be they did it not. And the shepherd hath an end Wherefore, even his own wealth and increase, wherewith he is better than if he were destitute thereof, and of the wealth of his family and city. But the end Whereunto, are the sheep themselves, over whom he is ordained, to keep them safe and sound. And that one thing is ordained for another, that it should preserve the same, and withal be more worthy than it, we have an example; When as by kings and monarchs, some are appointed to be chief 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 less honorable than the people, but that they should be obeyed and honored of them: and yet in these rulers, the

end is Whereunto. Howbeit, if we have regard wherefor these things be done, we will always acknowledge that there is a more excellent end. And by this distinction are dissolved the instances now alleged touching celestial bodies, the angels, and shepherds. For these things though they be more worthy than the end Whereunto, yet not more worthy than the end Wherefore. For the shepherd is more worthy than the sheep, but yet not worthier than his own self, or than his lord, if he be a hired servant, or than his family or city. For he looks to the sheep, either for his own sake, or else for his lord, family, or cities sake. In like manner do the angels and celestial bodies. For they minister unto us, not for our sake, but partly to please God, and partly to exercise their own perfection. But the work 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 unworthy than it; but if afterward a further end be regarded, to wit, the use of the work, the same shall be more worthy than the work, as we said before touching the habitation of a 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.

9. Also the holy scriptures do decree and appoint, that there is a certain principal end, whereunto men direct all their actions: whereupon Solomon, at the end of Ecclesiastes, when he had in many words treated first of ends, according to the common sort of men's opinions (speaking of the fear of God, which in the Hebrew phrase signifieth true and sound godliness) added; And this toucheth all men: because men are hereunto ordained and made, that they should worship and honor God. And David: One thing have I desired of the Lord, and this will I seek for, that I may dwell in the house of God. And Christ saith: This is life eternal, that they know thee to be the

only very God, and whom thou hast sent Jesus Christ. But that seems to be repugnant which Solomon said: All is most vain, and but plain vanity. But this is not in respect, it is the appointed end; but because that men either know not the same, or else refuse it, and seek for the chief good elsewhere. Wherefore their desires have an infinite scope, neither do they at any time rest. The ungodly walk their circuit. Psal. 12. And this is the difference between us and the Philosophers, that they set forth their end, as it should be attained by their own proper strength and industry: but we decree out of the holy scriptures, that the chiefest good 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 many arts, actions, and knowledges, there be many ends also, whether the proposition may be turned both ways; namely, that wheresoever there shall be many ends, there be many things also referred unto the same ends. We answer to the question, that this is not of necessity: because nature hath oftentimes ordained many ends of one and the self-same thing. For example sake: the tongue is not only directed unto speech, but unto the relish of tastes: also the teeth do chew and grind the meat, and do help the speech. And by the force of Logic, we not only confirm true things, but we also confute false. Wherefore since there be many faculties and arts, we will grant that there be many ends; and yet by the number of ends the number of things cannot be gathered. Likewise we doubt, because Aristotle saith, that the end of physic is health; of the art of war, is victory, &c. (Against which opinion he himself writeth in the first book of his Topics the 2nd chapter, and Quintilian in his 2nd book and 12th chapter) seeing the end of physic is, not health, but to apply all things, and to omit none of those things which may further unto health. And if that the sick man, either by the intemperance of

his diet, or by too much weakness of nature, or by the fierce and intolerable violence of his disease, be not healed, the physician swerveth not from the end of his art. The like is to be said of an orator, whose end is to speak all things which may serve to persuade, and to omit nothing that belongeth thereunto: wherefor though he shall not be able to persuade, yet if he have a regard thereunto, he doth not stray from his end. The same may we say of the governor of a house, and of a chief captain. Howbeit in dissolving of this question, we are not to take any great pain. For Aristotle in bringing of examples sheweth the matter after somewhat a gross manner, and was not very careful that examples should always agree in all points, but alleged them as they are used of the common people. Moreover, although that to heal, to persuade, and to overcome, do not always follow the actions of physicians, rhetoricians, and soldiers; yet can it not be denied of any man, but that these faculties have respect unto these things, and endeavor as much as they can to attain unto them.

Lastly, because we are in hand with ends, there is a doubt how any work 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, and therefore not the cause. For it behooveth that the cause be before the effect, and nothing can be before itself. Here do some answer, that the thing made, is the end, not in respect it is extant and now perfect, but in that it was first comprehended in the artificers mind. And a thing may be before itself in a sundry respect; for it is first pondered in the mind of the artificer, before it be in act. But I stay not myself with this answer: for that same known form which is conversant 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 have such a form as he hath conceived in his mind, but would have

it to be expressed in the thing, and directeth it thereunto, as to the end. Wherefore the outward thing itself is the final cause, not in that it is extant or brought to pass, but in that it hath a respect of good, and that either the efficient party, or else his action is made perfect thereby. I grant that these things ought first to be understood and known of the efficient party, but I deny that these things have the nature of an end, in that they be forms and shapes conceived in the mind, but in respect of those things which they signify and represent unto the understanding of the artificer.

11. Moreover, there be many arts joined together unto one, and many ends also unto one certain 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 themselves, so are also their ends. The examples of Aristotle are drawn from the art of those that make bits for horses, and of other arts, of trappers and saddles for horses, all which he affirmeth to be contained under the faculty of riding of horses. Also of the same art of riding of horses, and of all other warlike actions, as to ride, to shoot, to throw a dart, to wear shields, there is one architectonical or principal art. Whereupon he saith, that under the art of war, are contained all these things: and it is to be understood, that the same principal art, or architectonical faculty, doth command and prescribe unto those inferior sorts which it hath under it, and that the end thereof doth govern the ends of them. Aristotle in his book of Ethics calleth art, power, respecting (saith Eustratius) the matter. For even as the matter is power, and by power is known: even so arts are in power to attain, or not to attain their end. A physician doth sometime heal, and sometime he loseth his labor: an orator otherwhile persuadeth, and otherwhile bringeth not this to pass. Also they are in power

unto contraries: as a physician both may heal, and may also hurt the health: an orator may persuade and dissuade: a Logician may prove and confute.

Again Aristotle affirmeth, that there is no difference between the worthiness of faculties, whether they have work for their end, or whether they have action. For if a faculty should in that respect be counted more noble, because after the act it would leave a work: then would carpenters art be better than the art of civil profession, whereas felicity is ordained to be the end of civil profession, which felicity is no work, but an action: which would be most absurd, since nothing can be found better or more happy than felicity. And this also we showed before: neither is this doctrine weakened by that former distinction of ends, that otherwhile some are actions, and that other are sometime works.

But herein is a doubt, that when Aristotle gathereth a worthiness of every end by the nobleness of the faculty, what kind of demonstration this is. And we answer, that it is of the effects, or (as they commonly call it) of that which followeth. For in very deed faculties do draw their excellency and worthiness from their ends. Wherefore since they be made excellent by them, to try the excellency of the ends by the worthiness of the faculties, is to proceed from the effects to the causes, although this proposition is true, which way soever ye turn it. For as we say that the end of the better faculty is the better; so likewise we may say, that it is the nobler faculty which shall have the worthier end.

12. Now since the matter is on this wise, let us see how these things agree with the holy scriptures. First, we will grant, that a Christian man in working hath many ends. For sometimes he hath hereunto respect, that he may call upon God himself, that he may celebrate his name, that he may give thanks, and such like, where he hath respect unto God without any

mean. But sometime he laboreth to restore himself, and by virtues and excellent actions to recover the image of God, whereunto he was created. Sometimes also, yea, and that very often, he is occupied in the helping of other men, either by his riches, or by doctrine, or by counsel. Wherefore it is manifest, that even of a Christian life there be many ends, which ends nevertheless, as we say, have degrees and order among themselves. But whereas Aristotle saith, that where the work remaineth after the act, the work itself is better than the working thereof going before, it seems not to have place in our ends, if we speak universally. For when a man being moved with charity, shall cloth a poor man, nourish, heal, and instruct him; it is certain that after the act, he leaveth a work behind, namely, health, nourishment, or raiment, or instruction in the poor man: in which kind of works, the action which goeth before, namely obedience towards God, and the use of charity, are far more pleasing unto God, and more to be esteemed, than the work remaining after the act, seeing that is transitory, and shall perish. But how in him that professeth himself a Christian, the ends which be many, may have an order among themselves; it may be perceived in faith, hope, and charity. For as the faith is greater, and God more known by it, the more is charity inflamed about the end thereof: in such sort that the end, and as they say, the object of faith doth prescribe unto charity: and so much as the confidence is towards God, so much is the love towards our neighbor. Wherefore the end of charity, which is the good of our neighbor, is thus contained under the end of faith, and so it causeth that the power of faith as touching this matter, excelleth and is better than the power of charity. And thirdly, as the faith is firm, and the charity active; so the hope is more constant, and with a stronger patience and fortitude, we expect the performance of God's promises, in how much we apprehend those things

with a greater faith, and have more fruitfully exercised ourselves by charity. And so these three powers, namely faith, hope, and charity, should be sufficient unto that which we would show. But when the order of the table of the ten commandments is set before us, we may manifestly in them declare the self-same thing. For the first table hath respect unto God without any mean, but the other is directed unto our neighbor. And we must understand that there is a greater dignity of the first table, and that the end thereof is more noble, because it containeth the other, and hath them under it, as it were the chief builder, because the end of the latter table is ruled and governed of the first. Whereupon Luther in his Catechism did in every precept of the later table, most prudently repeat the end of the first table. For example: Because God is to be loved with all the heart, and with all the soul; therefore thou shalt not kill. Again, because God is to be loved with all the heart, and with all the soul, thou shalt not commit adultery.

13. When Aristotle had set down that there is a certain principal end prescribed unto men, he then exhorteth us to search the knowledge thereof. Then in searching out of the same, he pronounceth that he would treat of two things; namely, to expound what it is, then, unto what science or faculty it belongeth. As touching the first, let this be the proposition: The knowledge of the principal end is to be sought for. He bringeth a reason from profitableness. That which profiteth our life is to be sought for, The knowledge of this end is of great importance unto life, Therefore we must obtain the same. He proveth the Minor proposition by a similitude of archers. Aristotle preceedeth very artificially. For because, if there were no such end, who would labor to attain thereunto? Again, if there were such an end, and should bring no profit unto us, the knowledge thereof would be unprofitable. Lastly, if it should profit, and yet not much, we would give

over the study of knowing the same. But now, since there is such an end, and that it profiteth, and is of great importance to the whole life, we are most earnestly stirred up to search out the same. The example of archers hath respect unto this, that even as they, if they have not the mark in their eye, do hit at all adventures; but having the mark fixed, they do it with effect and artificially: so we likewise, having fixed in our mind the principal good, shall not deal by chance, but by reason. And certainly he walketh not rightly in his journey, which knoweth not the end of his way.

Neither do the holy scriptures dissent from this opinion, that the knowledge of the chief end is profitable. For why did Christ so long teach in the earth? Why did he send his Apostles into the world to preach? Why did he bid men to follow him, but that they might at the length know the principal end? For the not knowing whereof he complained, that the people did stray like unto sheep without a shepherd.

As touching the science or faculty, whereto this principal end belongeth, Aristotle said is the civil knowledges, seeing it is that which ruleth other arts, and hath them subject unto it; and doth use them. Let this be the proposition: It belongeth unto the civil power to take order as touching the last or chief end. Whereupon the argument is framed in this form. This matter belongeth unto that science which is most architectonical, Such is the civil science, wherefor it belongeth thereunto to treat of the principal end. The Major proposition was declared before, when it was said, that of the better faculty is the better end. The Minor is proved, namely, that the civil faculty is the highest and most architectonical.

14. But (whatsoever Aristotle saith) that property of principal power, or (as he calleth it) architectonical, must be assigned to the power of the divine scriptures; for therein is contained the chief and principal knowledge of the

most perfect good. Wherefore God said unto the Israelites, that the same should be their chiefest wisdom, whereby they should at the length he had in admiration of all nations. Which if it were then true, when they had received only the law, what shall we afterward judge, when the writings of the prophets, and volumes of the New Testament, were added? Here without doubt is the science and faculty which beareth rule over all others, and which hath all others under it, how excellent soever they be, and useth all things under her end. For that which was said of the civil knowledge, that it may decree what arts and sciences the common weal should admit, and which it ought to refuse, that we find is most exquisitely done in the holy scriptures. For those allow magistrates, they will there should be pastors, bishops, and teachers; also that there should be handy crafts, that poor men might labor, and by their endeavor provide necessities, not only for themselves, but for others also, whom otherwhile it behooveth to help. And contrariwise, they exclude sorcerers, witches, and soothsayers, and also the art of harlots and brothers. And as that civil faculty forbade to appoint what arts everyone should addict themselves unto, because all men are not apt to all things: so the holy scriptures command, that we confound not vocations, and that no one man intrude himself into another man's calling. Let every man (saith the apostle) abide in the vocation wherein he was called. For if thou shalt be in matrimony, set not aside household affairs, the care I mean of wife, children, and family, so as thou wouldest preposterously take to thyself sole life. But if, on the other side, thou livest a sole life, and therein doest more promote the glory of God, and hast strength given thee from the holy Ghost, there hold thee. Again, since that all cannot be teachers, prophets, or pastors, let every man content himself with his own gift, and let him use the same with all diligence. Also the holy

scriptures do prescribe how far forth we should proceed in faculties and functions. The primitive church in deed did grant that Christians should use the old ceremonies, but yet for a little while only. Also it commendeth obedience towards magistrates, but yet so far forth as God's law doth permit. It willeth that a prophet do instruct the people, but yet no longer than it be revealed to another, Which when it is done (saith Paul) let the former hold his peace. Also it commendeth and alloweth godly and Christian liberty in meats, and other outward and civil things, but yet so far forth as the offenses of the weak be avoided. It teacheth in like manner a moderation which we should apply to the infirmities of the simple, but yet so far forth as by our dissembling we confirm no abuses. Also it prescribeth number, as policy and order: for Paul would that there should be two or three prophets which should speak by course, and appointed that the gift of tongues should give place to more profitable gifts. Also the holy scripture hath under it most noble functions; for it commandeth kings, magistrates, governors of households, and orators. For there is none of all these faculties, which hath not special precepts appointed unto it in the holy scriptures, and doth use all these magistrates and princes, for the defense of godliness, and for the true worshipping of God: eloquence, that it may persuade profitable and godly things: government of household, that new offspring's may always grow up unto Christ: and finally, all Arts, as well to the glory of Christ, as to the profit of our neighbors.

15. And now, as I think, it may appear, how the ministers of churches which profess these holy scriptures, should behave themselves towards magistrates, and magistrates towards them. They out of the holy scriptures draw precepts and rules of the prince's function: those precepts ought the magistrate to hear, which also if he otherwhile transgress, must suffer

admonishers, and must not be offended, if modestly, and with just reverence he be corrected. And on the other side, when ministers shall behave themselves either negligently in their office, or against the rules of God's law, they may be kept in their duty by the magistrate: and if they will not amend their faults, they may be removed from their place. And thus let the ministry of the church help the civil power; and again, the civil power oversee the ministry, that it may be pure, and profitable to the Christian Commonwealth.

And in that we attribute the chief power unto that wisdom, which we have in the holy scriptures, it must not be thought that anything is plucked away or diminished from civil administration; for that authority remaineth still unto princes and magistrates: but we would only show, from whence they themselves ought to take the rules and principles of their authority, that they should not so esteem of the doctrines of the philosophers, and laws of men, as they would stray from the most pure fountains of justice and honesty, which flow in the holy scriptures. And they shall be able to get unto themselves this knowledge, either by diligent reading of the holy scriptures by themselves, which God commanded kings to do: or else they may be instructed by ministers of the church. And whereas it is said, that it belongs to the civil power to have authority over those professions which are to be retained in a city, and over those which are to be rejected from thence: let princes and magistrates understand, that the regard of divine worship belongeth unto them; namely, that they preserve, promote, and defend that which is lawful, and that they prohibit, and utterly root out that which is impure and forbidden.

CHAP. II. Of the Natural Knowledge of God by the Things Created: and whereunto this knowledge tendeth. And whether there be any that knoweth not God. Out of the Epistle to the Rom. 1:19.

Paul in the Epistle to the Romans disputing of the natural knowledge of God, saith, that that which is known of God is manifest among them. In the Greek we read το γνωστόν τοῦ θεοῦ; As if we should say, That which may be known of God. Which therefore is said, because there be many divine mysteries, unto which we cannot by nature attain: as is this, that God would justify us freely, forgive our sins through Christ crucified, and restore these very bodies of ours unto eternal felicity. These and such other like, the nature of things teacheth us not. Therefore (saith Paul) That which might be known of God is made manifest in them. In that place he declareth what manner of truth it is, that they withheld in unrighteousness. It was the knowledge of things pertaining unto God, which they attained unto by a natural instinct. And Paul reduceth all those things, that they knew, into two principal points: namely, the everlasting power of God, and his divinity. For by the very workmanship of this world, they knew God to be most mighty.

Further, they knew by the beauty, show, and distinction of all things, that so great a power was administered by a most high providence and wisdom. Also the commodity and profit of things created taught them the Majesty of God, which consisteth chiefly in this, that he doth good unto all things. These be the things which God bestowed upon the Ethnics: but they abused the gifts of God. Wherefore very well agreeth with them that similitude, which Chrysostom useth. For thus he saith: If a king should give much money to his servant for the furniture of his household, and amplifying of his gorgeous estate, to the end that his magnificence and honor might be the more manifest: and the wicked servant should lewdly spend the money upon brothels and harlots; should not this servant (saith he) seem worthily and rightly to have deserved punishment? Even so did the wise men among the Ethnics behave themselves. For they received of God a very excellent knowledge of things, wherewith when they should have worshipped and adorned him, they turned it to the worshipping of stones, and stocks, and of images. Wherefore not without cause did the wrath of God wax hot against them.

2. And whereas it is written: It was made manifest in them: neither is it said, In all: the Scripture doth sever the wise and the philosophers, from the barbarous and unskillful multitude. For all things were not known to all alike: which nevertheless happened by the fault of these philosophers. For they ought to have preached openly, and beaten into the ears 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 hid them, that they should not be understood of all men. Whereupon the epistle of Aristotle to Alexander is much spoken of; wherein he saith, that his books of natural philosophy are

so set forth by him, as if they were not set forth. For the philosophers seemed of set purpose, to make their writings obscure, to the intent they should not be understood by others. Besides this, through their arguing's they polluted those excellent things which they knew to be pure. When they understood that there is but one God, and judged that he ought to be worshipped, they gathered afterward of themselves: Seeing the common people are not apt to worship the high divinity that is spread over all things, (for they cannot perceive it after this manner) it shall be well done to divide it, and to assign it unto images, signs of heaven, and to other creatures. And the same men, when they acknowledged that the nature of God was severed from all corporal matter: that is to say, 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 attain unto this, brought in outward rites and ceremonies devised of their own heads, the which men having performed, they should think that they had fulfilled the service of God: and so by their slender reasons they corrupted that, which being pure they had gathered out of the creatures, and gave no such credit as they ought to have done to the truth which they knew. Otherwise they would have submitted themselves to the mighty power, which they acknowledged, and would have suffered themselves to be ruled by the providence of God, and would have trusted to him in their adversities: which nevertheless they did not, nay rather they shamefully despaired. Cicero crieth out in his later time in an Epistle to Octavius: O that I was never wise! And in his books *De natura deorum*, he bringeth in Cotta, notwithstanding he were chief bishop, to say, that he would very fain have it proved indeed, that there be any gods at all. And so whilst they would not believe those things which they knew naturally of God, they were not only

wicked towards him, but also injurious towards their neighbors. And oftentimes the more famous philosophers they were, the more infamous life they led. According as the Poet taunteth them: Curious life they fain, but follow Bacchus vain. For the wrath of God waxed hot against them. And even as a schoolmaster that continually instructeth his scholar, (who yet in the meantime is thinking and doing other things) cannot suffer so great negligence: so doth God behave himself towards us. For he continually holdeth open before our eyes, the book of the things created: he is ever calling and illuminating of us; but we always turn away our mind from his doctrine, otherwise occupying ourselves. Wherefore God will cast us away, as naughty scholars: neither will he suffer so great an injury unrevenged.

3. And by these words which Paul addeth: namely: For God hath made manifest unto them, it was gathered, that all truth cometh of God. For it springeth not from us: but how it is of God, there be two opinions. For some say, that therefore it is, because God hath made those things, by which we may perceive these truths. But others say (whom I better allow) that God hath planted in our mind's certain fore-gatherings and information's, whereby we are driven to conceive excellent and worthy things of the nature of God. And these knowledges of God being naturally engrafted in us by God, are every day more and more confirmed and made perfect by the observation of things created. Some do fondly, and no less wickedly say, that they have learned those truths of Aristotle, or of Plato, so as they will give God no thanks at all for them. Indeed Plato and Aristotle were organs and instruments, but yet not authors. But these men say even as if an Israelite should say, that he knew the truths of the law, not by God, but by Moses, whereas he was but only a mediator and messenger of God, and one who made relation unto the people of those things, whereof God was the

author. And it is to be noted, that whereas God is a nature so dissevered from any matter, as he cannot sensibly be perceived; yet he hath been accustomed by signs and certain sensible words to declare himself. And those signs, which from the beginning have declared God unto us are creatures: which when the natural philosophers did weigh, as touching the wonderful properties and qualities of nature, they are brought unto the knowledge of God. For they knew the order of causes, and the conjunction 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 attain to some chief thing: and so included that there is a God. These things, both Plato, Aristotle and Galen, have singularly well set forth. But least we should neglect the holy Scriptures, they also have declared unto us even the same way. For Christ sendeth us to the fowls of the air, and to the lilies and grass of the field, to the intent we should acknowledge the singular providence of God, in preserving of those things which he had brought forth. And Solomon setteth before us the Ant to be followed for his wisdom, whereby he provideth in summer those things, which shall be needful in winter. Isaiah saith, that the asse knew the manger of his lord, and the ox his master, but that Israel knew not his Lord. Hereby it plainly appeareth, that we may be taught many things by the creatures. David wrote a Psalm, wherein he declared the selfsame thing, The heavens set forth the glory of God, &c. But among other books of the holy Scriptures, which abound in this matter, is the dialogue of the book of Job. For the speakers which he bringeth in were Ethnics, and therefore the matter is there handled only by natural reasons. Many things are spoken of there concerning the revolutions of heaven, of the stars, of the earth, of the sea, of the light, of the winds rain, thunder, lightnings, snow, and ice: also of beasts, as of lions,

goats, harts, horse, and Behemoth, which many think to be the Elephant: and finally of the Leviathan the most huge beast of the sea.

4. All these things are so handled there, as they preach unto us the eternal power and divinity of God. But among other things, which do chiefly set forth God unto us, is the nature of our own selves. For we are made unto his own image and likeness. Wherefore we most of all resemble him, and especially as touching the soul, wherein shineth the providence of things to come, justice, wisdom, and many other most noble qualities: and also the knowledge of that, which is right and honest, lewd and dishonest. And seeing that man and his soul is not sprung up of himself, but dependeth of God, it followeth that we ought not to deny unto God the very same that we took of him, but that we yield it unto him, as unto the chief and principal author: reasoning after this manner: that God foreseeeth all things that are done, and is a just judge of our deeds: unto whom, as honest things are pleasing, so dishonest are displeasing. I know that Cicero in his third book *De natura deorum*, laboreth to overthrow this reason, whereby we would prove that the things which we say are most excellent in us, must not be denied unto God. But let him reason as he list: it is enough for us to be confirmed in this matter by the scriptures. In the 94th Psalm it is written: He which planted the ear, shall he not hear? Or he which fashioned the eye, shall he not see? Whereby we are taught, not to withdraw from the divine nature, those things which be perfect and absolute in us. Moreover we see, that our consciences do naturally detest the wickedness that we have committed, and contrariwise rejoyce and be glad at our well doing. Which thing, seeing it is naturally grafted in us, we be taught that God's judgment 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 rejoiceth when it

hopeth to be allowed and rewarded at the tribunal seat. We might also reckon up many other like things of this sort: howbeit they may be easily gathered, both out of the holy Scriptures, and out of the philosopher's books. Wherefore I will cease to add anymore: and I count it sufficient to have said, that there can be nothing found in the world so abject and contemptible, which giveth not a testimony of God. Of Jupiter (said the Poet) all things are full. For whatsoever is in the world, so long as it is preserved, so long hath it the power of God hidden under it, which if by searching, art, and natural knowledge, it be discovered, will reveal God unto us.

5. With this saying of the Apostle seem to disagree other places of the scripture, wherein is taken from the wicked, the knowledge of God. We read in the Psalms: The foolish man said in his heart: There is no god. And again it is written: In the earth there is none that understandeth, or seeketh after God. And to make no long recital, it is said in the first chapter of Isaiah: Israel hath not known me. But this diversity may on this wise be reconciled. The wicked, as Paul saith, being convinced by the creatures, do confess that there is a God: but afterward they affirm such things of his nature and property, 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 doing, care and providence, so that he ascribed to him a felicity altogether idle. Also when they say, that there is a God, but that he hath no regard to man's doings, punisheth not, nor heareth such as call upon him, and such like, it is gathered thereby, that this was their opinion, that they granted there is a God in name only. And therefore the Scripture denieth that they knew God. For the true God is not, as they feigned him to be: and as touching themselves, to be holpen, or have the fruition of God's help, he

was even as if he were no God, for so much as they neither called upon 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 pass, (their own mind denying, and their conscience striving against them) yet the Scripture pronounceth of them according to their endeavors: and saith, that they knew not God. Lastly, we must understand, that the knowledge of God is of two sorts: the one effectual, whereby we are changed, so that we endeavor to express in works those things that we know; (and this knowledge of God, the holy Scriptures ascribe unto the godly alone) but the other, is a cold knowledge, whereby we are made never a-whit the better. For we show not by our works, that we know those things, which in very deed we have known. And of this kind of knowledge speaketh Paul, where he saith: And as they regarded not to know God, &c. And Christ shall say unto many, which will boast of the gifts and knowledge of him: I know ye not. But to know God after this manner, seeing it profiteth nothing, the holy Scripture doth oftentimes so reject, as it vouchsafeth not once to give it the name of divine knowledge, and saith, that God knew not the wicked, seeing they were such manner of men.

6. Neither is it in vain that God doth indue the ungodly with this kind of knowledge. For verily Aristotle teacheth in his Rhetoric's, that it is a goodly testimony, whereby our affairs are allowed of our enemies. Wherefore it is an excellent thing to hear in the first book of Samuel, how the Philistines, being the most grievous 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, wherewith they were afflicted: when nevertheless the causes be natural, both of the

piles, hemorrhoids; and fluxes. But when they saw, that they were altogether, and at one time troubled with one kind of disease, they straightway believed, that they were oppressed by the hand of the God Jehovah: and so God enforced them against their wills to confess his name. In like manner Pharaoh, who after he had been diversely plagued, at the length cried out: I have sinned against the Lord, and against you: make ye intercession to God for me. Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, after they had well considered what God had don unto Daniel, did notably confess him to be the great God: and by their proclamations under a most grievous penalty, forbad that any should blaspheme or speak evil of his name. And Julianus the apostate, although otherwise most wicked, yet was constrained at his death to acknowledge the power of Christ, in saying: O thou Galilean, thou hast gotten the victory. And the very devils were driven to the same confession, when they testified and cried out, that Jesus Christ is the son and the holy one of God; and acknowledged that he came to destroy them before the time: and confessed that they well enough knew Christ and Paul. By the same reason it is evident, that the ark of the Lord was not taken by the Philistines unprofitable: and that the Jews were carried away captives into Babylon, even to the intent that some worship and knowledge of God, might at the leastwise for a short season shine among foreign nations. So that many things which seem grievous and desperate, have oftentimes acceptable ends: but to what end those things will come, before the sequel appear, we cannot perceive. Wherefore we must not judge of the works of God, before the last act or part be played. For if we shall guess by the beginning or midst, we shall do no otherwise, then if we would judge of the whole image of Phidias by one of the fingers. Every part of the body must be thoroughly considered before hand, if we be desirous to attain unto the

knowledge of the proportion and knitting together of the whole body. Which thing, being oftentimes neglected by us, it followeth, that we sorrow, that we lament, that we dispraise and blaspheme that which we know not.

7. By that victory therefore, and taking away of the ark, the Philistines came by some knowledge of God: although not so great as they were renewed to eternal life. Wherefore we must consider, that God doth two manner of ways offer himself to be beholden of men, to the intent that on the one part, we should look upon his mercy and clemency, and on the other part upon his power and severity. Wherefore the greatest number of the Philistines did feel the power and strength of Jehovah. For they were vessels of wrath, made fit for destruction. But they did not see the clemency and mercy that came by Christ, and therefore they fled and detested the sight of him in the ark, as from a tormentor and cruel judge: and for that cause they did not turn themselves. They drove the ark from them, neither did they receive the true worshipping of God, forsaking their idols. Thus also, when Christ came into the world, bringing salvation unto men; the devil, which felt his power and might, withstood him, saying: Why art thou come to destroy us? And the Gergesenites, 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 cheerful and amiable, which he offereth to the godly: and the other terrible and fierce, wherewith he is seen of the wicked. But it is no need to imagine that God hath towards us two faces, or two heads. He is always the self-same God, and carrieth one manner of countenance, although he be not always perceived of all men alike. For the faithful behold him one way, and the unfaithful another way.

8. But they that be endued with this kind of knowledge Paul affirmeth to be inexcusable, the Greek is εἰς τό εἶν αὐτούς ἀναπολογήτους, which signifieth, Not able to answer for their faults. God undoubtedly did not to this end reveal these natural knowledges, but this came to pass through our default. Howbeit that which Paul speaketh here, seemeth to be repugnant to those things which are oftentimes mentioned, when we dispute of works and grace. For if it be true that we cannot of our own strength and free will fulfill the law which we know, how shall these men be said to be inexcusable? For if that which we say be true, they might easily be excused, that they in very deed knew this law by a natural light, but that they wanted strength to fulfill so much as they knew, and therefore they seem not to be inexcusable. But here Paul entreateth only of that excuse which might be alleged of ignorance. For that which is now brought in as touching weakness, this would not the Ethnics have pretended. For they attributed all things unto free will: wherefor they would not have said that they were destitute of strength. Only this remained to excuse themselves by ignorance, which defense since Paul hath cut from them, it only remaineth, that by their own judgment, they should be said to be inexcusable. But, and if they had said, that although they knew what behooved them to do, yet that they were weak, this is it that Paul laboreth to conclude: namely, that the knowledge of the law of nature made them not the better; because the law, although it be known, yet it cannot alter us, nor give us strength to live uprightly: and that therefore it is necessary for us to fly unto Christ. But because he knew that the Gentiles fled not to that excuse, therefore he repelleth that which he saw might easily have been objected; and that is ignorance. Albeit the other excuse also, as concerning the weakness of strength, was not worthy to be admitted. For that weakness came by our

own fault, that is, by sin. Besides this, they could not have been excusable, because even that little that was in their power; namely, as touching outward actions, they performed not according to their knowledge. For we are not so destitute of strength by reason of sin, but that we be able to perform many things in outward works, in which these men showed themselves worst of all. Wherefore it is concluded, that they were utterly without excuse. Neither might they plead, that they were enforced against their wills to do those sins that they did. Wherefore seeing they did evil, both wittingly and willingly, they had no excuse. Neither is it to be thought, that God granted unto them this excellent knowledge, to the end that they should be inexcusable; for that ensued by their own fault. When as otherwise the providence of God turned their wickedness to the setting forth of his glory and righteousness. Thus much they profited through their sins, that the doctrine and knowledge, which they obtained, further them to judgment and condemnation. Whereby we learn, that we ought not to be feared away from teaching, though we see that men become nothing the better: forsomuch as the self-same thing happeneth unto that doctrine, which God himself ministereth unto us. This commodity at the least-wise will arise thereby, that if men will not be converted by God, they shall be condemned by the testimony and judgment of themselves. And this seems a thing that God most of all would: namely, that he might be justified when he condemneth and punisheth. The doctrine that Judas the traitor received of Christ did thus much profit him, that at the length he condemned himself, saying; I have sinned in betraying the innocent blood. For to this pass are the wicked driven, that at the length they are condemned by their own judgment. And they which should have taken profit by the doctrine, are grievously hurt by the same: as we read in the prophet Isaiah the sixth

chapter, when it is said: Make blind the heart of this people, dull their ears, and shut up their eyes, least peradventure they should see, hear, and understand, and be converted, and I should heal them. Even so by the words of Moses, was the heart of Pharaoh ever more and more hardened.

9. And the cause why they are inexcusable, is declared in these words: Which withhold the truth in unrighteousness. They attained unto so much truth, as thereby they understood how to behave themselves towards God, and towards their neighbors, and yet withheld they the truth in unrighteousness. The very which thing did the Hebrews, as touching the truth, which God revealed unto them by the law. Seeing therefore, that both these Hebrews, and those Gentiles have been so grievously punished; what ought men, that be Christians in profession to hope for, which withhold to themselves so great a light of the Gospel without fruit? Doubtless they shall become most wretched of all. And the thing it self teacheth, that they which boast of Christ, and live dishonestly, do at the length exceed all men, be they never so wicked, in naughtiness and dishonesty. The truth is after a sort withheld captive in them, which understand the same, and yet express it not in work and life. And it is bound and tied with the chains of naughty lusts, the which, when they breath out from the inferior parts of our mind, they darken the understanding, and close up the known truth in a dark dungeon. God doth lighten it in our minds, but through naughty lusts it is wonderfully darkened. We must not think (as Chrysostom warneth us) that the truth of his own nature can suffer anything. For the truth of his own nature is unchangeable. But what discommodity soever happeneth, the same hurteth our mind and soul. Paul in two words toucheth those things, which Aristotle in his Ethics (when he disputeth of the incompetent person) uttereth at large. For he demandeth by what means the incompetent person declineth

unto vices, since that in his mind he hath a right opinion? And he answereth, that this happeneth, by reason he is too much affected to the particular good, which is objected presently to the sense: by the weight whereof, the better part also is oppressed, so as he giveth place unto the lusts, neither doth he his part in effectual 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 ensue.

All this doth Paul teach us, when he saith, that The wicked withhold the truth in unrighteousness. The truth doth always as much as can be, endeavor to break forth into act, but it is hindered by concupiscence or lust. And this is it which is written in the first book of the Ethics: that the best part of the soul doth always exhort and provoke to the best things. For so hath God and nature framed us, that the thing which we know, we desire to express in act: which being not done, we are reprov'd by our own judgment. And herein appeareth the wonderful force of the conscience, which in the more grievous sort of offenses, can never be perfectly settled.

10. To withhold the truth in unrighteousness, is properly to refuse the calling of God, which continually by his truth, calleth us back unto himself. Wherefore it shall be very profitable for us, if, whensoever we have attained unto any truth, either through study, or observation of things, we reckon straightway with our selves, whereunto God calleth us through that truth, which he layeth before our minds. By this word unrighteousness, the Apostle understood generally whatsoever sin we commit, either against God or against men. Wherefore Paul speaketh of that truth, which is naturally engrafted in us, and also of that which we attain unto by our own study. For either of those instructeth us of most excellent things touching

God. Neither is the unrighteousness which we commit, able to blot it out of our minds. Which thing nevertheless the Academical philosophers endeavored to teach, seeing they earnestly affirm that there can be nothing certainly taught by us: and so would not have us to embrace anything, as being sure thereof that it is true, but would have us account all things as uncertain and doubtful. Likewise the Epicures go about to pull out of our minds those things, which by a natural former conceit are printed in our hearts concerning God. And yet neither of these were able to bring to pass that, which they endeavored. For will they, nill they, these truths remain still in the minds of men, but (which is to be lamented) they are withholden in unrighteousness.

11. Perhaps thou wilt demand how it cometh to pass, that the truth which we have by faith, is of more strength to break out into act, than is the truth, which we naturally perceive. This undoubtedly cometh not for this cause, that one truth by itself, and severally understood, is of more force than another. For truth on both parts hath the self-same nature; but the difference cometh by the mean and instrument, whereby the same is perceived. The strength of nature is corrupt, feeble, and defiled through sin: 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 diversity is not in the truth itself, but in the mean and instrument, whereby we embrace the same. Hereof it cometh, that there we be changed, but here we remain the self-same that we were before. Of which thing we have a clear testimony in the Gospel. Christ set forth unto the young man what he should do to obtain salvation, the which he hearing, was not persuaded to give place, but went away sorrowful. He trusted unto natural strength, and

therefore demanded of the Lord what he might do to obtain eternal life. But contrariwise, Matthew so soon as he heard of his calling, embraced the same with so great faith, as leaving his money and customer-ship, he straightway followed Christ. And Zacchaeus, otherwise a man greedy of gain, when he had heard of the Lord, that he would turn in unto him, he not only received him into his house with a glad heart; but also offered immediately to distribute half his goods to the poor, and to restore fourfold 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 so be understood, as though we affirm, that we have not more truth revealed unto us by the scriptures, both of the Old Testament and New, than we do naturally know. Only we have made a comparison between the self-same truth, when it is naturally known, and when it is perceived by faith.

12. And forasmuch as God may be known of us three manner of ways; the first is deferred unto another life. Which way when Moses desired, it was said unto him: No man shall see me, and live. Of the second did Paul make mention unto the Romans: For the invisible things of God, &c. Last of all, we perceive him by faith, whereof mention is oftentimes made. But in the first to the Corinthians they are both compared together, and the one showed to be but smally profitable, as it was showed in the epistle to the Romans. But in Genesis, when as Moses expresseth unto us the workmanship of the world, he sheweth things whereby we may pick out the invisible knowledge of God. But this way leaneth altogether upon faith: for except we believe the words of God, we shall obtain nothing. Wherefore it is written unto the Hebrews: By faith we understand that the worlds were made. Wherefore in beholding the creatures of God, let us always put to the strength of faith, if we will not lose our labor, and busy ourselves to our

own hurt. As for these invisible things of God, which we perceive, they are innumerable; but they are all drawn to three principal 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 commandment of his only word, do infer his most mighty power. But the workmanship, the form, the comeliness, and the singular disposition of them, do testify the wisdom of the maker. The profit which we gather of them, declareth how great his goodness is. Of so great importance it is, that we should comprehend this creation of the world by faith, as even the articles of our belief have their beginning hereupon. For this being taken away, neither will the first sin be extant; the promises concerning Christ will fall, and all the strength of religion will be overthrown. And seeing that all the articles of the faith are certain rules and principles of our godliness among them all, this is reckoned the first in order: the which, since we must learn by the revealing of God, as we must also do all other, not by the feigned devises of Satan, or precepts of men, we must first speak of all these things, before we come to the creation itself.

13. In the holy scriptures we have a knowledge of God contemplative, and that which consisteth in action. Among the philosopher's actual contemplation goeth foremost, but in the holy scriptures contemplative hath the first place: insomuch as we must first believe, and be justified by faith; afterward follow good works, and that so much the more and more abundantly as we be renewed daily by the holy Ghost. So doth Paul show in his epistles: for first he handleth doctrine, afterward he descendeth to the instruction of manners, and to the order of life. So likewise the children of Israel were first gathered together under the faith of one God the savior. Afterward in the desert they received laws which served unto actual

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 follow the precepts, which belong unto the works required by God. The cause of this difference is, that men's contemplations are gotten by searching out, and by the endeavor of meditation, and therefore moderate affections are necessary. But those things which we believe, are received by the inspiration of God: so that we need not those preparations. And in man's reason it behooveth men first to do before they be justified. But the order of divine sanctification is far otherwise appointed: for first we believe, afterward we are justified, then by the spirit and grace the powers of our mind are repaired, and then follow just and honest deeds. Moreover, the end of philosophy is to obtain that blessedness or felicity, which may here by human strength be obtained: but the end of Christian godliness is, that in us should be repaired that image, whereunto we were made in righteousness and holiness of truth, that we may every day grow up in the knowledge of God, until we be brought to see him with open face as he is. We cannot in Aristotle's Ethics hear of the remission of sins, nor of the fear and confidence of God, nor of justification by the faith of Christ, and of such like things. For these things are opened by the will of God, which cannot be gathered by natural knowledge through any of the creatures. Neither do I deny, but that it happeneth oftentimes, that the self-same things are commended in Aristotle's Ethics, which are commanded in the holy scriptures; but then are those things the self-same in matter, and not so in form, properties, and beginnings: for the respect in those things is diverse, the properties diverse, and the beginnings are not all one. Even as the matter of rainwater, and of any fountain is all one; but the power, property, and originals, are far diverse: for the one cometh by the

heat of heaven, and by the clouds and coldness of the middle region of the air: 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 so happeneth) by conversion of the air into water, through the coldness of the place where the fountain ariseth. Even so those things, which a Christian doth, he doth them by the impulsion of the spirit of God. Those things which the philosophers do, according to moral precepts, they do them by the guide of human reason. The philosophers are stirred up to do those things, because they so judge it to be honest and right: but the Christians, because God hath so decreed. Those do think to profit and make perfect themselves: these, because the majesty of God must be obeyed. Those do give credit to themselves: but these give credit to God, and to the words of the law which he hath made. Those seek the love of themselves: these, are driven by the love of God alone. And of this manifold difference it cometh to pass, that one and the same thing, as touching the matter, doth please God, and by his judgment is condemned.

So now we see that the speculative knowledge is preferred above the active. For doing is ordained for contemplation, and not contrariwise. And no man doubteth, but that that which is ordained for another thing, is less honorable than it. But it is objected, that the contemplative kind doth belong unto action; therefore indeed we behold nature, that we may make much of the author thereof; and therefore we seek to know God, to the intent we may worship him. And our divinity is for this cause by some called actual. Howbeit these men, reasoning after this manner, are exceedingly deceived. For no science is therefore called actual, because the work attaineth unto that knowledge, except the self-same thing be performed which was first known. When we behold nature, and the heaven, although we obtain

thereby a worship and love towards God; yet such a knowledge must not be called actual, because that is not brought to pass which we behold. For there is no man that can make nature, and heaven, and other works which follow thereof: accidentally they are said to behold them. For not all men, which behold these things, do love and worship God; nay rather they be oftentimes most far from him. Again, the works which follow that knowledge, and also our divinity, have respect unto this; that we may know God more and more, until we shall behold him face to face, in the kingdom of heaven. And Christ our savior confirmed this opinion, saying: This is eternal life, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.

CHAP. III. Concerning Prophecy; out of 1 Sam. 19:33.

Seeing therefore that God would be known unto men by prophecy, I thought it not from the purpose to speak somewhat thereof. And that I may do it the more briefly and plainly, I will first show what is meant by this name or word prophecy: then what are the causes of it: next the definition: and lastly, the properties and effects. As touching the name of prophecy: A prophet is in the Hebrew tongue called *Nauī*: which noun cometh of the Hebrew verb *Bo*, that signifieth to come. And it is in the passive conjugation *Niphal*. *Khimhi* doth interpret prophecy to be a certain faculty received from God. For prophets do suffer a certain breathing on them, and instinct from God: and that word doth signify sometime an interpreter or messenger. And a prophet is called sometimes in Hebrew, *Roe* (that is, a seer:) sometimes *Chose*, (that is, a watchman:) and sometimes *Isch Eloim* (that is, a man of God:) as in the first of Sam. the 9th chapter, and first of Paralipo, the 29th. In the Greek he is called *προφήτης*, of *πρόφημι*, to foretell: or as some rather will of *προφάναι*, that is, to show. Whereupon among the Latins, temples are called *Phana*: and as Festus Pompeius

thinketh, the bishops of the temples were called prophets. There were also ὑποφῆται, to wit, interpreters, which did service to the greater prophets. They were also called among the Greeks μάντις, of μανέσθαι. Among the Latins mad men are called *Fanatici*: yet further, they were called of the Greeks ἐνθουσιάζειν of θεάζειν, that is, to stir up and drive forward. They were called in Latin 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 speak somewhat of the causes: a prophet is occupied about heavenly and hidden matters. Sometimes he seeth the things that be present: as Peter did of Ananias and Sapphira: and Elisha of Gehazi (saying,) Was not my spirit present with thee? Sometime he seeth things that are past: as Moses concerning the creation of the world. For as touching things to come, no man doubteth, (but he foreseeth them.) Also they which expound other men's prophesies, are prophets. For so was Aaron said to be the prophet of Moses unto Pharaoh: and the expounders of the holy scriptures are called prophets. Also it belongeth to the office of a prophet to pray unto God: wherefore Paul saith, that every man praying or prophesying, &c. And in Genesis, God answereth Abimelech concerning Abraham, when he had taken his wife from him: Give him his wife again, for he is a prophet, and shall pray for thee. And Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians the 14th chapter, setteth forth more at large the office of a prophet. When ye come together (saith he,) everyone hath a psalm, or hath doctrine, or hath revelation, or hath interpretation; let all things be done to edifying. They may also make hymns and thanks-giving, and exhort the people. For Paul saith: He that prophesieth, speaketh doctrine, exhortation, and consolation. Which faculty pertaineth to the mind and power of

understanding. And a prophet differeth from a priest, in that a priest should not only exhort, teach, and comfort; but also minister holy services, which thing a prophet may not do. Besides, the priests were of the tribe of Levi: the prophets were of other tribes. Moreover, the priests might err, and often did err; but the true prophets, in that they were prophets, could not err. Indeed they sometimes added somewhat of their own, but therein they were not prophets. Lastly, the priests were chosen only by succession, and had an ordinary ministry: but the prophets were sent by an extraordinary means according to the will of God.

3. The form (of prophesying) is the revelation of God. For he that declareth natural causes and arts, and sciences, is not a prophet. And so a prophet is distinct from a doctor or teacher. For doctors, although they be instructed in the gifts of God, to teaching, persuading, and comforting; yet they get those things by exercise, instruction, study, and labor: but prophets are taught by no other means than by the only revelation of God. Howbeit, such prophets as are thus taught of God, although perhaps there be some now a days in the church, yet I think there be not many. But at the very beginnings, when the church began to spring up, God raised many prophets. For when men were converted from Greekish gentility unto Christ, and were altogether ignorant and unskillful of the holy scriptures, it was needful that God helped them by such revelations: but now that all places abound with books, and teachers, there is no need of the help of prophets. For the Jews did only look for Christ to come, he is now come: wherefore we have no need of other prophets. Besides, they were not so instructed in the holy scriptures. For at the beginning they had the law, and nothing else. Then came Samuel and other prophets, which made all things full and whole. Now there is scripture enough everywhere. Finally, they were always

curious searchers of things to come, and prone to idolatry: therefore least they should run unto sorcerers and soothsayers, God promised that he would give them a prophet from among their own brethren. This doth Peter by the figure ἀντονομασία truly transfer unto Christ. But in very deed, God evermore cared and provided, that they should not be without some prophet of their own number. But in our days that gross idolatry is taken away. Chrysostom upon Genesis saith, that the sins of men have brought to pass, that no such rare and pure spirit can dwell among us: which reason doth not much move me. For when the people did most grievously offend, God did ever stir up his prophets. The end of prophesying, as Paul saith, is to edify: that is, to bring us to eternal felicity: but that is not perceived by man's judgment. For neither eye ever saw it, or ear heard it: wherefore it was needful to have it showed in a more hidden sort by prophets. But they could not open it, unless they themselves understood it; neither could they ever understand it, unless they were admonished by the inward spirit of God. For otherwise they would be as ignorant in those things which are done by nature, as other men be.

4. But now that spirit, wherewith they be stirred up, is sometime good, and sometime evil. For as God doth edify the church by his prophets: so the devil apishly counterfeiting God, subverteth it by his prophets. There was never any heresy that boasted more of prophetesies, than did the Montanists. For they accounted their Prisca and Maximilla, being rich and wealthy women, for prophetesses. The idolaters foretold some things that were true, and the more easily to deceive, did mingle them with falsehoods. But thou wilt say, Why did God suffer them to speak true things? Augustine in his 14th book *De trinitate* answereth, Because they were both sins, and the punishments of sins: and they had deserved to be given up to lies, and

strong delusions, as Paul saith to the Thessalonians. And God saith, that If a prophet be seduced, I have seduced him. And Augustine against Julian saith: The devils report true things even of Christ, because God will by all means maintain the truth, both to the comfort of the godly, and condemnation of the wicked. But such kind of witches are now forbidden by the laws of princes, as appeareth in the *Code De maleficis & mathematicis*. Howbeit because none shall be deceived, they are not called Mathematics in that place, which do foreshow anything by the stars, or speculation of natural causes: but such as under the name of Mathematics uttered for gain curious arts and enchantments: which kind of people the Emperor Constantine commanded to be burnt. But the good spirit is sent in by God, which when the heathen knew not, they called it fury, and distraughting of the mind. Plato in his *dialogues Phaedro & Jove*, saith, that poetical fury is one mystical, another foretelling of that which should come, and another divine. Now concerning the original of prophesy, it is certain, that as touching the time thereof, the same was first in Adam: For thus did he say: 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 Jude. Then succeeded Moses and Samuel. But thou wilt say: If prophesying be so ancient, why doth Peter on this wise say in the book of the Acts: It is written in the prophets, from Samuel, and thence forth? I answer, that Peter had first made mention of Moses: then he maketh Samuel the head or chief of the prophets, because he had made very famous the order of the prophets. Lastly, because nothing was written of any prophet before Samuel.

5. Chrysostom in his second homily upon these words of Isaiah, I saw the Lord sitting, setteth forth (although not very exactly) a definition of prophesy. Prophesy, saith he, is nothing else but a declaration of things to

come. And upon the prologue of Paul to the Romans, he saith, that the holy men did not only prophesy by writings and words, but also by deeds: as Abraham did in the sacrifice of his son: and Moses in the brazen serpent, and all the people of Israel in eating of the passover. But a fuller definition is this: Prophecy is a faculty given unto certain men by the spirit of God, without teaching or learning, whereby they are able certainly to know things heavenly, high, and secret, and to open the same unto others for edifying of the church. Here this word faculty is the general word to prophecy, which may be referred to natural power: not that the same power is natural, but that it may make men apt, as natural power doth, whereby they may be assured of their knowledge. Which I therefore added, because they that utter those things which they themselves understand not, be rather mad persons, than prophets. The other parts of the definition may easily be understood by those things, which we spake concerning the causes.

6. But heavenly inspiration was not communicated to all the prophets alike. For some saw more, and some less. In the 12th of the book of Numbers God saith, that he did insinuate himself to other prophets after diverse fashions, but that he presented himself unto Moses mouth to mouth, and face to face. And at the end of Deuteronomy it is written, that after Moses, there was never the like prophet. Which yet must be understood of the time before the coming of Christ. For otherwise by the testimony of Christ himself, John the Baptist was greater than Moses. For (saith he) Among the children of women there arose not a greater than John the Baptist. For other prophets foretold that Christ in time would come, but he with his finger showed him to be present and conversant among men. We may also, although somewhat rudely, thus distinguish the degrees of propheties, if that we call one, an oracle, another a dream, and another a

vision. An oracle is, when by the voice of God himself, it is told what we should do. So was Abraham warned by a voice from heaven, that he should not kill his son. As for the manner of dreaming, there is no need of examples, they are plentiful in every place of the holy scriptures. A vision may be in three sorts: either when true things be discerned by an infused light, and by the mere understanding: or else when besides that light, images also are described, and that either in the mind: as when Zacharias saw the horns and the candlesticks, and Jeremiah the pot: or else in the eyes and outward sense, as was that hand, spoken of by Daniel, which appeared on the wall: and as that, when angels were seen to talk with men in bodily shape of men. And in propheties there is a difference of times. For some were before the law, as were those of Abraham, Noah, Enoch, and Adam: some in the law, as of Moses and others: some in the gospel, as the propheties of many holy men in the primitive church. And this gift God denied not even to women. For we read of Marie, Deborah, and Olda, that were prophetesses, besides other women. And in the beginning of the primitive church, the daughters of Philip, and other godly women, did prophesy. And Paul saith, that a woman praying or prophesying, should cover her head. But here, by the way, ariseth no small doubt. For if at that time it were lawful for a woman to pray and prophesy openly, why doth Paul writing to the Corinthians, and to Timothy, admonish that a woman should not speak in the church. These two sayings, although they may seem somewhat repugnant, yet may they diverse ways be reconciled. Some think that Paul meaneth that a woman prayeth and prophesieth, when she is present and heareth public prayers and prophesyings in the church, directed by some godly and learned man. Others suppose that two errors crept into the church of the Corinthians, even so soon as the same church began; the

one, that women should prophesy openly; and the other, that they should do it bare-headed. And they think that Paul confuted the first error in the 11th chapter to the Corinthians, and the other in the 14th, and in the 2nd to Timothy: and that so Paul altogether forbiddeth that either of them should be done in the congregation. Other some understand those words of Paul as touching the ordinary ministry, which by no means must be permitted to a woman: but that by an extraordinary means it is lawful for women sometimes to prophesy, as it was unto Marie, Deborah, Olda, and others, of whom we spake before; the which if it do happen at any time, they say that Paul warneth that a woman should have her head covered. Others think that women are quite forbidden by Paul to prophesy openly: but that it is lawful for them to do it privately, so they cover their heads. But howsoever it be, it importeth not much: our purpose is only to teach, that God doth sometime impart this gift unto women.

7. But above all things, prophets must beware that they corrupt not, nor that they add not, or diminish anything. For some, otherwhile having received the illumination of God, do add over and besides of their own. In the Acts certain holy men lightened with the spirit of God, said, that many grievous afflictions were prepared for Paul at Jerusalem. And this in very deed they spake truly: but they added other things of their own. For they gave counsel unto Paul, that he should not go to Jerusalem; which thing they had not of the holy Ghost. Good prophets ought not so to behave themselves. For if they will mingle their own wisdom with the oracles of God, they may easily both be deceived themselves, and also cause others to be deceived. Besides this, the prophets must take heed, that they suffer not themselves to be corrupted either by money, or favor; as we read that Balaam did. For they which so do (saith Jerome) are not prophets, but

diviners: As when Logic is corrupt with errors, and Fallacies, it is no longer Logic, but Sophistry. For they which may be hired to speak in favor for reward sake, be rather the diviners of idols, than the prophets of God: and if they bear any office in the church, they will soon infect their auditory with errors: and so both shall be cast headlong into the ditch. Further, they must endeavor themselves, by their life and manners, to win credit to the word of God. This is thought by some to consist in apparel: and so they will imitate Elias and John the Baptist, and be appareled in camels hair, and wear girdles of leather. But this did the prophets by the instinct and warning of God, to draw the people unto God by wondering at them. Contrarywise, there be some which will abound in pleasures and excess: and this we read in the Ecclesiastical history of Prisca and Maximilla, for they used painted colors, and all kind of niceness. Wherefore a certain mean way must be used, for offense may be committed on both sides, as well in excess, as in homeliness.

8. But thou wilt say, Seeing there be some good prophets, and some bad; by what mark may the one sort be discerned from the other? Forsooth not by garments and apparel of the body. There be certain other more sure tokens showed us in the scriptures. God saith in Deuteronomy, that these be two sure arguments of a good prophet. The first, if he lead not away the people to idolatry, and strange gods: Secondly, if it certainly come to pass whatsoever he foreshoweth. The one of these, which concerneth idolatry, is undoubted and certain; but of the second some doubt may be. For sometimes the foreshowing's of the true prophets have not come to pass. Isaiah did prophesy that king Hezekiah should die of that disease whereof he was sick: and Jonah said, that within forty days the city of Nineveh should be destroyed, and yet neither of these things came to pass according

to the prophesy. Here the answer may be, that those sayings were not prophesies, so much as they were threatening's: and that the prophets did foresee those effects according to the causes: and when the causes were changed, it was no absurdity that the effects changed also: and therefore the prophets cannot be reprov'd as liars. But that place of Deuteronomy is not to be understood of threatening's, but of other prophesies. Such is that which Samuel foreshowed unto Saul, that he should meet two men by the way, and take of them loaves, and that afterward with him should meet a company of prophets. Such also was that which Gideon received as touching the dry and dewy fleece. And such was that which was foretold to Marie: namely, that her cousin Elizabeth should conceive. Other tokens hath Chrysostom noted upon the 12th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, upon these words, When ye were Gentiles ye were carried away to dumb idols. There he saith, that the prophets of the idols had two certain tokens to be known by. For first, when they were possessed with the evil spirit, they were vexed with indecent gestures, as men ravished out of their wits. Further, they understood not themselves whatsoever they said. For the proof whereof, he allegeth the testimony of Plato; namely, that they spake goodly things, but understood not themselves. Justinus Martyr in the end of his sermon against the Gentiles, saith, that these words be in a dialogue of Plato, which he entitleth Menon, the which Chrysostom writeth not of, but he addeth two things which seem repugnant one to the other. For he praiseth the Sibyls, as though they had spoken by the motion of the holy Ghost, and as though their prophesies were certain preparatives to the reading of our prophets. But he saith that their verses were corrupted by the writers; and that when the vehemency of their spirit was asswaged, and they come to themselves again, having forgotten what they said, could not

correct them. But that is not like to be true, if they had been stirred up by the spirit of God. First Chrysostom saith, that the devil's priests were wont to be moved with scarce honest gestures. And he citeth an old poet, wherein this is written: Unloose ye now the king, for a mortal man can no longer contain God within him. Whereunto that is like which is written by Virgil:

Dame Sibyll mumbling made, and struggling strong withstood the charge,
If haply so she might the gods enforcing shake from breast:

But he prevailing still, with more and more her spirit oppressed:

Her heart, her raging mouth, he taming staid, and fixed fast.

9. Also the devil doth oftentimes drive his prophets to hang themselves: as he did Prisca and Maximilla, of whom we spake before. In like manner, the priests of Baal did bore themselves with small pikes. And the French Sibyls did geld themselves. And Chrysostom addeth as touching Pythia, that she was wont to sit upon a three footed stool, and to let in the devil into her by her dishonest parts, and from thence to give her answers. And it is no marvel: for the devil is a tyrant, and maketh men to behave themselves shamefully: so that they cannot tell what to do or say. But the holy Ghost useth his prophets after another sort. Nay rather (will some say) God doth also compel his prophets. For Moses, Jonah, and Jeremiah, did first shun the office of prophesying when it was offered them: yet were they compelled against their wills to prophesy. It is true that these holy men did first strive against it, but afterward being persuaded by the holy Ghost, they took upon them the function. For they were not so brought to the executing of God's messages, as though it had been quite against their wills. But the devil compelleth and haleth his prophets by violence. He maketh their tongue to run at random, he wresteth their eyes, and tosseth their whole body after a loathsome manner. On the other side, one may say, that

Caiaphas foretold unawares he wist not what, because he was the high priest for that yere. And that Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh foreshowed by their dreams, such things as themselves understood not. I answer, that those were no full propheties, but only imperfect. For in the definition we said, that a prophet must be able both to understand, and expound his propheties; for they be given for the use of the church, which use is not at all, unless there be understanding. Thirdly, thou wilt say also, that Saul lay naked a whole day and a whole night. I answer, that the flesh of man is terrified and weakened, at the presence of the Godhead: yet that the holy Ghost doth neither corrupt nature, nor yet disfigure the body of man. In deed all the strength and power of man doth fail, and is weakened at so great a majesty, For so did Daniel: so did John in his revelation fall prostrate to the earth. And so did Peter, John, and James, being astonished at the transfiguration of Christ, fall down flat. And Balaam calleth himself, A man falling with his eyes open. And yet were not these men enforced to uncomely and dishonest gestures. Whereas Paul saith, that the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets; that he added, least the prophets should be at any contention among themselves, and should hinder one another; or least that any one should say: He could not wait till another had done. Paul addeth another note in the same place: None (saith he) can say, the Lord Jesus, but in the spirit of God. And no man speaking in the spirit of God, defieth Jesus. These be assured tokens both of a good prophet, and of a bad. Nevertheless it is not sufficient to confess the Lord Jesus in words, but it must also be done in true faith. Augustine in his commentaries begun upon the Epistle to the Romans: There be found (saith he) which profess God in words, but deny him in their doings. Wherefore whosoever professeth the true faith of God, and sheweth the same in his deeds and manners, must be accounted

for a true prophet. Yet we ought not to deny, but that evil men also do sometimes foreshow true things. Such be they which shall say in that latter day: Have not we cast out devils, and wrought many miracles in thy name? And generally we may conclude, that whosoever confesseth Jesus Christ, of what manners soever he be, so he lead us not away from the faith, the same is to be esteemed for a prophet of God. For God can use the works even of evil ministers, in showing forth his glory, so they keep themselves within the prescript of faith. For this is it indeed to say, Jesus is Christ. For Augustine upon the Epistle of John saith, that The very same name of Christ is the knot, in the which all the articles of the faith are contained. Because whosoever granteth Christ to be the son of God, must of necessity confess the father and the holy ghost, that Christ was born, that he suffered, that he died, that he was buried, that he was raised again, and that he was taken up into heaven. Paul to the Thessalonians saith: Prove all things, and hold that which is good. A little before, Paul had given warning that the prophets should not be despised, and then he added, that their sayings should be pondered with judgment. For there be some, which if by chance they hear somewhat spoken unadvisedly in a sermon, do straightway condemn and refuse the whole. Other some take altogether as it comes without any choice. But Paul warneth us to take the mean way, he saith: Prove all things, and hold that which is good. In those days there was a discerning of spirits in the church, whereas at this day, there is either none at all, or else very rare; but yet the people ought to make their hearty prayers unto God, that they be not carried away from the truth by false teachers: but in the giving of their voices they must take heed that the best minister be chosen. And because even Homer himself (as the proverb goeth) may be sometime taken napping, therefore must the minister's sayings be tried and examined by the

word of God, and the articles of faith. And prophesy hath a property common with other free gifts, which is, that it must be given freely. So that they are deceived, who think that the same may be obtained by art or industry, or by I know not what manner of purgation's. For Peter saith, that Prophesy proceeded not of the will of man, but that holy men spake as they were set on by the spirit of God. And Paul saith, that the spirit distributeth to all men, even as it will: for it taketh hold both of the learned and unlearned, the child and the herdsman; as it did of Amos the prophet, when he was gathering of wild figs: yet it cannot be denied, but that fasting and prayer do help very well. For we know, that Daniel did much chasten himself, and refrained from the kings table, being content with pulse. Trulie these things do further not a little, howbeit they deserve not the gift of prophesying. But if we take prophesying more largely for the exposition of the prophets, and word of God, it cannot be denied, but that that faculty may be attained by exercise and doctrine. And therefore to that purpose we find, that schools were appointed, wherein the children of the prophets were instructed, and that when Elisha was disquieted, he called for a musician, to the intent he might recover his right mind.

10. Now let us in a few words declare the effects of prophesy. The first effect is, the edifying of the church. Therefore Solomon saith in the 29th of Proverbs: When prophesy ceaseth, the people be scattered, and with idleness and loitering be quite marred. For prophesy keepeth men in their duty: wherefore Paul saith; He that prophesieth, speaketh doctrine, exhortation, and comfort; so that if the ordinary ministration at any time (as it happeneth) be out of course, God raiseth up prophets extraordinarily to restore things into order. But it may be doubted, whether prophets do surely know those things to be true, which they foretell: yes verily. For otherwise

how could Abraham have found in his heart to slay his son, unless he had been assured of the commandment of God. Wherefore in that they be prophets, they be sure of that which they say; I ad, in that they be prophets. For as being men they may both err, and be deceived. In Chronicles, David told Nathan that he would build up a temple unto the Lord. Then Nathan the prophet, as if he allowed the kings mind, bad him do that which seemed good to his own eyes; but afterward he received from the mouth of God, that the same work pertained to Solomon: therefore Nathan as man, erred: but God forthwith called him home. This much sufficeth for the effects of prophesying. One only thing I will ad. It is written in Ecclesiasticus that the bones of Elisha the prophet did prophesy, because by the raising up of a dead man, they gave testimony of Elisha doctrine; but we must not seem to call that a prophesy, for then shall all miracles be prophesies.

11. But we see, that Abraham and Abimelech did then prophesy, when God appeared unto them, but not as they thought good themselves. So we may perceive that this power of prophesy, is not to be counted an habit, but a preparation, or as they term it a disposition, being in a kind of quality. And the heavenly light, wherewith a man's mind is then lightened, is rather as a sudden passion, as that which may easily be removed, than as a passable quality: and is as light in the air, but not like the light of the celestial bodies: not as a paleness coming of the natural temperature of the body; but as that is which riseth of a sudden frightening of the mind. And now how needful a thing prophesy hath been for mankind, by this it may easily be perceived. For if men were to be saved, it was requisite that they should be justified, and justified we are by faith. Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. But the word is not propounded unto us, except it be revealed to the prophets. Therefore prophesy was as fit for

them, as justification is necessary unto us. But there is not so necessary a bond between prophesy and justifying faith, as that every man, that hath attained to the gift of prophesying, is forthwith become a friend of God and justified. We know that Balaam was a wicked man, and yet nevertheless a prophet. And in Matthew there is mention made of certain wicked persons, that in the day of judgment shall object unto the Lord; Have we not prophesied in thy name? Who nevertheless shall hear (Christ say) I know you not. But this is no marvel, since the same happens in the office of the apostles and evangelists, and other ministers of the church. Judas was not in God's favor, and yet nevertheless an apostle, and 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 only that they might stir up afflictions to him, whereunto the apostle addeth, that he is glad, so Christ be preached, whether it be in truth, or by an occasion. And why? This is no necessary consequent. Among their reasons alleged, this also may be brought for a cause: namely, for that this gift is granted of the Lord, for the furtherance and profit of others: even as are the gifts of healing, of tongues, and of other such graces. And this doth nothing derogate from the goodness of God: nay rather it doth more plainly show the same unto us, when we understand thereby, that he is so gracious, as he will make even the wicked to serve to a good purpose.

12. Sometime this name of a prophet is used in the holy scriptures for an interpreter, as in the 7th of Exod. Aaron is appointed to be Moses prophet, that is, his interpreter before Pharaoh. And ye shall find, that the word prophesying in the first of Samuel, is attributed unto Saul, when he being assailed with the evil spirit of the Lord, spake strange and unusual things (as the Greeks say) by a vehement concitation of the mind. But the children

of the prophets were the disciples of great and famous prophets, which sometime with their musical instruments and songs, were so stirred up to sing the praises of God, as they spake some things beyond their wonted manner and custom: so that it easily appeared they were set on by the spirit of God. And that God determined to rule the people of old time by the perpetual industry of some prophet, it may plainly appear by the 18th of Deut. where the cause is alleged, that whereas the Israelites might not endure the sight of God's majesty, they made suit, that he would deal with them by Moses, lest they should die. Which his petition God so well allowed, as he said he would not only then so do, but promised that he would also after Moses raise up a prophet among their own brethren, whom they should be bound to hear no less than Moses himself. The which words, though they be chiefly meant of Christ, as Peter teacheth in the Acts of the apostles, yet are they also to be applied unto those his prophets, by whose means God did govern his people after Moses by the teaching of his divine word, and to these it was committed so long to instruct and teach the people in profitable things, until such time, as Christ which is the head, and well-spring of all prophets should come, upon whose coming the former sort ceased. For the law and the prophets endured until John. That place therefore is meant of the other prophets, as of figures and shadows; but of Christ, as principally: after whose coming there was no more need of their presence. For now have we him, whom they told us of before: who though he be absent in body, yet is he present by his spirit the comforter. And by this means the church may be governed.

13. Yet we deny not, but there were many prophets in the primitive church. For S. Paul saith; There be appointed in the church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists. Yea Paul himself was a prophet, whose

Gospel and glad tidings was not brought him by man, but by mere revelation from Christ. Peter also was a prophet, insomuch as he thoroughly saw the secrets of the heart. For he did see what Ananias and Sapphira had done secretly. So were Agabus, the daughters of Philip; and they also, which said, that the holy Ghost spake unto them to separate Paul and Barnabas. But this was then done, because it was needful for the world being otherwise rude, to be driven to Christ by signs. For by these miracles, and chiefly by prophesy, men might be stirred up to the admiration of the Gospel: in like manner as it was done when the law was given to the Hebrews upon mount Sina. Further also, because that they, which were first appointed to preach the Gospel, and lay the foundations of churches, could not by man's endeavor and industry learn thoroughly those things, which concern Christian instruction; it was meet that they should perceive these things by spiritual revelation. Wherefore prophets were then thought most necessary, but now not so. For now the Gospel is spread far abroad: and the church may have many, which by study and pains taking, may learn of the fathers of the church, what maketh for the advancement of the Gospel. Therefore prophesy at this day is not so very necessary, 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 study of languages flourisheth among all Christians: nor yet the power of delivering the wicked unto Satan, since the church hath Christian 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 seem, that in the steed of them, there succeed most learned teachers of the holy scriptures, plentifully at this day given us of God. Nevertheless it cannot be proved by the scriptures, that such be

called prophets, unless they, by the inspiration of God, foreshow some secret mysteries, without the earnest endeavor of man's eloquence. Except thou wilt wrest the words of Paul in the first to the Corinthians to that purpose: and yet thou canst not prove it necessarily. And although that Christ said, that there should be such gifts in his church; yet he did not warrant that they should continue still forever: neither have we any promises, that Christ would perpetually adorn his church with such gifts.

CHAP. IV. Of Visions; and how, and how much God may be Known of Men. Out of Judg. 6:22.

Now the place itself putteth us in remembrance to speak something 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 certain distinctions, which I think to be needful. And first it is supposed, that the knowledge of God is offered unto the senses or understanding: or else we think 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 say) the very essence or being of God, differeth from that which consisteth of tokens, arguments, testimonies, and signs of the presence of God. Lastly, we are to speak either of that knowledge of God, which is expedient for this life; or else of that only, which is looked for in the world to come. Wherefore I will begin with the outward senses: and as touching the knowledge of them, thus I affirm: 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 marvelous distance from him;

and to say the very truth, the qualities which be of a certain kind, and are numbered among things accidental, do stir up the knowledge of the senses: whereunto since that God, who is most pure, is not subject, it is not possible that he should be known by the senses. And that this is true, it is understood by the certain experience, that every man taketh of his own mind. For it is most certainly true, that no man hitherto hath by his senses perceived him, and yet the Anthropomorphites persuaded themselves, that God might be known by the senses; for they attributed unto God a terrestrial body: but their opinion is utterly rejected. For the scripture beareth record, that God is a spirit; and it maketh a manifest difference between a spirit and a body, when our Savior saith; Feel and see, for a spirit hath neither flesh nor bones. And there is no man but knoweth, that a man's body, and the parts thereof cannot consist, or be without flesh and bones. Further, the foolishness of these men hereby appeareth, in that there is not a body to be found that is absolutely pure, simple, and uncompounded. For be it of as equal a temperature as may be, yet it hath parts whereof it is compounded: and that every composition is contrary to the nature of God, the very Ethnic philosophers have perceived.

2. But let us leave these Anthropomorphites and speak of others, whom Augustine maketh mention of, in his *epistle De videndo Deo*, to Paulinus. These men (as the scriptures bear record, and the true catholic faith confesseth) believe that God is altogether most pure, simple, and without body; but yet deny not, but that in that blessed state, which we hope for, the saints departed do behold him with their eyes: and therefore they say, that we are deceived, in that we wholly measure the state of the life to come, by those things that we see commonly done and exercised here. Wherefore (say they) although the dull eyes of our body cannot discern God, nor the

angels, nor spirits; yet being once strengthened with that felicity, they shall see them, not by their own proper nature or power; but they shall have the brightness of their sight so lightened, that they shall be able to reach to the very essence of God. These men perhaps are less deceived than the Anthropomorphites, but yet deceived. For howsoever our eyes are to be confirmed, when we shall be in our own country in heaven, yet they shall even there remain eyes, yea and bodily eyes shall they be, and therefore shall not go beyond the kind and largeness of their own objects. Indeed they shall then easily endure a more piercing and greater light, than now they are able to abide with their eyes, neither shall the sight of those colors 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 disguised, that they shall either become spirits, or else surcease to be bodies any longer.

Wherefore there is not so much granted, no not to the body of Christ, that after his resurrection it should pass into a spirit. For that had not been to have the body rise again, but to have it abolished. Therefore, they that think our sight shall be made so perfect, that it shall be able to perceive the substance of God, do nothing to the commendation thereof, but do in very deed destroy it. The Anthropomorphites offend against the nature of God, because they cloth it with a body; but the other do injury to the nature of man, in that they persuade themselves, that it shall not continue in the blessed resurrection. And so our opinion abideth true and in force, as well concerning this present life that we live, as also touching the life that we look 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 diverse

and sundry times? I answer, that as concerning the outward senses, they did only perceive certain similitudes, forms and shapes, which were sometimes offered them by God, and his angels, whereby they might testify that they were present, and spake with those fathers, that they heard them, and warned them of things for their salvation. But as for the presence of God, or of the angels, and also their speeches, and things by them signified, the sense itself perceived not; but the mind and reason gathered by them those things, which the capacity of the senses did express. Whereupon the Chaldee paraphrast, where it is written in Exodus, that God came down upon mount Sina, doth not simply set down, that God himself came down; but translateth it, The glory of God. As if he should say, that Certain mighty and wonderful tokens were there seen, by the which God testified himself to be present. Which thing, in like manner he doth in the 6th of Isaiah, where he writeth; I saw the Lord sitting upon a high and lofty throne. And what manner shapes and similitudes these were, which betokened the presence of God, or the angels, it is easy to gather out of the holy scriptures.

To Moses there appeared a burning bush, a cloud, a pillar of fire, smokes, voices, thunders, flames, lightnings, the propitiatory, the ark of the covenant, urim and thummim, diverse forms even of men, which either did, or spake something, or else after some manner of sort showed themselves, either unto the prophets, or unto others. All these (I say) were signs and tokens of the presence both of God, and of the angels, and offered themselves unto the fathers, either sleeping or waking, to be perceived of them. But sometimes the fantasy or imagination that is in men, was fashioned by the holy Ghost, and help of angels, at the commandment of God, with such kind of similitudes and figures; whereby those things that

God would show, were no less expressed in the minds of those which knew them, than if they had been offered to the outward senses.

4. Wherefore in expounding the prophets, it so falleth out, that we be many times in great doubt, whether the thing they speak of were so outwardly performed; or else rather whether it did so seem to be done in the mind of the prophet. And in some places, by the circumstances of the matter itself we are compelled to confess, that it was but a vision: as Jerome testifieth of Jeremiah's hose, which by God's commandment he laid down by a rock at the river Euphrates, and left them there so long, till they were rotten, which yet he was commanded to take and wear again. And this vision happened while the city of Jerusalem was sharply besieged by the Chaldeans when as the prophet had not liberty to go to and fro to Euphrates. For at the same time, when once he would have gone to Anathoth, where he was born, he was apprehended as he went out of the gates, and charged with treachery. And even so doth the same Jerome affirm, that it was only done by vision. Which thing is written in Ezekiel, of the bread baked in ox dung, and of his lying many days all upon one side. Hereunto may be added the eating of the book, 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 preaching or expounding unto the people, that which the prophets had in their minds, a thing seen by fantasy or imagination was all one, and of as great force, as if it had outwardly happened. But yet we must not fly to the visions of the mind, when the thing itself may be done outwardly. For since as it was in God to use both ways, according to his own pleasure, and as he thought it most fit and convenient for us, therefore he sometimes used the one way, and sometimes the other. And yet in all

these matters, me thinks, that the judgment of Ambrose is to be followed, who entreating of these visions saith, that They were such as the will made choice of, not such as nature framed: which maketh verily against them, that think prophesying to be natural; as though such figures and shows offer themselves to the outward senses of the prophets to be seen, or to the inward imagination or fantasy to be known by the power of the heavens, or by the influence of nature, or else by the temperature of humors. For the will of God, or of an angel (saith Ambrose) would those things, and made choice of them before other things; it was not the power of nature that framed them.

5. But here ariseth another doubt, not to be winked at; Whether God himself, under these images and forms, hath at any time showed himself? Or else, that only the angels appeared always, who sometime dealt with the prophets, and spake to them in their own name, and sometime in the name of God? There have been some, which said; that God himself never appeared, but that whatsoever was said or done in those visions, was wrought by the angels in the name of God: and they do affirm, that they have certain testimonies of the scriptures making for them, whereof one is in the Acts of the apostles, where expressly Stephen calleth him an angel, which spake with Moses out of the bush: and yet in Exodus he is named God. Again Paul to the Galatians saith, that The law was given in the hand of a mediator, by the disposition of angels. And no man doubteth, but that it is written in Exodus, that the law was given by God. Wherefore they conclude, that it must be understood, that God appeared not by himself, but by angels.

But seeing the essence or nature of God cannot be taken, either from the holy Ghost, or from the Son, (for both of them is by nature God) how can

they maintain their opinion, seeing it is expressly read in the scripture, that the holy ghost descended upon Christ in the image of a dove? If they shall say, that it was an angel, and not a dove that came down, they charge the scripture with an untruth: but if they confess that the holy ghost appeared together with that dove, what shall they let be, that God himself was not present with the fathers, in other types and similitudes also? This reason they can in no wise avoid, unless they should run into a plain heresy, (which I think they will not) in denying the holy ghost to be God.

And look what I have alleged concerning the holy Ghost, the same I may object as touching the son, out of the words of Paul unto Timothy, the third chapter, where he writeth: Without doubt the mystery is great; God is manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, &c. Moreover the universal church and true faith confesseth the word to be very God, which appeared in the nature of man. And if so be he did this, (as without doubt, and unfeignedly he did) why may it not be said, that he did the like in the old law, under diverse forms and manifold likenesses? Trulie, that which he bestowed upon us in this latter time was the greater thing: and that he which gave the greater, is able to grant the less, we have no doubt at all.

6. Peradventure they will say, that the holy scriptures set down that to be believed, which was last delivered: but that we read nowhere, that we ought so to think of that, which you will needs have done in old time. If we mark well, the scriptures teach this also. For the son of God is called of the Evangelist, The word, or λόγος: which we must not think to be done of him in vain; but because God is understood to speak by him, whensoever the scriptures bear record that he spake. Wherefore so often as we read, that the word of the Lord came to this man or that, so often (in my judgment) it is to be attributed to Christ our Lord, the son of God: namely, that God by him

spake unto the patriarchs and prophets. Which thing, least I should seem to speak but to small purpose, I will allege for this opinion the witness and testimony of a couple. The first is in the 1st of John; No man hath seen God at any time: and strait way, by the figure of Preoccupation, is added: The son, which is in the bosom of the father, he hath revealed him. For it might have been asked; If never any man saw God, who was then present with the fathers, when these heavenly things were showed them? Or who talked with them; when sundry forms and images appeared unto them, and dealt with them in the name of God? It is by and by answered; The son, which is in the bosom of the father, he showed (him unto them.) He was the truest interpreter of the father amongst men.

The other place is in the twelfth chapter of the same gospel, where it is thus written word for word; Therefore could they not believe, because Isaiah said again, He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their heart, lest they should see with their eyes, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. This did Isaiah say, when he saw his glory, and spake of him. Those two pronouns (His and of Him) without all doubt have relation unto Christ. For a little before, the evangelist had said; When he (namely Christ) had done so many miracles in their sight, yet they believed not in him, that the saying of Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled, &c. And to this opinion (which indeed is agreeable to the scriptures) Chrysostom, Jerome, Cyril, and Augustine do consent. Moreover, the words of the prophet Hosea, which he hath in the 12th chapter, are thoroughly to be weighed. For thus the Lord speaketh in that place; I spake unto the prophets, and I multiplied visions, and was revealed in similitudes by the ministry of the prophets. Hereof we gather, that from the beginning, there

were not only similitudes given unto the prophets, but that God himself also did speak unto them.

7. But now are we to confirm by most evident examples, that the apparitions of God differed utterly from the visions of angels. [1] First it is showed us out of the book of Genesis, that Jacob saw a ladder which reached from the earth even unto heaven; by it the angels went up and down: and at the top of the ladder (to wit) in heaven, the Lord did stand, of whom Jacob received great and solemn promises. Hereby we gather (unless we will be willfully blinded) that the angels were showed after one form, and God himself appeared in another. [2] The very same thing also may we see in Isaiah, when he saw the Lord sit upon his seat of majesty, and two Seraphim's with him, crying one to another; Holy, Holy, Holy: which yielded so great reverence unto God, who was betwixt them, that with their two upper wings they covered their faces, and with their two nether wings, their feet. Who seeth not here a very great difference of apparition between God and his angels.

[3] I speak nothing of Ezekiel, that saw angels under the similitude of living creatures, as of an ox, of an eagle, and of a lion, which turned the wheels about: but God himself he saw placed highest of all in the likeness of the son of man. [4] Of Daniel also was seen the ancient of days, unto whom came the son of man: and he addeth, that thrones were there placed, and books laid open, and a certain form of judgment appointed. After that, he maketh mention of angels; of whom he saith there were ten thousand, and ten hundred thousand present to minister unto him. So we perceive by this place, there was great difference between God and the angels, which attended upon him.

[5] Besides these, there is a very manifest place in Exodus, when God being angry with his people, refused to walk any longer with them in the wilderness, lest he being provoked by their sins, should utterly have destroyed them all. But yet he promised that he would send his angel with them; with which promise Moses was not contented, and said he would in no wise go forward with the people, unless God also himself would go. And in very deed at the length by prayer and persuasion he prevailed, and according to his request, had God the conductor of his journey. Wherefore how can these men say, that God himself was present under those forms, but that the angels only were seen under such similitudes?

[6] Further, let us remember, that Moses besought God, (as we read in the same book of Exodus) that he might see his face; whose request God for the incredible favor he had unto him, would not utterly gainsay; when as he nevertheless would not grant him wholly that which he desired. Therefore he answered; Verily thou shalt not see my face; because men cannot behold the same, and live; but my hinder parts, even my back shalt thou see. What plainer testimony than this can there be? Surely God doth here bind himself in plain terms, to appear unto Moses in man's likeness: of which form or image Moses should see, not the face, but the back; and that he performed faithfully. For as God passed by, Moses saw the back of his image near unto the rock, and he heard the great and mighty names of God, pronounced with an exceeding clear voice; which when as he perceived, he cast himself prostrate upon the earth, and worshipped. And it is not to be doubted, but that he gave that worship unto him, which is due unto God alone. For seeing he believed him to be present, according to his promise, there can be no controversy, but that he worshipped him, as being there truly present. [7] And doubtless, had not God been verily present at the ark and propitiatory,

but had only willed the angels to answer such as had asked counsel of him, since he had commanded the Israelites to worship and call upon him in that place, he should have driven them headlong into idolatry.

[8] To these examples let us add that history, which in the book of Kings is mentioned of Micah the prophet, which prophesied before Ahab the king of Israel, and said, that he saw God, and a host of angels present with him; and that he heard God ask, which of them would deceive Ahab, and that one offered himself ready to become a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets of king Ahab. By this vision it is understood, that there was a plain and notable difference between God and the angels, which appeared altogether unto the prophet. Wherefore that gift, which God gave unto the fathers, must not be extenuated or made less than it was; and it must be granted, that he was present in very deed, when he appeared, seeing we read that so it was done, and there is nothing to the contrary, so far as can be gathered out of the holy scriptures: neither is the nature of God anything against it, but that it might be so. And it were not safe for us, to attribute unto angels all those things, that we read in the scriptures of such kind of visions. For so we might easily slip into that error, to believe that the world was not made immediately by God, but by the angels at his commandment. Let us therefore confess, that God was truly present in those things, and that he showed himself under diverse similitudes, as often as we hear the scripture either testify or show so much.

8. It remaineth that we answer to the places before alleged. As touching the place in the epistle to the Galatians, I grant that the ministry of angels was used in the giving of the law. 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 many ways diligent about God, while

he was present, and talked with the people. Neither is it denied by the words of the apostle, that God spake, or gave the law, as the words of the scripture do testify. Yea rather there have been that expounded, The hand of a mediator, not to be Moses, but the son of God himself: whether truly, or no, I am not presently to discuss. And as for that, which S. Stephen saith (as it is in the Acts of the apostles) that an angel appeared unto Moses in a bush, and spake unto him; long answer needeth not. For if by the angel, the son of God be understood, all scruple is removed.

9. But to the intent that those things, which I have spoken of concerning this matter, may the more certainly and plainly be understood, me thinketh it is good to confirm them by the testimony of some of the fathers. Chrysostom in the 14th Homily upon John saith, that Whatsoever the fathers of old time saw, it was of permission, but not of that pure and simple substance of God. And he addeth; If they had seen that substance, they should have seen every part like another; for as much as it is pure, simple, and not to be described: wherefor it neither standeth, lieth, nor sitteth in such wise, as was sometimes showed unto the prophets. Moreover, he addeth, that God, before the coming of his son into flesh, exercised the fathers in such kind of visions and 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 souls of men, cannot be seen with our bodily eyes. Wherefore it is much less to be believed, that we are able by our outward senses to attain to the knowledge of God.

And least any should think, that it is only proper to God the father to be invisible, and not to the son, he alledgeth that saying of Paul, that He is the image of the invisible God. And surly, he should fail in the property of an image, unless he were invisible, as is he, whose image he is said to be.

Augustine also in his third treatise upon John saith, concerning Moses; Although it be said, that he talked with God face to face, yet when he made suit to God, that he might see his face, (that is to wit, his very substance) he could not obtain it. And in the same place he addeth; He saw a cloud and fires, which were figures. And a little after, If they say that the son was visible, before he was incarnated, they do but dote. Many other things besides these, doth Augustine gather to the same purpose, in his Epistle to Fortunatus, out of Nazianzen, Jerome, and other of the fathers, which were overlong here to recite.

10. But yet will I here bring forth a couple of arguments, which are wont to be objected against those things, that I have defined. We said at the beginning, that the essence of God cannot therefore be comprehended by sense, because his nature is not corporal; but all the ancient fathers seem not to have believed this: for Tertullian against Praxias writeth, that God is a body; and diverse times he affirmeth the same in other places, yea and in his little book *De anima*, he saith that our souls are bodies; and, which seemeth more strange, he laboreth to prove the same by many reasons. And in his book *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, the 11th chapter; Every kind of creature is declared to be a body; namely, the very angels. For there is nothing that filleth all things, as God doth, but all things are described by places certain; as appeareth by the soul, which is shut up within his own body.

Augustine in his book *Ad quod vult deum*, excuseth Tertullian in this sort, that by this word, body, he meant his substance, and that which God is in very deed. As if he had therefore taught, that God is a body; least he should seem to deny his essence: whereas the common sort think, that whatsoever is nobody, is not at all. Notwithstanding in his book *De genesi ad litteram*,

he is confuted by this reason, that being at the length overcome by the truth, he confesseth that everybody is passable: for which cause, least he should make God passable, he ought to have denied him to be a body. Neither was there any such necessity, to apply himself so to the capacity of the common people, that he should therefore speak falsely of God. Christian men are not so to be taught, that like senseless gross-heads (which sort of men even Aristotle confuteth) they should think that there is nothing but it is a body; but they ought rather to have their mind lifted up, that studying upon God, they determine nothing beyond the rules of the scriptures. But unto that book *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, we must not attribute more than is meet. For it is ascribed to Augustine, but the learned think that it is none of his.

11. The other, which is sometime objected, is an argument of the Anthropomorphites. For they dispute, that therefore we ought not to believe, that God is without a body, because the scriptures do witness, that man was made after the image of God: which could not be, unless he had a body as one of ours. For else the image should have no likeness of that thing whereunto it is compared. And they think moreover, that the scripture is on their side; forasmuch as it doth oftentimes ascribe the members and parts of man's body unto God. But Jerome (as Augustine in his epistle to Fortunatianus citeth him) scorneth that argument of theirs wittily and learnedly. If we allow this reason (saith he) we may easily conclude, that a man hath wings, because the scripture hath sometime attributed them unto God, unto whose image it is manifest that man was made.

These men should rather have considered, that the image of God consisteth in holiness, righteousness, and truth, as Paul hath taught. Which thing if they had marked, they would not only have removed a body from him, but also have withdrawn from their minds, all such gross and carnal

imaginations. Why do they not as well say, that God is a very bear, a lion, or a fire; seeing that Amos, and Moses, and the epistle to the Hebrews, do so term him. It is written in the 94th Psalm, He that planted the eye, shall he not see? And he that made the ear, shall not he hear? There (saith Jerome) it should have been said: He that planted the eye, hath he not an eye? And he that made the ear, hath he not an ear? But it is not so said, least while thou musest upon him, thou shouldest be deceived, and imagine him to have these kind of parts. And the scripture, if sometimes it attribute parts or members unto God, verily it doth it only to the intent it may help our weak capacity; with the which although we cannot comprehend the substance of God, as it is, yet it laboreth, by the help of certain special signs and shadows, what it can, to make us have some knowledge of it. Wherefore members are by a very profitable metaphor or translation attributed unto God, that we by the due consideration of his qualities, might have our minds godly and faithfully exercised.

And if so be that the Anthropomorphites had for that cause assured God to have parts and members, as the scripture doth, to help man's understanding, they might have been excused, and not condemned: but they were earnest, that it standeth so with the nature of God in very deed; and therefore are justly and deservedly accused and condemned. But what shall we answer unto the words of Paul, who concerning the beholding the nature of God in our country in heaven, saith; We shall see him face to face, and so seemeth to grant unto our face and eyes the power to see God, and after a sort to devise a face for God himself. Augustine answereth, that There is a face also of the mind, because Paul saith, We now behold heavenly things bare faced, not with a veil or covering; as it came to pass with the Jews, when they spake unto Moses.

12. But now that we have thus finished and concluded these things, let us briefly set down certain other ways, whereby God is known. In the life everlasting, the saints shall know the essence of God, not by their senses; but by their soul or mind: because John saith, When he shall appear, we shall see him as he is. And Paul testifieth the same thing, saying: Now we behold him, as it were through a glass, but then we shall see him face to face. And the same thing is gathered of Christ's own words; Their angels do always behold the face of the father. For in another place he taught, that the just in that blessed resurrection, shall be as the angels of God. Whereupon 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 manner shall behold the same.

There is also another testimony of Paul to the Corinthians: Then I shall know even as I am known. But no man doubteth, but that we are known unto God thoroughly, and in every part of our substance: yet am I not persuaded, that the saints shall thoroughly and in all respects know the nature and substance of God, except so far as their nature and capacity shall reach unto. For things measurable do in no wise comprehend that which is infinite and immeasurable: neither can the things created fully and perfectly comprehend the Creator. Whereupon Chrysostom in his 14th homily upon John, Ambrose in his first book upon the first of Luke, and Jerome, as Augustine reporteth in the place before recited, do deny that the angels see God: which cannot simply and absolutely be understood; seeing Christ saith, that They see the face of the father that is in heaven.

Wherefore the place must be understood of the whole and perfect knowledge of God, in his nature and substance. Whereupon it is said in the sixth of John; No man hath seen God, but he which is of God, he hath seen

the father. Again; As the father knoweth me, so I know the father. So that to know all the substance of God fully and perfectly, is granted only unto Christ, who is God. Others also shall in very deed see the same; but yet according to their capacity. But if thou ask whether all shall see it equally or no? Hereunto I will not answer at this time. For we shall have another place to speak of the diversity or equality of rewards in our celestial country.

13. But what shall we set down concerning the state and condition of this life? Whether doth our mind, while we live here attain to the knowledge of God's substance? No verily. For it is written; Man shall not see me and live. No man hath seen God at any time. And Paul saith further, that He cannot be seen, because he dwelleth in the light that no man can attain unto. But this is not meant of every kind of knowledge. For it is granted us to know God after a sort, while we are yet in this life. We must therefore account those things to be spoken of the essential and substantial knowledge of God, as the schoolmen term it. Neither is that anything against it, that Moses is said to have seen him face to face; which also Jacob said before him: nor yet that which is spoken of the same Moses in another place, that God talked with him, as one friend doth with another. For these things are not spoken absolutely, but by way of comparison made with others; because those things which were revealed unto men in that age, concerning God, were known to those excellent men above all others. For it pleased God to show himself unto them, after a certain exquisite and unaccustomed manner, which he did not to others. And that this is the sense and meaning of those words, Augustine and Chrysostom do thereby gather, for that when Moses desired to see the face of God, it was denied him.

14. Now there remaineth, that we speak of that our knowledge of God, which we can possibly compass, while we are in this life. First the same (as

we have said) is natural, and that very slender and obscure. Which Simonides knew very well, who (as Tully writeth) in his book *De natura decrum*, being asked of Hiero king of Sicilia, what God was, he ever deferred his answer, because the more he did study upon it, the darker it always seemed unto him. Wherefore Clemens Alexandrinus 50th stroma, alleging a reason why our knowledge of God is so difficult, saith; It is neither general kind of creatures, nor difference, nor accident, nor subject for accidents: and therefore not for us to know, who comprehend such things only with our minds and reason.

The effects whereby the philosophers used to bring themselves to the knowledge of God, are far inferior to his worthiness, strength, and power: and therefore it is but common and frivolous which they declare of him. And we give him certain epithets and properties, namely; good, just, wise, bountiful, and such like; because we have not more excellent things, nor more goodly titles, that can be fitter or more agreeable unto him. And yet are not these things in him in such sort as we speak them. For, as in simpleness of nature; so in goodness, righteousness, and wisdom, he is far otherwise, than men either can or may be said to be.

15. But besides this natural knowledge that we have of God, that also offereth itself unto us, which consisteth of faith, and is revealed unto us by the word of God. This faith is not of ourselves, (as it is said to the Ephesians) but it is the gift of God. For Christ saith; None can come unto me, unless the father draw him. Faith therefore gathereth plentiful knowledge of God out of the scriptures, so far as our salvation requireth, and the capacity of this life admitteth. But yet (as Paul witnesseth;) This knowledge also is imperfect. For we know now as by a view, through a glass, and in part. And although we profit in this knowledge more and more

while we live, yet do we not reach to the understanding of the substance of God.

I know very well, that Augustine thought as touching Paul and Moses, that they had sometime seen the substance of God with their mind, while they lived here: but I should hardly yield to him therein; forasmuch as I judge those places of John, of the law, and of Paul, which I alleged before, to be most plain and evident. Whereunto may be added that which is in the 6th of John; None hath seen the father at any time. He that is of God, he hath seen the father. And note, that whatsoever is said of the father in this place, the same is also true of the son, as concerning his Godhead. For, as I have declared before, both out of Chrysostom and Augustine, the nature both of the father and of the son is invisible. Neither maketh it any matter to say, as Augustine saith, that they saw the nature and substance of God, not by the use of their outward senses, but as it were ravished, 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 have heard that it was denied unto Moses, to have a sight of God's countenance. Wherefore through the knowledge that cometh by faith, we understand what God and his loving kindness towards us is, as much as sufficeth for our assured and perfect salvation.

But among all these things, whereby we know God out of the scriptures, nothing is more excellent than is Christ himself. Wherefore Paul had just cause to say; Doubtless it is a great mystery, God is made manifest in the flesh, &c. And the Lord also said; Philip, he that seeth me, seeth also the father. Also Paul said, that He knoweth nothing else but Christ, and him crucified. And indeed God may be said to be made visible in Christ, because he is joined in one person with man. Wherefore they that saw

Christ, might avouch that they saw God: and he that acknowledgeth and beholdeth him by faith, doth see a great deal more, than if he should see Moses burning bush. Therefore it is written unto the Colossians, that All the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God are laid up in him.

16. But in marking thou shalt always perceive, that the fathers of old time, after they had once seen God, or any angels, were in exceeding great fear; and were so astonied, as they looked but for present death. And no marvel: for it was not unknown to them, what answer God made unto Moses, when he desired to see his face; Man shall not see me and live. And John the Baptist, as we read in the first of John, said; No man hath seen God at any time. And Paul unto Timothy hath confirmed the same, saying; No man hath seen God, nor yet may see; for he is invisible, because he dwelleth in the light that cannot be come unto. Which thing also both Gideon and Manoa the father of Samson, do testify. Jacob likewise after his nights wrestling, (wherein he thought he had contended with a man) when he perceived it was an angel, marveled how he had escaped safe and alive. I saw the Lord (saith he) face to face, and yet my life is safe: as though he could scarcely believe it might be

Moreover, the Hebrews, when the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai, to give the law, were so dismayed with fear and trembling, that they said to Moses: We pray thee deal thou with God, least if he continue talking so with us, we die everyone. And with these places, that also maketh much, that is written in the same book of Exodus, even when the covenant was made between God and his people; and Moses had recited the same, and sprinkled the people with the blood of the sacrifices, and had brought the elders unto the mount, where they saw God sitting upon a throne in great majesty and glory. But after that vision is recited, it is added: And yet did

not God stretch out his hand unto them. Which declareth, that it was a rare sight, and a strange, that men should see God without all peril and danger of life. Wherefore every part of that is recorded, as done by special prerogative.

Jerome also testifieth, that Isaiah was slain by the Jews, under this color; because he said, that he saw God sitting upon his throne, as it is written in the sixth chapter of his book. They caviled with him, that it was but a lie, forsomuch as God cannot be seen of any man that liveth, and therefore they unjustly condemned him, as one that taught the people his imaginations, not that which the Lord had showed him. These things did they devise against that innocent prophet, when as they had no other cause to lay against him.

17. The like examples also are not wanting in the New Testament, when the Lord revealed to his apostles a certain show of his glory and majesty upon mount Tabor: he shone with exceeding great brightness and light, and was wholly changed before them: with whom Moses and Elias were strait way present, and the voice of the father was heard from heaven. These things, because they did many ways exceed the power of man's sight, the apostles eyes might not endure them: wherefore they fell prostrate upon the earth, as if they had been dead. Also Peter, when at Christ's beck he had fished, and caught an incredible number of fishes (for before that commandment he had labored long in vain) wondering at the strangeness 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 peril. And Paul, when he would make relation, how he was taken up even to the third heaven, where he learned such heavenly things, as he could not by speech express unto man, wrote: Whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not. Assuredly

he durst not affirm, that those things happened unto him while he used the body, and senses of this life. Wherefore it is evident enough, that Gideon was not astonished without a cause.

18. But now I think it good to show the reason, why the sight of God, or of the angels, doth seem to bring present destruction unto men. Peradventure it cometh to pass, by means of the heavy mass of this body, which (as the Platonists affirm) is unto us as a dark and shadowed prison, wherewith we are so hindered, that we cannot perceive the things which are heavenly. If happily we do sometimes see them, by and by we think the conjunction of our soul and body to be sundered, and that we shall die out of hand; and that therefore the sight of heavenly things is propounded unto us, because the divorce of the mind and of the body is at hand. Moreover, Aristotle in his metaphysics doth witness, that the power of our understanding, is so little able to comprehend the things divine, which in their nature are most clear and manifest, that it may justly be likened to the eyes of owls and bats, which cannot abide to look upon the brightness of the sun, or the light of the day. They which thus judge do say somewhat; but yet not so much as sufficeth for a plain declaration of the matter.

The body from our first creation, was not therefore given unto men, to be any hindrance to our knowledge of God; nor yet to shut up our souls as it were in a dark and blind prison. For so the goodness of God should become guilty, for making the nature of man bodily and corporal. And that it is so, it is to be proved by the history of Genesis, which testifieth, that God was very familiar with our first parents, notwithstanding they had bodies. For he brought them into paradise, which he had planted; he showed them the fruits whereof they might eat; and concerning other some, he made a law, that they should not touch them; and he set all living creatures before

Adam, that he might call them all by what name he would. Wherefore the body was no let, but that our first parents might use familiarity with God. But it was sin, that removed us from the sight of God. From thence came unto us the darkness, blindness, and ignorance in heavenly things. For this cause are we transformed into moles, bats, and owls. Otherwise God, of his own nature is most clear, yea and the very light itself, unless the foulness of our sin be set between us.

Perhaps thou wilt say, it hath been sufficiently declared already, that our blindness springeth out of sin; but it hath not been showed, what the cause is, that men be so afraid at the sight of God. Yes, hereupon dependeth all this matter: for men, because that by reason of their own blindness, they are swallowed up with that heavenly light, being guilty in their own consciences, do fly from the judge, no less mighty than just. For they in such wise conceive of the Godhead, that they know, that by reason of the pureness and righteousness thereof, it can abide nothing that is filthy and unclean. Wherefore they think, that to have the presence of God, is nothing else, but to have the judgment prepared, and punishment deserved, presently to be laid upon them.

For this cause our first parents hid themselves immediately after they had transgressed, and were so greatly terrified at the voice of God, that straightways they decreed to shroud themselves among the trees in paradise, which doubtless proceeded of a troubled conscience, seeing God in his own nature doth cheer men, and revive them, as the author of all manner of comfort. Wherefore it is manifest enough, that these inconveniences and terrors have fallen out not by any fault of his, but by our own default. Wherefore John, in the third chapter of his 1st epistle, giveth this wholesome admonition, that He which hopeth to see God as he is, should

prepare himself thereunto, by purifying himself, even as he is clean and pure.

CHAP. V. Of Dreams; chiefly out of Judg. 7:13.

The Jews seem to make three sorts of dreams. The first they account altogether natural. The second mere divine, as when one is cast into a sleep by God, and in the same is warned of things secret and hidden: as we know was done in the first man Adam, when Eve was framed out of his side. For the Lord cast him into a slumber, and (therein) instructed him of the conjunction between Christ and his Church. The same we know was done to Abraham, when as God cast him into a sleep, in the midst, between the pieces of flesh, and told him what should happen unto his seed many years after. The third sort of dreams is mixed of them both, and is common with the prophets, when natural sleep cometh upon them: but yet God is present with them in their sleep, and instructeth them of things to come; of which sort was that of Jacob, about the vision of the ladder.

And seeing we purpose to speak somewhat largely of dreams, we will first see what may be said of them by natural reason; and secondly, how much must be attributed unto them by the word of God. Concerning the first, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, and diverse other famous philosophers have

written much; and among others, Aristotle in his little book *De divinatione per somnium*, (if that were his, and yet no doubt but it is both learnedly and clerkly written) first saith, that this kind of divination by dreams, is not utterly to be rejected, because commonly very much is attributed thereunto: and those things which be received in a manner of all men, are never altogether false. And he saith moreover, that there be many dreams, whereof there may be yielded a very fit and convenient reason, which (as experience teacheth) deceive not men, but fall out true: therefore it were not well to despise all manner of divination by dreams. Yet we must take heed, that we be well advised in admitting of them; seeing it is a very hard matter to show the causes of them; for that nature on this behalf worketh most obscurely.

And Aristotle doth not think, that visions are sent by God: saying, that if they were sent by him, he would give them to such as are good and wise men; but we see by experience that it is otherwise. For the foolish and simple do many times prevail in this faculty. Moreover, the brute beasts have their dreams; but who will say that God giveth them the power of divination? Neither are visions occupied about the fantasy of men in their sleeps, to this end, that thereby they should prognosticate things to come. And besides, if God did send such visions, he would rather do it in the day time, that men might with more diligence consider of them: neither can we easily judge, why he hath chosen the night for such a purpose.

And to conclude, seeing God is not envious, he would not so obscurely warn them, whom he would have to be instructed in the things to come; but he would show those things clearly and plainly: but dreams are so dark and obscure, that for the interpretation of them, men must repair to prophets and soothsayers. These things are gathered in a manner out of Aristotle, whereby he wholly transferreth this thing from God unto nature: as though

the causes of dreams should be drawn from thence. But of those things I will entreat more, when I come to speak of dreams, according to Divinity. I will now declare what he hath of this matter.

2. Dreams (saith he) are either signs, or causes; or else they are chanceably, and by fortune applied to those things, whereunto they are referred. And every one of these three kinds is thus expounded. He saith, that dreams are sometimes signs of the affections of the body or mind. For by them is declared very many times, what humors do abound, bear rule, and do most of all offend in man's body. For shows and likenesses of things are raised according to the quality of nature, and temperature of humors prevailing in the body. Where choler aboundeth, there flames, fire, coals, lightening, brawling's, and such like are seen. If that melancholy have the upper hand, then smoke, great darkness, all black and ill-favored things, dead courses, and such like, present themselves. But phlegm raiseth up the likeness of showers, rains, floods, waters, hail, ice, and whatsoever else hath plenty of moisture joined with coldness. By blood are stirred up goodly sights, clear, white, and fragrant, and such as resemble the common pureness, and usual form or face of things. Neither are these things neglected of the physicians. For even they themselves (as Hippocrates and Galen report) do very diligently examine their patients touching them: because thereby they can find out the temperature of those humors, which lie hidden within the body.

But the cause why men do perceive the nature of these motions by vision, when they are asleep, and not waking, is this; for that they are always but small, and the sense of them vanisheth as soon as we awake. For outward things which are still in our eyes, draw us to stronger motions another ways; but being quiet from outward business, we surcease, and are free from the

grosser things, which occupied our senses. Wherefore our fantasy doth apprehend those sights and likenesses of things, which humors always raise in us, rather while we are asleep, than when we are waking. And that we perceive small things far better, when we be asleep, than when we be awake, it appeareth hereby; in that we judge every small noise to be great thunders. And if there happen but a little sweet phlegm, to remain upon the tongue or roof of the mouth, we think that we taste either honey, or sugar, or sweet wine, or some dainty meats: and sometime that we eat and drink very liberally. Wherefore, those that be but small motions of humors, do appear in the time of sleep to be exceeding great. For which cause the physicians may hereby know the beginnings and occasions of very many diseases.

Dreams also are certain signs of the affections of the mind; as of desires, hope, joy, and mirth, and also of perfect qualities. Wherefore fearful men do see other manner of things, than men of courage; covetous men other things, than they which be in hope; also the learned are wont to have far other manner of dreams, than the country man, or crafts-man hath. For even when we sleep, the mind is occupied about those things, which we are continually or commonly doing. There is also another thing to be considered, as we are well admonished by Galen: that there be certain kinds of meats, which being naturally choleric, phlegmatic, or melancholic, do by reason of their quality stir up about the fantasy of men in their sleep, as it were shapes and similitudes of things agreeable to those humors; although the temperature of the bodies of such, do not of itself offend by those humors. Which thing also a physician must observe in dreams; namely to see what manner of meat the sick man used. Yea and wine (as teacheth Aristotle) being immoderately taken, doth in the time of sleep make many deformed shapes of things.

When a dream is a sign, it is referred to the cause, namely to those superfluous humors which it betokeneth. And then it may also be called a sign of some event to follow; for that from the self-same cause, that is, from the humors which are betokened, either health or sickness may be derived. Wherefore a dream, as it is a sign of the humor; so it giveth 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 dream. But yet have they not relation semblably one of another. For sickness or health be no tokens of dreams.

3. But now let us see how dreams may sometimes be called causes: that happeneth, when one is moved by a dream, either to do or to make trial of anything. As when one is cured of the spleen, because he bled upon the back of his hand: for so he was taught to do in his dream. And sometimes it comes to pass in learned men, that they find out those things, which they be in doubt of, in such books, where they saw themselves in their dream both to find and to read them. But let us consider the third part of the distinction, which we brought: namely, when dreams do happily or by chance, betoken things which afterward fall out. That takes place in such matters, the cause whereof consisteth not in ourselves, but is rather distant and far removed. As if we should see a victory, or an overthrow given in a camp, a great way off from him; or else one that is absent, to be advanced to exceeding great honor. These things are joined together (as the Peripatetics say) by chance, and cannot be compared together, either as causes, or as signs. Even as when we talk of any man, if happily the same party come in the meanwhile, we say *Lupus in fabula*, The wolf is in presence. And yet the talking with him was neither cause, nor token of his coming. So therefore, these things are said to be joined by chance, and also seldom have success. For this is the nature of things that come by chance; to happen but seldom.

4. Moreover, Aristotle hath taught, who they be, that before others know many things aforehand by dreams, and this he ascribeth chiefly unto such as are idle and full of words: next to melancholic and phrentike persons, alienated both from their mind and senses. Somewhat also he seemeth to grant unto kinsfolk and friends. For these kinds of men dream very much in their sleep. Prattlers in very deed and idle persons be altogether in their muses, whereby they are fraughted inwardly with phantasies and visions. And those which are troubled much with melancholy, do, by reason of the strength and nature of that humor, dream of very many things, and moreover are wont to be much given to private cogitations. The phrentike sort also, because their mind is void both of the knowledge of the outward senses, and eke of the use of reason, therefore they be wholly given up to idle imaginations. Lastly, friends do therefore in their dreams see many things of their friends, because they be full of thought and care for them. All these now rehearsed are wont to foretell sundry things by their dreams, because in such a diverse, and in a manner infinite sort of dreams and visions, it is not possible, but that some things should otherwhile happen true. They that exercise themselves all day long in shooting, oftener hit the mark, than others which do shoot but now and then: and they which spend the whole day in playing at tables or dice, cast many more happy chances, than they which seldom or little sport themselves in that kind of pastime.

But it is to be understood, that those signs, which be attributed unto dreams, as touching the first sort already declared, are not of necessity, because they may be hindered: and yet this proveth not, but that they may be signs. For this also cometh to pass in the clouds, which undoubtedly be tokens of rain; when as nevertheless they be sometime scattered with the wind before it rain. Also urine hath tokens both of sickness and health,

when as yet the effect may be hindered by more vehement causes. And the same likewise happeneth in the pulses. Yea and even the counsels, which we have purposed and determined of with great deliberation, are oftentimes stayed, because of things that fall betwixt, by the occasion whereof we cannot proceed any further. Therefore no marvel, if the same thing come to pass in dreams, seeing they be signs of things not fully perfected, but rather new begun: and the weak and feeble motions of humors may easily be stayed by many other causes.

5. Democritus doth on this wise expound those kind of dreams, which represent things coming by chance, and are far distant. There is somewhat (saith he) ever flowing from the things themselves, and carried even unto the bodies of them that sleep, affecting them with the quality and similitude which they bring with them: and he affirmeth that in two respects it is more easily perceived rather in sleep than waking. First, because the air is most easily moved in the night, as we see it falleth out in the water: when it is stricken with a stone, a great many circles are made with that stroke, and driven a great compass about, except there be some contrary motion to let. But the air is quieter in the night than in the day, because it is not driven into diverse parts by the confluence of creatures moving themselves. Another cause is, for that every little stir and noise is very easily perceived by them that be asleep. And to conclude; this author also doth not refer the causes of dreams unto God, no more than Aristotle doth. But Galen in his book which he wrote of divining by dreams, teacheth thus much above others: when as we see in our dreams, those things which we neither did nor thought of, they are not to be referred either unto arts or habits, or custom of such things as came to pass while we were waking, but unto humors.

This rule seemeth to tend to this end, that we may understand, of what things dreams are to be counted signs. And he granteth, that these things are better known by night than by day, because then the soul descendeth to the lowest and deepest things in a man's heart, where it perceiveth the more easily what is there. And he tells of a certain man, who being asleep, imagined that his leg became a stone; which when many thought that it pertained to his servants, the same leg of his within a few days fell into a palsy. Another thought with himself that he was sunk up to the throat in a cistern full of blood, out of which he could no manner of way escape: but that showed that blood very much abounded in him, and that it was needful for him to have it abated. He maketh mention also of another, which dreamed on his sick day, that he saw himself washed in a hothouse; who shortly after fell into an exceeding great sweat. Moreover (saith he) men when they are asleep, imagine themselves sometimes to have so great a burden upon them, that they are not able to bear the weight of it: and at another time, that they are so light and so nimble, as if they were running, and after a manner, flying. All these things (saith he) are tokens either of the excess or the want of humors.

Hippocrates as concerning these things writeth in a manner the self-same; namely, that the mind in the day time doth distribute his powers into the senses and other faculties; but that in the night it draweth them into the inward parts, and for that cause doth know them the better. Yet he saith, that there be certain divine dreams whereby are foretokened calamities unto cities, peoples, and some certain great men. For the expounding of which dreams, some there be that profess certain arts, to the which yet, he himself seemeth to attribute very little. And when by dreams it is noted, that the humors offend or annoy us, then (saith he) they are to be holpen by good

diet, by exercise and medicines. And whether they be good dreams or bad, he would have us to use prayer. When health is signified, we must then pray (saith he) to the sun, to Jupiter of heaven, to Jupiter possessor, to Minerva, to rich Mercury, and to Apollo. But if they be unlucky dreams, pray then (saith he) to the gods, which turn evils from men: as to the gods of the earth, and other petty gods. Wherefore Hippocrates, either was or else would seem to be superstitious: but truly for my part, as touching true religion I mislike not, (nay rather I very well allow of it) that if we be troubled at any time with fearful dreams, we should repair to God, praying him to return from us those evils, if there be any, that do hang over our heads.

6. There is another kind of dreams, which proceedeth from an outward cause: namely, of the power, or (as they commonly speak) of the influence of the heaven, which changeth the air: and this once touching our bodies, maketh them of a new kind of quality; whereupon arise diverse appearances and forms of things to men asleep. Wherefore there be many effects that come from heaven, whereof it bringeth forth some in the fantasy, and in the faculty or power of imagination, and other some in the things themselves: and this may be easily showed by an example. The rain undoubtedly hangeth in the air or clouds, and before the rain fall, there is such a change in a crow's imagination, that by and by he beginneth to call. Wherefore the effects that be in the fantasy of dreamers, and in the thing, do undoubtedly come both of one cause: yet have they great diversity, by reason of the subjects, in which they fall out. And no doubt, but there is a little kind of likeness between these effects: but it is very hard to see the manner of this proportion or analogy. And if it be agreed upon, that the cause of such effects or affections is in the stars, who yet can refer these signs to their

own proper cause, that is, unto some stars rather than to others? Surely I think very few. I will not say none are able to do it. And yet besides, if they should be referred to their proper stars, what can we judge will come to pass by them, especially as touching things contingent, seeing judicial astrology was ever accounted a most uncertain art?

And to conclude; the forms and similitudes, which are said to foretoken the events of things to come, are so doubtful and uncertain, as it seemeth, that nothing can be surely determined by them. Hereunto moreover is to be added, that seeing dreams (as it hath been declared) may come, not of one cause, but of many; we shall easily fall into error, if among those many causes, we hold us to any one. Wherefore we are to suspend our judgment, and not lightly to divine of anything upon dreams, seeing that they may more easily be judged of by the events, than the events can be conjectured of by them. Now then, there remaineth only a certain suspicion to be had by dreams, and which also must be but very slender. Those two most famous poets (I mean Homer and Virgil) feigned two sundry gates of dreams: the one of horn, and the other of ivory; the horn they attribute to true dreams, but the ivory to false dreams: and (as they say) there passed a greater number of dreams through the ivory gate, than through the horn gate. Wherefore in judging of natural dreams, let us not pass the measure of suspicion; neither let us cleave too much unto visions. For it is not the part of Christian men to lean unto perilous and uncertain conjectures, more than is meet. For while they be over-earnest about these, they omit things of more importance: besides that, the devil doth oftentimes intermeddle these things of purpose, either to drive us to do that which is evil, or to withdraw us from that which is good.

7. But now let us see what we must determine concerning dreams put into us either by God, or by the devil. Whensoever anything is foreseen in dreams by the help of God, or his angels, two things are required. The first is, that certain marks or images of the things which are showed, do print some kind of form in our fantasy or imagination. Secondly, that there be added judgment, whereby we may be able to know what these things do import. Touching the first, we must understand, that these tokens and images are many times cast into our senses, by reason of those things, which God maketh outwardly to appear: as when Baltazar, that succeeded Nebuchadnezzar, saw the fingers of a hand writing upon the wall; as we read in Daniel. And sometimes images and likenesses are described in the very imagination or fantasy, without any external sight: and this happeneth two ways. For either the forms or similitudes laid up in the mind, are called for back again by God, to such use as liketh him (as when to Jeremiah was showed a seething pot turned toward the north) or else new forms are showed, which were never known before to the senses: as if the forms and likenesses of colors should be showed to a man blind from his nativity. And in this kind of divination, the images or forms are instead of letters. For even as they be ordered and disposed, so are the oracles diversely given: like as by the diverse changing of letters, our speeches and sentences are many ways varied.

Teachers which instruct scholars, may by their pains and diligence in teaching, print sundry kinds of images in the minds of their hearers; although it be not in their power to give them judgment, and the very right understanding of things. But God giveth both, yet not always indeed at once. For into some, he otherwhile instilleth only forms of things, as he did unto Pharaoh, unto his butler, and to his baker, and likewise to the king of

Babylon; all which had need of an interpreter to expound their dreams; as Joseph and Daniel. And verily, those to whom are showed only the signs of things to come, are not in very deed accounted prophets; forsomuch as they have only a certain degree and entrance, and as it were a step unto prophesying: even as Caiaphas the high priest is not to be accounted for a prophet, seeing he understood not what he spake.

8. But why God would otherwhile open by dreams unto kings and princes, things afterward to follow, there are (as I now remember) two reasons. The one, because he had a regard unto the people and nations which they governed. For if the great dearth, which was approaching, had not been signified unto Pharaoh, Egypt had utterly perished with famine. Secondly, it was the counsel of the Lord, by the interpretation of these dreams, to make those prophets and holy men known to the world, which lay hidden before: which thing the holy scriptures testify came to pass in Joseph. And the Ethnic historiographers also write many things of the dreams, which princes sometimes have had. Some of the which Tertullian mentioneth in his book *De anima*; as of Astiages dream, concerning his daughter Mandane; likewise of Philip of Macedonia, and of Julius Octavius, whom Marcus Cicero saw in a dream, being but a child, and afterwards meeting with him, knew him by that dream: and diverse such like things are recited by the same father.

9. But these things being omitted, let us confirm by testimony of the scripture (which is easy to be done) that some dreams are sent by God. Matthew testifieth, that Joseph the husband of Marie was thrice warned by the angel. Pilate's wife also by a dream understood, and caused her husband to be told, that he should not condemn innocent Christ. And in the 16th of the Acts, a man of Macedonia appeared unto Paul in a dream, and moved

him to go into Macedonia. And the Lord commanded the same Paul in a dream, that he should not depart from Corinth, because he had an exceeding great number of people in that city. I could recite many more places both of the Old and New Testament, but that the time will not permit. Philo Judaeus (as Jerome in his book *De viris illustribus* testifieth) wrote five books of dreams, immitted by God. Cyprian also reporteth, that in his time certain things were showed in sleeps, which made to the edifying of the congregation: and it was not a little, but rather a great deal of credit that he gave unto them.

But Augustine in his 12. *De genesi ad litteram*, the third chapter saith, there are three kinds of visions. The first (he saith) pertaineth to the outward senses, which he calleth corporal: again, another sort he calleth spiritual, which consisteth of shows or images, and have place about the fantasy or power imaginative: and the last kind he nameth intellectual, because they be only comprehended by reason and judgment of the mind. But those which he maketh imaginative; namely, the second sort, he showeth (as we also declared a little before) that they do not make prophets: and saith, that Joseph was a far truer prophet than Pharaoh. And the self-same thing may we say of the soldier, that in Gideon's hearing interpreted the dream of his fellow-soldier, to wit, that he rather was the prophet, than he that had the vision. But in this order or degree of prophets, Daniel exceeded all others. For he not only interpreted the king's visions, but even when the king had forgotten what he had seen in his sleep, he was able to call it to his remembrance. Moreover, he not only interpreted what visions other men had, but also was instructed from God in things that he himself had seen.

10. Sometimes also dreams come of the devil. For Augustine in his book before alleged *De genesi ad litteram*, telleth of one possessed with a devil,

which by a vision told the very hour that the priest should come unto him, and by what places he passed. And we are not ignorant, that among the Ethnics, there were oracles, where men abode all the night, to obtain the interpretation of their visions and dreams: such was the oracle of Amphiarias, Amphilocus, Trophonius, and Aesculapius. In those places, an evil spirit showed them that were asleep, medicines and remedies to heal their sick folks; at which time also they gave answer as touching other matters. And for the obtaining of such dreams and visions, they which came to inquire of anything, were enjoined to use certain choice of meats, to lie apart from others, and to have certain days of cleansing. And it is said, that the Pythagorians abstained from eating of beans, because they bred troublesome dreams. But our God, to the intent he would declare himself not to be bound to such things, showed Daniel the kings dream, after that he and his fellows had besought God for the same by prayer.

But that the devil can put himself among men's dreams, there is no doubt; since by his help there have been and yet are many false prophets. Whereupon Augustine in his book now before recited, the 19th chapter, saith, that if an evil spirit do possess men, he maketh them either demoniacs, or out of their wits, or else false prophets: and contrariwise, a good spirit maketh faithful prophets, uttering mysteries to the edifying of others. He also demandeth in the 11th chapter of the same book, how the difference between the revelations of good and evil spirits may be discerned the one from the other? And he answereth, that the same cannot be done without the gift of discerning of spirits. But he addeth, that an evil spirit doth always at the last, lead men to wicked opinions, and naughtiness of manners, although that at the beginning the difference cannot be perceived without the gift of the holy Ghost. In his 100th Epistle to Evodius, when he

had asked the same question, he saith; I would to God I could perceive the difference between visions, which are given to deceive me; and those which are given to salvation. But yet we must be of good cheer, because God suffereth his children sometime to be tempted, but not to perish.

11. But what answer shall we make Aristotle, who denieth that dreams come of God; for this cause specially, because he would then give the power of divination to the good and wise; not to the foolish and wicked men. We may answer, that for the most part the true prophets which are lightened by God in their dreams and visions, are both good and godly. But yet, that it may not be thought that the power of God is tied to the wisdom and manners of men, God will sometime use the ministry of the ungodly in such things, to the intent the great and wonderful strength of his providence may be declared, which is able to use all kind of means. Further (as Tertullian writeth in his book *De anima*) seeing he distributed his sun and rain to the just and unjust alike, it ought to be no marvel, if he impart these gifts also (especially which are of force unto man's erudition) as well to the bad as to the good. And least we should be ignorant of his fashion, the holy history declares, that the very Ethnics were oftentimes warned and corrected by God in their sleep. So was Pharaoh the king of Egypt commanded to restore Abraham his wife again. And in the like sort was Abimelech king of Gerar warned of the same matter. And Tertullian addeth; that Even as God, when he instructeth the wicked in their dreams, doth it to make them good; so the devil contrariwise invadeth the godly in their sleep, that in their dreams he may seduce them from the way of righteousness. Aristotle thought that God, in disposing of his gifts, should specially have respect to the wise, and to the philosophers: whereas Christ our savior taught a quite contrary lesson, saying; I thank thee, O father, that hiding

these things from the wise and prudent, thou hast revealed them unto little ones. And Paul said, that the calling of God did chiefly appertain to the poor, to the unlearned, and to the weaker sort.

And other argument was, that the very brute beasts do dream in their sleeps: when as yet no man will say, that their dreams are disposed or ministered by God. That same philosopher is deceived, in thinking, that if God send some dreams unto men, he must therefore be the author of all dreams: which without doubt is far from our sense. For we refer not all natural things to God himself, as peculiar effects whereby he instructeth men immediately (as the schoolmen speak) of things to come. Of what causes dreams arise in brut beasts, we have sufficiently showed before. And to speak Logic-like, it is no good argument, that is taken from the particular to the universal affirmatively. So that if God suggest some dreams, we must not thereupon gather, that all dreams, as well in beasts as in men, do come of him. For otherwise brute beasts have the power of hearing; neither do they want ears: yet, because God doth not send prophets to speak unto them, we may not conclude, that he doth never send any of his saints unto men, to admonish and instruct them.

12. He said moreover, If God were the author of dreams, it seemeth that he should work such things no less in the day time, than in the night. But I say, that it is in God's free choice, to use whether time he thinketh good, seeing he is Lord as well of the night, as of the day, and of sleeping, as well as of watching. And in very truth the scriptures do testify, that he showed visions to the prophets, sometime sleeping, and sometimes waking; as he thought it most convenient. Further, what absurdity is it, though he do often use the conveniency of rest, seeing the philosophers themselves, and the physicians, do grant, that men in that time are very apt to discern the

smallest stirring or noise that is? Shall this commodity of the time serve the physician, to know the humors of man's body by; and may it not serve God, to the saving of souls? In the 33rd chapter of Job, there is a goodly place, and fit unto this purpose: When sleep is fallen upon men, and that they are at rest in their beds, then the Lord openeth the ear, and confirmeth his chastisements.

Lastly it was objected, that if God would admonish men, he would do it openly and plainly, and not covertly by dark speeches. I answer, that the true prophets, and such as were inspired by God, understood very well those things which God spake to them in their sleep: wherefore they had no need of soothsayers. And if at any time that happened unto Ethnic princes (as it did unto Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar) God did it, to the intent that his prophets, as were Joseph and Daniel, which were hidden and unknown, might be made famous: otherwise, he gave unto his prophets judgment, and clear intelligence of such visions as he cast upon them. But Aristotle was herein deceived, because he looked only to conjurers, which professing divination, besotted the people; as though they had been able to expound all sorts of dreams, and to show what they signified. But we may not understand those things which are now alleged, of all kinds of dreams, nor of all sorts of prophets. For they pertain only unto those, which infallibly are sent in by God. Wherefore the conjectures of conjurers, and soothsayers, are not within the compass of this matter.

Neither is there any cause why the authority of so great a philosopher should much move us, though Epicurus be of his part; who to ease his gods from troubling themselves about dreams, affirmed, as he did all other things, that they come by fortune and chance. But contrariwise Plato ascribed much unto dreams that come of God; and the Stoics taught, that

the dreams which we have by night, are as it were a familiar and domestical oracle, whereby mankind is provided for by God. This I will not omit, that Augustine in the place now alleged, *Super genesin ad litteram*, cap. 15. demandeth, whether the soul have naturally of itself the power to foreknow things to come? He saith that in his opinion it hath not: because (saith he) it would then use that power, seeing all men so greatly desire to know things to come. Wherefore the visions and dreams of prophets obtain not their truth from nature, but from God.

13. But if so be that dreams be suggested by God and his angels, let us see for what cause we are forbidden to make any account of them. For if the matter be thus, dreams are not to be contemned, but diligently to be observed. I answer, that all manner of regarding of dreams is not forbidden, but that only which is procured by naughty and vain arts; and that is wont to be gotten by worshipping of devils: otherwise nothing letteth, but that one may judge of humors by them; or if they be of God, and are perceived to come from him, then to follow them. Moreover, it is forbidden to extend natural dreams beyond that, which nature will suffer. And this do they, which apply their dreams to changeable events of things, about which they have no manner of consideration, either of the cause, or of the effect. And this superstitious observation of dreams, is not only condemned of Christians, but also of long time since, was disannulled by the Roman laws. For in the 9th book of the *Code De maledicis & mathematicis*; in the law, *Et si accepta*, it is decreed, that such diviners should be extremely punished; so as, although they were even in some high office, yea and of Caesar's retinue, they were to be punished: which otherwise was not lawful to be done unto noble men. And by these words they be expressed; *Aut narrandis*

somnijs occult am artem aliquam divinandi, &c. that is, Or any secret art of divination, invented for the interpretation of dreams, &c.

And the difference assigned for the lawful and unlawful observation of dreams, is notably described in the 23rd of Jeremiah. For there God detesteth vain and foolish dreams, but commendeth those that are divine and true. In the 18th of Deuteronomy, all observers of dreams seem generally to be reprov'd. But we must understand, that according to the true Hebrew text, there is no mention made of them. Verily, other superstitions and idolatries are there condemned, but never a word of dreams, although that else where the wicked observation of them is reprov'd. Therefore the good and lawful observation of dreams is not to be forbidden; yea it is permitted unto godly men to pray, that they may be admonish'd even in their dreams, especially of those things, which they think to be meet, and which they cannot discuss of themselves. Monica the mother of Augustine being desirous that her son should marry, for the avoiding of fornication, desired God, that even in sleep he would reveal unto her something as touching that matter: and she testified that she obtained of God some taste, whereby she discerned the thing, which in sleep she saw of herself, from those things, which were showed by inspiration from God: which thing Augustine writeth in his sixth book of Confessions, the 13th chapter. And we know assuredly, that Daniel prayed for the understanding of Nebuchadnezzars dream; and this is without controversy to be holden, that it is the part of godly men to pray to God, that even in our sleep we may be preserved pure, and chaste, both in body and spirit. For those night visions, by the which either the mind is troubled, or the body defiled, are certain punishments of sin: especially of that which hath been drawn from our first creation. For so it should not have been in paradise, if Adam had abidden in

that truth, wherein he was made: as Augustine wrote in his fifth book, and eight chapter against Julian. Look In Gen. 20:3.

CHAP. VI. Of the Holy Scriptures; out of the Preface upon 1st Corinthians.

Now we must speak something of the holy scriptures, whereby we are both encouraged to study them, and somewhat also are holpen in the following of that study: and this shall be done, if I touch first in few words the worthiness and profit of them; secondly, if we show by what certain marks and tokens we may be able to judge, and say what is the sense or meaning of them: and lastly, if we shall open the way and means how to challenge them unto ourselves. This division I mind to follow, as being most convenient for the understanding of those things, which shall be spoken. And first of all, because we are to speak of the worthiness and profit of the holy scriptures, I will give this plain and homely definition of them. For it is a hard matter for any man, perfectly and exactly to define those things which are of God. Wherefore let us define the holy scriptures, to be a certain declaration of the wisdom of God, inspired by the holy Ghost into godly men, and then set down in monuments and writings. That it is inspired by the inward motion of the holy Ghost, for the salvation and restoring of us, Peter testifieth in the first chapter of his latter epistle, when

he saith, that Prophecy came not in old time by the will of men, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the holy Ghost. And very great honor hath come thereunto, because as well Christ, as the apostles, and sound councils have used the testimony of it, for the confirmation of those things which were decreed: yea, we may not think that any traditions be necessary to salvation, which are not surly and strongly grounded thereupon.

And we must always bear in mind, how we are sent away by Christ, the best teacher of the church, to search out the scripture, when he saith in the fifth of John's gospel: Search ye the scriptures. Moreover, every faculty and learning borroweth his worthiness from the matter, about which it is occupied. For, according as that doth excel, so is any science accounted of more or less estimation. Wherefore, seeing this science of ours entreateth of nothing else but of Christ, it is so much the more to be accounted the head of all other, as Christ is the most excellent above all other things. And as I suppose no man doubteth, but that the New Testament speaketh chiefly of Christ. But because some man perhaps doubteth, whether the Old Testament do so likewise, let him hear even Paul writing to the Romans the 10th chapter; Christ is the end of the law. And in the fifth of John, when the Lord had said (that which even now I recited) Search the scriptures; he added incompetent, For they bear witness of me. And in the same chapter it is said of Moses; He hath written of me. And many other places may be brought, to confirm this self-same thing; but let us content ourselves with these for this time.

2. The holy scriptures also are highly commended, through those excellent properties wherewith God hath adorned them. For they are so glorious, that they seem unto us, which walk as it were in darkness, to be like a candle

lighted of God: whereof Peter hath admonished us in the first chapter of the second epistle, And we have a sure speech of prophesy, whereunto if you give heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place, ye do well, till the day appear, and the day star arise in your hearts. In which words thou shalt note this also, that they be very sure. For godly men are so assured of the truth of them, that for them they fear not to suffer any cruel death: which thing hath seldom or never happened among natural philosophers, or mathematicians, that they confirmed the opinions of their knowledge with their blood, and with the loss of their lives. And unto faithful and godly hearts, there is in the scriptures no want of clearness, which the Greeks call σαφήνεια, and the Latins perspicuity. For whatsoever the sounder Divines dispute, they always finish their conclusion according to the testimonies of the scriptures; as rules commonly known among Christians, whereof it is not lawful for any man to doubt. So that this ought to be esteemed as the chief principle, by the which all matters of true divinity are to be resolved and examined: to wit, The Lord hath said.

But yet this perspicuity is not to be sought at the light of man's sense and reason; but at the light of faith, whereby we ought to be most certainly persuaded of whatsoever is contained in the holy 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 increase the number of his disciples, he opened unto them the meaning of the scriptures: which declareth, that otherwise they were not able by their own industry to understand them. And in the first of Timothy, the third chapter, the church is for 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 her opinions and

definitions: which when it doth not, it dealeth not as the church of Christ should do.

Augustine *Contra epistolam Fundamenti*; saith, that things defined in the scriptures must be preferred above all other. Besides this, the truth of them hath an everlasting continuance. Which thing Christ taught us, when he said in the 24th chapter of Matthew; Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass. And it is commonly spoken everywhere; The word of God endureth forever.

3. And although there be in a manner infinite things, which may strongly prove the worthiness of the scriptures; yet in this place I will measure myself, thinking it sufficient, that I have after a sort showed the springs or heads: the rest may easily be found out by any that will take pains to search diligently. I will now likewise briefly declare the commodities which we receive thereby. We read in the 3rd chapter of the 2nd to Timothy, that All scripture inspired by God, is profitable both to teach, and to improve, (to wit as touching doctrine) and to correct and instruct in righteousness (which belongeth unto manners.) And least thou shouldest think that anything doth want, he addeth straight way: That the man of God may be perfect and ready to every good work. And in the 15th chapter to the Romans we read; For whatsoever things are now written, they be written before hand for our learning, that by patience and consolation of the scriptures, we may have hope. Which things seeing they are spoken of the Old Testament, (for while this was written, the New Testament was not published) what shall we now think, having the monuments both of the Apostles and of the Evangelists added thereunto?

Truly we have now even these very things more plentifully in the holy scriptures. And the holy Ghost feareth not to attribute the power of saving

unto them. For in the first Epistle to Timothy, the fourth chapter, it is written; Take heed to thyself, and to thy doctrine; continue therein, for in so doing thou shalt save both thyself, and those that hear thee. And in the parable of the gospel, where it is described, that the seed fell, some in the way, some among stones and thorns, and some in good ground: the gospel or word of God, by the interpretation of Christ, is understood by the seed; because thereby we are born anew. Wherefore Paul wrote boldly unto some; I have begotten you by the gospel. And Augustine did then first arise out of his errors, wherewith he had been captivated, when he began to read the scriptures. And at the reading of Paul (as we may perceive in his confessions) the darkness was chased from his eyes. And unto such reding he was driven by an oracle of God. For he heard voices, as if children had son, and said; Take and read, Take and read: which voice when he had obeyed, and had lighted upon that place in the holy scriptures; Put on the Lord Jesus Christ, &c. he was converted wholly unto God, who had so long before striven (against the truth.) These be notable tokens of the word of God. Add here withal, that the decrees of the Christian faith can be confirmed by no other means, than by authority of the holy scriptures. Therefore as the ecclesiastical history declareth: Constantine the great, in the council of Nice, exhorted the fathers of the church, that by the oracles of the holy scriptures, they would appease the controversies sprung up in religion.

4. But he that will know more at large the properties of the holy scripture, let him read the 19th Psalm; there they be described, both with marvelous brevity, and great elegancy. First the law of the Lord is called Temima; that is, immaculate and perfect. Secondly it is affirmed, that it doth restore the soul; and that is not to be looked for in profane learning. Thirdly it is called

a sure testimony of the Lord; whereas man's counsels are evermore variable and inconstant. It teacheth the simple and ignorant; whereas other knowledges do instruct only the prudent and sharp-witted hearers. Moreover, the law of the Lord is right, and hath nothing crooked, awry, or unjust; as in every part of man's law is espied. Also it rejoiceth the heart, even with such a gladness as is chaste and holy.

The Lord's commandment is pure, but man's devises are never sincerely made; seeing they be fraited with many crafts and deceits. It lighteneth the eyes; but contrariwise the traditions of men darken them. The law of God is clean, and is offered undefiled unto us, being without any falsehood or wrong; whereas man's ordinances are most foully infected with both the evils. The statutes of God endure forever; but those things, which be ordained by men, are always shifting, oftentimes changed, and are never of long continuance. To conclude, those things which the Lord hath prescribed, are both true and just, which cannot be affirmed of man's laws. Moreover, they are to be desired above gold and precious stones; where as the best natures do very much mislike the precepts of man's law. Finally, those things which God hath taught us in the scriptures, be more sweet than the honey and the honey comb; where contrariwise, men are not accustomed to teach any other than hard, difficult, and often times cruel things. Besides these properties of the holy scriptures, I purpose not to ad anymore. For they that be studious, may easily of themselves find out the other fruits and commodities.

5. Now must I declare another point, which I promised; to wit, by what judgments and arbiters, we must assure ourselves for understanding of the scriptures. Two tokens I have always observed, by which the truth of the divine scripture may be perceived; namely, the holy ghost, and the word of

God itself. Concerning the spirit, John writeth in the 8th chapter of his gospel, that Christ thus said: If ye have God to your father, why do you not acknowledge my word? And seeing it is certain, that we be not adopted to be the children of God, but by the coming of the holy ghost; Christ testifieth in this place, that when we have once obtained the same spirit, we may so discern betwixt his word and a strange word, as the same will appear very evident and plain unto us. According to which sense, he also said in another place; My sheep know my voice, and follow not a stranger. And there is no doubt, but that we, by the strength of the holy spirit are made the sheep of Christ, which follow not falsehood, errors and heresies (which be voices of strangers) but do imitate only the voice of Christ: that is to wit, do follow the true and natural sense of the scriptures. Again, we have in the second chap. of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians; A natural man doth not perceive those things that be of God, neither is he able to do it; because they be but foolishness unto him. But the spiritual man judgeth all things. And again in the same place, The spirit searcheth out the deep mysteries of God. And Christ himself said; The spirit of comfort shall declare all things that I have said unto you. Also John in his epistle saith, The spiritual unction shall show you of all things.

But some will say; These things be true indeed, but we be destitute of the spirit. To whom I answer saying; If you have not the spirit, how dare you call yourselves Christians, seeing Paul to the Rom. sheweth us, that They be none of Christ's, which have not the spirit of Christ. And yet I speak not this, as though I were ignorant, that there must be degrees of this spirit given, seeing it is evident, that all men cannot have a like understanding of the scriptures. But yet this I affirm, that there is no true Christian man, to whom so small a portion of this spirit is given, but that he may gather and

judge out of the holy scriptures, such things as be necessary to salvation, so as he neglect not to be conversant in the reading of them both day and night. Which thing Chrysostom upon the preface to the epistle unto the Romans hath plainly declared, when he saith; This thing cometh not by ignorance, but because they will not have this holy man's writings continually in their hands. Neither do those things, which we know (if we know anything) come unto us by the goodness and pregnancy of our wit; but because we being always thoroughly affected to that man, we never cease reading of him. For they which love, do know more than all other, the doings of them whom they love, as being careful of them. Wherefore (saith he a little after) if ye also will apply your minds, and travel in the diligent reading hereof, it shall not be needful to require any other thing of you. True is that saying of Christ: Seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. And there is no doubt but that Chrysostom spake these words to all men: for he spake them in a sermon to the people. And mark well what he affirmeth; namely, that if they would but diligently read saint Paul's epistles, they should not need of any other teacher.

6. The second note, and sure token, by which we may thoroughly search out the truth of the holy scriptures, is the very scriptures themselves. For it is requisite, that we should determine that piece of scripture which is hard and dark, by another part which is more plain and easy. Christ hath given unto his church, the Old Testament; the authority whereof (let the Manichies, the Martionits, and such other pestilent heretics fret thereat never so much) is most stable and sure: insomuch as by it, the old Christians also have judged of the New Testament. It is written in the 17th of the Acts, that the Thessalonians having heard Paul, repaired to the scriptures, to see whether things were as Paul had declared, or otherwise.

And Augustine *De doctrina christiana*, teaching what manner of man a preacher should be, willeth him to confer the places of the scripture together, and doth 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 these two arbiters, which I have declared to be the faithful interpreters of the holy scriptures, we willingly join the firm consent and authority of the catholic church: yet not in such sort, that (as our adversary's endeavor to prove) all the judgment of the scriptures should depend thereon. For it is not lawful, either for a council, or for the church, to interpret the scriptures, as seemeth good unto them. For that were to have dominion over the faith of godly men. Therefore when they interpret the word of God, it is their part to prove, that they have expounded such things, according to the consent and proportion of other places of the scripture. Wherefore the most dangerous error of the antichrists must be avoided with great circumspection, which presume to say, that it is the church, which hath woon authority to the books of God, where it is far otherwise. For whatsoever estimation or authority hath happened unto the church, all that hath come from the word of God. It is detestable to hear, that the holy oracles and words of God, should purchase their credit of men, which otherwise are but liars. Yet nevertheless such things they imagine and devise, that when they be found to decree and constitute in many places of the sacraments, and other points of doctrine, far otherwise than God's word doth permit, they will maintain, that it is lawful for them so to do: because the church (say they) which hath brought credit and authority to the word of God, may change and alter therein, whatsoever shall seem good unto her.

Wherefore, that which they ground upon, must by all manner of means be resisted.

Let us not be brought to think, that the holy scriptures have gotten their credit and authority by the church. And yet I urge not this much, as though I despised or contemned the dignity of the church. For I attribute unto it three goodly functions about the word of God: The first is that I grant she doth, as it were a witness, preserve the holy books; but it cannot be gathered thereby, that it is lawful for the church, either to alter or pervert anything in the holy scriptures. Experience teacheth us, that both private and public evidences are committed to registers and notaries, to be safely kept and preserved: and yet no man in his right mind will say, that it is lawful for them to change anything in them. Neither may we think, that the power of those registers can be greater, than their wills which appointed them to be put in record. And here it shall not be unprofitable, if we consider of the difference between the word of God, as it was revealed unto the prophets at the first, and that which was preached afterward, or published in writing; wherein we shall only see a difference in the time, and not in the strength and authority. For we grant that the word unwritten was of more antiquity, than that which was afterward put in writing; and that as well both the one as the other was bestowed upon the church: but yet (as we said before) it was not lawful for the church by any means to wrest or alter the same. Secondly, we doubt not, but that the churches part is, to preach and set forth the word of God committed unto it: wherein it is likened to a crier, who notwithstanding he proclaim the statutes of a prince or magistrate, yet is he not either of more or of equal authority with them. But all his labor is faithfully to proclaim all things, even as he received them from the princes and magistrates. For if he should so do, he might be counted a traitor.

Wherefore, it behooveth the ministers of the church, that they provide and endeavor nothing more than to be found faithful.

8. Thirdly, we also acknowledge it to be the function of the church, that seeing it is endued with the holy ghost, it should decipher and discern the true and proper books of the heavenly word, from them that be not canonical. Which office doubtless is not to bear a higher authority than the scriptures, as many do foolishly dream. For thus they say. Forsomuch as the church hath accepted and allowed some scriptures, and hath refused other some to be no scripture; therefore it hath authority to determine of them as it listeth. But this is a very weak kind of argument. We will grant, in very deed, that the ancient church had such an abundance of the spirit, as thereby they easily knew, which of those that were presented unto them, were the true and proper words of God: and these as canons and rules of God's word, they dissevered by a spiritual understanding from the other books, called Apocrypha, which being once done it was not lawful for the church to make what interpretation it would: but both the spirit of Christ must be harkened unto, and also the consent of all the places of scripture, must be diligently considered. The very which thing we see daily to be done.

When a king's letters are brought to a city or province, the lieutenants and governors of those places, by very use and moral skill, know well enough whether the letters, which be delivered in the name of the king, be true or counterfeit: but when they shall perceive them that they be neither feigned, nor depraved, it is not lawful to alter, transform, and wrest them after their own will. Even so must we think of the church. For it is not only a faithful witness, but also a sure keeper of God's books: and yet it is not lawful for the church, to appoint anything in them, otherwise than God himself hath prescribed. There be a great many that can judge, which be the right works

of Aristotle, and of Plato, and which be not; who nevertheless are not straight way to be thought comparable to either of them in learning. And amongst us Christians, everyone can easily espy the difference between God and the devil, and yet must we not be compared with God, and much less be thought to excel him. Even so the church must not for this cause prefer her credit or authority above the scriptures.

9. But they allege, that Augustine saith; I would not believe the gospel, unless the authority of the church should move me. But that place of Augustine hath this Latin word *Commoveret*; that is to say, To move with the help of another thing, and not simply To move of itself. For undoubtedly it is the holy Ghost which poureth in faith to the hearers of God's word. And the ministers of the church, being his instruments, are rather to be said to move together by him, than absolutely by themselves. The same Augustine against Faustus, in the 28th book and second chapter writeth, that the heretics called Manichei, should as well believe that the first chapter of Matthew was written by him, as he believed that the epistle called the foundation of their religion was written by Manicheus; because it was so preserved among the elders of their religion; and so came from hand to hand at that time. And therefore it must on this sort be understood, that the church moveth us to believe the gospel, because it faithfully keepeth the holy scriptures, preacheth them, and discerneth them from other writings.

The same father, in his sixth book of confessions, the fourth and fifth chapters, doth plainly witness, that God himself doubtless giveth authority to the holy scriptures. Tertullian and Irenaeus standing in disputation with the heretics, did therefore send them unto the apostolic churches; because they allowed not full and wholly of the scriptures: wherefore they would that they should understand the sense and meaning of them, by such

churches as were certainly known to be apostolic. For meet it was, that such churches should be continual witnesses and preservers of the books of God. And yet did they not by this means affirm, that the authority of the church is to be preferred above the scriptures.

10. But our adversaries say, that they are led by a common rule vaunted by the Logicians; namely, That thing is to be judged the more so, for the which another thing is so. Whereupon they gather this reason; If the scripture have authority, by judgment of the church, then it followeth, that there is a more authority in the church than in the scripture. But they consider not, how that sentence of the Logicians taketh place only in such causes, as are called final; but that in efficient causes it is not firm. For although this inferior world of ours, be warmed by means of the sun and planets: it followeth not, that the sun and planets be therefore more hot (than the things which they have warmed.) Likewise surfeiters, and intemperate men are drunk by reason of wine; but we cannot conclude thereby, that wine is more intemperate than they. Yea and the Logicians teach, that the foresaid rule is then firm and true in efficient causes, when they be brought whole and perfect, not when they be mangled and imperfect. Which point doubtless is smally observed by our adversaries in this argument. For the church is no efficient cause of that authority and credit, which the scriptures have with the faithful. For if it were so, it might easily persuade the Turks and Infidels to believe the scriptures; and the Jews to embrace the New Testament. And how true this is, the thing it self testifieth.

11. Furthermore, these men should be demanded, What church it is, to whom they appoint so great a judgment and authority over the scriptures? If they will answer, that they attribute the same unto bishops; these be very

oftentimes but shadows or vizards, neither do they understand what the holy scriptures do contain: and commonly their life is such, as it is not lawful to eat and drink with them. And seeing they are perceived to be such sensual men, who will allow them to be the chief judges of spiritual things? But if our adversaries had rather fly from them, to the godly fathers of every age, to learn the truth of the scriptures; I deny not, but that true judgment hath many times been found among them; and yet not always. For they disagree many times among themselves: they change, they make retractations, and diverse times someone contendeth and disputeth against another. I know, they will say at the last, that we must have recourse to the general councils, as though they never erred.

The general council of Ariminum, made altogether for the Arians. The second council of Ephesus, favored the heresy of Eutyches. The council of Chalcedon so erred, as it entitled Leo bishop of Rome, to be the universal bishop of Christ his church. But the holy man, which was not present there, hearing of it, did utterly renounce such preeminence. And in a council, which Cyprian held, a great error was committed, when it was there decreed, that heretics baptized out of the faith of the catholic church, if they returned unto it, should be baptized again. Also the synod of Constance did wickedly condescend, that the half communion should be ministered to the lay people: and many other errors committed by general councils might be alleged. For since they be but men, which determine matters propounded in general councils, they intermingle much carnal and human sense: and therefore we must not subscribe to the opinion of them, unless it shall appear, that the same doth very well agree with the scriptures. Had not Peter erred, unless that Paul had openly resisted him? Wherefore, if so great an apostle was not free from falling into error, what shall we think of other

miserable and frail men, whom we see very often to be turned to and fro into many minds 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 judge uncertain matters by certain, and doubtful by those things which be out of all doubt. For even as the word of God is sure, and continueth forever; so man's ordinances are ever doubtful, wavering, and inconstant. These things must not be so construed, 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; we covet to attribute to everyone his just commendation, so that there be not attributed unto men, that which is meet for God only. And let that saying of Paul to the Galatians be always sounded in our ears, that If an angel from heaven shall show us of any other Gospel, than is contained in the holy scriptures, let him be accursed. And thus much shall suffice on this behalf, to declare by what notes and marks the truth of the holy scriptures may be perceived.

12. Now let us reason, by what means every man may obtain to himself that power of understanding the word of God, which we spake of before. As touching the first interpreter, which we said to be the holy Ghost; the means to have access unto him is by prayer. And therefore David prayed on this wise; Open thou mine eyes, O Lord, that I may see the wonderful things of thy law. And again; Teach me thy justifications. Give me understanding, and I shall diligently search thy commandments. And well near innumerable of these sayings there be in the 119th Psalm. Further, Paul prateth in his epistles, that wisdom, spiritual understanding, and the eyes of discretion to know the will of God, might be given to those holy men, to whom he wrote.

But as touching the other means, whereby we may discern of the holy scriptures (the word of God I mean) we must use no small industry, whereby we may be able to confer places with places, and by those which be most plain to judge of them which be most obscure. And hereof it came, that Paul warned his scholar Timothy, that he should be diligent in reading. And he himself, when he lay bound at Rome, desired that Troas might be sent unto him, with his book and parchments, which he had left behind.

By these things we may gather, that they which in the interpreting of the holy scriptures do fall into error, may impute it to themselves: for that they have not been earnest enough in prayer, nor yet used sufficient study about them. Neither ought any to be discouraged from this excellent exercise, because of the plain and homely phrase of the holy scriptures. For even as within a simple shell, is found a precious stone; and out of sorry chaff, is shaken out most profitable corn: so out of the plain and unpolished speech of the holy scriptures, is brought to light the most sincere and manifest knowledge of the truth. But above all things take heed, that thou approach not to the reading of the scriptures, if thy mind be hardened with a prejudicate opinion. Lay aside all affectations, let thy coming be wholly to learn, and not (as is the use of heretics) violently to draw them to thine opinion.

An exhortation to the reading of the scriptures.

13. Wherefore the surest relief that is brought unto us by God, and which is ever ready at hand, is the holy scriptures: which we must have always ready about us, as our herb of comfort. For, if ignorance and blindness be our disease, there light is, by which it may be shaken off. If we be disquieted with many troubles and vexations of the mind; or else, if our conscience be overcharged with the heavy burden of our sins, there we shall

meet with mild and speedy remedies. If the lack and care of these temporal things molest us, and do not utterly overpress us, there we may find sound and sure consolation. If we stand sometimes in doubt and perplexity, not knowing whither to turn ourselves, we shall nowhere better than there, find good and faithful counsel. If we be tempted, and put in danger of salvation, as oftentimes it happeneth; we have there a most strong and invincible bulwark. And assuredly, out of that poake, and nowhere else, did our latter David take most fine and smooth stones; wherewith he smote the head of Goliath, and overthrew Satan which tempted him in the desert. Wherefore David the king, not without cause, sang, that he considered the marvelous things of the law, that is, of the holy scriptures, and laid up the word of God in his heart, 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.

What will you more? From hence flow the fountains of our savior, where everyone is willed to draw frank and free, whereby our intolerable thirst may be slaked, and the exceeding desire of obtaining felicity is satisfied. Here the storehouse of God most thoroughly fraughted with abundance of all good things, is opened and laid abroad; where it is free for all sorts to provide for their want in necessity. Here the board is furnished with all kind of dainties; where the wisdom of God hath mixed for us most sweet wine, wherewith everyone may most liberally refresh himself. Here is offered unto all comers a more pleasant garden and paradise, than ever had Alcinous and Solomon: wherefore, let us gather therein profitable things: and not pernicious. Let us rather follow the bees than the spiders, sucking thereout most sweet juice, and not deadly poison. We are accustomed with incredible desire, to employ our zeal and diligence to peruse books set forth by the endeavor of mortal men, wherein we learn nothing else, but either

the means to maintain bodily health, or the way to augment our substance, or precepts to govern the common-weal, or else rules of husbandry, and other occupations, or else some enticement of pleasures: how much more requisite were it for us, to apply all our heart and mind to the study of divine doctrine? For therein we hear not the wisdom of man, but have God himself speaking before us, to whom if we give ear; we shall conceive a singular joy, we shall chase away pensive cogitations, and be lightened with most sweet comfort; we shall be strengthened beyond the condition of man, nothing shall be thought hard and painful unto us; we shall think the yoke of the Lord and his cross to be easy things, and we shall offer ourselves to be most ready to suffer anything for his name. Yea and being thus instructed with heavenly eloquence, we shall talk with men, not like sensual men; but as if our speech proceeded from God himself.

14. I know verily, that there be many, which will not give credit to these sayings; yea, and some which will scorn them, and suppose us to be mad. But I would desire these men, that it should not grieve them sometime to read and make proof. If they would be contented so to do, let me suffer shame (for so dare I say in so great a matter) if they themselves be not caught at the length, and that they will at the length perceive how much the words of God differ from the words of men. Yea (I say) they shall by earnest and faithful reading feel, that the scourge of fear and shame, is sometime by the mercy of God redoubled unto them in their heart: they shall feel themselves effectually persuaded, to die to death, and live to life: at the length they shall feel themselves shaken with the horror of their sins, and voluptuous life which they led; whereas before time they thought themselves happy therein: they shall think they see heaped before their eyes, the whole wretchedness of their fleshly life, through the bitter lust

whereof, they being in heavy languish of mind, there shall arise a great storm, and plentiful showers of tears. For while as the words of the scripture are earnestly read, and deeply considered, they do not lightly pull the mind; but with sharp pricks they deeply pierce the bottom of the heart, paring as it were and pruning from thence the loathsomeness of sin and wickedness; planting in the stead thereof peace of conscience, and spiritual gladness. Lastly they shall feel themselves to be kindled with the most pleasant and wonderful love of God's favor and goodness. Wherefore they being clearly changed, and become new men, shall be constrained to say: How sweet are thy words become unto my jaws! They were like honey unto my mouth.

But those men, which either will not read God's books at all, or else read them with contempt, disdain, or loathsomeness, whereby they are nothing the better for the word of God, but are still led aside with devises of their own head, are wholly deprived of this comfort: than the which nothing can be found more godly, or more profitable to salvation. Of which wickedness and impiety, God by his prophet Hosea the eighth chapter doth sharply accuse Israel, saying; I have written unto them the mighty things of my law, but they have counted them as a strange thing. Trulie those children are greatly degenerate, which account that voice, wherewith their father gently calleth them to goodness and happy state, to be but a strange voice: and contrariwise embrace that which is mere strange, in steed of their fathers natural speech. Wherein they show the property of the beetle, which will refuse the odoriferous ointment, to creep upon the loathsome and unsavory smell. Wherefore it is no marvel, if they wax rotten in the puddle of worldly pleasures, if they be inwardly burnt with dishonest and shameful thoughts, if they despair in adversities; and finally, if they perish on every side in their sins and contaminated life. To conclude, we may say of the scriptures

(though not so properly) as Demosthenes once said of money: Without that, nothing can be done as it should be.

15. They which are more busy against us, than they ought to be, are wont always to say, that There be many dark places in the scriptures; and that Peter gave testimony of Paul's epistles, that they were hard to be understood: and by this reason they labor to draw the simpler sort from the reading of scriptures. We therefore to answer such, do say, that Those hard places, which Peter mentioneth, may become easy enough by study and continual search: especially, if we confer those places with others, in which the very same matters, although after a much plainer sort, are entreated of. And if perhaps some places be so hard, as they cannot be reached unto; we must think, that such are not much necessary unto our salvation. For the holy Ghost is not so without care of our salvation, as of set purpose he would that to be hid from us, which we ought to know: nay rather, the difficulty of understanding of the scriptures, is oftentimes very profitable unto the faithful. For by that means, a more honest endeavor is stirred up in them, the desire of understanding is increased, and they become more fervent in prayer, wherein they labor earnestly with God, that he will give them grace to know that, which as yet is hidden from them. Moreover, by such means they are become willing to ask the advice of others, better learned than themselves: whereby the haughtiness of mind, which perhaps might arise, is suppressed; humility and mutual love among the members of Christ is restored.

Neither doth the difficulty of the scriptures, which sometimes happeneth, harm unto any, except such as be perverse men. Chrysostom (as we touched before) in his preface to the epistle to the Romans taught, that This darkness is mollified by often and diligent reading; and so mollified, as he dare speak

it, that we of ourselves, without any master, may understand whatsoever is taught in them, so that we meditate ourselves therein both day and night. For I myself (saith he) did not attain to this skill, by the sharpness of mine own wit; but by earnest endeavor. For even the dullest wits, by diligent labor, do compass hard and obscure things. And he bringeth a very apt similitude. The thoughts and meanings of a man are most secret; yet oftentimes are the thoughts and meanings of our friend, whom we earnestly love, and with whom we are always conversant, perceived of us by a beck or nod, without a sign of words or speeches, which he uttereth. Even so (saith he) it cometh to pass in the epistles of Paul, so that a man love them, and be daily occupied in them. He that asketh, shall receive; he that seeketh shall find; and he that knocketh, it shall be opened unto him. This he spake to the common people, exhorting them to the study of the scriptures.

16. But there be some others wont also to jangle, that the holy scriptures, for their doubtfulness and obscurity, may be called glasses, and as it were riddles; and therefore would conclude, that they are in no wise sufficient for our salvation, but that we must refer ourselves to the judgment of fathers and councils. For the principles or rules (they say) whereby our life is directed, must be most plain and evident unto us. But these men are already answered; that in such things as are incident to salvation, the scriptures want no plainness nor perspicuity: and those things, which in one place are somewhat darkly entreated of, are plainly taught in another. And who understandeth not, that the apostle in that place speaketh not absolutely, but by a comparison? What a gross kind of reasoning is this? Those things, which be taught in the holy scriptures, and in the sacraments, be glasses and riddles of divine things; if they be compared to the knowledge that we shall have in the life to come: therefore simply, and of themselves they be so

obscure, as they are not sufficient for our salvation. But those things, which we now believe, are not so evident unto man's reason, as that they can be showed by causes: though in the life to come all things shall be so perfectly known unto us, that we shall be able to reduce all things to their own causes, and from cause to cause, till we come to the highest. And what can the fathers themselves, or the councils teach us more, than they themselves learned in the holy scriptures? For whatsoever they add over and above these, must be rejected as man's devise.

17. Those words, which we have in the latter epistle to the Corinthians, the third chapter, do fitly serve to the expounding of this matter; But we behold, as in a mirror, the glory of the Lord with open face, and are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the Lord. For the apostle in these words, layeth together two kinds of knowledge's, which we have of heavenly things; and compareth the one with that, which was under the law; and the other with that, which we expect in the life to come. And in the first comparison he saith, that The knowledge under the law was secret and hidden, and was signified by the veil, which Moses cast over his face, when he spake to the people. And against this obscure knowledge, he opposeth the knowledge, which we have after Christ's coming, wherewith we behold heavenly things with open face, the veil being put away. But least thou shouldest think, that our knowledge is yet perfect, he useth this participle, κατοπτρίζομενοι, that is, Beholding through a glass. For the fruition of the things themselves is reserved, till we come unto the eternal rest; whereby we be changed, and transformed every day into the image of God, even from lesser to greater glory. Augustine handleth this place very properly, in his 15th book *De trinitate*, the third chapter. We must not take offense (saith he) that God hath so instructed us in the knowledge of him, as

it were through a glass, and in dark sayings; because so our nature hath required it. For we be framed in such sort, as we are led unto the knowledge of causes by their effects, and are trained by similitudes unto certain truths.

18. No more are they to be heard, which would persuade, that the holy scriptures should be taken from lay men; because the mysteries which are in them, ought not to be committed to all persons. For that is as much (say they) as to cast holy things unto dogs. But the people of Christ must not be counted as dogs. For they that have believed, be baptized; and be partakers of the sacraments. They have the spirit of God, and therefore must not be defrauded of his word. And although within the whole flock of Christians, there may be found some, which be contemners, and perhaps some blasphemers and mockers; shall therefore the greatest number of the faithful be deprived of the commodity of the scriptures for their sakes? No verily. Which thing is evidently proved by the example of the apostles, which were not ignorant, that among such a number, as came to the hearing of their service, there were many present oftentimes, which like unto dogs or swine, contemned and trod under their feet the doctrine that was set forth unto them. And yet did they not for these men's sakes, withdraw their sermons from the people. Yea, and Christ very often preached to the people, when the Scribes and Pharisees stood by, whom he knew very well to have committed sin against the holy Ghost; yet did he not for their cause cease from doing his office. Even so at this day, because some blasphemers and despisers cannot be let from the use of the holy scriptures, but that in a manner the whole flock of Christians must receive damage thereby, therefore it is better to license them unto all men one with another.

But they say, that many heresies be sprung up in these days, which should be an occasion to forbid this thing. But they that so say, should consider,

that before Augustine's time, there were both Arians, and Manichies; yea and that while he himself lived, the heresy of the Pelagians and Donatists, and many other pestiferous sects were spread abroad; and yet nevertheless he gave counsel to read the scriptures, as appeareth by his epistle *Ad Volusianum*, and in his sermon of fasting: where he proveth, that among the faithful sort, the reading of God's word, even in the time of feasts and banquets, ought to be as an exercise, instead of plays and games. And all the fathers, in a manner besides, do many times exhort the people of Christ unto this study. And it is a very slender reason, that good things should be quite taken away, because they be abused of some. For then the Eucharist itself should be taken away, because (as Paul testifieth) many abuse the same to their own destruction. To conclude, what discommodities soever they object, God knoweth them better than they; who not only permitted the law, but also the prophets to be common amongst the people; yea, and that the same should be delivered unto strange nations to be read. The Eunuch of the Queen of Candace read the prophet in his chariot, when Philip stood by him. What I beseech you, will they be wiser than God? For whatsoever is necessary to salvation, as we have often said, is plain and easy in the scriptures. Wherefore, in that the scriptures were predestinate to our glory, and that from the beginning, we must give infinite thanks unto God, which so timely thought upon our salvation.

19. Moreover, some divide the holy scriptures into four parts; and some books, as well in the Old Testament, as in the new, they ascribe unto laws, some unto histories, some unto prophesies, and some unto wisdom. But it is not lawful so to divide the holy books one from another; seeing that in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomium, wherein they appoint laws to be contained, are found almost as many histories as laws. Moreover,

in the books which they have assigned to the prophets, are oftentimes taught and plainly expounded laws of upright living: neither can we properly separate the books of Solomon, and others like (which they would have proper unto wisdom) from laws or propheties. For in them are many sentences, which pertain to the instruction of a good life, and without doubt have the nature of laws. Again, seeing that in these very many secret mysteries are opened unto the church by institution of the spirit, doubtless the attentive readers of them may mark therein oracles of things to come; but yet so nevertheless, as well near in every book, they be set forth unto us dispersedly; and yet the holy books are not severed one from another by such bounds or limits.

I would rather think, as hath seemed good unto the learned sort, that whatsoever is contained in the holy scriptures, should be referred unto two chief points; I mean the law, and the gospel. For every-where, either God's commandments to live well are set forth unto us; or else when we are found to swerve from them either of weakness, or of some certain maliciousness, the gospel is showed, whereby through Christ we are pardoned of our trespasses, and are promised the power and strength of the holy spirit, to restore us again to the image of Christ, which we had lost. These two things may be seen in all the books of Moses, in the histories, in the prophets, and books of wisdom, and throughout the whole testament, old and new. Surely they be not separated one from another by books and leaves; but by that way, which we have now declared. And thus much is said of the matter of the holy scripture in general.

Of History.

20. Let us now declare somewhat of the historical scriptures. An history (as Quintilian defineth it, in the second book, and fourth chapter of his

institutions) is a declaration of a thing that hath been done. From whom Augustine doth not much vary; saying, that History is the declaration of anything done, either by God or by man; comprehending within the compass of this definition, as well profane histories, as those of the Bible. Howbeit, all narrations of things done, are not of one sort. For some are called Chronicles, or Annals, showing the success of things from year to year, and time to time; but others are properly called histories. Howbeit we cannot well do this, unless we distinguish these two one from the other. Cicero in his second book *De oratore*, when he touched these matters, writeth on this wise: The Greeks themselves wrote so in the beginning, as our Cato, Pictor, and Piso did. For history was nothing else, but a gathering together of things done from year to year: and for the preservation of such things in public memory, the chief prelate did put every year in writing, whatsoever was done worth the registering within that year; and so continued from the original of the Roman state, even unto Publius Mutius, who bare the same office. Which being done, he not only did publish it abroad, but also did set it forth in a table at home, that the people might have the perfect knowledge thereof. Yea, and many of them (saith he) which are counted the chief historiographers at this day, follow much of their trade; who without any curiousness or eloquence, leave the monuments of times, persons, places and things, even simply as they were done. Wherefore as Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, and many other among the Greeks, such were our Cato, Pictor, and Piso among us, who have small regard to set forth their matter with goodly words: and so it may be understood what they say, they account brevity a special praise of speaking.

And a little after, it followeth thus; The name of things done, requireth order of time to be observed, and will also have the description of countries.

For in matters which be great and worthy of memory; we first look what counsel was taken; secondly the acts that were done; and lastly, what end and success came thereof. And in counsels is signified what the writer alloweth; and in the acts is declared, not only what was done and said, but also in what manner they were executed, &c. By these things we may perceive what is the nature of Annals, or of history. And it seemeth we may affirm, that the narrations of the holy scriptures be rather like histories, than Annals. For not only acts are there set forth, as they were done, but also the very causes, counsels, and means are showed. Also the orations, admonitions, and reprehensions are otherwise set forth with some ornaments. All which rather belong unto histories, than unto bare Chronicles.

21. But since we have heard the opinion of Cicero, let us see also, what Aulus Gellius saith, who in his fifth book, and fifth chapter writeth on this sort. Some do think that a history differeth from a Chronicle in this, that whereas both of them are a declaration of things that be done, yet that a history is properly of such things, as the writer himself is present at the execution of those things, which he entreateth of, &c. This distinction he himself doth not follow, and that for some certain cause. Which distinction nevertheless Servius the Grammarian used; and after him Isidorus, in his first book of Etymologies: which is a marvel, because he is not only against Tully, who said; that An history is a gathering of things done from year to year; but also contrary to Virgil, whose verse is in the first of Aeneidos: And if it please you to hear the Chronicles of our labors. Wherein he declareth, that Chronicles also belong to such things, as the writer was present at.

But I will speak again of Gellius. He reporteth that there were others, which thought histories to be either the exposition or demonstration of

things that have been done: and they be Annals or Chronicles, when the acts of many years are afterward compiled, an order of every year being kept. According to which judgment, the history of the scriptures cannot be named among Chronicles: seeing in the declarations of things done in them, the course of years many times is not observed. Afterward the same Gellius, according to the mind of Sempronius Asellio added this much; But the difference between those which would leave Chronicles behind them, and others which endeavored to discourse of the worthy acts of the Romans was this: In their Chronicles they only showed what deeds were done every year, but the histories not only showed what was done, but also how, by what order, devise, and counsel the same was achieved. And a little after, the same Asellio in the same book; Chronicles can neither move the more courageous sort to defend the Commonwealth, nor yet the more cowardly to do amiss. Wherefore, since by the knowledge of the scripture, men be admonished and stirred up to the right worshipping of God, to repentance of their life, to put their whole confidence in God: and finally, to take in hand all offices which appertain to good life and conversation, they rather contain history than chronicle. I have used many words touching this matter, but I trust not without some fruit.

22. But it must not be thought, that history was devised by man, seeing God himself is the author thereof; who would, that the forefathers should declare unto their children and posterity, the marvelous things that he did in Egypt, in the red sea, and in the wilderness: yea, and he bad (as we read in Exodus) that the war against Abimelech, and the victory which the Israelites had of him, should be recorded in writing: but this kind of writing began before Moses. For even he maketh mention, as well of a book of the wars of the Lord, as also of another book of just men. The prophets also oftentimes

mingled histories with their propheties. I omit David who many times garnished his psalms, which he son, with histories of the scriptures. I pass over our evangelists in the New Testament, and the Acts written by Luke, wherein are large and most profitable histories. Of these books if God be author, as we must believe he is, even God himself shall be counted the author of history. And this is not unbeseeming for him, seeing history is an excellent thing: for as Cicero writeth in his book *De oratore*, it is a testimony of times, a light of the truth, the life of memory, the master of life, and the messenger of antiquity, &c.

Very singular are these commendations, and not fit for every history; but for such only, wherein those rules are observed, which this author hath in the same place set down; that is to wit, that there be no false thing told, that there be no bashfulness in telling the truth, and that there be given no suspicion of favor or hatred. Wherein, although the Latin Historiographers were better than the Greeks; which (as Quintillian saith) were in these matters almost as lewd as the poets; yet Augustine in his 131 epistle to one Memorius a bishop, giving no small praise to history, among other liberal disciplines, and writing of the truth saith; that he could not perceive how those stories, which are compiled by men, can be well able to keep the truth: seeing that writers are constrained to give credit unto men, and oftentimes to gather rumors and reports of the multitude; who nevertheless are to be excused, if they keep the course that is required in a history, and write nothing of affection or set purpose to beguile men. But there is nothing more true than the histories revealed and written by the inspiration of God, as these histories of ours be.

23. Besides the commodity of the truth, the knowledge whereof is without doubt most excellent, we obtain other commodities also, and those not

small, by the reading of histories. By them we may gather great and abundant store and matter of most profitable arguments. For (as Quintillian saith) histories and examples be judgments and testimonies. And the use of examples is of two sorts at the least; one is that we should imitate and use them: also that we should allow and commend those things which we perceive have been done by excellent men. We know out of the divine history, that Abraham was a holy man, and in the favor of God; and that he was a keeper of hospitality: whereof we may gather, that hospitality is a very good virtue, and is acceptable to God: and so we may conclude of the contrary; that such things as godly men have eschewed, we also are to take heed of. For when we consider of David, that might two times have killed Saul his chieftest enemy, and yet would not; we may gather thereby, that private persons (although they may) yet must not revenge their own proper injuries. The other use of examples is this, that out of many things severally told, we understanding them to be alike, may gather thereby some profitable rule, to apply them to things generally. As by the story of the Sodomites, we note that intolerable lusts were grievously punished: we know that for the same cause the whole tribe of Benjamin was almost extinguished: we read, that for incest, Reuben the eldest son of Jacob was put besides the inheritance: that for committing of adultery, David suffered the indignation of the Lord: that for fornication, Ammon and Absalom were destroyed: that Troy (as the Ethics report) was subverted for adultery. Thus by the marking of these things severally done, we say it is manifest, that all unlawful and wanton lusts of men, are surly punished by the hand of God. To which proposition, if we add the next; to wit, that now also in these days, throughout all Christendom, there reigneth the like incest, abomination, and

wanton life, we may make a certain conclusion, that most bitter punishments hang over our age for these horrible sins.

24. But yet in this kind of argument we must take very great heed of a fault which might easily arise: and this cometh two ways. First, that we take not in hand to imitate such doings of holy men, as they sometimes enterprised naughtily. For as they were men, so they did many times amiss; yea and that shamefully. Wherefore the things which they did, must be first examined with great judgment, before we make them our examples to follow. Augustine in his second book against the second epistle of Gaudentius writeth in this manner: We must not (saith he) always imitate and allow whatsoever thing honest men have done: but it is necessary to compare the judgment of the scriptures therewith, and to mark whether they allow of those acts or no. This godly father gives us a good warning, that as godly men, although they pleased God many ways, and have great credit given them, through the testimony of the scriptures; yet that all their doings must not be judged sound and blameless: for every man is a liar, and sinneth many times. For who will follow the abominable adultery of David, and the ungodly betraying of his faithful soldier? Or who will imitate the forswearing of Peter, or his feigned dissimulation? None I hope, that hath any spark of godliness in him.

Moreover it happeneth diverse times, that the work which some have done well and justly, is nevertheless forbidden in others. For God, which made the law for man, is not so tied thereby, as it should not be lawful for him, when he thinketh good, to exempt some from the general bond. It is not lawful for any man to steal; and yet it was permitted, yea commanded unto the Hebrews, to carry away the goods, which they had borrowed of the Egyptians, unknown to them and against their wills. What is best therefore

for us to do in such cases? Trulie this; when we see anything set forth in the scriptures, to weigh it well and diligently with the general rules of God's commandments: whereunto if we perceive that they be consonant, let us then boldly use them; but if they disagree with them, let us assure our selves that they were certain misdeeds, or else special prerogatives permitted to some: and let us refrain from following of such examples. These cautions being used, there is great profit to be reaped of histories; especially those histories which be in the scriptures. And this did Chrysostom so well perceive, as in his preface upon the exposition of the epistle to Philemon, he wisheth, that all those things had been committed to writing, which were either said or done by the apostles, when they sat, when they did eat, when they wrote, and such like. And the same father in his 57th homily upon Genesis writeth, that histories were given of the holy Ghost to be followed. Augustine also in his second book *De doctrina christiana*, the 28th chapter showeth, that Many dark and hard places may be resolved by the knowledge of histories. Moreover, whosoever shall exercise themselves much in perusing of the scriptures, may the more fruitfully consider the examples and doings of our times. There happened once a man to be somewhat deformed, who nevertheless was desirous of godly children, but yet he married a foul wife: and therefore every man laughed him to scorn. But he went into the city, and bought himself very fair and curious pictures, brought them home, and placed them in his chamber; and gave his wife commandment, that every day for a certain space of time, she should fixe her sight upon those pictures: which commandment she observed, and therefore bare unto him goodly children. Even so shall it happen to us, which although for our sins naturally engrafted in us, we are most foul and ugly to behold, and are led as well by the power of the devil, as by ill

conversation of men, unto lewd and licentious life: yet notwithstanding, if we will earnestly and diligently make a choice of examples of the godly, described and plainly set forth to us in the holy scriptures, and will well consider of them in our minds; verily we shall yield forth excellent works, and such as be acceptable unto the Lord.

25. But those things that be written, seem unto men to be so impure and foul, as they do think them unworthy to be read in the holy scriptures. But understand thou, that the sum of those things which he had in the holy scripture, are so distributed, as some pertain only to be known, others to be imitated: wherefore such things as be set forth after this manner, put thou among that sort which belong unto knowledge only, not that thou do express them by imitation. I grant that they have mysteries in them, yet are they not for that cause to be followed. For the mystery and excellent signification, which was peculiar to the doings of the fathers, causeth not, but that those things are otherwise to be counted sins. The Manichees which refuse the Old Testament, have specially this foolishness, to think that in receiving of the scripture, whatsoever things are taught, if they be not disallowed or condemned in that place, they ought to be allowed and commended of us. Wherefore (say they) seeing these things be not condemned, if the Old Testament be received, it shall be lawful to imitate them. These things doth Augustine answer in his 22nd book against Faustus, the 62nd chapter. We read of the fact of Herod, which is handled in the gospel, when he killed an infinite sort of children at Bethlehem; neither doth the Evangelist there add an execration of so great a cruelty: shall we therefore say, that we ought to express so horrible an act by imitation?

They make a great stir that Judah was in the number of the patriarchs: as though it be of necessity, that they which are carried into some high calling,

should straightway be counted good men. Was not Judas Iscariot among the number of the twelve apostles? Perhaps they will say, he continued not. I grant; but Peter, which committed the crime of denying (Christ) was always reckoned the first of that order. Why then (say they) was it requisite that Judah should be so commended in the last prophesy of his father? To the end (answereth Augustine) that whilst thou thinkest this Judah, by reason of his facts, to be unmeet for so great a praise and commendation, thou shouldest seek for another of his stock, to whom so great a renown may justly be applied: and this shall be Christ. Wherefore those things that be taught in the holy scripture only; that something may be discerned or perceived of us, it skilleth but a little how those be as touching manners, whether honest or dishonest: even as in a history, it maketh no matter, whether some letters be black; so thou read them, and discern what they signify unto thee. But those things which so teach, as that we ourselves should work, and do that which is there declared, then undoubtedly it forceth very much how they be. God would that in them we should chiefly have regard unto his cunning; to wit, that he is able to use evil things well.

Who will deny, but that adultery is an evil thing? And yet thereby God would, that a child should be begotten, who may be planted in his church, and among his people. Again, whereas Caiaphas, being an ill man, said with an ill heart; It is expedient that one should die for the people: God would most effectually express unto us a holy prophesy, touching the redemption and salvation of the people of God. The self-same thing may be said of Judas the traitor, whose act without all doubt was to be detested: and yet nevertheless, God thereby procures our salvation. Assuredly it was not the mind of Judas Iscariot to bring any good thing to pass. Neither meant the same Judah to signify anything by his fact, but by the providence and

cunning of God it was brought to pass, that good things should be derived from thence: from the one, the redemption through Christ; and from the other, the flesh of Christ, and an excellent signification of our salvation. But in very deed, the Manichees do therefore chiefly among other things take hold of that fact of Judah, to defame the genealogy of Christ according to the flesh; and exclaim that he was unworthily born of such ancestors. Howbeit, as Christ hath borne upon him our sins, and hath refused no human kind, although it were wicked, so that they will believe him: so hath he not refused to derive his stock from ancestors which have sinned.

26. But we must note well, that in the Greek translation, the seventy interpreters do differ from our numbers, or from the numbers that are had in the Hebrew verity: which thing (saith Augustine in his 15th book *De civitate Dei*) we should not judge to be done because the Hebrews be liars, or that they corrupted their books: seeing he thinketh it may not be granted, that all the Jews, so many as wrote, could conspire in such sort together, as all their copies were falsified. Which reason let them note, which so greatly blame the Hebrew books of falsehood, lying, and corruption. But Augustine affirmeth, that this was not done by the fault of the interpreters, as if they had meant to keep the truth secret from the nations, but that it came by the oversight of the writers of their translation, which may soon be deceived in describing of numbers, as we see by daily experience. For since that numbers appear to be a thing of no great importance, they are not carefully; nay rather they are negligently looked unto. But in other things, where the seventy interpreters either seem to translate otherwise, than is in the Hebrew, or do add anything for exposition sake; that he thinketh was done by the power of prophesy, which directed them. Whereof see what Jerome saith; But to come to our computation of years, thou mayest perceive, that

hereof it comes to pass, that there is a difference between the Hebrews account and ours, as touching the years since the beginning of the world: because they of old time followed also the description of the seventy interpreters. And the Hebrews followed the whole history, as they themselves have it, with whom we may agree in all those things, which are not prejudicial at all unto Christ, and the true worshipping of him. But that the Greek translation, which now taketh place, is not that which the seventy interpreters made; it is noted upon the epistle to the Romans, the 11th chapter, and 26th verse, in these words: There shall come out of Zion.

Further, there be many excellent writings lost; but yet as God would, there be many also preserved: and especially those which bring greatest profit, and are most available for the instruction of men. Neither must we imagine, that it came by chance, that so many and so great works perished. For There is not a sparrow that lighteth upon the ground by chance; as the son of God testifieth. And it is evident, that All the hairs of our head are certainly numbered of God. But wherefore (saith some man) were they written, seeing they should afterward perish? There is no doubt, but they served for that age: and everything is not alike convenient for all places, times, and persons. Wherefore we answer, that so it seemed good unto God; and thereby we gather, that those books had not been profitable for us. Howbeit they are justly and greatly blamed, which make much ado about the loss of many books, when as they in the meantime have not perused over those, which be now extant of the holy scriptures. And I am certainly persuaded, that it tendeth to the profit of the elect, that there have so many miscarried. Also there be certain monuments extant of ecclesiastical writers, not very whole, but as it were fragments of them; by the taste whereof we may

know, that the rest which be lost were not of such value, as the loss of them should be much lamented.

Plato in his dialogue Phaedrus reporteth, that a Daemon, who (as I take it) was a wise man, came to Thamus king of Egypt, and offered him four of his devises; namely, number, geometry, lots, and letters: and when he came to the commendation of letters, he declared that they were a great help to memory, and a singular furtherance to wisdom. The king examining his sayings, some part he allowed, and some he did not. And when he had considered of letters, he pronounced the contrary of them: For letters (saith he) help not the memory, as thou bearest me in hand; but they rather confound the same. For when men have once put in writing those things which they have 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 known, and would be daily more and more ripe in them. Further, as touching the increase of wisdom, men will hereafter (saith he) despise their teachers, by turning themselves unto written books; which being often red, do tell but one tale. This was the opinion of a king of Egypt; which in very deed, I allow not. For I affirm, that books are of singular great profit, for else God would not have bestowed the scriptures upon men; yet that king seemed to say somewhat. For if there be not a mean and in reding of books, they may do hurt.

It is said of Socrates and Pythagoras, that they wrote nothing themselves; but that their scholars after them set forth some books in their names. No nor our Savior Christ did not leave behind him any writing of his own doings; but his apostles did register his sermons, acts, and miracles. Yea and it is not said in the history, that Solomon wrote these things, but that he

spoke and disputed. Wherefore it should seem, that those things which be extant, and written in his name, were received from his mouth: which may well be perceived by the book of the Proverbs. The cause why so many of his sayings have been omitted, perchance is; for that they which took the words from his mouth, did not thoroughly mark all things. Besides this, so many were the exiles of the Hebrews, as it is a marvel that these scriptures, which we have, were preserved; and these by Esdras were restored and amended. Wherefore we must well and thankfully use them, as a heavenly and divine gift. And I am out of doubt, that the apostles gave more epistles unto the churches, than we have in these days. And I am thoroughly persuaded, that those which are lost, be lost by the appointment of God. Of Paul, and his epistles and style, look the preface upon the epistle to the Romans.

CHAP. VII. Whether Young and Incompetent Men, and finally any other sort are to be Excluded from Hearing of the Word of God.

It should seem that Aristotle may for just cause be blamed, when he would exclude a young man from hearing of moral philosophy: for thus he saith; He will hear in vain, and without fruit, because he hath not experience: and that although he have his right reason, yet is he overcome with lusts and affections, and so overcome, as he cannot do those things that he would: and therefore (he saith) that as his reason is overcome, so is this learning understood of him overcome, and that since he is not able to produce the same into act, his labor in hearing will be frustrate. Howbeit hereof is gathered an argument of the contrary, to wit; that they by this faculty are very greatly holpen, which do suffer their affections to be ruled by reason. Again, it belongeth to those that be perfect men, to subdue the affections of their mind to reason: and young and incompetent men, which have most need of amendment, are not judged meet for these things. These being plucked away from hearing, there will be no kind of men left, unto whom these things will bring any commodity. Whereupon Aristotle shall hardly avoid it, but that this will become superfluous. Eustratius answereth,

that there be some men, and those not a few, which are led only by custom to become good; but they cannot proceed therein by an order and way prescribed, seeing they are destitute of infallible rules, which when they have afterward procured to themselves by this doctrine, they are most of all established in just and honest actions, not being now anymore led by customs, but thoroughly persuaded by a full assurance of their mind. And there be some, which of a certain natural inclination do fly from wickedness, and desire goodness; but how those things do differ one from another, or by what means they may, of the good things, which without doubt are manifold, follow the better, they are ignorant by themselves: neither is there any doubt, but that they which be so framed, may thereby obtain great helps. And therefore we are not to think that the incompetent, and they which be subject to their affections, shall (as we have heard of Aristotle) be altogether unprofitable hearers: for unless they be wholly without sense, they, when these things are set before them, will at the leastwise know, whither they are brought by their lusts, and will perceive how far off they are now distant from the right course: and it cannot possibly be, but that some manner of way they will be stirred up unto better things; whereupon they may by little and little both be healed and reap commodity; as we read that it happened at Athens to the most desperate young man Polemon, when he had heard Xenocrates dispute many things of temperance.

Wherefore these things which are here spoken, must not be understood without exception. For some time there be young men so framed by nature, and so amended only by discipline and education, that even by this kind of learning they are able to profit much, as touching outward justice and civil conversation, which I think doth most take place in them, which being

instructed from their youth in the Christian faith, do embrace godliness from their heart. And this, by a most manifest example did Edward the sixth, king of England, testify, who without doubt being a young man, was even in his first age most prompt to the exercise of all virtue. The very which thing also will happen to you, if ye follow the doctrine of the gospel with that endeavor which you have begun. Wherefore Aristotle meant not to exclude all young men universally; but this did he most regard, to put away the objections which might hurt the worthiness or estimation of this faculty. And this he did, least if thou shalt see young men trained up in learning to become at any time nothing the better, thou shouldest ascribe that unto the fault of this faculty, as though it were of no estimation, and served to no use: wherefore he layeth 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 approved fruits of the same have no good success. And neither was Aristotle alone of this mind, but Pindarus also, who saith; κουρότεροι γὰρ ἀπειράτω φρονύες, that is, For light wits or young heads want experience: and Homer, ἄει γάρ τε νεότεροι ἀφραδέουσιν, that is to say, For young folk are always rash and unstayed. Moreover Horace, pronounceth thus of a young man, that,

Youth unto vice, like wax is soon applied,
And fierce to those that warning them do chide.

And how wanton they commonly are, and kindled in their affections, the Comedy giveth a most evident testimony. Also the histories do declare, how Cicero was deceived in Octavius; and how little, Aristotle himself could bring to pass towards the reformation of manners in his scholar Alexander of Macedonia, who being always inflamed with exceeding great ambition,

did most insolently bear himself in prosperous fortune, most foolishly desired to be a god, and so gave himself to wine, as being drunk he slew his most loving friend, and at the desire of an harlot burned the most noble, populous, and large city Persepolis, which was the head city of the kingdom, in such sort as it was utterly extinct. The like things doth Plato in his dialogue Gorgias speak, when he said, that There be two passages, whereby good studies do flow out of our minds; namely Oblivion, and Incredulity: for by Oblivion is taken away the skill, and experience which are gathered in the memory; and by the other, to wit Incredulity, it comes to pass, that we give no credit to those that admonish us. But young men do soon forget those things that they have once or twice seen and had experience of: wherefore they hardly get to themselves general sentences and rules. For we cannot obtain those, but by long and continual observation, which young men cannot gather by a short time of their life, neither do they willingly give credit to those that admonish them, because they are carried away by the blind sway of their affections.

2. And say not unto me that young men do protest, and have in their mouth, and do keep in memory special and honest sentences of philosophy: for although they speak many things truly, yet do they not think as they speak; and sometime they perceive and are moved with those things that be uttered, not much better than Laies do understand men's words, which they are wont to prattle; yea and drunken and intemperate men do oftentimes jangle and tell a fair tale, where nevertheless, either they judge the contrary, or else they cannot tell what they speak: and briefly, their speech is not according to their mind, but they have one thing in their mind, and another in their heart: which is then most of all perceived, when they get liberty, and have a full freedom of their choice. Then albeit they were first modest and

chaste, they bewray their mind that lurked, and their nature that lay hidden. Who was a more commendable prince than Nero himself, in the first year (of his reign) while he was yet governed by the direction of Seneca? Of whom was there greater hope than of Commodus, who as he was of an excellent wit from his youth, so afterward he became a monstrous beast? And do we not remember Joash in the holy history, which governed himself rightly in the beginning of his dominion, so long as he governed by the counsels of Johiada the faithful high priest; whose authority when he afterward despised, he became straightway corrupt, and by the liberty which he claimed to himself made manifest the shameful desires of his mind? But yet for all these reasons were never our forefathers lead, nor at this day are wise men lead; but that they bring their children, when they become to young men's state, unto philosophers to be instructed by their learning and wisdom. They send them also unto lawyers, that they may understand those things which be just and honest. And all this we learn out of Platos Axioms, and out of the philosopher's lives, and we also observe the custom of our times. Which was therefore so done in old time, and is also done at this day; for those words which Aristotle here writeth of, have not that sense, as though young men by this philosophy shall receive no profit; but because they are not able to proceed so well forward as they can judge in their mind what is here, and forthwith to direct their actions according to virtue, and to procure unto themselves good and honest habits of the mind: since these things require a mind fully persuaded and truly assenting thereunto. But in perceiving of other faculties, it is enough if the wit be applied, which whosoever shall have it but dull and blockish, shall not become skillful.

But in this our philosophy two things are to be performed; one, that the precepts should be understood; the other, that they be put in practice. As touching that first, there is no let, but that young and intemperate men, which live dissolutely, may attain unto. For if they be anything prompt and witty, they will easily understand those things which be taught; but to express the precepts of this faculty in this life, they will not be brought, partly because they want experience, as Aristotle saith; and partly for that they are carried away with evil affections. Perhaps thou wilt demand what manner of experience it is, that we require of them which should be fit hearers? I will show it by examples; namely, by abstinence to overcome lusts. By valiant and temperate actions, if they be often practiced, men at the length become valiant and temperate; so as without any grief, yea rather with singular pleasure they exercise themselves in the duties belonging to these virtues. And to conclude, we must understand, that there are two kinds of ends of this art; one that we understand what is spoken; the other and that the chief and principal, that what we have learned, we should perform: of which latter end, since Aristotle saw, that as well young as incompetent do fail, therefore he pronounced this kind of hearers to be unfit, if they be compared with others, which have now subdued their affections and motions of their mind to the rule of reason. For these may not only understand what is said, but are able also to judge rightly thereof: which as it is manifest, this philosopher did most respect, since all his whole reason leaneth to this principle, that young and incompetent men cannot rightly judge of these things. Also let us distinguish mankind, that some be sound, and some be altogether incurable, and that there be others in a mean between both: and they that be sound, we think have no need of these doctrines, since they be faultless and live perfectly. The incurable and

intemperate, and they which have utterly given themselves to filthy pleasures, shall not be holpen, until they have laid away this mind: but they which be in the mean, shall take great fruit hereby. Trulie this distinction is well to be liked; so nevertheless, as there be added thereunto, as touching them whose recovery is despaired of; that they must never be so despaired of, but that good counsels and wholesome admonishments may at one time or other do them good. For as the power of physic is not only to maintain the health which is gotten, and to finish that which is begun; but also to heal those that be destitute thereof: so admonitions and good doctrines, which be the medicines of the mind, have power not only to retain good habits, and to make perfect the virtues begun; but also to reduce to the health of mind those men which have quite lost the same, especially if we pass not the bounds of civil justice and outward conversation.

3. Now remaineth, that we pass not over a very necessary disputation, the same is, how it cometh to pass, that since Aristotle said, that Yoong and incompetent men are no fit hearers; he did not also reckon them which be endued with such a constitution, temperature, or nature, as they cannot be made better, and are altogether unapt to receive virtues. And that such there be, Galen sheweth in sundry places, and especially in the book wherein he treateth of the mutual consequence of the manners of the mind, and temperature of the body, where he saith, that They which think that all men have a mind apt unto virtues; or on the other side, that there be none at all; do measure mankind but by the one half, neither have they known and perceived the whole nature of man. For all men (saith he) are not by the complexion of their body born enemies of virtue, neither do all men love and desire the same by the power of their own nature. Afterward he removeth this sentence or definition of his by a certain objection; for that

we see some so well allowed and praised for their excellent virtues, and contrariwise others to be condemned and dispraised, because they be corrupted and infected with vices. Neither is it meet, that for those things which be naturally within us, we should either be commended or dispraised. Yea, and the one sort, where a Common weal is well governed, are punished; and the other sort have rewards given them. Hereunto he saith, that This is the natural judgment of men, to allow, succor, help, and praise those things which be good, profitable and comely; howsoever they come, whether of nature, or of industry; and those things which be evil, damnable, and full of shame, they dispraise, keep under, and take away (so much as in them lieth) not regarding the cause from which they proceed: which he endeavoreth to declare plainly by examples. We kill spiders, asps, and adders; neither do we first deliberate with ourselves whether venom be naturally planted in those things, or whether they got the same by their own endeavor and will. Also we do love and worship God, not weighing with ourselves whether he hath attained to his own goodness by endeavor and his own proper will; or whether the same have been grafted in him by nature from everlasting.

We might also add, that beautiful bodies are had in admiration of all men, and are celebrated with singular praise, although that beauty hath come by nature: and gifts freely given (as the Divines speak) ought to be praised. And briefly, this he seemeth to affirm, that Evil men are condemned and dispraised; and contrariwise good men are allowed and praised; although it be not known for a certainty, whether that naughtiness or goodness came to them by industry, or by nature; or by any other means. And in this respect he blamed the Stoics, for that they judged that all men were by nature made apt unto virtue; whereunto though by nature and strength they be inclined,

yet by the ill example of other men, by perverse opinions, and by the talk and conversation of corrupt men, they are revoked from the same. But if it should be granted them, what I beseech you could they allege concerning those first men; such as they cannot deny, but that now and then yea oftentimes there have been in the world? When as at sundry and certain times appointed they deem that the world hath perished, either by the overflowing of waters, or by the consuming of all things with fire; and that again it hath been renewed. Whom I say will they affirm to have corrupted either with ill examples, or ill doctrine, or with pleasures found out, or with corrupt inventions, these first men brought forth again into light? Certainly this reason is of force against the Stoics. But against the Peripatetiks and others, which think that the world never began, they use in very deed another kind of argument: and that is; Put the case there be certain brethren which are begotten of the self-same parents, which use the self-same meats, live all under one school-master, and have no conversation with strangers; who (I beseech you) shall be assigned the author, that some be of corrupt and lewd manners, and that others do continually show an honest and chaste disposition? And if we will grant that, which for the most part happeneth, we will affirm, that there be very few children, yea in a manner none at all, that of nature have a disposition inclined to virtue; as those which must continually be stirred up thereunto by threats chastisements, and admonishments of school-masters. For immediately, even in their first age, either they be too fearful, or else more bold than is meet, insatiable, sluggish, wanton, soon angry, and envious. Wherefore it is a marvel how the Stoics can descend their opinion, namely, that All men are by nature apt to receive virtue.

4. And no less likely things to be true, do they think they speak, which have affirmed, that Mankind is so drawn away, that it cannot proceed in the swift course to virtue, by reason of the pleasure that riseth up unto it. For they which so say, doth Possidonius notably reprehend, who affirmeth, that we from our first conception have certain sparks, which kindle us up unto vices; wherefore it comes to pass, that we cannot beware of ourselves, but that we be inwardly vicious; when as notwithstanding we may provide that such ill seed and vicious sparks shall not break forth into open wickedness, and increase so far as they can be no more restrained. And finally, by the judgment of these men, the evil is far greater and more grievous, that we in ourselves do bear about us, than that which by outward contagion is procured. Indeed they grant, that a wicked custom, when it happens, maketh us wicked; and that a great deal worse than we were before by nature. But as touching the power whereby we understand, this they teach: first, that it may be, that by schoolmasters, or by wise men, or by unlearned men, we may perceive true or false opinions: but the sharpness of wit, foolishness, blockishness, and such like, which belong to the understanding, we obtain according to the quality of the temperature, which we in our mother's womb do take, even of the substance whereof we are begotten; whereunto afterward do come many and marvelous increases, as well by means of the meats, which do breed good or evil juice; as of the qualities of the air, and sundry chances that do happen. And there he citeth Aristotle, who treating of the parts of living creatures, saith that men do also follow the complexion of their mother. And in the first book of the history that he writeth of living creatures, he affirmeth, that the proportion of the instrumental parts are made correspondent to the manners of the mind, and that therefore those parts being well considered, many things as touching

the manners and inward affections may be showed by them that are skillful in the art of physiognomy. These be the arguments for the which Aristotle in his first book of Ethics may seem not to have spoken circumspectly; that those which in nature are procreated δύσκρατοι; that is, with an ill temperature of the body, he said would not become fit hearers of this doctrine. Howbeit we will after this manner defend him, that although the greater part of men, yea in a manner all of us come into the world infected with the sparks of vices and lusts, prone unto filthiness and wickedness; yet that these things are not so strong and firm, but that either they may be utterly overcome, or at the leastwise qualified and mitigated; whereby either men, as touching moral virtues and outward conversation, may become excellent; or at the leastwise be less molested with these evil affections. And because while they lack experience of things of the mind, as in young men it happeneth; and that with the violence of a disturbed mind, some are plucked away, and are subject to incontinency; it is impossible they should be adorned with virtues, and perform in deed those things which in this faculty they have heard: therefore I say did Aristotle pronounce, that young and incompetent men would not become meet hearers.

But forso much as men (of ripe age) may profit much, although by the violence of ill humors and by nature they be stirred up unto vices; therefore doth not the philosopher remove them from the number of those that should be hearers: for that which is wanting to nature, we may supply by our diligence and study, so as provocations and ill motions may be restrained and kept under. Neither to the obtaining of virtues is it required, that we should altogether put off those engrafted evils; only it is required of us, that (as much as in us lieth) we should endeavor ourselves to the weakening of them: which if by diligence and exercise we shall perform, the possession

of virtues shall not be hindered; which because we are never able to challenge, unless there come an experience of things which is necessary, and unless there be a help of the weakness of reason, wherewith incompetent men are troubled; therefore doth Aristotle in a manner reject those hearers, and thought that of these there should be no mention made. And he himself unto that which Galen objected, would have answered somewhat otherwise, as touching praise and dispraise. For he would have said, that the lovers of virtues are therefore praised, not because they are led thereunto by the force of nature; but because they have striven against the ill inclination thereof, and in that fight have had an excellent victory: and on the other side, that the wicked are dispraised, because they being overcome and made weak by the power of natural violence, are thereby drawn to suffer shameful things.

5. Neither was Galen against this opinion, though at the first sight he may seem to mislike the same. For in his little book which treateth of the knowing and curing the affects of the mind, he testifieth, that No man ought to be discouraged from the endeavor of making himself better; yea, although he were three score years of age. And moreover he saith, that If any man certainly know, that he could never obtain wisdom; yet should he at the leastwise endeavor this, to wit, that he have not a mind utterly deformed, as the body of Thersites was to be cured, although otherwise it were most ill-favored. But and if it happen, that we be not able with excellent and most wise men to occupy the first places; yet this nevertheless must we endeavor, that we may be received into the second, third, or fourth places. And he adviseth us by what means and by what reason this may be done; saying, that by reason, and by earnest exercise whosoever will, may obtain it. And to encourage men's minds, he saith; Thou laborest very much

to become a Grammarian, and refuseth no pains to become an excellent Musician: why then dost thou not suffer thyself to be made a good man? Then in the same book he compareth this diligence of obtaining a good life, with the industry which husbandmen use about plants. I grant indeed (saith he) that a husbandman cannot by his labor and industry change a bramble, and take away his nature, or to make it bear fruit: but yet vines within their own nature are ordained to bear fruits; if they be neglected, if they be left only to the government and fertility of the soil, they will bear either worse fruit, or in a manner none at all: even so good wits, though they be otherwise capable of good manners, if they shall want their tilth, do soon become either wicked or slothful. But although that in young men this exercise of moderating their affections from their tender age, may seem a difficult thing; yet in process of time the pains will be lessened. For by these laudable exercises, reason will be more confirmed, which being made strong, it will be better obeyed of the inferior powers of the mind.

And from these things doth not Plutarch disagree, who writing of the increase of good manners doth also confess, that there is settled in our minds a certain infinite and unspeakable naughtiness, which nevertheless by access 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 mayest understand by nature, it hath been already showed; a temperature (I say) of the body, and a natural inclination. And there needs no labor to expound what is exercise; the doubt only seems to be as touching discipline. Therefore we say, that the same is a certain faculty, which applieth the actions and choices of men unto reason, and this it worketh by doctrine, corrections, admonitions, and (when need

shall require) by punishments. And whatsoever of these things any man wanteth, he cannot be made perfect as touching civil manners and virtues. Unto this his doctrine he compareth husbandry, unto the good success whereof is required a fertile soil; secondly, a painful and convenient husbanding of the ground; lastly, good and profitable seed: and if any of these three things be wanting, we fail of the fruits that we look for. Unto nature answereth the soil, unto discipline the tilth, and the seed unto exercise. And if the drops of water by a continual fall do make stones hollow; if iron and brass, be they never so hard, be worn with use: so are bodies by sloth and sluggishness made feeble, and feeble bodies by wholesome diet and just exercise brought to an incredible strength. A barren land well husbanded is not utterly without fruit, and a fertile soil neglected waxeth wild, and bringeth forth thorns and weeds both hurtful and unprofitable. Also the most fierce wild beasts, by man's labor and industry are made tame: yea and those beasts, which in their own nature would be mild and tractable, if they be so let alone, use to become wild, as we see it comes to pass in horses and bulls.

But what shall I say more? Did not the two whelps coming both of one dam and fire, which Lycurgus brought forth into the open assembly of the Lacedaemonians declare by their running unto things most contrary, what the diversity of education is able to do? But what shall we say unto Plato in his Protagoras, who seemeth there to affirm that virtues cannot be taught? For Pericles (saith he) and other excellent men, although they caused their children to be instructed in learning, music, and such like good arts, wherein their children did greatly profit, yet did they not make them to be adorned with virtues, which undoubtedly we must believe, that they would have desired most, if they could have obtained the same by learning and

industry. Whereupon it seems to be proved, that there be some of nature so estranged from virtues, as they are not able to attain unto them; and that others shall labor in vain, when they endeavor to train them up to virtue. Howbeit, this also doth nothing at all weaken those things which we determine; because either their parents labored not so much as they should in bringing of them up, or else if they did use sufficient diligence, and that the nature of the children (by reason of the temperature of their body) was not given to virtues, yet did they by their labor and industry bring somewhat to pass. For although, if they should be compared with the chiefest, perfect, and most absolute citizens, they might seem to be utterly destitute of virtue; yet nevertheless being compared with rude and savage men, which are altogether trained up without discipline, they might be counted civil, gentle, and adorned with some show of virtues. Wherefore we conclude, that endeavor, discipline, and study are not altogether in vain, even as touching them which by natural inclination be enemies unto virtues.

6. Now let us see how those things, which Aristotle hath said, do agree or disagree with the holy scriptures. Young and incompetent men in the holy scriptures are not excepted; neither be any removed 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 use of things. Thou mayest see that Publicans, and harlots, and also thieves were admitted by Christ unto his discipline; and that not only young men, but young children were called. And we might allege many out of histories, which before time having lived shamefully and most wickedly, were straight-way so reformed and amended by the doctrine of Christ, as afterward they not only attained to a singular innocence of life; but also with an incredible fortitude did suffer themselves to be put to death with

great torments, least they should violate the decrees of our faith, and the godliness which they had attained unto, when as there was both deliverance and great rewards offered them, if they would have forsaken their determination. And we see, that not only men have fallen into this kind of conflict; but we are not ignorant that women being otherwise but weak, yea boys and girls have with great courage endured these things.

Neither let any man say, that those which sin against the holy Ghost take no profit at all by the word of God, and that it may therefore seem that they should be driven from hearing of the same. We grant indeed, that they which so sin, do hear the word of God in vain; howbeit, since those can by no usual means be known from others, they are not excluded. God very well knoweth who they be which are wrapped in this kind of sin; but men seeing they know not, who are by nature fallen into so great a wickedness, may not remove them from the holy doctrine. It is requisite (no doubt) that those which are sinners against the holy Ghost, be not such as fall by ignorance, or infirmity, but that they be such as are led thereunto by a hatred of the truth to strive against the same, so that willingly and wittingly they oppose themselves against the truth, resist it, and to the uttermost of their power hinder the course thereof; which nevertheless they will know to be the truth. How are men able to understand this thing, seeing they cannot attain to the secretness of any man's mind and will? Wherefore those which be thus ill affected, do hear 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 hear, doth increase their greater condemnation. For of such force is the word of God, as either it saveth the hearers, or becometh a destruction unto them. And so great heed doth the church take, that it driveth not away any from the word of God; and it

admitteth thereunto even those which be excommunicate, and them which do not yet believe, whom otherwise it driveth both from the sacraments and from public prayers. Perhaps thou wilt demand: How cometh this difference between the word of God, and the doctrine of the philosophers? Hereof assuredly it cometh, that men's sayings, although they be famous and commendable; yet are they not endued with that strength and power, as they be able to change or correct unprofitable and corrupt minds. But the power and strength of the word of God, to call men unto God, is incredible. Not as though even those things which the philosophers also taught or put in writing, be without their strength. For we deny not that most ancient common saying, wherein it is said, that Whatsoever is true, of what author soever it was spoken, proceedeth from the holy Ghost. But those things, which be spoken by the motion of the holy Ghost, cannot be altogether void of some effect, although it be of much less effect than the vehemency, wherewith the holy scriptures are furnished. Who will deny that the common sort of stones are adorned with their own strength and proper power, and the same not unprofitable to our life, although they may not be compared with the strength of precious stones?

But I return to the matter. I find only one kind of men, unto whom the holy doctrine must not be imparted; and they be such as deride and openly slander the doctrine of Christ. For he commanded his apostles, that they should not commit the heavenly doctrine to dogs and hogs: which in very deed must be understood of contempt and outward derision; that is, when with slanders and contumelies they rail upon true godliness. Which if they do secretly to themselves, so that they will hear quietly, and will suffer themselves to be admonished and taught, they must not be put back from hearing the same. Neither must public preaching be left off for their sakes,

which are open scoffers, railers, and reproachful persons, when such cannot be driven away, because perhaps they be over mighty; lest for one or two men's causes the whole people should be defrauded of the food of their soul. Ye see therefore that only these are to be removed from the holy doctrine, from whence other men, of what condition soever they be, must not be forbidden; nay rather they must be exhorted to come very often thereunto. Those things, which I have spoken, belong to the usual and received ordinance of the church, since I know 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 work of God, not of men; therefore it serveth not to this purpose.

CHAP. VIII. Of Lots, whereby God's counsel was asked: and first of Urim and Thummim; which were so called, of charity and perfection.

An old expositor of the scriptures, called Kimhi, upon the twenty chapter of the book of Judges, verse the 26, noted many things, not unprofitable for the understanding of other places of the scripture by questions and oracles. He saith, that It was the manner among the Hebrews, to ask questions of God: and he that would demand anything, touching either public or weighty matters, he came to the priest, who being appareled with his Ephod garment, stood before the ark of the Lord. And upon his Ephod were set twelve precious stones, wherein the names of the twelve tribes were engraven, 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 turn his face towards the priest; and his speech should neither be so loud, as he might plainly be heard; nor yet so low, as if he had only prayed with his inward cogitations: but even in such wise, as Anna prayed in the first book of Samuel, where it is said, that She only moved her lips, and said nothing that might be heard. After this, the oracle was showed to the priest in this manner. By the power of the holy Ghost, certain letters

appeared forth, or shined upon the breast, wherein the priest did read the oracle or will of God. And this was that Urim and Thummim, which is spoken of. These be the words of Kimhi. But what credit should be given unto him, I know not. For it might be, that the spirit of God gave out his pleasure by the mouth of the priest, without those letters.

2. Touching lots, we have an example in the first of Samuel, the 10th verse; for there Samuel willeth that all the people should stand by tribes. He himself would pronounce nothing, least the thing should seem to be done by his own appointment: therefore God pronounced Saul to be king, doubtless not through his own 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 dissention might be avoided. For if Samuel had chosen the king upon his own liking, they might have thought him to be led by favor and affection. Again, if the voices of the people should have taken place; no doubt but everyone would have favored his own tribe: and being so many tribes as there were, they would hardly have agreed all upon one man. And whereas Saul was of the least tribe, of low degree, and of base parentage; if he should have been chosen by any other means, the matter might have been greatly stomached of all sorts. Core, Dathan, Abiram, and others of their fellows; stirred up sedition against Moses and Aaron; because they supposed them to have usurped the principality and priesthood by fraud and collusion.

Sundry ways were the lots in old time. Kimhi thinketh, that all the people stood before the Lord; for in deliberation and counsel of great matters, it behooved the magistrate or prince to stand before the high priest. So we see in the book of Numbers, that when Joshua was appointed to be captain of the people, he stood before Eleazar, and the priest used to make answer

through Urim and Thummim. So doth Kimhi think that Samuel stood before the high priest, and received the oracle of Urim and Thummim; that is to say, by those letters which were engraven in the precious stones of the Ephod. He saith moreover, that the ark perhaps was brought thither: howbeit these things be uncertain. For there is here no mention made, either of the priest, or yet of the ark. Rab. Shelomo thinketh, that such was the manner of lots, as that the names of every of the tribes were written in several scrolls; which being thrown into a pot, were afterward drawn by the chief priest. It maketh for Kimhi, that there is no mention made of lots. Shelomo followeth the common opinion, which is, that Saul's election was done by lots: which thing was not strange from the use and custom of the Jews. For of two he goats, it was chosen by lots, which of them should scape. By lots the land of Canaan was divided among the tribes; by lots the priesthood was appointed; by lots Jonah and Jonathan 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, commonly among the Jews, it should appear that Shelomo did not think amiss, in saying that Saul was chosen by lots.

And whereas Kimhi saith, that the high priest, the ark of the Lord, and the Ephod were present; me thinketh it is not agreeable to truth; For the ark at that time was in Kiriathiarim. And if so be that the Ephod were there, yet it followeth not of necessity, that therefore the ark was also there; for we may see how often those things were a sunder. For when David fled and came to Ceila, he had Abiathar the priest to put on the Ephod, and yet the ark was not carried with him in that flight. The same thing was afterward done in Siceleg, when as yet the ark was present with him. But thou wilt say that in the text, lots are not named: I grant, but yet there is another word there of

the same signification. For Lachad signifieth, To get, to lay hold on, and to attain by conjecture.

3. But what lots those were I know not; for (as I said) there were many kinds of lots. Cicero in his book *De divinatione* saith, that When one Numerius Suffecius had cut in sunder a flint stone, the lots made in an oak leaped out; and that at the same time an Olive tree bid sweet honey; and that therefore a little chest was made of the same tree, into which the lots were cast: these were called Praenestine lots, which were very famous in times past. In Plautus we read of lots made of fir and poplar trees, which were cast into a vessel of water; and according as every lot arose, first or last from the bottom, so the matter was decreed. Pausanias saith, that lots were wont to be done out of a pot made of clay; and that one Cresphon, in the division that was made of Peloponnesus, to handle the matter that the field of Missena might fall out to his share, he corrupted the priest Temenus; for he dried others lots by the sun, but Cresphons by the fire: and therefore Cresphons lots being longer, before they were made wet, he obtained the field of Missena. Darius the king of Persia, instead of lots, used the neighing of a horse. And some have observed the first arising of the sun. To use lots is nothing else, but to do something, through which we may come by the knowledge of a thing that we know not.

But all kinds of lots may be reduced to three sorts. For either we doubt to whom a thing should be adjudged, as in the division that is made of fields and possessions; (these lots are called lots of division:) either we doubt what is to be done; and such be called consulting lots: or else we would fain know, what should come to pass; and this is called divination by lots. But it behooveth very much to know, upon what principle lots do depend. For, to say that they be ordered by fortune; that were a vain thing: by devils, that is

superstitious: by heaven, and the stars; that is plain ridiculous: wherefore they are ruled by God. For (as saith Solomon) Lots are put into the bosom, but they are tempered by the Lord. And Augustine upon the 30th Psalm showeth, that lots are nothing else but a signifying of God's will, when man standeth in doubt. And digressing from hence, he saith, that predestination and grace may be called lots; because they depend not upon our merits, but upon the mercies of God. For with God, predestination is eternal and certain, though it seem to come to pass by lots. And to Honoratus he saith, that In a great persecution, all ministers ought not to fly away; nor yet all abandon themselves unto peril; but those must be retained, which shall be sufficient for the present use; and the rest to be sent away, 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 we shall think to be the more profitable, and better for the people which remain. But if all shall be alike, and all shall say, that they would tarry and die; then saith he the matter must be committed unto lots. And in his book *De doctrina christiana*, he saith; If there happen to meet with thee two poor men, whose need presently is alike, and thou hast not then wherewith to help them both; but one thou canst help, there is no better way than to deal by lots.

4. But we must beware, that we come not to the trial of lots too unadvisedly. [1] For we must first use other means and gifts of God; namely, the spirit, the word, reason, and discretion; and not to deal by lots, except when necessity shall require. And it is to be counted necessity, whensoever anything happeneth, that may tend to the glory of God, and to the edifying of his church, which thou canst not reach unto by man's wisdom: or if thou canst, yet not without incurring of envy and suspicion: and so do brethren divide between them the inheritances. And the Romans,

in times past, used to decide controversies by casting of lots. [2] Secondly, we must beware, that nothing be done rashly: for we must come unto lots with great reverence and religion. [3] Thirdly, we must avoid superstition. [4] Fourthly, there must be no fraud nor deceit. [5] Fifthly, about lots we must not use the gospel, or word of God. But because we cannot easily beware of all these things, Jerome upon the prophet Jonah, denieth that it is lawful in any wise to use lots. Howbeit, there be some which conster his meaning to be only of superstitious lots: but he plainly condemneth all, and saith, that Whatsoever is read in the holy scriptures as touching lots, must not be drawn to an example: and yet the opinion of Augustine was otherwise, (as I said before.) And there is no danger why we should seem to tempt God; for it is he that ordereth the lots. But thou wilt say; The Israelites had an oracle and Ephod, therefore what need had they of lots? In deed they had so; and so had they Samuel for their prophet, who willed them in the name of God to cast lots.

Beda upon the Acts saith, that The election of Matthias into the apostleship by lots, must not be laid hold on for an example. For he saith, that as yet they had not received the holy ghost; which when they had received, they used no more lots in the choosing of deacons. Nevertheless, I doubt not, but that both sorts of election were approved, and holy alike. And although they had not as yet received the gifts of the holy Ghost, yet in their hearts they had him. Neither took they lots in hand, till they had first tried all other ordinary means; for they saw that there were two men of equal godliness, judgment, and worthiness, whereby no danger might ensue upon the choice of any of them. But in appointing of deacons, there was no need of lots; seven were brought forth, and they did choose them all. But if so be that some part only of that number should have been chosen, I doubt not but

they might have chosen them by lots. But this in the example of Samuel must be followed: they, while lots were casting, prayed the Lord. And Samuel saith, that the people stood before the Lord; that is, they reverently expected what the Lord would appoint. And we must note, that in the text it is written; They still asked the Lord, when as yet they had not found Saul. He said, (still:) for they had first asked the Lord by way of lots, but were rebuked of Samuel, both to the intent they might repent, and that they might stand devoutly before the Lord: which to do accordingly, they asked the Lord by prayer. But when they sought whether Saul was come, they tried not that by lots: for how could they have found him out by lots, who was hidden among the carriages? But at the prayer of Samuel, God showed where he was. And here is to be noted the wonderful faith of Samuel, who knowing assuredly, that God had appointed Saul to be king, yet doubted not to commit the matter unto lots. Another perhaps would have said; It shall not be so, perhaps the lots will fall out otherwise, and so will exclude this man.

Of forespeaking or foretelling; called Omen.

5. Jonathan, in the first book of Samuel the 14th chapter, verse the 19th, desired to have a sign or token to be showed him of the Lord; the Hebrews interpret this sign or token to be on this sort. If they had said; Let us come unto you, that would have been a sign of mind, both valiant and ready to fight: but contrariwise, if they had said; Come ye unto us, that would have been a sign, that they were already discouraged, and faint hearted. And Ben Gerson saith, that The beginning of persecutions comes from conquerors. Howbeit this is only a conjecture: for sometime it happeneth otherwise. But this is no new kind of understanding the will of God. For so in the book of Genesis, Eleazar the servant of Abraham made this to be his sign; The maid

which shall say to me; Drink thou, and afterward I will give thy camels to drink: the same is she, whom the Lord hath assigned to be the wife of my masters son. The Philistines also decreed with themselves, that If the ark should be carried by wild and untamed cattle, directly to the Jews, they would take that as a sign of evil sent by God: but if it happened otherwise, they would impute it but to fortune and chance. And this is to ask a sign, even that a man's faith may be confirmed. But what faith do I mean? Not the faith of Moses law, or the truth of the prophets; for that hath been sufficiently confirmed before: but there is sometime a certain particular faith of something not expressed in the word of God; and therein confirmation by signs is often requisite. This we see happened in the history of Gideon; for he doubted not, but that God would deliver his people from their enemies; but he knew not that he himself should be the deliverer: wherefore he was to be confirmed by miracle. That Messias would come, all men were sufficiently persuaded; but that Marie the virgin should be his mother, that, God had not specially promised: hereupon a sign was requisite to be had; Behold Elizabeth thy cousin hath in her old age conceived. Wherefore miracles are otherwhile of force to confirm the faith, be it general or particular. And none ought to think, that Jonathan did tempt God, in appointing such a sign unto himself. For to tempt God, is to make a trial of his power, wisdom, and will; and that, when there is no necessity of the case. Wherein the offense is double; first, because faith is wanting: secondly, for that it is done curiously; when as neither necessity, nor any profit doth require.

Augustine in his book of confessions, the 36th chapter, hath these words; When signs (saith he) are craved, not for salvation sake; but to make a proof or trial, God is tempted. And in his book *De vera religione*, the 38th

chapter, he saith, that There was no cause, why Christ should cast himself down headlong from the pinnacle of the temple, except for trial sake, which had been to tempt God. But it fared not thus with Jonathan; for first, he wanted not faith; secondly, he was led through necessity, and great profit; namely, that he might understand the will of God: he believed that all those things were ruled by his mighty power, and that the tongues even of ungodly men were stirred up to speak 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 only; but the affections, sayings, and doings even of wicked men, are directed by him, to serve his glory. Doubtless the Egyptians were naughty people; yet God won their goodwill towards the Jews, at their departure out of Egypt; so as they were content to lend them both garments, plate, and jewels, as well gold as silver. God turned the heart of Absalom, that he should not hearken unto the most crafty counsel of Achitophel. God stirred up Roboam, that he should not hearken unto the counsel of the wise and sage men. For (as Solomon saith) The hearts of kings are in the hand of God. To conclude, all our affections, thoughts, and speeches are directed by his power: wherein, if Jonathan had not persuaded himself, how could he have sought or taken a sign at the mouths of wicked men? Certainly, others know not to what end God will direct the sayings and doings of men: Jonathan did understand it by the inspiration of God.

6. This is not that kind of divination, which the scripture forbiddeth, when it is commanded; Let there be no soothsayers among you. Jerome saith, that the word (divination) in the holy scripture, is always taken in the worser part. For whereas men be over greedy to know things to come, therefore many guiles and illusions are ministered unto them. But seeing that things

to come do depend upon certain and necessary causes; therefore they appertain not unto that kind of divination which is forbidden. For the eclipse of the moon and sun; and the trajection, opposition, and meeting together of stars is known to learned men, how they shall be many years to come, by reason of the certainty of causes going before. Also things that commonly change, may be foreseen by probable signs: as a disease or death may be perceived by a physician. But things contingent, which are called ὁπότερο τυχίω, and which sway equally as well one way as another, are not foreseen but of God only. For he alone knoweth to what end and purpose everything tendeth: wherefore they that profess such skill do commit sacrilege. Many such devises did the devil teach the heathen people; as to observe matters, by the entrails of beasts, by the singing, looking, and feeding of birds. Wherefore they were charmers, soothsayers, and observers of such things. Moreover, they had among them from the same schoolmaster, divining upon dreams, lots, propheties, and oracles. Cicero in his book of divination, reduceth all these to two sorts. For some he saith are natural, and some artificial: and that those be artificial, when as knowledge is gathered by the marking and observing of certain things, as in entrails, and soothsaying's, and such like: but that natural be those, which happen as unto soothsayers, furious persons, and dreamers. All these things are naught, because that part which belongeth only unto God, is ascribed only unto men. But to come again to the matter. This part of divination, which Jonathan followed, is called in Latin Omen, which (as Festus thinketh) is as it were Oremen. For it is a certain foretelling, which slippeth out of a man's mouth with some fury. So the Romans, when they were minded to fly, and leave their city; and that the standard-bearer had fixed their banner in the market place, and had said; Here will it be best for us, that speech was taken

for a sign of good luck, and a forespeaking of that, which should be indeed. So did Jonathan, by the Philistines words, which they spake unadvisedly, gather; that God would give him the victory, and deliver them into his hands. And certainly the Ethnics in using this means were to be condemned; but Jonathan not so: for he was stirred thereunto by God, but so were not they. So Gideon followed a forespeech, when he fought against the Midianites. But we must follow neither Jonathan, nor Gideon; unless we know for a certainty, that we be moved 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 justly and duly be blamed. If examples be agreeable with the common law, they should provoke us to follow them; but if they be not, we must rather wonder at them, then follow them. This caution must be used in examples.

CHAP. IX. Of Miracles; and what Power they be of to Establish Faith and Doctrine.

In miracles two things are specially to be considered; first, what miracles are; and secondly, how much, and in what sort it is lawful to ask them. As touching the first, the Hebrew word is *Pala*, or *Niphla*: from whence are derived the nouns *Niphlaoth*, or *Miphleoth*. By which words are noted Things secret from others, by reason of their worthiness and excellency; Separated (I mean) and wonderful. The Grecians call it θαῦμα, of this verb θαυμάζεσθε; which is, To marvel. The Latins call them *Miracula*, that is Miracles; because they are worthy of admiration. They call them also *Prodigia*, *Monstra*, and *Portenta*; that is Things prodigious, monstrous, or that are seldom seen: to let us understand, that by these things God meant to show, that somewhat should come to pass, 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 certainly, there are very many miracles, which are made famous by writers: as the temple of Diana in Ephesus; the tomb of Artemisia Queen of Caria; the huge image of the sun at Rhodes; the walls of Babylon, and a great

many other such things. Wherefore Augustine in his 16th chapter against the epistle to the Manichees, wrote very wisely; I call a miracle whatsoever appeareth to be hard and unusual, above the hope or reach of the wonderer. Out of which words may be gathered a certain large description of miracles. And since it is said, that a miracle appeareth; they may justly be charged, which feign transubstantiation, and will have it to be a miracle, which cannot be confirmed by the holy scriptures: and seeing it appeareth not, or is seen, it ought not to be called a miracle.

2. After this general and large description, let us add, 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 appear to be; or if they be, yet are they not done by any supernatural power, but by the power of nature, although it be secret. And this may the angels, either good or bad, do three manner of ways. For sometime they apply the powers of nature, which are thoroughly known, unto some matter or substance: by which joining together of matter with causes efficient, effects do follow; and that in a manner upon the sudden, whereat the beholders cannot but wonder. The devils know, that of things putrefied, are engendered frogs, worms, and some sort of serpents; so that heat in certain degrees be added thereunto. Wherefore seeing it is not hard for them to couple these things together, they do so sometimes, to the intent they may deceive men. And by this means Augustine thought (as he hath written in his third book *De trinitate*) that The sorcerers of Pharaoh did the same thing which Moses did. Moreover, the stirring up of spirits, of humors, and blood in men, do very much annoy the bodies of men; whereby the horrible figures, images, and likenesses of things, which be kept in these, are moved before the fancy and imagination, and in such order, as the troubler of the spirit doth knit them; whereof arise sundry and manifold

signs or visions: which thing we see otherwhile in frantic folk. And the matter may be brought to such a pass, as the shapes and images, which are kept within, may be revoked to the outward senses, whereby he that suffereth such things, doth think that he seeth and feeleth those things, which are conversant in his imagination or fancy; when as in very deed there is no such thing outwardly done.

Howbeit, these kind of miracles may be rather counted among the number of illusions, than of miracles. Also it cometh to pass, that these spirits by their power, do fashion certain bodies; sometimes of the air, or other elements, so as they may seem altogether like unto men's bodies, and under them they appear to whom soever it liketh them. So came they sometimes unto Abraham, Lot, and other of the fathers. These things (if we speak properly and plainly) are not very miracles, but in our reason and judgment there is no let but they may be so called; yea and commonly jugglers are said to do miracles, when as nevertheless they play only by the nimbleness of the hands; or else when by a certain power of natural things, they present wonders to the beholders eyes.

3. But of true miracles this is the definition: A miracle is a work hard and not usual, done by the power of God, above the power of any creature; and wrought, to the end it may cause the beholders to wonder, and to confirm faith towards the word of God. Wherefore the matter of miracles, is works; the form, is hardness and unwontedness; the efficient cause is the power of God, which passeth nature created; and the end of them is both admiration, and also confirmation of faith. And that we might not doubt of the cause efficient, I think it best to add, that that power of God, which goeth wholly beyond the power and strength of nature, must sometime be understood of God's own working; and sometime of that which he doth by angels, or by

men: and that in such manner, as shall be afterward declared. Herewith all I will join the saying of Augustine in the place before alleged, against the epistle of Manichaeus, the 26th chapter; Miracles would not move, unless they were wonderful, and wonderful they would not be, if they were things accustomed. Wherefore, as they say, that of admiration sprang philosophy, which Plato thought to be the rainbow, and therefore the daughter of wonder: even so we may believe, that faith, which cometh of the word of God, although it do not utterly spring of miracles, yet may we believe that it is confirmed by them. And therefore Augustine in his 12th book of confessions, the 21st chapter saith; Ignorance is the mother of wondering at signs, which admiration is an entrance of faith unto the children of Adam, which had forgotten thee, O Lord. By this sentence he teacheth, that men having forgotten God, had an entrance and way unto faith by the wondering at miracles.

And truly so it is. For we know 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 unto us, he gave them the gift of his word. But because he knew that mortal men are strangers and adversaries to his word, he granted the power to do miracles; to the intent that those things, which he would have his messengers to speak profitably, might be the easilier believed. That the confirming of faith cometh by miracles, Mark witnesseth, which saith in the end of his gospel; And they went out preaching everywhere the gospel: and the Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the word with signs that followed. And hereby it appeareth, how meet a confirmation this is, in that the promises of God depend of no other thing, than of his will and power. And the signs or miracles which we now speak of, do give a sufficient testimony of his power, because they do so far exceed the order of

nature: and they make us assured of his will, for they are showed, through the invocation of his name, and by his grace and spirit. Wherefore Augustine in the place above alleged, against the epistle of Manichaeus, writeth, that miracles win authority to the word of God; for he, when he did these, seemeth to have given as it were an earnest-penny of his promises. Neither must we pass over these words, which Augustine hath in the 24th treatise upon John; that Miracles consist not in the greatness of works. For otherwise it is a greater work, to govern this universal composition of the world, than to restore unto a 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 wonderful, even for the thing it self that is done; for that they appear to be so great and strange things, as the like cannot be found in the nature of things. Such was the staying of the sun in the time of Joshua; and the turning of the shadow thereof in the time of Hezekiah; the conception and childbirth of a Virgin; the food of Manna in the wilderness; and such like. But some are miracles, not in respect of the nature and greatness of the thing which is done, but by reason of the way and means that is used in the working of them: as was the clouds and rain 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 be done naturally, but yet they were then miracles, because of the manner whereby they were done: that is, not by natural causes, but by the will and commandment of the righteous.

There is another division of miracles: because some of them do only move admiration; as did the lightnings and thunders upon mount Sinai; the turning of the suns shadow in the time of Hezekiah; the transfiguration of the Lord upon the mount. And some (besides the wonder of them) do bring

a present commodity unto men; as when by Aaron's rod, drink was given out of the rock; when Manna reigned down from heaven; and when the sick were healed by the Lord and his apostles. Sometimes miracles bring punishment and harm to those that offend; as when Ananias and Zaphyra died at the words of Peter; when Elymas the conjurer was stricken blind by Paul; and when by him others were delivered unto Satan to be tormented. Herein also miracles are divided, that some of them are obtained by prayers. For so did Elias and Elisha; namely by prayer they restored their dead to life; Moses, by making intercession for Pharaoh, delivered him from frogs and diverse other plagues. And other miracles are wrought by commandment and authority: Joshua commanded the sun to stay his course; the Lord Jesus commanded the winds; and Peter said unto the lame man, In the name of Jesus Christ rise up and walk. And there be some other miracles done, and yet neither by prayer nor by commandment; but come of their own accord, the righteous themselves being otherwise occupied: even as when the shadow of Peter, as he walked, did heal the sick; and when the handkerchiefs that came from Paul cured sick folk.

5. Lastly, Augustine in his 83rd book of questions divideth miracles; to wit, that some are done by public justice: that is, by the stable and firm will of God, which is counted in the world as a public law. By it God would, that his ministers; that is, prophets and apostles, in preaching, should work miracles. But other miracles be done by the signs of this justice; as when the wicked, in the name of God, and of Jesus Christ, do work any miracle; which is not given, but in respect of the honor and reverence of the name of God which they use: not that God, or nature, or any things created, are desirous to pleasure them. Even like as when one hath privily conveyed away a public seal or writing, and by means thereof extorteth many things,

either from countrymen, or from citizens; which things are not given, but to the seal, which they acknowledge to be the princes or magistrates: even so he, which followed not Christ, yet did he in his name cast out devils. Thirdly, those are accounted miracles, which are done by a certain private contract, whereby sorcerers do bind themselves to the devil; and the devil to them: but these are done neither by public justice, nor yet by the signs thereof; but only of a certain private compact. Howbeit, we must note, that the miracles of the third sort, are not firm, nor yet do certainly come to pass. For we read in the 19th of the Acts, that the children of Sceva would have cast forth devils in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preached: but the devil said to them; Jesus indeed I know, and Paul I know, but what ye be I cannot tell: which having spoken, he set upon them. And as touching the third kind, the act of Cyprian, which he did before his conversion confirmeth my saying. For he attempted to bewitch a godly maid to incline to unlawful lust; which at the length the devil told him that he could not bring to pass for him.

6. But we must note, that these miracles, which are done through a private contract, are not very miracles; but do belong unto that kind which I mentioned before the definition. For, although sometimes they be verily that, which they seem to be, yet are they not miracles indeed. For who doubteth, but that it was very fire which consumed the cattle of Job; and a very storm of wind, which by throwing down his houses destroyed his children? Yea and Augustine affirmeth, that those serpents, which the sorcerers of Egypt brought forth, were not illusions, but very serpents. For the history reporteth, that when they came to the third miracle, the wise men said; This is the finger of God: and further, that now their cunning failed them, and that they could no longer do those things, which Moses did by

the power of God. This doubtless is a token, that they wrought not before by illusions, and that the sorcerers till that time contended with Moses in very things, and not in illusions. But some will say; If it be so, that things wrought by the devil and the sorcerer, be sometimes even as they seem to be: wherefore is it written to the Thessalonians, of antichrist; that By him very many should be deceived through his false signs and wonders? Hereunto we must answer, that there may be a lie; in saying that a thing done is a miracle, whereas it is not, and not in the thing done, when it is as it appeareth. And August. answereth; Signs and wonders are called lies, either because they will appear to be, and yet be not; or else because they lead men unto lies: for antichrist, by such signs, will seek nothing else but to deceive, and drive men to believe false things. And this is no new or strange thing, that a cause should take either his name or property of his effect. But that things seem to be, and are not, may two manner of ways 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 passeth nature, useth either angels or men, as well good as evil, to do miracles. Whereunto I answer, that it useth them as certain instruments, and sometime doth miracles at their desire, prayers, and suit, without any outward labor of theirs: and sometime he will have them to put to their work or ministry. For Moses did strike the sea, and the rock with his rod; Christ touched the lepers, and anointed the eyes of the blind. But it must be understood, that there be two kinds of instruments. Some are so prepared, as although they be not the chief efficient causes; yet are they a great means and furtherance to bring the thing to effect: as iron to cut hard things, and medicines to heal a disease; when as nevertheless they are but

instruments of the workmen. But God useth other kind of instruments in the doing of miracles, which in their own nature, have no strength to bring to effect. For what force had the rod of Moses, to divide the sea? What force had the shadow of Peter, to heal the sick? Verily nothing, if thou have respect to the nature of them. Wherefore the instruments, which God useth in these miracles, do of their own nature, either bring no help at all unto them; or sometimes rather they let them: as the beholding of the brazen serpent; the salt of Elisha; the water of Elias, which he poured on the burnt offering; and the clay which Christ put to the eyes of the blind.

Wherefore, when miracles are done by instruments of this kind, which do nothing help, yea rather do let; the power and might of God is much more set forth. Yea and Christ also, to the intent he might teach us, that natural power doth nothing further herein, said unto his mother at the marriage; Woman, what have I to do with thee? Not that he meant thereby to depress the authority of his mother, but that it might appear, that the nature, which he had taken of her, was not of itself able to make him work miracles. Wherefore seeing God useth both men and angels, good and bad, for to do miracles; and that those things are sometime benefits, and sometime punishments, whereby men are either punished or holpen; we need not make any doubt, whether God do punish by his good angels, or no. For it is evident enough, that by angels, Sodom was destroyed; by an angel the host of Sennacherib was slain; and that David saw the angel, which was minister of the plague against Israel.

8. But Augustine upon the 78th psalm, doubteth, whether God hath by evil angels done miracles, whereby men have immediately received some benefit: and he saith, that he hath not read it in the holy scriptures. No more truly have I: unless we might say, that it profited Paul, to be tormented by

the angel of Satan: and that he therefore delivered some unto Satan, to the intent their souls might be saved in the day of judgment. Howbeit Augustine's question hath not respect unto this; but to know whether plain and evident good turns, such as be the gifts of healing, prophesying, tongues, giving of food, setting at liberty, and such like, are miraculously bestowed upon men from God, by the devil or his angels. Wherein I think (as Augustine doth) that the scriptures nowhere testify any such thing. And yet is it evident, that as well the godly men as the ungodly be tempted, punished, and molested by evil angels; howbeit after a sundry fashion. For, as Augustine saith in the same place; there be after a sort two flocks of men; to wit, the wicked and the good: the good are the flock of God, even as the wicked are the flock of the devil. Wherefore against the wicked, as against his own, he dealeth more at liberty: he disquieteth them, he deludeth and entreateth them ill, as in his own right: and yet can he not deal beyond the prescript measure appointed him by God. But against the flock of Christ, he dare do nothing, more than God himself sometime for diverse purposes doth give him leave; as we may perceive by Job. Otherwhile God suffereth the godly to be grievously afflicted by the devil, to the end his grace should be the more famously extended towards them.

But when Augustine expoundeth the words of the psalm, he doubteth whether the plagues of the Egyptians were brought in by a good angel, or by the devil: and at length he showeth, that the plague and destruction of the first born, may be ascribed to the ministry of the devil, and that all the other plagues must be attributed to good angels: whereby as well the saying of the book of Exodus; as of the psalm, may stand as they be. But as touching that plague of the first born, it is written in Exodus under the name of God; In that night I will pass through Egypt, and will smite, &c. By these words,

that destruction seems to be attributed either to God, or to a good angel, and not unto the devil. Howbeit that doth not much move me: for although it were done by the ministry of the devil, yet the punishment must be ascribed unto God. For Job, when he was bereft of all his goods and children, yet he said; The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. And that which was executed by the devil, he said was done by God. But some object, that if we shall assign these things unto the devil, then may he seem to have fought against himself. For sorcerers, by the devils help, did withstand Moses, when as they did the same things that he did. But if so be the plagues were sent against the Egyptians by evil angels, and yet the sorcerers withstood the same; then Satan seemed to resist Satan: neither could the sorcerers have truly said, that their power failed them, and have testified that it was the finger of God which wrought.

But in my judgment, these things have no good ground: because the things done by the sorcerers, were done by the power of the devil, which unto him is natural. For thereby he is able to apply the seeds of things, and the working causes to the matter prepared; and, as touching the light of men, to work marvelous things. But those things, wherewith God afflicted the Egyptians, were done by his own most mighty power, through the instrument of the devil: wherefore it is no marvel, if the sorcerers failed, and perceived the most excellent power of the finger of God. But the book of Wisdom, the 18th chapter, seemeth wholly to ascribe these plagues unto God, where he saith; While all things were in quiet silence, and the night was in the midst of her course, &c. And in the 17th chapter it is written, that the Egyptians, being among those plagues, especially when they were oppressed with darkness, were so disquieted with horrible vexations of mind, and very terrible sights, as if most ugly and discomfortable ghosts

had been continually conversant before their eyes, and about their fantasy; which undoubtedly might be done by the sending of evil angels, as the psalm doth mention. Also their heart was hardened, and their mind was obstinately bent every day more and more against the Israelites: and that seemeth to have pertained to the sending down of evil angels. Wherefore these two places might be easily made to agree, by ascribing the plagues, which are spoken of in Exodus, to good angels; and the terrible sights and hardening of the heart, to the sending of the evil angels upon them; whereof the psalm now alleged maketh mention.

9. But seeing that God (as it hath been showed) useth for the working of miracles, both evil and good angels, and men; godly men ought not therefore to be aggrieved, because this power is not oftentimes given unto them. For they are not for this cause of any worse condition than others, to whom the working of miracles is granted. For the Lord said unto his disciples, when they returned from their ambassage; Rejoice not in this, that spirits are subjected unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names be written in heaven. Some there be so desirous of these things, as to work signs, they fear not to use the help even of the devil; and excuse themselves under this pretense, that God himself, about the working of signs, useth Satan; in following of whom they say that they do well: so far are they from confessing themselves guilty of offense. Further, they say that Paul delivered certain to be vexed of the devil; and that therefore they also may use his ministry.

But what manner of men (I beseech you) be these, which would have it lawful for them to do as much as is lawful for God? God is the author of all creatures, wherefore it is no marvel if he use them all: but it is prescribed unto us by the law of God, that we should not do it. And to imitate God, is

commended unto us, so long as we be not contrarily commanded by his law; otherwise he himself will revenge his own injuries. But who will say, that it is lawful for private men to do that which God doth? God used for his own sacrifice the beast prepared unto Baal, and the wood dedicated unto the same idol: shall every one of us therefore eat things dedicated unto idols? The rule of our life is the word of God; wherefore to imitate him we must not be led, except so much as the law doth permit. He hath made the same law, not for himself, but for men, to the intent that they should make their life agreeable unto it. Wherefore it was lawful for him to require of Abraham the sacrificing of his son, which is not lawful for any of us to require of our friend. Paul and other apostles had evil spirits subject unto them, and by them it was sometime lawful unto them to punish the guilty for the furtherance of their salvation: wherefore they to whom such a gift is not granted, ought to abstain from exercising the same.

10. Now then the use of the power of evil spirits is of two sorts: The one is with authority, and that belongeth chiefly unto God; also it belonged unto the apostles and holy men of the primitive church: but the other consisteth of compact and obedience, which is utterly forbidden unto men. For what fellowship can there be between light and darkness, between God and Belial? For which cause the sorcerers, and whosoever giveth credit unto them, cannot be excused: nay rather they are by the law condemned to be guilty of superstition and idolatry. Neither is it to be thought, that God hath forbidden these things, but for very just causes, and those not unprofitable unto us: for doubtless he provideth that we should not be deceived, and that we should not by such ways run headlong into destruction: for thereto at the length tendeth fellowships with Satan. For the devil is a liar, and the father of lies; and he is also a murderer, even from the beginning, as Christ hath

taught. Wherefore let this be a sure saying; which also the Schoolmen, in the second book of sentences, distinction the eight, and among them specially Thomas, yea and the ancient fathers, confirmed, that If so be we ask anything which goeth beyond the power of man, we must ask it of God only: which thing they that do not, do fall away as runagates from the faith, worshipping creatures instead of God. I would to God both the old fathers and the Schoolmen had remained constant in it; who afterward forgetting themselves, I know not how, have consented now to the invocation of saints, and have instituted a sort of exorcists or conjurers to the carcasses and relics of dead men.

These being endued with no peculiar gift of miracles, do with most grievous commination's, as much as in them lieth, imperiously adjure devils: desiring of the saints, which are already dead, to drive out evil spirits from such as be possessed. But these spirits, if they depart at any time, according as they be commanded; yet they do it not against their will, but do dissemble obedience to establish idolatry: and it is no less liking unto them to possess souls, than to torment bodies. Augustine in his tenth book *De civitate Dei*, the 11th chapter showeth, that Purphyrius wrote unto Anebundes, that certain sorcerers were so accustomed to terrify devils with threatening's, as they said, that if they would not do those things which they were commanded, they would strike heaven and earth together, and all to rattle them. Who seeth not here the subtleties of the devil, that feigneth himself to be afraid of foolish and ridiculous conjurations? But about these things we have been over long.

11. It is good for us now to return to the examination of the last part of our definition; wherein it was said, that miracles are done for the confirmation of faith. And it may seem not a little to make against this clause, That we

ought not lightly to give credit unto miracles, because they may give an occasion of erring. And there hence is derived no sure kind of argument, but very dangerous; and this is proved by many places. First, the Lord saith in the 24th of Matthew, that False prophets in the latter days shall so deceive men by working of signs and miracles, that if it were possible; the very elect should be deceived: which sentence Paul to the Thessalonians handled more at large. Also we learn out of the book of Exodus, that we should not give credit unto signs. For the sorcerers of Pharaoh did for a space the same things that Moses did. In Deuteronomy also it is commanded, that we must not believe a prophet, though he work signs, if he draw the people to idolatry. Wherefore seeing miracles may be wrought as well for the defending of false doctrine, as for the true; they must not be judged meet to confirm our faith. Yea, and Augustine in the 16th chapter *De civitate Dei* wrote; If angels require sacrifices to be done unto them, and do work signs; and contrariwise, if others shall testify that we must sacrifice unto God only, and yet those work no miracles, we must believe these, and not the other. The same Augustine against Faustus, as touching the Manichees saith; Ye work no signs, whereby we should believe you; yea and if ye did, yet should we not believe you. Wherefore we must understand that miracles in very deed are not sufficient to confirm faith. For it behooveth above all things, to make trial of that doctrine, which is brought; and that by the testimony of the holy scriptures: whereunto if it agree, we must believe it even without signs. But if miracles be added, the believers are still confirmed the more: and they which have not as yet believed, are at the least-wise made the more attentive, and the way to believe is prepared for them.

12. Miracles also are after a sort like unto sacraments; for both of them are added as certain seals unto promises. And even as miracles profit not, unless there be first a respect had unto the doctrine; so likewise the sacraments bring no commodity, but much hurt, unless they be received with a pure faith. Both of them serve to confirm faith, but none of both is sufficient by themselves. They doubtless are blessed, and to be praised in deed, which believe without the help of miracles: for Blessed are they (saith our Lord) which have not seen, and yet do believe. And yet for all that, the confirmation by signs must not be despised. But thou wilt say perhaps, Seeing they are so profitable to confirm faith, why did the Lord in Matthew the 9th and 11th chapters, and in many other places, charge that they should not be published? Many causes there were. He would first have his doctrine to be preached, afterward miracles to follow. But if he had permitted unto some, whom he healed, straightway to publish abroad that which he had done; then should not doctrine have been joined with that spreading abroad of the miracle, seeing they were not as yet instructed in godliness. He did this also, least he might seem to be held with a vain desire of worldly glory: therefore he would by his own example draw us away from the same. Moreover, none knew better than himself, what they were whom he healed; and he would not suffer everyone to publish and preach his miracles: wherefore he forbad diverse, that they should not do it.

Further, he saw that it would come to pass, that the wavering and inconstant multitude would not be led by a bare and slender fame of his miracles, to believe the true and sincere faith; but would rather decree unto him worldly honors and advancement, which he himself sought not for. And this is verified in the sixth of John, where it is written, that The people, because they had received of him the loaves, would have made him a king.

Lastly, he would not stir up against himself the rage and envy of the high priests, of the scribes and pharisees, more than the state of the time would suffer. Wherefore in the ninth of Luke, when in the transfiguration, he had showed to his apostles a demonstration of his glory, he commanded them not at that time to publish abroad that which they had seen. Even he also (when by asking what men thought concerning him, he had wrung from Peter the true confession, wherein he affirmed him to be the son of God) charged that they should not tell any other, that Jesus was Messias. For they were not then so well established, as if they should have spread abroad such things, they had been able by apt testimonies to confirm the same in disputing: and so he thought meet, that they should tarry, till they were more fully instructed. He would not that the truth should be wholly put to silence, but yet he chose a fit time for opening of the same. Wherefore it is not thereby rightly gathered, that miracles are of no force to confirm faith, because Christ sometime forbad, that they should be published: seeing that commandment of the Lord had respect only to the choosing of better occasions, and not unto perpetual silence.

13. Lastly, 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, and will have it to go before them. For in Matthew the 13th chapter it is written, that Christ, because of the incredulity of his own citizens, wrought in a manner no miracles: and Mark addeth, that he could not. Wherefore it should seem, that it must rather be said, that miracles are appointed and established by faith; seeing if faith be not present, as the evangelists do say, miracles cannot be done. I answer, that they which by prayers will obtain miracles, must after an accustomed and just manner be endued with faith: for those prayers are counted vain, which

lean not upon faith. But if a miracle be given, 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 give miracles unto the unbelievers; yea, he hath oftentimes given them. Undoubtedly Pharaoh and the Egyptians were unbelievers; and who knoweth not, that there were very many miracles done unto them by Moses? Christ likewise did then show 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 for that cause, as we have said, they which by prayers labor to obtain signs, do labor in vain; unless they have believed. For prayers without faith, are of no value with God: and this Christ hath manifestly taught in the 17th chapter of Matthew. For when his disciples could not heal the lunatic child; the cause thereof being demanded, he said that it happened by reason of their incredulity: whose answer manifestly declareth, what we must judge of these exorcists or conjurers, which endeavor to drive away devils at the sepulchers of the saints, and at their relics. All things be there done feignedly. The dead are called upon without faith; and the devil maketh dalliance with idolaters; feigning to have faith, to the end that damnable worshipping's may be still continued: which is therefore manifest, because those exorcists being most impure, do all things there without faith. Origin upon the 17th chapter of Matthew writeth very well against this abuse; If at any time (saith he) it behooveth us to help these men, let us not talk with the spirit, by adjuring or commanding, as though he heard us; but let us only persevere in giving ourselves to prayers and fasting's. These words spake he even then, when the invocation of the dead, and worshipping of relics were not used in the church. What would he at this time say, if he should see the

madness of our age? But to return to the chief point of the doubt, I judge that faith goeth before miracles; as touching those which obtain them by prayers, but not as concerning them which stand by, and have not yet believed the preaching which they have heard.

14. But let us see by what means miracles may sometimes be done by wicked men. For there be some, which shall say in the latter time; Have we not cast forth devils in thy name? Have we not prophesied, &c? Unto whom shall be answered; Verily I say unto you, I know you not. These undoubtedly in working of miracles (as it seemeth credible) used prayers, but yet being destitute of faith were neither justified, nor belonged to the kingdom of God. Wherefore it seemeth to be no sure argument, that prayers poured out without faith are not heard. But we must note, that ill men, which by prayers have obtained miracles, were not utterly 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 holy scriptures are believed to be no less true, than are the histories of Livie, Suetonius, and those things which are now written of the new lands: and this kind of faith, in respect of many things, is common both unto Turks and Jews. There is another faith, whereby we being inspired from heaven, do lively and effectually cleave to the promise of God's mercy; and upon this faith doth our justification consist. Finally, the third faith is called the faith of miracles, whereby we are neither changed, nor made one hair the better. For it is a moving of the spirit of God, whereby men are stirred up to desire miracles, altogether believing, that it is the will of God that those should be done, and that the thing required should have success. Therefore while they cleave unto this faith, sometime they obtain their request. Which

I therefore speak, because they do not always so, neither are they always lightened with that inspiration.

But if thou wilt demand, how this kind of faith can be proved, let Chrysostom answer, who upon the 17th chapter of Matthew maketh mention thereof. There Christ said; If ye have faith as the grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain; Throw thyself 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 day, shall we therefore say that Christians be without faith? God forbid that we should judge so ill of the people of God. Faith justifying is now, but that which is called the faith of miracles, hath already ceased. Also this kind of faith is showed by the words of the apostle, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, where he saith, Though I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains, if I have no charity, I am nothing. Neither let it trouble us, because he saith, (all) for that distribution is to be drawn unto the faith of miracles. This doubtless is plainly perceived, in the 12th chapter of the same epistle, where the apostle maketh relation of the free and acceptable gifts saying; To one is given the spirit of the word of wisdom, to another the gift of knowledge 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 understood the same, whereby we be justified. For that is not reckoned among the gifts which are privately distributed unto some, but is common unto all true Christians. Now (as I think) it appeareth by what means they which be not as yet justified, might sometimes by their prayers obtain miracles; namely, because they are not destitute of every kind of faith.

15. Now resteth it to see, whether it be lawful for godly men to desire miracles of God. These are wont to be alleged, for the reasons which may

seem to be against it. First that God, in that matter shall be tempted; and that doth the law of God utterly forbid. Yea, and our savior with this answer reproveth the devil; Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God. And the Hebrews are expressly blamed, because they tempted God in the desert. The son of God also, when the Pharisees said; Master we will see a sign of thee, said: This froward and adulterous generation requireth a sign, but there shall be no sign given them, &c. And Ahaz otherwise a wicked king, pretended a show of righteousness, saying, that he would not tempt God; and therefore deferred the asking of a sign. Unto the question I answer, that after a sort it is lawful to desire a sign, and after a sort it is not lawful. The first part of the sentence is thus proved; when godly men desire as touching any unaccustomed vocation, to be made more assured of the will of God, and are afraid least peradventure they should be deceived, (for as concerning it, they have nothing for a certainty in the holy scriptures; for neither men nor angels must in those things be very soon believed, seeing evil angels do many times transform themselves into angels of light;) I say when men are in this perplexity, the will being ready bent, yea very desirous to obey the commandment of God, godly men cannot be accused either of tempting of God, or of rashness, if so be they desire to be confirmed by some sign. For whosoever in those cases desireth such things, as God hath been accustomed to offer, he doth not amiss.

No man is ignorant, but that to Achaz was offered a sign, to the intent he might be assured of the promises offered him by Isaiah; wherefore to desire those things, which God himself sometime giveth and freely offereth, ought not to be forbidden as unlawful: whereof there is no want of examples. Moses being in the wilderness, whensoever he had need of the help of God, he oftentimes obtained miracles for the people of God. And to confirm 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 know that the son of man hath power to forgive sins, he turned to the man sick of the palsy, and said; Rise, take up thy bed and walk. Wherefore of godly men miracles are desired, and that justly, to the intent that either they may be brought out of doubt, as touching their vocation; or that a great and urgent necessity may be succored; or else that a testimony may be given of sound doctrine. And whensoever they desire miracles unto these ends, they desire them not of any creatures, but of God only; and in asking they use a measure. For they declare, that they will or desire nothing, but that which is agreeable to the will of God.

16. Now on the other side let us consider the means, whereby signs are unworthily and unjustly desired. First there are some, which desire miracles, because they are not well persuaded of the power, goodness, and providence of God; nor seek anything else but to have an experiment of those things; neither do they rest upon the doctrine of the holy scriptures, which manifestly and amply teach us all those things. Wherefore they are justly to be reprehended, seeing they be more ready to give credit unto miracles, than unto the word of God. Wherefore Abraham answered unto that rich man, which was tormented in the flames of fire, (when he desired that Lazarus might be sent unto his brethren, least they also should be thrust forth unto the same punishment) They have Moses and the prophets. By which words is manifestly declared, that we must rather believe the holy scriptures, than miracles. There be others also, which desire miracles, to the intent they might have to serve the flesh more delicately, and to satisfy their naughty lusts. Of which fault the Hebrews are accused, for that in the desert, when very great abundance of Manna was ministered unto them they

desired flesh, because they might live more delicately in that wilderness. Finally, some desire miracles, to the intent they may fulfill vain curiosity. For as Pliny saith; The nature of man is most greedy of new things: and therefore it seems, that they would use miracles, as it were plays and pastimes to sport themselves withal. After this manner did Herod expect miracles of Christ. For when he was brought unto him, he desired to feed and delight that curiosity of his, with strange signs. Now I suppose it is manifest, after what sort a requiring of signs is forbidden, and that sometimes it is lawful to demand them.

17. Now must we confute those things which seemed to make against us. They which crave miracles after that manner and form which we have described, undoubtedly do not tempt God; for as much as to tempt God is nothing else, but of an unbelieving heart and rashness to seek for experiments of his will and power: which vice certainly, is in the holy scriptures justly and worthily reprehended. Wherefore, the Lord Jesus Christ did not without just cause repel the devil, when he would have persuaded him to throw himself down headlong from the temple, whereby he might be made the more assured of the favor of God toward him; whereas the reason of man might manifestly perceive another way of coming down. And again, the same son of God did not unworthily reprehend the Jews, as a froward and adulterous generation; unto whom he therefore denied a sign, because they had already seen very many, and yet they scoffed at them all, and in such sort mocked Christ, and because they desired not any miracle, but one from heaven; as though they would not also have derided signs from heaven. Assuredly their purpose tended to no other end, but to alienate the people from the Lord, although he had wrought wonderful miracles. But as touching Achaz the wicked king, (and

his refusing of the sign offered) I need not much to travel. For he being called by the prophet, feigned himself most faithfully to believe, as though he needed no miracle at all, when as nevertheless he was altogether incredulous. Which thing is plainly showed in the second book of Kings; for he sent unto Tiglath-phalazar the king of the Assyrians to deliver him from the siege: so far off was he from putting confidence in the Lord. And when as God, being not ignorant of his disease, offered him the remedy of a miracle, and put it unto his choice; yet he through hypocrisy refused. If Achaz had truly believed God, he would not have refused to obey, seeing obedience is reckoned among the chiefest fruits of faith.

Let us (I beseech you) compare with this ungodly king the most godly prince Hezekiah his son, who dealt not in this sort. For he, to be the more assured of recovering his health, very modestly required a sign; unto whose choice, when Isaiah had put, whether he would have the shadow of the sun to be set forward, or to be turned backward; he took his choice as he thought good; neither did he frowardly, like his father, refuse the miracle offered him by God. But wicked Achaz to his infidelity joined hypocrisy. For he considering that miracles are for two causes refused; either for that a man openly believeth in God, and hath no need of the help of miracles: or else for that he utterly contemneth God, and passeth nothing at all for this help, he minded to hide the latter disease, whereof he was sick; namely, the contempt of God: and made as though he had the virtue, that is to say, a principal faith, whereof in deed he was altogether destitute; as though he durst not tempt God. But seeing God most thoroughly knoweth the hearts and reins, he by the prophet punished him, according to his deserts. What other thing is it to refuse a miracle offered by God, but to reject that which should help our spiritual infirmity? And even as he that being well-near

starved with hunger, would forsake his sustenance, is worthy to be accused; so was he to be reprov'd, which rejected a medicine offered him by God, seeing God knoweth far better than ourselves, what everyone of us needeth. This is now sufficient concerning those things, which in the beginning of this question seemed altogether to forbid the asking of miracles.

18. I know indeed there be some, which think that miracles ought not in any wise to be asked, but only that they should not be refused, when God offereth them. And they suppose that Augustine maketh with them, who in the fourth book of the concordance or consent of the evangelists; and in his 63rd question upon Genesis, may seem to affirm this thing. But if a man object, that very many godly and righteous men have so done, and especially our Gideon: they answer, that they were moved by the spirit of God to desire miracles; and therefore it was all one, as if God had freely offered miracles unto them, and they with obedience had received those which were offered. But these things ought nothing to trouble us; because Augustine in the places alleged, doth not flatly and absolutely forbid the desiring of miracles; unless they be demanded either in respect of tempting God, or else for some other naughty cause. Yea, and in the 63rd question upon Genesis, he saith, that When this is not rightly done, it belongeth to the tempting of God. Let us rather hear what he saith in the tenth book of confessions, the 35th chapter. In religion also it is a tempting of God, when signs and miracles are desired for making of a trial: which thing I also a little before have charged to be avoided. For I will easily grant, that holy men required miracles, not by the instinct of the flesh, or of man's reason: for then had their prayers been vain and to no purpose, seeing (as Paul testifieth) it is needful that the spirit should pray for us with unspeakable

groanings. But now I think there hath been sufficiently spoken of the questions propounded.

19. But what the difference is between signs and wonders, it cannot easily be declared. Origin thinketh, that those only are to be called signs, which though they be wonderful of themselves, yet they show some other thing to come. But wonders are those, which do only pluck men into admiration, because they be done after an uncustomed manner, and against the power and order of nature. But he also confesseth, that this distinction is not observed in the holy scriptures. And truly all the miracles whatsoever they were that Paul showed, were signs, whereby the truth of his preaching was approved. The very which thing we must affirm, as touching the wonderful works of Christ, and of the prophets. But the scriptures of the New Testament, wherein oftentimes there is mention made of the signs and wonders which Christ and his apostles did, have imitated the phrase of the Old Testament. For there a man shall often find *Othoth* and *Mophetim* joined together. Neither do I think, that there is any difference between the words; except it be in degree and quantity: yet am I not ignorant, but that there may be signs or *Othoth*, which have in them no admiration at all. Such be accents, letters, points, speeches, and other like; the which we doubt not but are signs, and yet they proceed either from art or from nature. But the divine oracles (to the intent they might signify, that certain works of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles did not only show something besides that which was wrought, but also that they stirred up a kind of astonishment and wondering) have oftentimes joined these words together. This undoubtedly is my opinion, which for anything that I see, I may still hold, unless another man will show me a better.

20. But seeing it is written, that the Spirit distributeth to everyone as he will; we learn thereby, that no time must be prescribed unto it: for he despoiseth these things when he will, and how he will. Whereby their argument is dissolved, which say, that in Mark it is written; These signs shall follow them that believe; they shall cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take away serpents, &c. Wherefore, seeing these signs be not done in us, it followeth that faith is not in the church of these days. But they be deceived. For these things are not absolutely and without exception; but in some respect the tokens of faith, belonging to that primitive church, until the gospel were made more manifest. For miracles were as trumpets and open criers whereby the gospel was commended. For even as the law of Moses procured to itself credit, through the manifold miracles showed 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, seeing the gospel is spread throughout the world. And therefore the promise which Christ would have to be written in the gospel of Mark, belonged not to all times; whereof it is not our part either to complain, or find any fault; because that we hear that the holy Ghost distributeth to everyone, as he will; who nevertheless for great considerations him moving, doth not impart to all men gifts and graces alike. For if they should happen to all alike, they would soon grow out of estimation, whereas God hath determined to make store of them. Moreover, he would that charity should grow and increase, which is then exercised, when one man doth help another; which thing would not have taken place, if all men had been endued with like gifts.

CHAP. X. Of Appearing's of Devils; of their answers, and sundry illusions.

Here I may not pass over certain obscure places, which we find in the history of Samuel. But that they may be the better understood, we will in the expounding of them follow 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 devil, whether he can so appear, and know things to come; lastly, if he can do this, whether it be lawful to ask counsel 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 devil: but if we affirm that it was Samuel, then will it be doubtful, whether he came wholly both in body and soul, or in his body alone, or else in his soul alone. If he came wholly in body and soul, 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 devil; yea and there be some, which do not attribute that, no not to God. But those pestilent opinions are easily confuted by the very history of the holy scriptures. For we read of three in the Old Testament, which were restored from death to life; one by Elias,

another by Elisha being yet alive, and the third by the bones of Elisha, when he was dead. In the New Testament we read of the chief ruler of the synagogue his daughter, of the widows son, of Lazarus, Eutyches, and Dorcas. Wherefore if we deny that Samuel returned unto life, we do not therefore deny, that God could not bring it to pass. For Christ proved the resurrection: and said, that God is not the God of the dead, but of the living: and Paul in the 15th of the first epistle to the Corinthians, by many reasons of purpose confirmeth the resurrection of the dead; and in the epistle to the Hebrews he reckoneth it among the grounds of our religion. It is an article of our faith. And undoubtedly, neither the Turks nor Jews deny, that the dead shall rise again. But the Montanists, Originists, and such other furies, which deny the resurrection, are plainly confuted out of Job, out of the psalms, out of Isaiah, out of Daniel, and every-where out of the New Testament. We do not (I say) deny 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 magical wickedness; and because it is not likely, that God would permit it. For so notable a thing may not be attributed unto the power of the devil; because to be able to raise the dead, belongeth only unto God. But Apollonius Tyaneus raised a maid. Indeed so it is written in his life; howbeit the same in very deed was but a fantasy, and not a thing done; and that is also to be affirmed as touching Simon Magus. And now that it was the carcass of Samuel, it is not likely. Neither do any of the interpreters, saving only Burgensis, say that it was so. And undoubtedly a dead carcass is of itself senseless, and void of life: neither could it have answered anything, unless the devil had put on the same. But the devil could do these things even without a dead carcass; for he might have taken upon him the form and figure thereof.

2. Wherefore let us see, whether it were the soul of Samuel, or the devil. For the interpreters seem to write diversely of that matter. Some say that it could not be his soul, because they think that the souls of men remain not after death. But these be wicked, mad, and doting opinions. For out of all doubt, the souls of the godly are extant, and do live before God. For so God himself 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 living. And Christ said to the thief; Today thou shalt be with me in paradise. Certainly, Today, had been a very long time, if he had commanded him to wait till the general resurrection. But A thousand years (say they) with the Lord are but as one day. I grant; howbeit that adverb *Hodie* (Today) is not always to be understood after that sort. Yea, and Augustine in his epistle to Dardanus, understanding that adverb properly, saith; that The body of Christ was that day in the sepulcher, and his soul in hell; and that therefore of necessity the thief was present with the Godhead of Christ in paradise. For he granteth not, that either the soul or the body of the Lord could be in sundry places at one time. And Paul saith to the Philippians; I desire to be loosed from hence: he saith not, And to sleep, and to be extinguished; but To be with Christ. And it had been better to have continued living, than to have departed into sleep; for here we acknowledge and praise the Lord.

Moreover, we read that Lazarus was carried into felicity, and the rich glutton was cast into hell. And to that other rich man, which decreed with himself to enlarge his barns, (and to lay up for many years to come) it is said; Thou fool, this night shall they take thy soul from thee. Also Chrysostom in his second homily of Lazarus, The souls of men (saith he) are not taken away all in one manner of estate: for some depart hence unto

pain, and others being guarded with angels, are taken up into heaven. In the Apocalypse, the souls of the blessed receive long garments, they stand before the throne, and follow the lamb wheresoever he goeth. When Stephen was dying, he said, Lord Jesus receive my spirit, If the soul should have died utterly, why did he rather commend that than his body? Doubtless it cannot be found in any place, that the godly commended their bodies unto the Lord. And in the second to the Corinthians the 5th chap. For we know, that if the earthly mansion of this our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building given of God; even a house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens. These words are not to be understood of our state after the resurrection (for there we shall be clothed with our bodies also;) and therefore they are meant of the state between our departure hence and the resurrection. Wherefore souls do remain after this life. And in the same epistle Paul saith; Whether in the body, or out of the body, I know not, &c. Which proveth, that the soul may be severed from the body. For he putteth a possibility both of the one way and the other. In this place therefore the question is not, as touching the body, but as touching the soul of Samuel.

3. But the controversy is, whether this were Samuel or the devil? About which matter, not only the Rabbins, but also the Christian fathers have disagreed among themselves. Yea and among the latter writers Burgensis thinketh one way, and Lyra another. Justinus Martyr against Triphon saith, that it was Samuel. In which place he hath certain things which may not well be granted. For he saith, that all souls before Christ, even of the godly, were after a sort under the power of the devil; so that he might bring them back when he would. But Christ saith, that Lazarus was in the bosom of Abraham, and not in the power of the devil. But that (thou wilt say) is a parable. I grant it; yet is it drawn from things likely to be true, and which

might be. Yea and Tertullian so accounted that narration to be done indeed, as he thinketh that Lazarus was John the Baptist, and the rich glutton was Herod; and that Christ would forbear their names. In the 46th of Ecclesiasticus is set forth the praise of Samuel; where among other things it is said, that he prophesied after that he was dead, and foreshowed to the king the day of his death.

Contrariwise Tertullian in his book De anima, hath many things most worthy to be marked. For he calleth the arts of magic, a second idolatry. For even as in the former the devil feigneth himself to be God; so in the latter he feigneth himself to be an angel, or a dead man, and seeketh both ways to be worshipped. And it is no marvel, if he dazzle the outward eyes of men, when as he before occupied the eyes of the mind. For so (saith he) did the rods of Pharaoh's sorcerers seem to be serpents, but yet afterward falsehood was devoured up of the truth. And whereas the Symonians say that they can with their enchantments call up the dead unto life, that was only a mere imagination and a mock. And even so the devil in this place mocked both the witch and Saul, and deceived both the eyes of the one, and the ears of the other. In Libya (saith he) there be Nasomons, which lie at the tombs of their parents, and in Europe French men, which lie watching at the sepulchers of mighty men, to the intent they may receive oracles from them after they are dead: but he saith that in those things there is no certainty or soundness; and that they be only vain lies and phantasies. Origin writeth nothing purposely of this matter; and yet in the history of Balaam he saith, that good spirits do not obey magical incantations. Contrariwise Ambrose upon Luke, in the first book and first chapter saith, that Samuel prophesied even when he was dead. But without doubt he alludeth unto that place of

the 46th chapter of Ecclesiasticus. As touching Chrysostom and Jerome I will speak afterward.

4. Augustine did not always write of this thing after one manner. In the second book to Simplicianus the third question, he saith, that both may be defended; yet as touching the first opinion he seemeth to doubt, how Saul being a man now rejected by God, could talk with Samuel being a prophet and holy man. But he answereth, that this is no new thing; for in Job, the evil spirits talked with God himself. And in the history of Ahab, the lying spirit offered his service unto the Lord: yea and that princes do sometimes talk with thieves, (yet to the intent they may punish them) whereas in the mean time they speak not with honest men, whom they love and mean to defend. But what power (saith he) had the devil over Samuel, that he was able to bring him? He answereth, that he had power to torment Job, and that he coveted to sift his disciples, that he set Christ upon the pinnacle; and further, that if Christ without any diminishing of his honor might be hanged upon the cross, and afflicted with torments; it is likely that Samuel also might be raised again without any impairing of his felicity: doubtless not by any strength or power of the devil, but by the permission of God, that he might terrify Saul. So do some understand that which was done in Balaam; for he was a soothsayer, and took his journey, to the intent that by magical charms he might curse the Jews: but God prevented the cunning of the devil. Howbeit of this matter I affirm nothing.

But Augustine demandeth further, how Samuel being so good a man, did come unto an evil man? And he answereth, that in this life also good men do come unto evil men. But this is a weak argument; for men do it in this life, either of duty, or else of friendship, or familiarity. Now Samuel was out of this life, and was called by a witch, whom he ought not to have obeyed.

But Augustine thinketh, that it may be more easily answered, if we say that it was not Samuel, but only a vain imagination and fantasy: howbeit he cannot but grant, that two things are against this opinion; one is, that the scriptures do always so speak, as if it had been very Samuel. But he answereth, that it is the usual manner of the scriptures, to call similitudes by the names of those things which they represent. For so the wooden images were called cherubim's; and Solomon made brazen oxen, and the Philistines gave silver mice. Neither do the holy scriptures lie, when they speak after that sort. For men are wont commonly so to speak, and it pleased God to apply himself to the sense and capacity of man. Another thing is, that he truly fore-showed what would come to pass; namely, that Saul with his sons should be slain, and that the host of Israel should be overthrown. But he answereth, that this also is no new or wonderful thing; for the devils confessed Christ to be the son of God. And in the Acts of the apostles, they gave a very goodly testimony of Paul's doctrine. Even so in this place, God useth the service of the devil, to the intent he might terrify Saul; that he, which had taken counsel of evil spirits, might be afflicted with an evil answer. But he addeth; how might Saul be with Samuel; a wicked man with a holy prophet. Such he saith is the subtlety of the devil, always to mingle some truth with falsehood. For assuredly (saith he) there is great distance of place between the blessed souls and the reprobate. And this he proveth out of the history of the rich man and Lazarus.

This I make mention of, forsomuch as I see, that they which affirm the body of Christ to be in every place, have no reason so to say. For if that were true, then the souls of the godly should be in every place also. For Christ saith; Wheresoever I am, there also my minister shall be. And by this means there should be no differences between souls; for all should be in all

places. But they say, that Jerome writeth thus against Vigilantins. For Vigilantius denied, that we should call upon dead men; for they are in the bosom of Abraham, and do not wander about their sepulchers and ashes. Then are they not (saith Jerome) in any stinking prison, but in a pleasant and large custody, like certain fathers of the order of senators. But (saith he) They follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth; now the Lamb is everywhere. Further (saith he) shall we grant this unto devils, that they can wander up and down throughout the whole world; and shall we deny the same unto the blessed souls of godly men? Here Jerome (by his good leave may it be spoken) is somewhat out of the way, and yet he hath not spoken of that, whereof these men did mean. He erreth, in saying that the souls of dead men are conversant about their sepulchers, and that they are to be invocated; yet doth he not say, that they be every-where. He compareth them with spirits, which (he saith) do wander everywhere; that is, they be sometimes here, and sometimes there. But if they were every-where, they could not wander here and there, and change places: and therefore Jerome saith, that neither the lamb, nor the souls departed, nor devils be in every place; but that they in such sort wander at large, as they may be wheresoever they list. These things I have touched by the way. But Augustine answereth, that that saying of Samuel may be understood of the general state of death, and not of the equality of happiness. In the latter end he addeth; that whereas there be but these two ways only, the former may not be admitted, unless it be proved to be possible, that souls departed, may by magical charms be called again, and bear the proportion of men's bodies. And therefore of necessity the other way remaineth; namely, that it was done by the counsel and will of God. But by the power of incantation that could not be done; and yet by the purpose and commandment of God, it

might be brought to pass. And to this opinion I willingly agree. For if God will, I see not what should hinder it

5. In the sixth question to Dulcitus, 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 Augustine's book) which I speak, because of the censure and judgment of Erasmus, who hath separated that book from the works of Augustine) he accounteth it detestable for any man to think, that it was Samuel whom the witch raised up: for it was only a delusion and an imagination. For the devil did this to bring himself unto honor, and to persuade men, that the souls of the dead be in his power, and that they shall not escape from his hands after death. But if the history be well discussed, we shall not find anything at all to prove, that it was Samuel; but that Saul indeed, when he had heard the description of his apparel, and the fashion of his body, thought that it had been so: that the scripture applied itself to his mind and opinion: that Saul fell down and worshipped, and thereby the devil had that which he sought for: that Samuel would never have suffered it, but that he said Saul should be with him the next day, because he was wicked, and should perish everlastingly. But what shall we answer as touching Jonathan, who was well known to be a just man? Wherefore this answer of Augustine seemeth to be feeble. In his second book *De doctrina christiana*, the 26th chapter, he saith, It was an image raised up by sacrilege. In another book *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, (if the same be Augustine's book) he likewise denieth that it was Samuel indeed.

Also in his little book *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, he hath many excellent things; but in the end he concludeth, that it seemeth unto him, the souls of those which are departed, be ignorant what is done in this life. For whereas they oftentimes appear, and present themselves to living men,

sometimes waking, and sometimes sleeping: that may be done by angels, either good or bad. And he saith that we ourselves do oftentimes present ourselves to our friends in our sleep, when as we ourselves think nothing thereof. And that he himself being at Milan, expounded a hard place of Cicero to his scholar Eulogius being asleep in Africa. And upon the Acts of the apostles, he saith, that Saul being come near unto Damascus, God foreshowed unto Ananias, that Saul in a dream had seen him put his hands upon him, and cure his eyes; and yet Ananias himself did not perceive the same. In like manner he saith, that at Milan, when a certain citizen was dead, there came a creditor, to whom he had sometime been indebted, and demanded his money: and when the son knew the creditor to be satisfied by his father while he lived, but yet having no quittance or discharge to show, his father afterward showed him in his sleep, in what place the acquittance was laid. This thing Augustine thinketh, not to be done by his father being dead, but by some angel. For if so be that the dead might be present in our affairs, they would not (saith he) forsake us in this sort; especially (saith he) my mother Monica, who in her life time could never be without me, would not now being dead thus leave me. Wherefore he concludeth at the length, that they know nothing of our doings, more than it shall please God himself to reveal unto them; or else that angels or souls departing hence shall show unto them: which notwithstanding (saith he) show not unto them all things, but only such things as God shall permit them.

But yet he saith, it may be that God sometimes extraordinarily sendeth some man again into this life. For he saith, that in the siege of the city of Nola, Felix the bishop of Nola being dead, was by many men seen defending the city: and that as Paul being taken up into the third heaven, might be among the angels; so may souls likewise extraordinarily return

again unto men: and that even so Moses and Elias were seen upon the mount with Christ But if thou wilt say that Elias then lived, yet it is manifest that Moses was dead. This is therein the opinion of Augustine. In which place he by the way toucheth in a manner the same things as concerning Samuel, which he did unto Simplicianus; namely, that it may be, that God either by an extraordinary way sendeth again the souls of the dead unto their sepulchers; or else that it pleaseth him to have these things done by angels. But he never said that souls are in many places at one time.

6. Chrysostom (so far as I know) hath written nothing expressly of Samuel; but yet in his 29th homily upon Matthew, he saith, that It must in no wise be believed, that the souls of dead men be conversant upon the earth. The rich man (saith he) desired that Lazarus might be sent back; but he obtained it not. Hereunto I ad; by what means then could the witch obtain this concerning Samuel? For the consideration was alike on both sides. The souls (saith Chrysostom) be in a certain place waiting for the judgment, neither can they remove themselves from thence. And in his second homily of Lazarus; If the devil (saith he) have no power over them that be alive, how can he have any power over the souls of them that be dead? And in the fourth homily he saith, If it should be so, there would be a great gap open for the devil to beguile and deceive. For under that show, he would return, and teach errors. Howbeit that seemeth not to be of any force; for so God also, when he raised up the dead, and called back Elias and Moses, might seem to have opened a way unto errors. For under that show also the devil might insinuate himself, and deceive men. But it seemeth, that Chrysostom restraineth this unto secret things, and unto the state of dead men. Certainly, they whom Christ and his apostles raised, never taught what was done in the other life.

They (saith Chrysostom) that lay hold of dreams, run into deceit. The same thing (saith he) would come to pass, if under this color of the dead, it should be lawful to ask counsel of devils. Jerome hath nothing of this matter; but that upon the seventh chapter of Isaiah he saith, that Many thought Saul to have had received a sign 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 upon the 12th of Jeremiah he writeth thus; God heareth them not in the time of necessity and distress, because they also would not hear the voice of the Lord. And this did Saul also suffer; for when as he being sore afraid of the Philistines army, was not worthy to receive the word of the Lord, he turned himself to the witch, to the intent he might learn that of idols, which by earnest prayer and tears he should have obtained of the Lord. By which words we learn, that although the Lord will not favorably hear us; yet we must not leave praying, neither must we run to devils, who cannot help the worshippers of them, but must crave the help of the Lord. But by these words he defineth not, whether the devil by himself, or by the soul of Samuel brought again, answered to the questions of enchantment. Lyra thinketh that it was very Samuel; which he gathered partly by the text itself, and partly by that place of Ecclesiasticus. And as when Balaam would have raised the devil, God intermeddled his own self: even so when this witch called unto her an evil spirit, God sent Samuel. And by this means (saith he) we do not confirm, but we do quite overthrow magical arts.

Howbeit 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 means art magic might have gotten

authority. For albeit thou wilt say, that Samuel obeyed not the charms, yet he might seem to have obeyed them: but injury (he saith) had been done unto Samuel, if the devil had suborned himself under his person. But this maketh no matter; for the devil doth oftentimes put on the person of God: and the prophets of the devil behave themselves as if they were the apostles and prophets of God. Paulus Burgensis thinketh, by reason of that place in Ecclesiasticus, that the spirit of Samuel was not brought; but his carcass only, and yet that in any wise it was Samuel: for thus it is written in Ecclesiasticus, And when he was fallen asleep: but the devil he saith doth not sleep. And he saith also that he complained, because the woman had troubled him, seeing his body was now at rest: but neither is this indeed of any great importance. For first it seemeth not credible, that a mangled and rotten carcass could be brought into that place. Secondly, if it had been so, Saul himself might have seen the same. Galatinus thinketh that it was the very spirit of Samuel. But in that he suffered himself to be worshipped, he saith, that either it was a civil kind of worship only; or else that Saul worshipped God himself. Howbeit, these also are but weak and vain arguments. For if Saul would have worshipped God, why doth he it then at the last, when he heard that Samuel was come? And as touching the civil worshipping, Saul was a king, and forsomuch as he had no superior magistrate, he could civilly worship no man. But he addeth, that such a like thing was done under Ochosias the king. For when he had sent a messenger, to ask counsel of Beelzebub, the god of Acaron; God withstood it by Elias his prophet, and gave answer (and one of the captains of Ochosias fell down and worshipped Elias.) Howbeit this similitude is altogether unlike; for Elias was then living, and was seen of the messengers.

7. But to show at the last, what mine opinion is, I am moved by these reasons to think, that it was but an imagination. First, seeing God would not give answer unto Saul, neither by prophets, nor by priests, nor by dreams; it is not credible, that he would answer him by the dead, and especially seeing he had expressly forbidden that by the law. 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 forbad it: neither by the power of art; for witches have no power over the godly. Moreover, Samuel must have come, either willingly, or constrained: willingly he could not, for then he should have consented unto witchcraft: and to say that he came against his will, that were not fit. I know, these reasons are not so strong, that they can persuade an obstinate man. But yet if we consider what belongeth unto God, and what should revoke us from evil arts, they be effectual enough. In the decretals, the 26th question, in the chapter, *Nec mirum*, it is written; that It was only a show and a fantasy. These words be out of Isidorus, but in the end Augustine is added.

Whether the devil can appear, and know things to come, and give answers.

8. Now we must see, whether the devil can appear, and give answers. There hath been always a great question as touching Daemons not only among the Ethnics; but also among the Christians. They take their name of knowledge, as though they were named δαήμονες, that is, skillful; whereupon excellent men have been called *Daemonii*. And we read, that this difference was put between Plato and Aristotle, that the one was θεῖος, that is, Divine and the other δαιμόνιος, that is, Skillful. The word is to be taken on both parts; for it signifieth spirits both evil and good. Yea, and God himself is sometime by the Ethnics called Daemon, There have been some,

which thought that there were no such spirits at all. For the Peripatetiks thought, that between the Intelligences (which drive about the spheres) and our souls, there is put no substance endued with reason; and that whatsoever may be known of these things, we know it only by effects. For by the continual and ordinary motion of the spheres, we understand that there be spirits, which do govern them; and that there is a providence. Howbeit the marvelous things which are reported of Daemons or spirits, cannot procure us a knowledge of them. For that which doth not happen commonly and publicly; but is showed sometime by this man, and sometime by that, cannot be known but by supposition; if those things be true which are reported. But seeing it should be an impudent part to deny those things, which by so many historiographers and credible authors are put in writing, they have found another shift. For they say, that there may be other causes; and in deed they invent many, whereby common nature may seem to be overcome, and that wonderful and incredible things may be brought to pass: and that the power and strength of things is secret and unknown to the common sort, and is understood of such only as be learned and industrious. For (say they) the rude and ignorant man will marvel at the Loadstone, that so senseless and dead a thing should draw iron unto it, and will cry out that it is done by art magic.

Further they say, that man is the chiefest among worldly things; and that he, by a certain power and indivisible property, bringeth marvelous things to pass. Such as that of Vespasian, who with his spittle healed a blind man; and by touching of a lame man with his foot, restored his limbs. They add further, that such is the power of man's fantasy, that it oftentimes shaketh and maketh to tremble the whole body, and changeth it either unto cold or unto heat; as it cometh to pass commonly in fear and anger. And Avicenna

saith, if a man walk aloft upon a beam, he doth easily fall; because his fantasy is greatly moved, and because he verily thinketh with himself that he shall fall, and therefore reeleth and falleth down. Neither do such phantasies move only our own bodies, but the bodies of others also. For so do women sorcerers infect those, whom they steadfastly behold with fixed eyes. Wherefore (saith he) seeing these things may be done by natural reasons, there is no need of spirits. But they add, that all the things which we do see happen strange and wonderful, may be referred to the celestial bodies. For they say, that God and the Intelligences may bring these things to pass; yet not without some mean, but by the heavenly spheres and stars: and therefore no need of Daemons or spirits. Howbeit they grant, that there be some things which cannot be done by natural reason; as, to raise the dead to life, and many more such like things. But yet if you urge those things also, they will say that they be false wonders devised by men. Plato in his book *De republica* saith, that it is lawful for men to make a lie for public commodities sake.

There be others do refer these things unto the humors of man's body, and especially unto melancholy. For Aristotle in his Problems the 30th section saith, that the Sibyls, and the excellent Emperors and famous philosophers were melancholic: and that there were some, which being affected with that humor, spake suddenly many languages, which they had never learned; and that they afterward being healed by physicians, left off speaking in that manner. Thus much for their part. But forsomuch 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 confess somewhat, they are divided into two sundry sects. For they which think that man's soul is immortal, do say that those which die after they have lived well and

honestly, are made καλοδαίμονες; but evil and wicked livers become κακοδαίμονες, and so perpetually remain. For seeing they cannot now work contrary actions, it must needs be, that those habits which they carried with them, should endure forever. But they which would have the soul to be mortal, do allow of spirits, but only in this life. So that they which apply all their senses, as much as in them lieth, to understanding, be καλοδαίμονες, and good spirits: but they which turn understanding into sensuality, be κακοδαίμονες, and disturb all things. So the former opinion doth affirm, that one kind passeth into another; which seems no more possible to be brought to pass, than that a man should be changed into a wolf. But if there be any certain nature of spirits, no doubt the same must be firm and steadfast. 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 have angels and spirits to be nothing else, but men's affections.

Mercurius Trismegistus (as Augustine saith in his eight book *De civitate Dei*, the 23th chapter) denieth that there be indeed any spirits at all. For he saith, that God made gods and Intelligences separated from all matter; by which the spheres of the world are moved: further, that men also did make to themselves gods. Asclepius answereth; I think thou speakest of images. Indeed so I do (saith Mercurius) but I mean such images as be so applied to certain aspects of the stars, that they can speak, and heal men, and afflict with sickness, and work miracles; and which be endued with mind, sense, and spirit. Alexander Aphrodysaeus saith, that there is a certain divine power spread through the whole world, which can work all things; but that it is requisite the same should be wisely drawn to particular effects. For even as we see it cometh to pass in the sun, that although the heat thereof be the general life of all things; yet out of it being diversely applied, there are

brought forth diverse and sundry things; (for out of the vine it bringeth forth grapes, and out of the tree, apples:) so if that power, which is so spread universally, be fitly drawn by wise men through herbs and stones, there do follow marvelous effects. And thus much hitherto, as touching those, which utterly deny, that there is any certain nature of Daemons or spirits.

9. The Platonists grant, that spirits be certain substances between gods and men; and that of them some be earthy, some watery, some airy, some fiery, and some starry: and to every one of the spheres severally, there be attributed several spirits; as some be of Saturn, some of Jupiter, and some of the Sun. And they were led thus to say, chiefly by this reason: That between two extremes, there must of necessity be placed a mean: for that heavenly bodies are eternal and incorruptible; but ours are mortal and frail: and therefore between both must be the bodies of spirits, as certain mean things, which may somewhat communicate with both the extremes. For they, notwithstanding that, in time, they be eternal, yet are stirred with affects and motions. And further, that as there be birds in the air, and fishes in the water; even so in the highest region of the air, and in the fire, there be spirits. And least we should think them altogether idle, partly they are tutors of men, and partly rulers of provinces: that they both bring men's prayers unto God, and also carry the benefits of God unto men: that of some they be called Mean-gods, of some Nativity-spirits, and of other some House-gods. Apuleius not the least among the Platonists defineth spirits on this wise. He saith that by nature, they are living creatures; by wit, reasonable; by body, airy; by time, eternal; and by mind, passive: for that they be affected even as men be. Howbeit, all they do not seem to agree in this, that the bodies of spirits are eternal. For Plutarch writing of oracles, saith it was reported, that Pan the great god once died. But the divines and fathers of sound religion

do affirm that there be spirits; and not only those by whom the celestial spheres are driven about: but others also. And some of them say, that they have no bodies, proper I mean, and of their own, whereunto they be so joined, as they can quicken them: and yet they may join unto themselves bodies, which be none of their own.

10. So all these men do confess, that wonderful things are done by spirits. The Peripatetics, by celestial bodies; the Platonists, by bodies proper unto spirits; and our divines by spirits, sometime taking bodies to them, and sometimes without bodies. These three opinions confess that there be magicians. But the first understand by magicians, good and wise men, which fitly can apply things that work, unto things that suffer; such as are philosophers and physicians. The Platonists do not always take the name of magicians in evil part; but such as have familiarity with spirits. And Christians, and the true professors, understand them only to be magicians, which have made any league with devils, and conspire with them against God. For there be some spirits good, and some bad; for some fell at the beginning, and some remained as they were; which thing Homer seemeth to signify in Ate, and others in Ophionaeus. And it may be, that these things came unto them by tradition from the fathers, although darkened with shadows and fables. Wherefore we affirm out of the holy scriptures, that there be spirits: and a few places of the scriptures I will rehearse. For it would be infinite and troublesome to recite all.

The devil vexed Job, overthrew his houses, and destroyed his cattle and servants. In the history of Ahab, a lying spirit was in the mouths of the prophets. Satan put into David's heart to number the people. And David himself in the psalm saith, that God plagued the Egyptians by evil spirits. In the prophet Zechariah, Satan stood to let Jesus the priest, that the people

might not return out of captivity. God forbiddeth sacrifices to be done unto devils: which he would not forbid, if there were no devils at all. Satan tempted Christ; he plucketh the good seed out of men's hearts, and had bound the daughter of Abraham for many years. The devil prayed Christ that he might go into the herd of swine. Christ at the latter day shall say unto the ungodly; Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: by which words the devils are most plainly distinguished from men. Jude the apostle saith, that Michaël strove against the devil for the body of Moses. And James saith, that The devils believe and tremble. Christ saith, that He saw Satan falling down from heaven, and that he stood not fast in the truth.

Of good spirits also I will only speak a word. They be the ministers of God. For as it is written to the Galatians; The law was given by the ministration of angels. And as it is in the epistle to the Thessalonians; In the sound 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 we rightly and truly affirm that there be spirits.

11. But now we must confute those reasons, which are wont to be alleged by others. These things (say they) may be done by natural causes. I grant indeed, that natural causes are oftentimes great and secret; and do bring many wonderful things to pass. But these effects, which we speak of; as images to speak and give answers, and to utter the distinct voices of men; also to foretell things to come, and those not common, but hidden and secret matters; an ignorant man to have suddenly learned arts and sciences; and he to speak Greek, Hebrew, and the Syrian tongue, and to recite the sentences of philosophers and poets, which never learned those tongues, nor ever

handled poets or philosophers; a man to walk invisibly; to stir things that are a far off; to put out a torch far distant from us; an ox or an asse to speak like a man: these things I say do far exceed all force of nature. The magicians also, which work these things, do join therewithal prayers, enchantments, conjuring's and commandments: wherein certainly, there is no natural power of working at all. Hereunto they add also their lines, characters, and circles; which things be within the compass of quantity. But quantities be never reckoned of the philosophers among things that work. The temperature of man's body (I grant) hath great force, but yet not so great; and besides it must needs work by touching. Imagination can do much. True it is: but everyone in his own body. Howbeit no man, no not in his own proper body, how strongly soever he imagine, can work all things. For if a man have a withered arm, and so stopped, as the pores cannot have their passage; let him use as great imagination as he will, he shall not cure the same.

As for bewitching, it is not so great a marvel; for in old women the humors are corrupted, and being drawn into the eyes, do easily infect, especially children and infants, whose bodies be as it were of wax. But there be other things, which go beyond all power of bewitching's; as that was, when Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves; when Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, (whereas Aristotle in his eight book of physicks, and in his treatise *De coelo & mundo* saith, that Those intelligences which move the spheres, cannot cease at any time from their work; and that they should move the spheres more slowly, if but one star more should be added thereunto;) when Isaiah called back the sun; when at the death of Christ, the Sun suffered an eclipse, the moon being then in opposition. Of which thing Dionysius writeth in an epistle unto

Apollophanes, and saith, that he had considerably beheld the same, while he was in Egypt; and that it is extant in the history of Phlegon and Aphricanus. Hereunto add, that the shadow of Peter healed the sick; and that Elias shut up the heavens, so that it did not rain for the space of three years and a half.

12. But humors in man's body can do much. I grant. But yet Christ saith; The works which I do, no man can do: and he must sooner be believed than all the sort of Peripatetikes. Others say, that these things are only terrifying's, devised by prudent men to contain the people in their duty. But we do know, that nothing in the scriptures is feigned or devised; for They be the pillars and sure foundation of the truth. And whereas they say, that the souls of men do pass and be changed into spirits; that was sufficiently confuted before, when the same was objected. Trismegistus saith, that Men do make unto themselves gods; namely, images made and applied unto certain aspects of the heaven, that they can speak, and give out oracles. But a foolish thing it is to think, that men can make themselves gods; and yet if they can, why do they submit and 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 anything is inferior to the effect thereof. This doth Isaiah very well deride and taunt; A man (saith he) taketh a piece of wood, and with the one part he warmeth himself, and baketh him bread; and with the other part, he frameth himself a god. But they can speak and give out oracles. Nay rather David saith much more truly; They have eyes, and see not; they have ears, and hear not; they have mouths, and yet speak not. And if they be able to make gods, why do they not rather make themselves [to be] gods? For doubtless, they should be much better advised, if they would make gods of their own selves, then to make them of stones

and stocks. Further, if they be gods, why do they not defend themselves? For those idols were a good while ago thrown down, and abolished. And although other idols are brought in by the naughty practice of the papists; yet shall those also by the help of God be one day taken quite away: but if they were gods indeed, they would surely defend themselves. Aphrodisaeus saith, that There is a certain general power, which by the properties of things (such as be herbs, stones, and metals) must be drawn unto every particular thing. I admit it be so; yet no such thing can be brought to pass upon the sudden: for the works of nature have their time and course. But Christ upon the sudden turned water into wine; and upon the sudden restored the blind and lame.

13. Indeed the Platonists grant, that there be spirits; but they say that they have bodies either watery, or airy, or fiery. These things doubtless they speak; howbeit they speak such things as will not agree one with another. For if the bodies of spirits be elementary, how cometh it to pass, that they be eternal? For the elements have both cold and heat, qualities both active and passive, and sometime they strive one with another, and sometime they perish. Others reason after this sort; Forsomuch as there be extremities, we must also grant that there is a mean: but heaven is eternal, and men's bodies are frail and mortal; wherefore of necessity, something must be put between these two, that may be partaker of both. This is no necessary argument. For first we grant, that certain minds there be void of bodies; such as are the angels, and those intelligences, which drive the celestial spheres; and further, that the souls of our bodies are the other extreme. Of other mean things there is no need. But they say, that as fishes be in the sea, and fowls in the air; so there must be spirits conversant in the fire. This is of no necessity. For living creatures are not made for the elements; but the

elements for living creatures: and living creatures were made for man's sake. Now what use can there come unto man by those living creatures, which abide in the fire?

Howbeit, if these men will urge further, concerning the upper region of the air, we will not deny, but that there be spirits there. For so Paul to the Ephesians saith, After the prince that ruleth in the air: and afterward in the same epistle; We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers of this air. Also Chrysostom in his 11th homily upon the first epistle to the Thessalonians saith; that the whole air is full of spirits. But let us consider of the bodies of these spirits; for they can be no airy bodies, seeing the air is a body of one kind. For every part of the air is air; and there can be no reason given, why one part thereof should be a spirit more than another: and by that means the whole universal air should be one continued body of spirits. Moreover, the body of a living creature must be instrumental, and have bones, sinews, parts, and several members: but these things cannot be made of the air. Furthermore, a body must have fashions and forms; which things cannot so much as be imagined in the air. But there be (you will say) fashions, and distinct forms in the clouds. I grant it; but they consist not of air only, or alone. And yet this argument is not firm; for spirits may take unto them the bodies of other things. Wherefore some do rather argue on this sort; Spirits have bodies, either celestial, or elementary: if celestial, then their moving must be round or circle-wise; as the moving of the heavens is: if elementary, they must of necessity follow the motion of that element, whereof they had their bodies.

14. But to let these things pass. The scriptures do not make Daemons to have bodies, but to be spirits only. Now spirits and bodies, by an Antithesis are put as contraries. For even as a spirit is nobody, so likewise a body is no

spirit. And Christ saith; A spirit hath no flesh nor bones. And that Daemons be spirits, is proved by infinite testimonies of the scriptures. In the history of Ahab, thus the devil speaketh; I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of Ahab. And Christ cast out an unclean spirit; and the unclean spirit wandered through dry and desert places; afterward he took to himself seven other spirits, worse than himself. Nay verily (will you say) these spirits are but only certain impulsions of the minds, such as be the spirits of wisdom, and the spirits of knowledge: yes in very deed they be substances. For Christ saith, that They behold the face of his father: and he shall pronounce at the latter day; Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. Wherefore, seeing the holy scriptures do call Daemons, by the name of spirits; I see no cause why any should attribute bodies unto them. But I speak not here of bodies, which are assumed and are come unto them; but of such as be proper to them, and of their own.

I know there be other men, somewhat sharp witted indeed, which say, that Daemons be spirits in comparison of us; even as on the other side, angels in comparison of God, may be said to have bodies: and after this manner they say, that Augustine affirmeth Daemons to have bodies. And they say also, that Barnard was of the same opinion, both in his treatise to Eugenius, and also upon the Canticles; howbeit, there be some, which interpret Barnard to speak of bodies assumed. But seeing the holy scriptures (as I said) do call Daemons, spirits; I see no cause why we should imagine them to have bodies. For in the scriptures we see, that there are four kinds of spirits. [1] First in very deed, God himself is a spirit; for he hath no need of a body, either for his being, or for his doing of any manner of thing. [2] The next be angels, as well good as bad; neither doubtless have they need of bodies, as touching their own proper actions; but to communicate in actions with us,

they have need of bodies: for as we read in the epistle to the Hebrews, They be administering spirits. [3] The third sort are the spirits of men, which doubtless that they might have their being, have no need of bodies; for they have their being, and do live, even when they are separated from their bodies: yet about their own proper actions, as to have sense, or to grow, they cannot be without bodies. [4] The last be the spirits of brute beasts, which neither can have their being, nor do anything without bodies. By this division we see, that there is no need at all for Daemons to have bodies: for even without them, both they may have their being, and also may exercise their own actions. For they love, they desire, they understand even without bodies.

15. Now we must see what they can do. Their power is of two sorts, one in understanding; another in working. But we will see what is to be attributed unto them in both kinds. That spirits do know many things, we have no doubt: for after the opinion of Lactantius, Tertullian, Capella, and Plato in his book entitled *Cratylus*, they be called *Daemones*, *quasi* δαίμονες, *à sciendo*, that is, of knowing. But peradventure you will demand, whether they also know things to come; for the which things chiefly their counsel is demanded I answer, that things to come are not always known after one manner. First things to come, are not known as things present, but of God only: for he within his compass comprehendeth all the differences of times. For (as Paul saith) All things are naked, and laid before his eyes. Others do not presently see the effects of things, but by reasons they gather of things to come; and that many ways. For first they see the causes of things, and by them gather of the effects, which shall afterward follow. But of causes some are necessary, and some not necessary: of necessary are such as be contained in the mathematics, and in

the opposition or conjunction of the heavenly spheres. So do men, which be skillful in the stars, foretell many years before hand, what time eclipses shall happen afterward. Other causes sometime are not necessary or certain: for their effects may be hindered, and such are those, which are called things seldom happening, or things that may happen this way or that way. 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 unto spirits. For they are not let by the heaviness and lump of the flesh, as men be: besides this, continuance and experience is a furtherance unto them. For if that old men do see many more things than young men do, then is it credible that spirits, which live forever, do know very many things: and if they have bodies proper and of their own (as some think) they have such as are nimble and ready, so that in a very short space they can fly to and fro over all places of the world, and make relation what is done every-where. And for that cause Tertullian calleth them, Flying spirits. When they do these things, they may seem to be prophets; because they foreshow such things as are afterward declared unto us in writing. And Augustine *De civitate Dei* saith, that They foreshow these things, that they might be accounted for prophets. And in his book *De genesi ad litteram*, he reciteth an history of a certain man, who (as he saith) would take meat at no man's hands, but at the hands of a certain priest; and that whereas the priest dwelled far off, about the space of five mile from him, he was wont to tell before hand: Now is he coming out of his house, now is he onward in the way, now is he in the tavern, now is he come to the field, now is he at the door. But Augustine denieth that this kind of foretelling is prophesy: for if a troop of soldiers should come from some place, and the watchman from the top of a tower spying them coming, should declare that within short space

they would be there; he saith that he nevertheless cannot seem to be a prophet. Moreover spirits may foretell those things which God commandeth them to do; as oftentimes it happeneth: for God doth oftentimes command them to waste and destroy countries. And (as David saith) He destroyed Egypt by evil angels. So in Samuel, the devil foretold that Saul the next day after should die; for he was then in the bondage and possession of the devil. Further, when they see that they have a bound prescribed them, they promise (so they may have some little gift given them) that they will rage no longer.

Another reason is, for that they be placed in the air, and from that region, as out of a watch tower, they perceive the influences and events of things much more easily than we can. Besides this also, they see the scriptures of the prophets, and whatsoever is done in the church: and although otherwise they know many things, yet are they much better learned, both by means of the scriptures, and also for because they see what is done in the church. Wherefore Paul unto the Ephesians saith; that The hidden mystery of Christ is made manifest unto principalities and powers in the heavenly places. And whereas Hermes Trismegistus foreshowed unto Asclepius, that there would be a fall and desolation of idols, and lamented the same; Augustine saith in his book *De civitate Dei*, that he might understand that by the predictions of the holy prophets. Many times also do they know, for that they be present at the counsels of God, and are called to execute his commandments. For so, when God was taking counsel to deceive Ahab, the devil stood forth, and promised, that he would be A lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of Ahab, and a certain other spirit obtained of God, to torment and trouble Job. And it is no marvel; for the devil is the minister of God to do execution. Howbeit, when they be 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 live well and godly, they suspect that he is a chosen of God; for good deeds be the fruits and effects of election: in like manner, if they see a man to frame himself well unto religion, and to kneel devoutly, they think he prayeth, although they cannot descend into his mind.

17. But although they can by so many ways and means know 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 never so certain or necessary. When the children were cast into the burning furnace, it was certain that they should be burned; but God did miraculously put himself between them and their destruction, and did hinder the cause: but this could not the devil foresee. For God sometime preserveth those that be his, and sometime he leaveth them, so that they die: and so doth it oftentimes come to pass in things that may happen, either this way, or that way. For although the experience of spirits be very great, yet is it not so great, but that they may be deceived. Undoubtedly the nimbleness of spirits is very great, so that they can easily perceive and report what is done in regions very far distant one from another: but yet oftentimes God revoketh his purposed decrees. And if perhaps God command the devil to waste and destroy some region, and the people in the meantime do repent; if the devil 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 heart, God forgetteth all his threatening's. These spirits doubtless do see and know the predictions of the prophets: but yet those purposes, which God doth reveal by his prophets, may sometimes be mitigated or changed. Isaiah prophesied that Hezekiah should die; but yet when he humbled himself, and earnestly

repented, his life was prolonged for 15 years: but that this should come to pass, the devil could never have suspected. Wherefore they may be deceived; partly because they know not the will of God, and partly also because they cannot thoroughly look into our minds. But the good angels are not deceived, because they refer all things to the will of God.

Besides this also, the devil is oftentimes deceived through ambition: for he will seem to be ignorant of nothing; and therefore he doubteth not to foreshow those things which are far beyond his reach. For which cause he mingleth therewith colorable deceits and wiles, that whatsoever should happen, he might seem to have spoken the truth. For he is a crafty and double-dealing fellow, as appeareth by these two oracles of his; I say that thou Aeacides the Romans conquer may. Again, Croesus being passed over Halis flood, shall bring great riches unto naught. Rightly therefore said Isaiah in the 41st chapter; Let them tell us what shall happen, and we will say that they be gods: not as though they tell not the truth sometimes, but because they are oftentimes deceived: Wherefore this doth Isaiah say; Let them answer us certainly, and truly, and always, and without error, what shall come to pass; and we will account them for gods. But how foully the devil may be deceived, it chiefly appeareth in Christ our savior. Augustine in the ninth book *De civitate Dei*, the 21st chapter saith, that The devil knew and saw many things to be wondered at in Christ, but he knew not with that wholesome and quickening light, wherewith reasonable spirits are cleansed; but only, by certain experiments and temporal signs: and yet did he know him far better than men did. For he saw better and more nearly, 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 devil did God repress and darken, when it pleased him. And therefore the devil doubted not to tempt Christ,

which certainly he would not have done, if he had known Christ indeed. For that knowledge depended upon certain temporal signs, which oftentimes may trouble a man. Therefore Paul said, If they had known the Lord of glory, they would never have crucified him.

But these words (you will say) were spoken of Pilate, and of the chief priests. But that maketh no matter; for they were the organs and instruments of the devil. And John saith, that The devil put into Judas heart to betray Christ. But what did let him (you will say) that he might not perceive the Godhead of Christ? I will tell you. Even many things, which in Christ seemed to be but poor, abject 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 unto death? Because he did not think, that his kingdom should by that means have a fall: yet on the other side, when he saw that his tyranny began to decline, and that his overthrow was at hand, he thought to prevent it in time; and for that cause he sent those dreams unto Pilate's wife, because he now suspected that it was Christ. I might show by other examples, how the devil is wont to be deceived; but I thought this one to be sufficient for our purpose at this time. In deed he knoweth natural things readily enough, unless perhaps God will sometimes blind him, and turn him away. For though he be stubborn and rebellious, yet is he in the hand and power of God. Moreover, he is many times let, through hatred, envy, malice, and pride. And we have experience in our own selves, how much reason is wont to be obscured by such troublesome affections, Hereunto also may be added the greatness of torments, and the sharpness of punishments [wherewith he is vexed:] wherefore the angels are less deceived, because they see all things with a quiet mind.

18. But you will demand, whether they see the thoughts and cogitations of men? Here they that answer, are wont to make a double distinction. If we understand the mind to be, as it sheweth itself by signs, and by some moving and gesture of the body; so devils 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 have some impressions in the body: by them the devil 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 book of retractations, doth after a sort moderate this sentence; and denieth that any impressions arise in the body by quiet cogitations. But if we understand the very mind, as it is of itself, the devil cannot reach so far, as that he can understand what we desire or think. But you will say; Seeing man's understanding dependeth of phantasies and forms, cannot the devil perceive them? Yes verily; but whether our understanding be occupied in them, that he cannot see, much less can he see what the will doth determine of them. For the will doth not follow those forms and figures, but it followeth the understanding. Now if we will ask counsel of the holy scriptures, they answer most plainly, that the devil cannot know man's cogitations. For they call God, The knower of hearts; and say, that He alone is the searcher of the hearts and reins. And they add that None knoweth the secrets of man, but the spirit of man that is within him; and that The Spirit searcheth out even the deep mysteries of God. Seeing only God and man can see man's heart, the devil must needs be excluded.

And Solomon in the second book of Chronicles, the sixth chap. in those solemn prayers, which he made after the finishing of the temple, speaketh thus unto God; Thou only O Lord knowest the thoughts of man's heart. As

if he had said, No man, no angels, nor any other thing created. And Jeremiah; Perverse (saith he) and very deep is the heart of man: who is able to search the bottom thereof? And of the person of God he addeth, I am God, which searcheth the heart and reins. Further, God will not work together with the devil, so that the devil also should be able to see the cogitations and minds of men. And this is thought of some to be done through the mercy of God. For if he could look into the secret counsels of our hearts, he would tempt us much more vehemently. The author of the book *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis* affirmeth for certainty, that the devil cannot know the thoughts of men. And Jerome upon the ninth chapter of Matthew expounding these words; And Jesus perceiving their thoughts; by this (saith he) it is evident enough, that Christ is God; seeing he can reach even unto the hearts of men. By signs therefore, and outward tokens the devil may guess what we cast in our minds; but to what end and purpose, and what we think, he cannot for certainty understand. And out of doubt if he were sure of the faith and constancy of holy men, he would never tempt them, least he should be shamefully rejected, as it fell out in Job.

19. Touching the knowledge which the devil hath, we have spoken sufficiently. Now we must see by what means he is able to declare those things, which he foreseeth will come to pass; and there be diverse ways thereof. For he hath oracles; fore-speaking's, dreams, superstitions, working by circles and pricks in the earth, divinations on the water, necromancy, lots, soothsaying's by birds and beasts, and a number such like. And these things he showeth unto men for no other end, but to obtain of them some offering and service. Which thing Seneca not understanding, in the fourth book of his natural questions jesteth at certain things, which seem to serve for our purpose. For he saith, that Among the Cleons there was a custom,

that when they which were the observers [of the coming] of hail, had perceived by some cloud, that hail was ready to fall upon their vines, they should diligently warn the people of the same: now they fled neither to cloak nor cover, but to sacrifice. For they which were of some wealth, killed either a cock, or a white lamb: and those of the poorer sort which had neither cock nor lamb, used violence on themselves, and with a very sharp pointed knife let themselves blood out of the thumb; as though forsooth (saith Seneca) that silly little blood could reach unto the clouds. These are his words; but (as I say) he understood not the ambition of evil spirits.

20. Now we must consider of the power of spirits, as touching those works, which seem to be above nature. Some jest at all this matter, and think that nothing at all can be done either by magicians or by spirits. And of this mind is Pliny in the thirty book of his natural history, and the first chapter: for he saith, that It is found by most evident reasons, that all art magic is vain, and hath neither any certainty nor soundness. For he showeth that Nero being a prince, as he gave himself to the study of singing and ruling of chariots; so he was desirous of art magic, and that he wanted neither wit nor power, nor instructor. For that Tyridatis the king of Armenia, received his kingdom from him, and by his commandment brought very learned magicians out of the east; that Nero also as he was very diligent suffered himself to be instructed, but that at the length all came to nothing. And this also may be said of Julian the apostate; for after that he had begun to give himself unto magicians, all things began to fall to ruin. If these so great princes, and (as it were) rulers of the world, could bring nothing to pass; what may we guess of other men? And yet the devils must needs have obeyed these two men most of all: for they were the most malicious enemies of Christian religion. But howsoever it be, there is no doubt but the

devils can do many things: howbeit, why they would do nothing for Nero and Julian's sake, God only knoweth. For he will not have the devil to do more, than he himself permitteth and willeth him to do; for the strength of spirits, and their power of working, dependeth no less upon God, than doth their knowledge.

21. But that magicians can do much, it may be proved out of God's law. For in the 42nd chapter of Exodus, the 20th of Leviticus, and in the 18th of Deuteronomy, it is commanded that The magicians, soothsayers, and witches should be punished with extremity. The same thing also is decreed by man's law. For there is a caveat in the twelve tables, that none should charm other men's fruits. Whereof Pliny likewise maketh mention; and so doth Seneca in his book of natural questions. But laws are not made but of things that be, and do usually come to pass. In the *code De maleficis & mathematicis*, there be many laws extant concerning this thing: and especially the law of Constantius; who without doubt was fellow in the empire with Julianus, and peradventure his naughtiness (for it is certain that Julian attributed much to such follies) was touched in those laws, wherein it is thus decreed; If any magician shall repair to another man's house, let him be burned; he that brought him thither, let him be banished into the islands; let them be stricken with the sword; let them be cast unto the wild beasts: they being such as will disturb mankind. In the decrees, caus. 26. quest. 5. beginning *Nihil aliud agitur*, among the Extravagants, there is a special title of sorcerers: so many laws should never have been made, unless it had been known for certainty, that magicians and witches are able to do somewhat. And David in the 58th psalm, saith, that The poison of them is like the poison of a serpent, and as [the venom] of a deaf adder stopping her ear, which refuseth to hear the voice of the enchanter or charmer, charm he

never so wisely. David by these words commendeth not enchantment; but yet undoubtedly he showeth, that there is a certain power of enchanting.

In the 13th of Deuteronomium; If any prophet shall do signs and wonders, and would lead thee away to strange gods: thou shalt not spare him, thy hand shall be upon him. And in the 24th chapter of Matthew; There shall come false prophets, and false christs, and shall give out signs, to turn, if it were possible, the very elect into error. And Paul saith in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, that The coming of antichrist shall be in power, in signs, and in lying wonders. Also the histories, as well holy as profane, do teach us this thing. In the history of Job, the devil brought down fire from heaven, and destroyed the herds of cattle. He raised up the winds, and shook the four corners of the house, and crushed Job's children in pieces. In the gospel we read, that many were taken with devils, thrown down on the ground, tormented, and cast into the fire. Other devils, when they were many, and yet possessed but one man, said that They were a legion, and obtained leave to be sent into a heard of swine, which they drove headlong into the sea. In the histories of the Ethnics we read, that the image of fortune spake at two several times; first that it was well or rightly set up; and secondly that it was well worshipped: that Tuccia the vestal virgin, to clear herself from suspicion of whoredom, carried water in a sieve: that Claudia, for the same cause, when the ship (wherein the goddess called Bona dea was carried) stuck so fast in the sands, that by any strength of man it could not be moved, she with her girdle only removed and drew it to the shore: that a serpent followed Aesculapius even unto Rome. And Plini saith, that the olive garden of Vectius Marcellus started over the high way: and that growing corn did oftentimes by art magic flit from one place to another. Actius Navius did cut a whetstone in sunder with a barber's razor. What

needeth many words? It were an infinite thing to show all that might be said of this matter. And to say that all these things are but fables, (especially seeing some such things appear unto us out of the holy scriptures) it should be too impudent a part.

22. But to the intent we may keep some method, we will thus distinguish this power. Those things which seem to be done, be either done indeed; or else they are but feigned by illusion. In those things which be done in very deed, as they seem to be; there are three things attributed unto spirits. First, that they can gather together the principles and beginnings of things, out of which they know something may be made; and then can compound one with another, and join together things that work, with things that suffer: further, that they can move and drive some things: lastly, that they can put on bodies, and in them be familiarly conversant with men. First, that they do gather together the principles of things, and apply them unto a matter; Augustine testifieth, both in his book *De civitate Dei*, and also in his third book *De trinitate*, the seventh and eight chapters. By this means they work things of great wonder and admiration; and yet we see only the effects: for the way and means whereby they are done, we cannot perceive. But those miracles, which be done by God, or by godly men, in the name of Christ, have no need of any such labor. No verily, nor yet those things which be done by evil men, in the name and power of Christ, need any such means: only the devil seeketh those ways. And yet, even in those things he can do nothing, more than God giveth him leave: for he cannot do all things at his own liberty.

To make this matter plain, Augustine (me thinketh) doth use an apt similitude; We see that evil and wicked men, and such as are condemned to work in the mines, have the use of fire and hammers; and yet not to the end

they should mar them, but that they might apply them to some use: even so, the devil cannot do so much as he would, but so much as God giveth him liberty to do. The self-same must we think concerning that power, whereby the devil driveth and moveth anything. For if he might be suffered to have his own will, he would disturb the whole earth and the heavens. And therefore those magicians of Pharaoh, when they had brought forth frogs, and had turned the water into blood; yet afterward they failed in bringing forth lice. Not that it was so hard a thing to make lice, but because God did hinder them; and therefore they were constrained to cry out; This is the finger of God. Those men were called magicians, and therefore they used such kind of means. But Moses needed no such means, although he brought to pass much greater and more marvelous things; for he was no magician: although that Pliny the perpetual adversary of religion thought him so to be. For in his 30th book the second chapter, when he had said that there be diverse ways and kinds of magic, he saith that there was one kind proper unto the Jews, and that the same was first begun by Moses, Jambres, and Jatopas. In which place I think that Pliny not only erred in the thing, but also in the name; and that he called him Jatopas, whom Paul to Timothy named Jambres.

How the rods of the magicians were changed into serpents, it is not thoroughly agreed upon among the fathers. Strabus and Tertullian in his book *De anima*, think that it was nothing but a deceiving of the sight; the rods being privily conveyed away, and serpents put in their places. Even as the poets fain, that Iphigenia being ready to be sacrificed, was taken from the sight of men, and a hind put in her place: but in very deed it is credible, that they were serpents; because the devils were not ignorant of what beginnings and principles serpents might be made: and that they could

presently bring to pas those things, which otherwise would have required a long time. For although we (saith Augustine) cannot see that strength and power, which remaineth in the original of everything; yet the devils do see it. For he saith that in Epirus there is a well, wherein torches lighted are put forth, and unlight torches are lighted: the principles and beginnings of that effect are in that well, although we cannot see them. And yet we say not here, that the devil doth either create or make such things; but only that he is a minister serving unto nature. Even so the husbandman, when he tilleth and soweth the ground; and the gardener, when he pruneth and delveth a vine, do not create the corn or wine, but only do help nature. So Augustine saith, that Jacob did not bring forth the color upon the sheep; but did only rightly apply the forms and shapes. And to take an example even of spiritual things, the ministers of the church do not justify any man, or forgive any man his sins; but are only ministers, by whose endeavor God bringeth these things to pass; I planted (saith Paul) and Apollo watered, but God it is that gave the increase.

23. But it seemeth wonderful, how they can so speedily bring these things to pass. For whether they have swift bodies, or no bodies at all; yet to bring forth any natural thing, it would seem to require a time. Howbeit, we must consider, that these [seeds or] beginnings of natural things, be as it were instruments; and they have some power of their own nature. But it maketh a great matter into whose hands they do happen; for a skillful artificer will work anything both handsomely and speedily: but give the same instruments unto an ignorant and unskillful man, and he will do it neither readily nor yet very handsomely: even so any spirit, as a skillful artificer, will bring more to pass in one minute, than by the accustomed order of nature can be wrought in a long time. For those chief originals are not to be

weighed in their own nature; although that even by nature we see some things to be made in a manner upon the sudden. As in the summer time, of a shower of rain, little frogs do suddenly arise: but yet therein indeed, there is admitted some space of time though it be but short. So these vagabond jugglers seem to devour bread, and immediately to spit out meal; and when they have drunk wine, they seem presently to pour the same again out of the midst of their forehead. And if there can be such a readiness and dexterity of doing in man, why shall it not much rather be attributed unto spirits? For in a spirit there is much more nimbleness than in a man. Wherefore the spirits do not bring forth these things of themselves: for so should they beget a kind like unto themselves; as of a man is brought forth a man; of a horse, is brought forth a horse. But a spirit doth not bring forth a spirit: but as I said, doth take the principal originals of things, and applieth them unto a matter, and so bringeth wonderful things to pass.

But how far the nature of things may proceed, it is hard to judge. Wherefore the devil is bridled two ways: the first is, by the bounds of nature; the second is, by the will of God. So the devil may bring in plague, famine, and sores: for he knoweth of what causes and beginnings these things be made. For he afflicted Job, and brought plagues and punishments by evil angels. And Christ saith, that the devil bound the daughter of Abraham by the space of forty years. And this also the good angels do sometimes; for the angel of the Lord in one night overthrew the host of Sennacherib, and brought in a plague in the time of king David: and David himself saw the angel of God striking the people in [the threshing floor of] Areuna. But those things, which go altogether beyond nature, as to raise the dead, to change men into beasts, are only delusions, of which we are to speak afterward.

24. Now, as touching the other parts; namely that the devil can move and drive forward some things, there is no doubt thereof. For seeing the soul, which is tied much more unto the body, than a spirit is, can move and govern the body; assuredly the devil can much rather do it. This appeareth sufficiently by fires, and tempests so often raised by the devil: and by that ship of Claudia, and by the flitting of the olive garden and field of corn; of which things we spake before. It is said, that when Ascanius had carried away the household gods from Lavinium unto Alba, they returned back again of themselves into their own chapel at Lavinium. Besides this, spirits do sometimes hurl stones. And these magicians, which seem to ride on a cane in the air, are kept or held aloft by a secret power of devils; and by the same power Simon Magus did fly in the air.

25. Lastly, they also put bodies on themselves. Neither is it to be doubted, but that the devil being a spirit, can perse through the soundest and massiest bodies. By this means he doth oftentimes convey himself into images; he spake in the serpent, he loosed the tongue of the asse. He also taketh upon him even the bodies of men, either living or dead; he vexeth and tormenteth them, and hindereth their natural works. He observeth oftentimes the course of the moon, to the intent (as Jerome saith) that he may slander that planet, or rather to watch for the abounding of humors, whereby he may the more grievously disquiet the body. Sometimes he putteth on an airy body; but that he doth not form or quicken, as the soul doth our body: neither doth he make it to pass into one substance with himself, as did the word of God with an human body: for devils can put off those bodies when they will, for they be in them (as the Schoolmen speak) definitely; that is, they be in them, so that they be not anywhere else. God in very deed in the Old Testament, presented himself sometime to be seen in some form; but he was

not definitely in the same: for he was so present there, as he notwithstanding in the meantime was everywhere else. But the devil (as saith Augustine) fitteth unto himself somebody as it were a garment. And Chrysostom writing of the patience of Job, saith, that He which brought tidings of the fall of the house, and destruction of his family and cattle, was not a man, but a spirit. For if thou wert a man (saith he) how diddest thou know that the wind came from the wilderness? Or if thou wert there, how happeneth it, that thou wert not destroyed with the rest?

A good part of the writers think, that the spirits do frame themselves bodies of the air: for that there must be a certain *Sympathia*, or mutual agreement between the place and the inhabitants thereof, and that the devils (as we have said before) have their habitation in the air: wherefor it is credible, that they apply unto themselves fit bodies of the air. Further they add, that it behooveth that the bodies of them should be light and nimble; for spirits (as Tertullian saith) be as it were fowls, and do most swiftly fly over all places. Besides this they add, that experience teacheth, that those bodies be airy; for that there had been some men, which endeavored sometime to cut and wound them, but yet they could not prevail: for they gave place to the blows, and straightway came together again. Wherefore the poet Virgil trimly pronounced [of Anchyses, which missing his wife in the flight of Troy, seeming to him that he saw her spirit, said;]

Three times about her neck I sought mine arms to set, and thrice
In vain her likeness fast I held: for through my hands she flies,
Like wavering wind; or like to dreams, that men full swift espies.

Moreover, these bodies do soon vanish from the sight; but and if they were earthy, there would remain some massy substance; if they were watery, they would run abroad; if they were of fire, they would burn, and

might not be handled. But the spirits do thicken and engross these bodies, by strait trussing of the parts together; for otherwise they might not be seen or touched. Abraham saw angels, and washed their feet, set meat before them, and they also did eat.

26. Howbeit, some think that those are no bodies, but are only certain imaginations in the minds of men. But others answer, that that cannot generally be true; for that they, which be mocked by such visions, are deprived of their senses. But neither is this certain; for they that have the frenzy, are so deceived many times, and yet they can use their senses. For they fear, they run away, they be troubled in spirit, and they cry out. Others say, that they be no phantasies, because they be seen of a great multitude of men together; now it is hard to deceive a great many together. For angels were seen of the whole households of Lot and Abraham. But the holy scriptures prove, without all doubt, that these were not vain imaginations only: for the devil did in very deed enter into the serpent, to the intent he might entice Eve to be deceived. Which thing the curse, wherewith the serpent was cursed, doth sufficiently declare; Upon thy belly shalt thou crawl, and the seed of the woman shall tread down thy head. For that is true, not only as touching Christ and the devil; but also as touching men and the serpent. And further (as I said before) the angels offered themselves to be seen of Abraham and of Lot.

Neither were these any phantasies, for the angels were handled with the hands: and when Lot made some delay of departing out of Sodom, they in a manner drew him out of the city by force. The Jews in the daytime saw a smoke, and in the night-time a flame. So often as they were to take their journey, there entered in a spirit which moved those things. For as the light of the sun doth pierce the water, the clouds, and the air: so a spirit pierceth

through all things. When the law was given upon Sina, there were seen both lightnings, smokes, vapors, and fires: also, the land was shaken with earthquakes. When Christ ascended into heaven, the angels accompanied him: for they both offered themselves to be seen, and spake also unto the disciples; Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up unto heaven? Wherefore it were an impudent part to say, that all these things were only imaginations, and deceiving's of the mind. Yea, and the Peripatetiks did never so say, that these are only vain images, and feigned shows in man's imagination. They rather invented other reasons; namely, [that they be] humors, secret powers of nature, and celestial bodies. Why then (thou wilt allege) doth Paul say to the Thessalonians, that Antichrist shall come in power, in wonders, and signs of lying? For if they be true things, how cometh it to pass then, that they be signs of lying? I answer, that they may be called lies, either of the cause (for the devil being author of them, is a liar:) or else of the end, for he shall make them, to the end he may deceive men. And assuredly, the wicked are worthy so to be deceived and mocked. For even as Paul saith, Because they received not the love of the truth, God shall send them strong delusions. Even so in the apostles time, men were delivered to Satan. But sometimes these things be done, to show the mighty power of God, for seeing the power of the devil is so great; it is requisite that the power of God, whereby he is bridled and ruled, should be much greater. But it is our part to give God continual thanks, by whose only benefit we are defended from the devil. Wherefore these bodies, which the spirits do apply unto themselves, be airy. For even as water is congealed into ice, and sometime hardeneth till it become crystal: even so the air, wherewith spirits do cloth themselves, is thickened, so that it becometh a visible body; but if it may seem, that the air alone is not sufficient, they can

also mingle some vapor or water withal, whereof colors may be had. For this we see to be done in the rainbow, as saith Virgil;

The rainbow down did come with silver wings of dropping showers,
Whose face a thousand sundry hews against the sun devours.

27. There is no need at all to attribute unto devils and angels those vital parts; namely, the lungs, heart, and liver: for they do not therefore put on bodies, to the end they may quicken them, but only that they may be seen, and therefore they use them as instruments. But thou wilt say that they do eat, and that Christ, when he was risen from death, did eat with his disciples. Augustine in his 94th epistle *Ad Deo gratias*, quaest. 1. Saith, that In Christ that eating was of no necessity, but of power, and he useth this similitude. For in one sort (saith he) doth the earth suck up waters, and in another sort the sun-beams; the earth of necessity, but the sun by a certain strength and power: even so (saith he) the bodies raised up from death, if they could not take meat, they should not be perfectly happy. Again also, if they should have need of it, they should be imperfect: wherefore in that Christ did eat, it was not of necessity, but of power; and he did eat with his disciples, least they should have thought that their eyes were deceived: and so we say, that the angels also and spirits do eat.

Yea but (thou wilt say) even this is a deceit, when as they will seem to be men, being no men. I answer; Good spirits do not deceive, for they come not to prove themselves to be men, but to declare the commandments of God. Now a lie is always joined with a mind to deceive: but in the end, they sufficiently show themselves by some token, to be angels; for they vanish away, and suddenly withdraw themselves out of sight. Wherefore, they instruct men two manner of ways; first, in that they show the commandments of God; secondly, because they declare their own nature.

And this we know was done by those angels which were seen of Gideon and Manoah. But evil spirits first do teach false things, and do lead us from God; secondly, they will also seem to be terrible, and of far greater power, than they be indeed, and promise that they will either give or do many things: neither do they only change themselves into men, but also into angels of light. And thus have we spoken sufficiently of these three parts [concerning the power of spirits.]

28. Now fourthly there remaineth to speak of the illusion of the senses. And the senses may be deceived many ways; first by a certain nimbleness and dexterity, which we see to be done of them, whom we commonly call jugglers. For they find the means that one thing seems to be another thing, and that without any help of spirits. Secondly, they deceive also by using of certain natural things; as metals or perfumes, whereby it is brought to pass, that a parlor may seem to be strowed over with serpents, or that men seem to have dogs heads, or asses heads. Of these ways or means of illusions we do not speak now in this place. But the devil, to beguile the senses, sometime useth things consisting in nature; namely, to mingle colors or forms, and to alter the quantities of things: for so things do seem far otherwise than they be. Otherwhile he putteth somebody upon him, and so setteth himself before men's eyes. Otherwhile he darkeneth the mean, so that a thing may seem greater than it is: or else he putteth a cloud or mist between, that it may not be seen 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 over the eyes bloody humors, that all things may seem bloody. So in sick men, when choler aboundeth in the tongue, all things seem bitter. Sometime he dazzleth the eyesight, and striketh men with such blindness, that they cannot see one whit; as once he

did by the Sodomites, when they would have broken perforce into the house of Lot. So Elisha blinded the adversaries host, when he led the same into Samaria.

Also he can beguile the senses after another sort; which that we may understand, we must know that of those things, which by sense are conceived, there arise certain images, and do come unto the senses, afterward are received unto the common sense; then after that, unto the fantasy; last of all unto the memory; and there are preserved: and that they be imprinted and graven in every of these parts, as it were in wax. Wherefore when these images are called back from the memory unto the fantasy, or unto the senses; they bear back with them the very same seals, and do so strongly strike and move affection, that those things seem even now to be sensible perceived, and to be present. For so great may the power of the fantasy be, (as Aristotle teacheth in his book *De somno & vigilia*) that those things which be far off, a man may think that he doth most certainly see and touch them. These things do sometime happen unto men that be awake; as for example, unto men possessed, and unto the frantic; and sometimes also unto men that be asleep. Wherefore that which is done by natural means, the same also may be done by the devil. For he can call back the images of things from the memory unto the fantasy, or unto the sense, and so deceive the eyes of men.

And this thing not only can the evil spirits do, but also the good angels. For it is likely, that they did engrave in the phantasies of the prophets, those things which God would reveal. But between the good angels and the bad there is much difference. For when as anything is imprinted by good angels, the light of nature is confirmed: but if it be done by evil spirits, it is troubled and confounded. The difference is partly in the end, and partly in the things

themselves. For as touching the end, a good angel will rightly instruct men, and propoundeth things that be pure and uncorrupt but evil angels do not teach but deceive, and do lay before us counterfeit, impure, and corrupt things. These things we see happened in the history of Saul. For the devil by his art called back the humors from the memory to the fantasy and sense; so that the silly witch thought she saw Samuel himself; and Saul thought that he had heard him speak. 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 any other man, should fall into the imagination of that witch. He must needs be his crafts-master, or very cunning that framed these things in her fantasy and senses.

And undoubtedly, there is no need why we should think, that there be brought in by the devil or by an angel fresh and new forms, for they use such as be present. While we sleep, we fall into dreams: which sometime the good angels, sometime the bad do join and couple one with another, that something may be signified by them. They cannot bring to pass by any power, that he which is born blind should dream of colors, or he which is born deaf should dream of sounds: for there be no such images in their minds. But it may be doubted, that when the spirits do lay these images before us, whether we be constrained of necessity to think upon them or no. Those that be awake, are not constrained thereunto; for the exercise of the mind dependeth on the will, and that cannot be compelled. Wherefore the safest way is, continually to exercise ourselves either in the holy scriptures, or in prayers; neither is there anything better, than to revoke the mind daily from human affairs unto divine things; that whensoever the devil approacheth unto us, he may (as Jerome saith) find us always occupied.

29. With illusions, old women specially can do very much. Such as are Canidia in Horace, and Gratidia in Juvenal. Of the Grecians they were called Empusae, Lamiae, Mormolyciae, Scriges. Of the Lamiae writeth Duris, in his second book of the matters of Libya; he saith that Lamia was an exceeding fair woman, and the concubine of Jupiter; which thing Juno taking very grievously, she both killed the son, which Jupiter had by her, and also disfigured her in most shameful guise: now she being not able to abide or bear so great an injury, first began to be furious; and secondly to kill other men's children also. Further he saith, that there be of those kind of women in the gulf of the sandy sea in Libya, and that those which have suffered shipwreck, sticking fast in the quick-sands, are forthwith taken, and devoured by them.

Jeremiah in the fourth chapter of his lamentations saith, that the Lamiae discovered their breasts, for they have very fair breasts. Albeit in the Hebrew it is written Lilith, about which word the Rabbins do very much trifle. Of the Empusae, Lamiae, and Mormolyciae, Philostratus writeth in the life of Apollonius Tyanaeus; for he saith, that whereas a certain young man was allured to marriage by a woman (as she seemed) both very fair and rich, and who already so burned in the love of her, that he would in any wise take her to his wife; Apollonius being invited to the wedding supper, did forthwith understand the deceit, and said: This is one of those Empusae, which many men take to be the Lamiae and Mormolyciae, and so constrained her to confess what she was, and forthwith all that gorgeousness of gold and silver vanished into coals. Now all such, as well men as women, do exceedingly follow fleshly lusts. Wherefore the Satyri are so called of Sati, that is to say, of the privy members. And Incubi and Succubi, and Ephialtes of Insiliendo. Although with the physicians Ephialtes is a disease,

proceeding of the crudity of the stomach, and the troubling of the head, whereby men think themselves to be pressed with an intolerable burden, and to be in a manner choked, and therefore the Grecians call it πνίγμονα καί πνιγαλίωνα, that is, A choking spirit [and we, the mare] but of the disease we do not now speak.

Of the Incubi and Succubi, Augustine writeth many things in his 80th book *De civitate Dei*. There were certain nations which fetched their original from them. Also the poets write of their gods, that they were wanton, and such as sometime used the company of men. But women witches, and men sorcerers, to the intent they might allure these spirits unto them, were wont to anoint themselves all over with some ointment, which had the property to bring in a dead sleep: afterward, they would lay themselves down upon their bed, where they slept so soundly, that they could not be awaked, neither with the pricking of pins, nor yet with fires. In the meantime, while they thus slept, the devils set before them many pleasant banquets, dances, and all kind of voluptuous pleasures. And seeing the power of spirits is so great, as I have before described; there is no let, but that they may sometimes take up men, and carry them into groves, and there set such sights before them. For Simon Magus could fly in the air, but at the prayer of Peter, he suddenly fell down from aloft. And the Cardinal De Turre Cremata, in the decrees, 26th question 5, in the Chapter Episcopy saith, that both may be done.

And if happened once, that a certain man, which delighted very much in the study of such things, being suddenly taken from his house, was set in a very delectable place, where after he had all the night beheld pleasant dances, and had his fill of dainty fare, the next morning, when all these things were vanished away, he saw himself to stick fast in the thorns among

most thick bushes and briers: and although it seemed unto him before, that he had eaten, yet the miserable wretch died then for hunger. And these spirits are moved not only unto fleshly lust, but also unto cruelty; for they come into houses in the likeness of cats and dogs, and do either kill, or else despoil children, and therefore Horace saith; Or else he plucketh a live child out of the belly of the Lamia, when she hath dined. The devil therefore can thus beguile men, either when they be in a sound sleep, or else he can put somebody upon him, and so bring these things to pass: howbeit hurt he cannot, but only so much as God permitteth, who sometimes permitteth children to be slain for some grievous sin of the parents. Some are brought unto that cruelty, that they kill children, because they think that their souls shall pass into spirits, and that they shall be subject unto them. So we read in the Commentaries of Clement, that Simon Magus killed men, and used their souls as his servants. Sometime devils show themselves like giants, or as some mighty warriors; and it is no marvel, for they can fashion themselves bodies of the air, and so beguile men's senses. They can raise up tempests and destroy all things: and this do we read to be done in the history of Job. And in the Apocalypse, power is given unto the spirits, to destroy corn and trees; but afterward, they be restrained, that they should not hurt.

It is reported that certain people called Laponers in Norway, have great familiarity with spirits, and that whereas they have three knots tied upon their beards, if they unloose one, there will follow a great tempest upon the sea; if another, the waves will arise yet more vehemently; if they undo the third, it will fare as heaven and earth should go together, and an undoubted shipwreck doth follow. Augustine in his 18th book *De civitate Dei*, the ninth chapter, when he had rehearsed that fable, how there had been once a

controversy between Pallas and Neptune, which of them should give name unto the city of Athens, and that when the men were on Neptune's side; and the women with their Pallas, and that the women had overcome the men by one voice, Neptune being angry, caused the waves to arise, and drown a great part of the territory of Athens. This (I say) when Augustine had recited, he added, that the devil might do the same, and that sometime he can raise up the floods, and sometime repress them. If I would reckon up all [that might be spoken hereof] it should be infinite, let it be sufficient that I have thus shortly touched the general things themselves.

Whether it be lawful to ask counsel of the Devil, and to use his help.

30. Now must we consider of that, which we set down in the third place; namely, whether it be lawful to ask counsel of ill spirits, or to use their help. First indeed it seemeth to be lawful; for God useth the labor of devils: why then should it not be lawful for us? And Paul delivered men unto Satan; and therefore it is lawful for us also to use the ministry of spirits. Here we must make a distinction. For we use spirits either by authority and commandment, as when we command them anything in the name of God: or else by acquaintance, fellowship, covenant, obedience, or prayers. God beareth rule over the devils, and Christ and the apostles commanded that they should go out of the bodies possessed; but to require or expect anything of them upon any covenant or bargain, that is not lawful; for it is idolatry. And the devil seeketh nothing more, than to lead us from God, to the worshipping of him. Hereunto also tendeth customs, ceremonies, and sacrifices: by this means men fall from God unto the devil. Further, they which do these things, do sin against themselves; for we never read that the end of these arts was good: whereof wretched Saul may be an example and instruction unto us. The devil indeed feigneth himself to be compelled, and

to be bound by little stones or rings: howbeit the same compulsion is only a voluntary and deceitful compulsion: he feigneth, as though he would cast out another spirit, but it is nothing. For the ill spirits do but dally one with another to deceive men. None of us would commit our doings to a man, whom we know to be full of fraud and treachery. Now the devil is not only a liar, but even the father of lies.

Truth indeed it is, that there were certain exorcisms or adjurations in the church, whereof Irenaeus, Tertullian, Augustine, and Eusebius make mention: but these were special gifts for that age, and endured but for a time: now they be taken away. But thou wilt say; The Hebrews had conjurers, and Solomon wrote exorcisms. I know that Josephus in his eight book of antiquities writeth, that Solomon did so, to drive away ill spirits, and to maintain the health of man. He describeth also the means whereby those things might be done; namely, that under the broad part of a ring, there was a little root, and that the same being applied to the nostrils of a man possessed, the ill spirit was forthwith expelled. But herewith he writeth, that Solomon used also certain prayers and holy names; and that one Eleazar being a man skillful in these things, made demonstration of his cunning before Vespasian, and his sons Titus and Domitian; and at the commandment of Vespasian wrought so, that a spirit at his coming forth of a man, overthrew a basin full of water, which was there set for the purpose: and he saith, that he saw all these things. In very deed I dare not deny the history, but yet I think good to answer one of these two ways: either that God would for a time bestow such a benefit upon the Israelites, (which notwithstanding we have not read) or else that Solomon did these things when he was now departed from the true God, and had begun to worship the gods of the Gentiles. That such exorcists indeed were until the apostles

time, it appeareth by that history of the children of Sceva, which is written in the Acts.

Howbeit exorcisms must not be used, but only by them which are sure, that they be endued with that grace. But yet there be certain, which have the name without the grace: these do use invocations by names, merits, and relics of saints. For this doth the devil seek, even to entangle the people with superstitions. Indeed the devils seem as though they were delighted with outward things, as herbs, little stones, and perfumes: but they are not so delighted withal, as living creatures are with the desire of meat; but as it were with certain seals and sacraments. Wherefore they come quickly when they be called, least they should not seem to stand to their covenants. They will altogether imitate God: for little stones and roots have no power at all to allure devils. Wherefore even as God forgiveth not sins unto us by any power of the sacraments, but only for his covenant and promise sake: so the devil will seem to deal with those that be his, to the intent he may show himself to be present with them; not for the worthiness of the things offered by them, but only in respect of his promise and covenant. And very pitifully doth he mock simple and foolish men; for they which boast that they have spirits which do love them, when they are afterward called into judgment, and condemned unto death, cannot by them be delivered from the extremity of execution. Sometimes indeed they are ready to obey them, that are their own: but that is in foul and dishonest things; namely, in adulteries, thefts, and murders: they never stir them up unto good. For they be Satan's, that is to say, the adversaries of God. They will have covenants and promises to be made, which cannot otherwise be than against God.

31. But the Schoolmen stand in doubt, whether it be lawful to use enchantment to take away mischiefs; and in general, they answer, that it is

not lawful. But yet they say, that if we can perceive that those covenants consist in feathers, or roots, or little stones; and we can find those things, it is lawful to take them away and break them: for otherwise they say that one enchantment must not be taken away with another. For We must not do evil, that good may come thereof. And why it is not lawful we have declared before. Also Isaiah in the eight chap. saith; that We must not ask questions of the dead, but must rather return unto the law and testimony. And Christ saith; that No man can serve two masters. And Paul saith; There is no agreement between light and darkness, between God and Belial. Elias saith; that We must not seek Beelzebub the god of Acaron, seeing there is a God in Israel. Besides this, the civil laws, the canons and councils, have with most severe and sharp words forbidden these things. And Apuleius, when he was summoned to appear, because he was reported to be a sorcerer, so pleaded his cause, as he utterly denied that he was a sorcerer: for otherwise he might not have defended himself. Augustine in his book *De divinatione daemonum*, the eight chapter saith, that The evil spirits never durst deny the God of Israel to be the true God, or Christ to be the son of God: but contrariwise Christ, the prophets and apostles deny them to be gods; and that we must by all means beware of them. Therefore (saith he) whether part shall we hearken unto; to those which cannot deny God to be the true God, or rather to God which warneth us to fly from them? Wherefore seeing both the holy scriptures, and godly laws, and also the events themselves do utterly forbid and condemn all kind of enchantments; we must judge that it is not lawful for a Christian man.

32. Last of all we will note, that the true God is wont to chase away false gods. Wherefore immediately upon the birth of Christ, all the oracles of the gods were put to silence, which before were of great fame and renown. For

when the light itself (which is Christ) was come into the world, darkness should needs vanish away. And Plutarch, being otherwise a very learned writer, in seeking a cause why the oracles ceased in his time, having devised many things; yet speaketh nothing to the purpose. First he saith, that some thought that the Daemons or spirits, which gave out oracles, were undoubtedly of long life; yet mortal notwithstanding: and that men reported (as he saith) that the great god Pan was dead. Wherefore he saith, that seeing the Daemons be now dead by reason of age, there are none to give or utter out oracles anymore. He addeth moreover, that there were others, which thought, that those priests and divines, by whom answers were given, were inspired with certain exhalations, which came forth of the caves and pits; and that seeing those exhalations could not be perpetual, they ceased at the last; and that propheties finished together with them. He addeth moreover, that by others, these things were attributed to the situation of stars, which being passed from thence, had also drawn away these oracles with them. He sheweth also certain other things like unto these, but he yieldeth no reason, why all the oracles ceased at one very time, and so ceased, as that no one of them remained.

If the exhalations be not perpetual in one place, why do they not break out in another place? And the situations of stars being passed away, even the same do use to return again to their place: which if they do return, why do not the same oracles return also? If so be that the Daemons, as they affirm, do die at the length, why do not one succeed another? There is then another cause of this event, which Plutarch could not perceive; namely, that all contrary powers are bridled by Christ, and therefore they all ceased at his coming. And thus were Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, and Aesculapius put to silence. Which thing the prophets foreshowed long before; and which we

see also at this day to come to pass in those countries, which embrace the gospel; where not only idolatries, but also divinations and feigned miracles do straight-way cease.

CHAP. XI. Of a Good Intent, Zeal, Prescription, and Custom; all which the superstitious sort are wont to allege against the Word.

As touching the signification of the word intent, it signifieth a motion of the mind, whereby we endeavor unto an end by some means; as if a man endeavor by liberal expense or by flattery to attain unto some honors: for such is the nature of things, that many of them are so knit together between themselves, that by one there is a step unto another. For by medicines and potions we come to health; by studies, reading, and masters, unto wisdom. Wherefore intent is an act of the will; for the property thereof is to move and stir up the mind. And seeing the will perceiveth not the thing that it desireth, before it have a knowledge thereof; it doth neither move nor force the mind before knowledge, which reigneth in the power of intelligence or understanding. The same perceiveth both the end, and those things which further thereunto, and presenteth them to the will. Therefore, intent, stirreth up unto an end, as unto a mark, by those things which are directed unto it. Let this be the definition thereof. It is a will tending unto an end by some means; and will, which is the general word thereof, is an act of the power that willeth. The difference is taken of the object, that is, of the end, and of

those things which are ordained unto it. As in the history of Judges, Gideon's intent was a motion of his will, to keep in remembrance, by an ephod which he had made, the victory which he obtained. Therefore in his will he comprehended both together, as well the end as the mean.

Intent is divided, into a good intent, and an ill intent: and to a good intent this is chiefly required, that the end itself should be a just and good thing: yet is not this sufficient. For if one should steal, to the intent he would give alms, he doubtless should purpose a good thing: but because the means is naught, therefore the intent cannot be accounted good: but if the end be both unlawful and evil, then shall also the intent be evil. Wherefore that the intent may be good, it behooveth both the end and the means to be honest and just. Howbeit, certain things are of their own nature so evil, as we can never use them rightly. Such are theft, perjury, adultery, and other like; so that the apostles rule must always be firm; that We must never do evil, to the intent that good may come thereof. Wherefore an intent is evil two manner of ways; to wit, either by the naughtiness of the end, or else of the means. But the intent can never be good, unless both the end, and the means be good. Thus far the philosophers and school-divines agree with us. Now let us see how they differ from us.

2. The philosophers think, that the rightness of the end and means, dependeth of man's reason, or natural understanding; as though that should suffice, to know the difference between things just and unjust. But this we deny, and in any wise require faith, and the word of God, as sure rules: which Augustine in many places testifieth, and especially in his treatise upon the 31st psalm, where he saith; Account not thy works good before faith, which (me thinketh) are nothing else, but great strength and hasty speed out of the way: and he which maketh such haste, runneth headlong

into destruction. Wherefore a good intent maketh a good action, but faith directeth that intent; so that when we purpose any work, we must take heed that our heart have regard unto faith, whereby it may direct his endeavors. The school-divines will easily grant, that faith governeth the intent, and maketh it good. But we differ from them in three respects; [1] first, because we affirm that faith dependeth only of the word of God: but they will have it depend both upon the fathers and councils, which may in no wise be granted them; forsomuch as faith must be constant, and altogether void of error: which two things are not found in the fathers and councils, for they speak one contrary unto another. Fathers do very oftentimes differ from fathers, and councils from councils. And few are the fathers, yea almost none, which have not sometimes erred, and that in most weighty matters. And very many of the councils have need of correction. Doeth not the holy scripture in express words testify, that All men are liars. [2] The second thing, wherein we cannot assent unto the Schoolmen is, because they affirm, that by a good intent our works are made meritorious, yea and that of eternal life. But how contrary this is unto truth, the nature of merit may teach; of the which I mind not at this present to entreat. [3] Thirdly, we disagree from the Schoolmen, in that they affirm, that the work is made good (as they speak) by a habitual good intent; that is to say, done without any good motion of the heart. They feign that our actions, such as be prayers, reading of psalms, and giving of alms, do please God, although indeed we think nothing upon God at all: and they suppose that this habitual intent, which they place in him, is sufficient enough. So that if thou shalt ask of him that worketh, why he doth so, he may be ready to answer, that he doth them to the glory of God: especially, when in the doing, he hath not a contrary mind, or will repugnant. But this doubtless we may not grant them,

seeing that in this carelessness, whereby we in working think not of God, nor of his glory, the commandment of God is broken, which commandeth us to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our strength. Wherefore we counsel rather, that this be acknowledged a sin, than to be accounted a good work.

3. But because they perceived, that their sayings are not without absurdity, they added; So that in the beginning of the work itself, there be some thinking of God, and of his glory, in such sort, that the thing purposed be directed unto him. But no man doubteth, that it is needful to have a good beginning of those things, which we do. But afterward, if faith accompany not those things, which we have well begun; and we, while we are working, do not respect God and his glory, we shall run headlong into sin; which ought not to have been dissembled. Further, if we should work, as we ought to do, and as the law requireth, yet should We still (as Christ saith) be unprofitable servants: so far off is it, that we should attribute unto ourselves any merits. Wherefore, while we give over to think upon the honor and glory of God, we fall, neither are such falls to be dissembled; but we must rather crave pardon for them, seeing in their own nature they be sins, although because of Christ they are not imputed as deadly unto the believers. And so let a good intent be joined unto our works, but yet such as is adorned with faith, and let us perform the same, not in habit, but in act.

Wherefore the Lord in the gospel of Matthew the sixth chapter, saith; The light of thy body is thine eye, and if thine eye be single, all thy body shall be light: but if the light that is in thee become darkness, how great shall the darkness then be? These things doth Augustine in his second book of questions upon the gospels, quest. 15. and against Julian in the fourth book, the 20th chapter, judge to be understood of a good intent. And in like

manner writeth he in his tenth Tome, the second sermon, where he treateth upon this place; Let us not do righteousness before men, to the intent we may be seen of them. The intent (saith he) must always be had unto the glory of God, but the desire to have it known unto men, must be laid apart, saving so far as it may appear to appertain to God's honor. And thither tendeth that which was said of Christ; that A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit, for the tree betokeneth the intent. So as those things being true, which we have said, the act of Gideon done of a good intent, seeing faith did not govern the same, cannot be excused.

4. But now, to declare what is zeal, let us first consider the etymology thereof. The word ζῆλος, that is, zeal, is a Greek word, derived ἀπό τοῦ ζήλου, which signifieth To love, but yet vehemently, so that after love, followeth admiration; and after admiration, imitation, and a grief; if we may not enjoy the thing we love, or else if others be admitted into our company: and this is the proper signification of the word. Wherefore we may thus define it, Zeal is an affection, which abideth in that part of the mind, which lusteth or desireth, after which, by reason of the vehemency, there followeth sorrow, as well because of the concurrence of other things, as for want of the thing that it desireth. But the nature of zeal is not of one sort. For there is one zeal that is good, and another that is bad. Of the good Paul spake, when he said; I am zealous over you with a godly zealously, for I have 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. Yea, and God himself, as the scripture often teacheth, hath a most perfect zeal towards us, although affections cannot properly be attributed unto him. But of naughty zeal, Paul unto the Galatians thus speaketh; The false apostles are zealous over them, that they may glory in their flesh, and to lead them from Christ

unto the bondage of the law: and in many other places there is mention made of it.

But the cause why this zeal either good or bad doth come, may thus be assigned: the manner is alike in this affection, as it is in others. Wherefore, even as boldness, lust, and anger be either good or bad, according as they keep or exceed the bounds prescribed by wisdom, so doth it come to pass in zeal. But it must be understood, that according to moral doctrine, prudence cometh by natural use or discipline. But the same in very deed, as it hath respect in this place, cannot be gathered but out of the holy scriptures, through the inspiration of the holy Ghost. Wherefore it shall then be good zeal, when through faith it is bridled by a just and godly knowledge; and it is evil, if it be not restrained by such a knowledge: even as a ship, when the master is present, is preserved; but he being absent, it sinketh. Therefore Paul unto the Romans spake very wisely, for when as he condemned the zeal of the Jews, he declared the same to be void of knowledge, and by one word noted that to be a vice, yea verily and a dangerous vice, which otherwise might have been an excellent virtue.

And as there is a great difference between good and evil zeal, so the effects which proceed from the one and the other, are of exceeding great diversity. With a good zeal was Christ kindled, when he purged the temple of biers and sellers, by overthrowing their tables and chairs. With the same zeal Phinehas being led, he thrust them both through the bodies, which committed most shameful whoredom. On the other part, what effects proceed of a naughty zeal, we may perceive by Paul, who for zeal's sake persecuted the church of Christ. And in John it is written; The time will come, when they shall think they do God good service, which afflict the faithful people of Christ. Also, Peter kindled with an immoderate zeal, drew

out his sword to strike those which laid hands upon Christ. There is yet another difference between the zeal's, for evil zeal breedeth hatred; but good zeal doth most of all join with charity. For although Samuel worshipped God with very great zeal, yet he mourned too long a time for Saul. And there is nothing more an enemy unto naughty zeal, than is charity; even as self-love is chiefly repugnant unto a good zeal. They also are contrariwise affected, which either be so blockish, as they be not stirred up with any endeavor of good things, or else so corrupt, as they fear not to boast of their sins and wickedness.

5. Wherefore the Nicodemits of our time are to be wondered at, which object the history of Elisha and of Naaman the Syrian, to prove that it is lawful for them, so that they think well in their heart, to be present at ungodly superstitions. For Naaman the Syrian, although he were newly converted, yet he understood that to be sin: and for that he had not as yet profited so well as to depart from his commodities, he desired of the prophet that he would pray for him: which declareth that he judged such a sin to have need of pardon. Wherefore we conclude, that that zeal of the Jews, whereof the apostle giveth a testimony, was in very deed sin. And although it have a show of virtue, yet is it far from it. For as it is plain by moral philosophy, that virtues and vices are one and the same, as touching the things whereabout they be occupied, but in form do much differ: as fortitude and fear, temperance and intemperance, justice and injustice. For one and the self-same affects, when they are by right reason bridled to a mediocrity, 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 speak of virtues, and of

upright reason, we ought also to transfer unto the holy Ghost, and faith given unto the scriptures.

And although in a good and evil zeal the affect be one and the same; yet is the difference most great, when it is governed by true knowledge and faith, and when it is governed of itself, and wanteth true knowledge. As the water of the sea, and rain water, although they agree together in matter of moisture; yet are they sundered by very many properties and differences. These things have I therefore alleged, to confute those, which oftentimes defend wicked acts; for that they are done of a good mind and purpose, or (as they say) intent: as though every zeal were sufficient to make the work good. Whose opinion (if it were true) might easily excuse the Jews, in that they killed Christ, and afflicted his apostles. For they believed, that by these means they defended the laws of God, and ceremonies of their fathers. But the apostle saith otherwise, when he attributeth unto them a zeal, but yet a zeal joined with error.

But when error lighteth in matters of faith, it is deadly sin. Wherefore let them well advise themselves what to say, which so stoutly defend works preparatory. Doubtless their meaning is nothing else, but that men, although before justification they absolutely work not good works; yet by reason of a certain upright purpose and zeal of congruity, they deserve grace. Such works, forsomuch as they want true knowledge, which is faith, it followeth, that they be such a zeal as the apostle speaketh of. We deny not, but that God sometimes useth such our wicked works, to bring us at length by them to justification: but that we ourselves through them do deserve justification, it is far from the truth. Nay rather, it oftentimes cometh to pass, that such works are a great let to salvation. For the philosophers and Pharisees being drunken and glutted with those goodly works, were overmuch puffed up;

and for that they were marvelously delighted in themselves, they settled themselves in those works; neither endeavored they to ascend unto the true degrees of righteousness. Wherefore we are admonished by the doctrine of Paul, that we should not straightway give place unto zeal. We must first try and diligently examine it: for oftentimes under the goodly show thereof, lieth hidden very great impiety; as it is manifest in the Jews, which slue Christ, and persecuted the apostles.

6. The Apostle giveth a rule, whereby we may be able to try and examine our zeal, and that rule is this; to see whether we will be subject unto God, whether we can abide that all things should be attributed unto God, and claim nothing unto ourselves, as the true knowledge of God requireth. There be a great many in our days, which as it were by a certain zeal, labor to defend worshipping of images, pilgrimages, and other such superstitious acts; unto whom, if a man manifestly declare, that those things are repugnant to the word of God, they will not be subject unto it, but straightway fly to the custom of their elders, and to the helps of human traditions. There be some also, which are moved with a zeal to defend sole life of the ministers of the church: unto whom if a man do show, that the bed of matrimony ought to be undefiled in all men, as it is said unto the Hebrews (and it is written to the Corinthians; It is better to marry than to burn; They which cannot live continent, let them marry; Let every man have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, to avoid fornication) they will not be subject to this knowledge of the laws of God, but do bring forth the fathers, councils, and human inventions. Whereby is plain, what we are to judge of this zeal of theirs. Doubtless, it is a very evil zeal, and only leaneth unto self-love, and giveth itself unto his own things, and nothing regardeth the things that pertain unto God. Such are the Monks,

which prefer their institutions, rules, and works before all other things which are commonly done of Christians, and much delight in contemning all others, in respect of themselves.

With this blind zeal are the miserable people every-where infected, whom the pastors and preachers ought to succor and help, in discovering their want of knowledge, and setting before them the true knowledge of the scriptures, and that of a singular affection, and true Christian mercy, wherewith they ought thoroughly to be touched in so great dissipation of churches, which of no man can be sufficiently lamented. It were needful to have Jeremiah to bewail the calamities of the church. And from this mercy we should go forward unto prayers, as Paul saith he did: and in imploring the aid of God, we ought to record before God, that which Paul hath written; They have zeal, but not according to knowledge. The very which thing our Savior did upon the cross, when he prayed; Father forgive them, for they know not what they do. Further, seeing we delight in the good moral works of men not yet regenerate, and are sorry 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 speak) do these so honest things, when yet notwithstanding they be void of true knowledge; what shall at the length become of us, which being endued with knowledge, live shamefully; yea even against our own conscience? They can pretend a zeal, but we wretches, what excuse shall we make, seeing we profess the gospel?

Howbeit this must not be overpassed, that the Jews, of whom the apostle speaketh, had not, if we shall speak properly, the zeal of God. For there hath not been at any time, nor ever shall be, any true God, which will have the law of Moses to be defended against Christ and his gospel. Wherefore they

abused the name of God, when as they defended not him, but rather their own opinions. As the Turks also, although they boast that they worship and call upon the true God; yet they lie. For there is nowhere such a God, which hath not one Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Ghost, of one and the same substance with him: which, forsomuch as they take away from the God, whom they worship, they worship their own invention for God, and do fight, and are zealous for it, and not for the true God. But Paul spake according to the accustomed manner of the scriptures, which oftentimes name things, not as they are, but as they seem to be. Seeing therefore that those thought that they were moved with the zeal of the true God, and that they did not for any other cause enter into these zeal's, but for that they thought them to be acceptable unto God; therefore Paul saith, that they had the zeal of God, when yet they were deceived. For if they had been kindled with the zeal of the true God, they would never have resisted Christ. Wherefore in John the Lord said excellently well unto those, which boasted that they would believe Moses, and not him; If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also, for he wrote of me. Wherefore Chrysostom hath wisely noted, that Paul gratified the Jews, but yet in words only.

Of Prescription and Custom.

7. We gather out of the history of the Judges, that the right of prescription is no new thing, but hath been planted in the hearts of men by God himself: and for what cause it was found out, I will declare in few words. It may be, that a man unwittingly possesseth the goods of another man: as for example. There is an heir, which succeedeth him that is dead, and among his goods he findeth some things, that were wrongfully held of him, or kept in pawn, while he lived; which he not knowing of, possesseth all those things with a safe conscience: and thus ignorantly and unwittingly he

holdeth other men's goods instead of his own. What then? Shall the heir never seek the just possession thereof? If the right owner never make claim to his own, ought the ignorant to defraud the heir forever, that he should never possess it again as his own? Doubtless, if the owner do never demand again that thing, it must be ascribed to his own sloth, sluggishness, and negligence. Wherefore in detestation of such slothfulness, in the favor of good dealing, and lastly for public quietness sake, the law of prescription hath been devised. This law did Jephtha use against the Ammonites; We have possessed this land (saith he) three hundred years; wherefore dost thou then disquiet and trouble us? Unless there should be some certain time prescribed, within which space, and not beyond, things may be claimed again, the titles of all things would be uncertain: which is exceedingly repugnant to the affairs of men; wherefore this inconvenience is prevented by the right of prescription. And it is defined in the digests, *De usucapionibus*, law the third; that it is a claim of dominion, through the continuance of possession, during the time appointed by the law. The definition is plain and manifest. But at this day they make a difference between prescription, and that which they call *Usucapio*; when as nevertheless in the digests, among the old lawyers, there was put no difference. These (so far as I remember) began first to be separated in the time of Antoninus Pius: so as *Usucapio* takes place in things moveable, and prescription in things immoveable. But thus much by the way.

But in the history of the Judges it is to be noted, that Jephtha did wisely place his arguments: for he used not prescription in the first place, but before all things he objected the law of arms; afterward the gift of the true God: and the cause being thus confirmed, at the last he used the right of prescription, because a continued possession doth not by itself and alone

prescribe, but it hath need of a good title, and of a good conscience. A good title is, that the thing be orderly and lawfully come by. For he that hath gotten anything by theft or robbery, although he have long enjoyed the same; yet he may not claim it by prescription: but if the title be good, the dealing plain, and a continuance of time had withal, the prescription is firm and good. If we have gotten anything, 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 testify in our consciences, that no man's right is injured, and that we know there is nothing that by just means should let us. Wherefore Jephtha had a good title, to wit, the law of arms, 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 very well used the law of prescription.

But the time of prescription in things moveable, is by our civil laws, the space of three years; but in things immovable, ten or twenty years, if ignorance be not the cause thereof. For if the owner shall know the thing to be his, which another man possesseth, and yet so long holdeth his peace, he cannot afterward demand it again, and the law seemeth justly to punish such negligence. But if the owner shall not know of his interest, the time is deferred, namely to thirty or forty years; and this is done, when there is no ignorance in the case, and that one possesseth for himself, and not for another, otherwise it is no prescription. Howbeit, this we must consider by the way, that the ecclesiastical rules touching prescription, do differ from the civil laws. For they (as we have said) appoint thirty years, although the possessor have not dealt well; for they decree, that fraud shall be no let unto prescription. But as we read in the sixth *De regulis iuris*, in the chapter Possessor; A possessor which holdeth by ill dealing, prescribeth not by

length of time. For we must have respect to the word of God, and consider with what conscience a man possesseth anything.

8. Now I think it fit to speak somewhat of custom, yet briefly, because the same hath some affinity with prescription. And because our adversaries make much ado about that, and would utterly oppress us with customs, the same ought to be agreeable unto reason, and be lawfully prescribed, as we have it in the *Extravagants De consuet*, the last chapter. The civil laws assign unto custom the space of ten or twenty years, and the canons thirty or forty years: but most firm is that custom, whose beginning is time out of mind. And it ought to be taken for a sure rule, that whatsoever is repugnant to the word of God, doth by no means prescribe. And therefore, whereas the Papists do plead, that the Communion hath been given to the laity under one kind, by the space of four hundred or five hundred years, seeing that is manifestly against the word of God, they cannot prove that it is prescribed by custom: for such a thing is not as (I may say) prescriptible. For the very which cause, they cannot allege a custom prescribed, as touching the sole life of ministers. For even at the first it was enforced by violence, and it is against the word of God. And yet Hostiensis saith, that The power of custom is so great, as it constraineth priests to sole life: In the distinct. 23rd in the chapter Placuit. Howbeit, as the civil laws decree, That custom which contendeth either with nature or public right, is a naughty custom. But that which I have affirmed, hath foundation in the word of God. For when Christ said to the Pharisees; Ye hypocrites, why do ye break the commandments of God for your traditions sake? For God saith, Honor thy father and thy mother: but ye say; Whoso shall say to his father or mother; By the gift that is offered by me, &c. They might have prescribed unto him custom, but that was not lawful in a thing quite contrary to the word of God.

9. There was a custom in the region of Taurus, to kill such as were strangers and guests. Among the Persians, the custom was never to deliberate upon grave and weighty matters in counsel, but in feasts and drunkenness. The Sauromates had a custom among their cups, that while they were drinking, they sold their daughters. These prescribe not, seeing it appeareth manifestly, that they are naught and vicious: but that custom prescribeth, which is neither against the word of God, nor the law of nature, nor yet the common law. For the right of custom cometh of the approbation, and still consent of the people. For otherwise, why are we bound unto laws, but because they were made, the people consenting and allowing of them? And this is only the difference between custom and law, that there is a secret consent in the one, and an open consent in the other: wherefore such customs cannot be revoked without danger. Aristotle in his Politics admonished, that Men which have 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, custom must be retained still.

There is an old proverb, νόμος καὶ χώρα, that is, Law and country. For every country hath certain customs of his own, which cannot easily be changed: but yet (as I said) when they impugn the word of God, or nature, or common law, they do not prescribe, for then they be not customs, but beastly cruelties. It is well set forth in the digests, *De legibus and senatus consultis*, In the law *De quibus*: Custom without reason is of no force. And in the decrees, distinct, the eight, in the chapter Veritate, Augustine saith; When truth is tried out, let custom give place: let no man be so bold as to prefer custom before reason and truth. And in the next canon Christ said; I am the way, the truth, and the life: he said not, I am custom. Cyprian in his epistle against the Aquarians saith; Let all custom, though never so ancient,

give place unto truth. For otherwise Peter, when he was reprehended by Paul in the epistle to the Galatians, might have pleaded custom; but he rather assented, that custom should give place unto the truth. Cyprian in the same epistle against the Aquarians saith, that Custom without truth is but oldness of error; and the more it is retained, the more grievous it is. Wherefore let the Papists cease to brag of their customs, which be full both of error and ungodliness.

10. Moreover, for establishing of a custom, it is not sufficient that something be done of some men, or that it be often done; unless it be so done, that it be received into a use 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 drawn into a custom. In the digests *De itinere and actu privato*, laws the first and last: Admit I go through the field once, twice, or thrice; because the high way perhaps is foul: in that I sometimes pass to and fro through thy grounds, do I therefore get a right of lordship or service therein? No verily: neither was it my purpose to pass through thy field to any such end, but I was compelled thereto of necessity. In the decrees, distinction the first, in the chapter *Consuetudo*, custom is said to be a certain right instituted by manners; which is taken for a law, where law itself faileth. It is requisite, that this should be a law, and made for manners: especially in the first times of the church, when tyrants persecuted Christian religion; and that godly men, through fear, were driven from house to house, and constrained to assemble together in houses and secret places by night. But if we would now in these days worship God after that manner, the church being settled; both we should seem very ridiculous and intolerable. For they did not so, to the intent they might draw it unto a custom, or that it should be an ordinance for others to follow.

Ambrose, when he was a novice yet in the faith, was chosen bishop of Milan; so was Nectarius of Constantinople; and perhaps other: yet is it not lawful for us now to follow the same custom, and to choose a bishop, who neither hath been conversant in the holy mysteries, nor yet hath been baptized; howbeit they did so: they did it in deed, 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 easily confuted, which they are wont to bring out of the history of Eusebius, for communicating under one kind: namely, that Serapion sent his boy, and bid him moist the bread in wine. Indeed I might expound that place otherwise; but it shall suffice for this time to say, that it was not so done then, to the intent a custom should be drawn thereof for others to follow. Wherefore custom 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 custom.

11. And that the matter may the better be understood, I will bring a definition of custom, which I found in Hostiensis, in the title De consuetudine; It is an use (saith he) agreeable to reason, and allowed by a general ordinance of them that use it, whose beginning is time out of mind; or else, which is by a just time prescribed and confirmed, so that it be by no contrary act interrupted, but allowed by a contradictory judgment. And this doth Hostiensis think to be a perfect definition. But whereas he saith, that that use ought to be agreeing with reason; that is not enough: but this ought first to be preferred, that it must be agreeable to the word of God. For that is to be accounted for the chiefest 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 just and determinate time in the law, being not interrupted by any contrary act.

For if a judge or prince shall give judgment against custom, then custom is broken. As it also cometh to pass in prescription, when a man is cast out of his possession, or when a matter is called into suit of law, and the issue joined, prescription is broken. Also the allowing of contradictory judgment must be had, (that is, that when one part alledgeth the custom, and the other part denieth it) if sentence be given on the behalf of custom, custom is confirmed. But all these things (as I said before) must be reduced to the rule of God's word. Only this seemeth now meet to be added, which is in the *Extravagants De consuetudine*, chapter 1, that a custom 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 tolerable, than in old time the state of the Jews. The same exception do we also take against our adversaries, that the church should not be overburdened. This is their own law; why do they not acknowledge their own words?

12. Paul disputing in the third chapter of the epistle to the Romans of the righteousness of faith, added, that the same hath testimony both of the law and of the prophets: which he therefore saith, because that the doctrine, which he set forth, might seem to be new and lately sprung up. But in the Gospel, newness must specially be shunned, and therefore he testifieth in every place, that the Gospel is ancient, and was ordained of God from the beginning. And at the beginning of the epistle, he wrote, that God promised

the same by his prophets in the holy scriptures. And at this day, the controversy between us and our adversaries is, as touching doctrine; while they affirm, that we bring in new things, and that themselves do cleave fast to the ancient doctrine. But we learn of the Apostle, how this controversy may be determined. Assuredly, that doctrine is old and ancient, which hath testimony from the law and the prophets, that is, of the holy scriptures: but that shall be judged new, whereof there is no mention in them. They erect the Mass, where only one man doth communicate for others that do stand by. This hath no testimony in all the whole scriptures.

We affirm, that the supper of the Lord ought to be common unto the faithful; which is most manifestly showed by the institution thereof, as we have it in the Gospels, and in Paul. These men deliver unto the laity the sacrament of Christ's body, half maimed and imperfect. This doubtless, they not only have not out of the holy scriptures, but plainly against the scriptures. They maintain invocations of the dead, which they are not able to confirm by the scriptures; They drive the clergy from matrimony; They defend purgatory; They retain images; They use strange tongues in the divine service, choice of meats and garments, shavings, anointings, and an infinite number of such like things they obtrude upon us, as necessary to the worship of God, and that altogether without testimony of the scriptures. Let them learn out of Paul, which minding to teach the righteousness that cometh by Christ, saith, that It hath testimony of the law and the prophets, and not that it was devised by himself. But the doctrine of these men advanceth impiety: for they bring in the inventions of men, instead of necessary worshipping of God; which having no testimony out of the scriptures, must of necessity be new.

And the reason why it behooveth in religion to beware of newness, is; for that God commandeth in Deuteronomy, that none should either add too, or take away anything from his customs and commandments. Yea and Plato himself in his laws and common-weal forbad, that nothing should be made new in things which belonged unto religion. No doubt, but the laws of men may be altered, because the form of a common-wealth is sometimes altered. Neither do those laws which serve for a kingdom, serve also for the government of a Signiory and a Common-wealth of the vulgar people. Moreover, seeing law-makers are but men, they cannot perceive all things that should be done. And many chances do happen ever among, for the which it behooveth both to amend and change laws. And as in arts, something happeneth in every age for the more perfecting of them: so laws likewise now and then, by success of times are amended, and reduced to a better form. But none of these things takes place in the laws of God. For as touching the Church, she altereth not her form. It is always one manner of common-weal, and nothing is hidden from the understanding of God the author of the laws; he foreseeth all things, neither is his knowledge augmented by the success of time. Wherefore there is no cause why men should attempt to alter anything in his word.

CHAP. XII. Of Sundry Things attributed unto God, and the Holy Trinity; where his Godhead is proved to be in the Son and in the Holy Ghost.

The nature of God is infinite, so as it cannot be comprehended under one title to know him by; wherefore his name is very large: yet nevertheless, by effects and works are gathered his singular properties, whereby we may understand all the divine nature and power, that seeing we cannot comprehend the whole, we may at the leastwise come unto the knowledge of him by parts. If there were any so rude and unskillful, as he knew not the value of a double sufferant, we would say that the same containeth in it, pence, grotes, testers, shillings, crowns, nobles, royals, and lastly, the sum of twenty shillings. By these parts and small portions, unless he were exceeding blockish, he might understand how much a double sufferant is worth. Even so men, after a sort, do perceive the nature and infinite substance of God by these parts and titles to know him by, not that there be any parts in God, but because that we only by such effects and parts may gather of his power and infinite greatness. Divers and manifold are the titles, whereby he is known: as when he is called Pitiful, Merciful, Constant, Just, Good, The God of Sabaoth, and such like.

2. And that this may be the better understood; he is called Jehovah of Haia, that is, To be: and that name agreeth properly unto God. For God is so an essence or being, as the same floweth from him unto all other things. Whatsoever things are, do depend of him, neither can they be without his power and help. Lastly, they have also promises of him, both to be, and to be performed. Wherefore that name of Jehovah is properly attributed unto God: of the similitude of which word, Jupiter being desirous to be reputed for a God, commanded himself to be called Jove. The Rabbins say, that those letters, whereof that word consisteth, are spiritual. And undoubtedly, God is a spirit; and a spirit first signifieth things that be without bodies, or that have light bodies, as vapors and exhalations, the which in show are light and thin, but yet they are of exceeding great strength. For by them, earthquakes are stirred up, the huge seas are troubled, the storms of wind are blown abroad. Wherefore that word began afterward to be applied to the soul of man, to angels, and to God himself: for these things, which otherwise seem but slender, do bring great things to pass. Others say, that those letters, whereof the word Jehovah is written, be resting letters: and that is very agreeable unto God. For seeing we do all seek for rest and felicity, there is no way to find the same, but in God only; thus much hitherto of the word. Jehovah signifieth the chief being; whereupon Plato had that his $\tau\omicron\ \acute{\omicron}\nu$, or essence. And that this may be the more manifest: some of the names of God are derived from his substance, and other from some property. Substantial names be Jehovah and Ehi: that word signifieth, I will be. For there is no creature that may say; I will be. For if God draw back his power, all things do straightway perish. God doubtless may truly say so, because he cannot fail nor forsake himself.

Other names are referred to some property of God; as *El* unto might, *Cadoseh* unto holiness, *Schaddai* unto sufficiency: howbeit these things in God be no accidents, but only as we comprehend them in our cogitations. For whereas God is infinite, and we cannot wholly comprehend him; yet by certain tokens and effects we do in some part understand of him: thereof are those names, which signify some property of God. The Jews being led of a certain superstition, pronounce not that holy name Tetragrammaton, but in the place thereof they put *Adonai*, or *Elohim*; and so think that they worship the name of God more purely and reverently: but God requireth no such kind of worship. And hereby it cometh to pass, that in translating of the holy scriptures, the Grecians for Jehovah have made Lord: as, instead of Jehovah liveth, they have said; The Lord liveth. And whereas in the New Testament Christ is so oftentimes called Lord, his Godhead is nothing at all excluded by that word, as some impure men do babble, but is rather established. Undoubtedly Thomas joined both together; My Lord (saith 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 upon them; and would that those should be as certain words expressing unto us his nature and goodness. And he beginneth always the rehearsal at his latter benefits; and of them he claimeth to himself titles or names attributed unto him, under which he may both be called upon, and acknowledged. For even at the beginning, God was called upon, as he which had made heaven and earth; afterward, as he that was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; after that, as the deliverer out of Egypt; then a deliverer out of the captivity of Babylon: but lastly, as the father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Of the omnipotency of God, look Peter Martyr in his Treatise, Of both natures in Christ, set forth at Tygure.

3. The words which be in the second book of Samuel, the seventh chapter, verse the 23, namely, The gods came that he might redeem unto himself a people, are a sharp corsie unto the Hebrews, which will not acknowledge three persons in the divine nature. Some, because it is said, God's, refer it to the opinion of men. Such is that saying of Paul; There be many gods, and many lords. For neither can they admit or allow of a multitude of gods. But forsomuch as the entreating here is of a singular or particular fact, this place must in any wise be understood of the true God. Kimhi thinketh, that David said, God's, for honor sake; even as men also, to speak the more pleasingly and civilly, do oftentimes use the plural number, instead of the singular. But if it be so, what new religion entered straightway into David? Why did he straightway add; Thou Lord, in the singular number? For we must heap upon God all the honors that we can. Others had rather refer this saying unto Moses and Aaron, who were sent to deliver the people out of Egypt: but this cannot be; for in the book of Chronicles, all these things are spoken of God himself by name. For so David speaketh; Thou camest to redeem thy people. Wherefore we shall much more rightly and truly understand the three persons in one divine nature; namely, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost: which being three persons, yet are they shut up under one substance. This opinion is true, sound, and catholic, whether the Hebrews will or no.

But those words, which be added; And might do great things for you: some would by Apostrophe or conversion of speech, refer them to the Jews, which me think is not probable. For David talked not of these things with the people, but secretly with God. Wherefore I had rather thus to understand them of God himself, and to ascribe these marvelous things to one God in

three persons. But God came to deliver his people, when he sent Moses and Aaron unto them: for when he appointed Moses to that message, he added withal; And I will be with thee. God doubtless is in every 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 Jews, when he smote the Egyptians and their first born. Again, when Pharaoh followed the Jews going forth of Egypt, and that they began to murmur, thinking that they should even then have perished, Moses on this wise recomforted them; God shall fight for you, and ye shall be still: yea the Egyptians themselves also did perceive the same. For they said; Let us fly away, for God himself doth fight for them. Yea and afterward, when the people had worshipped the golden calf, and that God was angry, he would not go forth with them, yet Moses entreated him to go on with them. Wherefore to deliver the people, there came both the Father, and the Son, and the holy Ghost. And although those works were common unto the three persons, yet are they severally and particularly ascribed to the Son. And therefore Paul saith unto the Corinthians, that that rock, from whence the water did flow, was Christ; And let us not tempt Christ (saith he) as some tempted him in the desert. By which words of Paul, we manifestly gather; that the Jews murmured against Christ. Which being so, the Arians may be very well confuted by that place. For if it were Christ, as doubtless it was, (which came to redeem the people) how can David say; There is no other God as thou art, if the Son be either a creature, or inferior to the father? For although this argument bind not the Jews, who receive not Paul; yet doth it bind the Arians, which cannot refuse Paul.

4. But the testimonies, whereby we prove the divinity of Christ, are taken as well out of the old, as out of the New Testament. Matthew saith; that We must baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghost: In

which words he showeth, that there be three persons coequal one with another. And we read in John; This is life everlasting, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. Neither might Christ be called the first and principal good, or else eternal life, unless he were God. When the high priest had demanded of Christ with admiration, whether he were the son of the living God? The Lord answered him; Thou hast said. The which he hearing, rent his garments, and understood that he affirmed himself to be God. Furthermore, very firm is that saying; And God was the word: especially seeing it is added a little after; And the word was made flesh. Where thou seest, that the subtle argument of the Arians taketh no place, whereby they affirm, that Christ no doubt was called God, but yet that he was not so indeed: whereas John saith most plainly; that The word was God, and was made flesh. Further we read in the same John; that No man hath seen God at any time, but the son which is in the bosom 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 John; All things are made by him. Upon which place Augustine doth very well infer, that the son of God was not made: for if he had been made, then all things that were made, had not been created by him; at the leastwise he had been created by another thing.

Thomas, when he had seen the gashes where the nails entered, and the open wound of Christ his side, he spake forth allowed; My Lord and my God. Also Christ prayed to his father saying; Glorify me, O Father, with the glory, which I had with thee, before the world was made: which saying might not stand, unless that Christ had the divine nature; for his human nature was not before the world was made. Also the Lord said; All things that my father hath, are mine: and that the father hath the divine nature, it is

by none called in question; and so of necessity the son is not without the same. Besides, Christ testifieth and saith; All things that my father doth, I also do: but the action of them both, being all one, the natures of them must needs be one and the same. He said to the Jews; Before that Abraham was, I am: which cannot otherwise be referred but to his divine nature: and no less do these sayings prove; I am the resurrection and the life. Again; As the father hath life in himself, so he hath granted to the son to have life in himself. Hereby it is proved, that the son is equal to the father. And the same John wrote in his first epistle, the fifth chapter; And we are in him that is true: that is, in his son Christ, which is very God, and eternal life. Our savior said to Nicodemus; No man ascendeth into heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the son of man, which is in heaven. And Christ was not in heaven, while he talked with the Jews, unless it were as touching his divine nature: neither did he descend out of heaven, but in respect that he was God. Of which coming down, he again testifieth, when he saith; I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. Again, I came out from my father, and I go unto my father.

5. All these things must be referred unto the divine nature. In the Apocalypse also he testifieth, that he is alpha and omega, The first and the last. And in the same book, the 19th chapter, it is written of Christ, that there was written upon his thigh, and upon his garments, King of kings, and Lord of lords. And least thou shouldst imagine, that that little, was the Epitheton ascribed unto God, there is mention made in the seventeenth chapter of the lamb himself; that He had the victory, because he was the King of kings, and Lord of lords. Which property, that it belongs only unto God, it is manifest by the first epistle of Paul unto Timothy, where, towards the end of the epistle, it is written; Until the appearing of our Lord Jesus,

which he shall show in due time, that is blessed, and Prince only, the King of kings, and Lord of lords. To the Romans he saith; Of them came the fathers, of whom, as touching the flesh, Christ came, who is God over all, blessed forever. Besides, when it is commanded; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only thou shalt serve. It is said by Paul unto the Philippians; In the name of Jesus, let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, of things in earth, and things under the earth. And to the Hebrews; When he bringeth his son into the world, he saith, Let all the angels of God worship him. And in the same place, out of the sentence of the psalm, the power of creating is attributed unto him; And thou Lord in the beginning, didst lay the foundation of the earth. There is also another psalm alleged; Therefore hath God, even thy God anointed thee with oil of gladness above thy fellows.

And there is a comparison of Christ with Melchizedek, namely, that they were both without father, without mother, and without genealogy; which thing accordeth not with Christ, but so far forth as he is God. Unto the Colossians we read; that In Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the godhead bodily. Again; All things are made by him, whether they be things visible or invisible, or thrones, or dominions. Unto Titus; We expecting the blessed hope, and coming of the glory of the great God. Here Christ is most plainly called The great God. And in the second to the Corinthians; When he was rich, he was made poor for all men. It cannot be meant that he was rich, but in respect of his divine nature. And in the first epistle to the Corinthians; If they had known him, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. And in the eight chapter; To us nevertheless there is one God, which is the father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. But if that all things are by him, verily

there is no doubt, but that he is God. And unto the Galatians, as touching the time of infidelity, it is written; When as ye served those which in nature be no gods, &c. By which words, the contrary is gathered; that seeing they were converted unto Christ, and served him, they served him that in nature is God.

But to follow the sure and more undoubted testimonies of the Old Testament, out of David we have; The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. Isaiah calleth him Immanuel. And again he saith; His name shall be called Wonderful, a Counselor, God, &c. Jeremiah in the 21st chapter, saith, that he must be called God our righteousness, and he useth the name Tetragrammaton. The very which thing thou mayest see to be done by the same Prophet, in the 31st chapter, wherein, though he speak of the city, I mean of the people of God, or of the church; yet nevertheless, all that doth appertain unto Christ, which is the head of the same: yea rather by him is such a name attributed to the church and people of God. Also we read in Isaiah; Who shall be able to reckon his generation? And in the Prophet Micah; And thou Bethlehem of Jewry art not the least among the thousands of Judah: for out of thee shall come forth unto me, one that shall rule my people Israel, whose outgoing hath been from the beginning, and from everlasting: by which words, both the natures of Christ are showed. Add again out of the Prophet Isaiah, that which is cited by Paul in the 15th chapter to the Romans; There shall be a root of Jesse, which shall arise to rule over the Gentiles, and in him shall the Gentiles trust. And certain it is, that he is to be accursed, which putteth any hope in a creature. Therefore, seeing we must put our trust in Christ, and that he is to be called upon, it plainly appeareth that he is God. There

might be heaped up other testimonies of this matter, but these I think to be enough, and enough again, to confute the boldness of these men.

Whether the holy Ghost be God.

6. Now it shall not be from the purpose, to confirm by many reasons, that the holy Ghost is God. This word spirit, sometime signifieth a certain motion, or a nature moveable; sometimes it is taken for life, or mind, or the force of the mind, whereby we are moved to do anything; it is also transferred to the signifying of things, which be separate from matter, as be the angels, which the philosophers call Intelligences: yea, and it is so far drawn, as it representeth our souls. Which metaphor seemeth to have respect thereunto, because we sometimes signify by this name, the thin exhalations, which breath either from the earth, from the water, from the blood, or from the humors of living creatures: which exhalations, although they be not easily perceived by the sense, yet are they effectual, and of exceeding great force; as it appeareth by winds, earthquakes, and such like things. And so it cometh to pass hereby, that the name of these most subtle bodies, whose force is exceeding great, hath been translated to the expressing of substances without bodies. Wherefore it is taken for a word general, both unto God, unto angels, and unto our souls. And that it is attributed unto God, Christ showeth, when he saith; God is a spirit, and thereupon concludeth, that he must be worshipped in spirit and truth. When it is so taken, this name comprehendeth under it, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost. But sometime it is taken particularly; for the third person of the Trinity, which is distinct from the Father and the Son. And of this person we speak at this time, wherein two things must be showed: first, that he is a person distinct as well from the Father as the Son: secondly, we will show that the holy Ghost is by this mean described to be God.

7. As touching the first, the apostles are commanded in the Gospel, that they should baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. Which place doth most plainly express the distinction of the three persons, and doth signify nothing else, but that we be delivered from our sins, by the name, power, and authority of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. And in the baptism of Christ, as Luke rehearseth, the voice of the Father was heard, which said; This is my beloved son, &c. Further, the holy Ghost appeared under the form of a dove. Here, as thou seest, the Son is baptized, the Father speaketh, and the holy Ghost sheweth himself in form of a dove. In John it is said; I will ask my Father, and he shall give you another Comforter. Here also the Son prayeth, the Father heareth, and the Comforter is sent. And again; He shall receive of mine: whereby is signified, that the holy Ghost doth so differ from the Father and the Son, as he is derived from both.

And least that any man should think, that when Christ promised that the holy Ghost should come upon the believers (as in the day of Pentecost it came to pass) only a divine inspiration and motion of the mind was signified, the words of Christ are against it, wherein he said; He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, which I have told you. But inspiration and motion of the mind, do not teach nor prompt anything; but are only instruments, whereby something is taught and prompted. And the action of teaching and prompting, cannot be attributed but unto one that is a person indeed. Which is proved by other words of Christ, when he said of the holy Ghost; He shall speak whatsoever he shall hear. And that this third person proceedeth from the Father and the Son, it is evident enough in the same Gospel of John, where it is written; When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send unto you: even the Spirit of truth,

which proceedeth from the Father. Seeing the son saith, that he will send the Spirit, and (as we said before) affirmeth him to receive of his; no man doubteth, but that he proceedeth from the son. And he now expressly addeth; Who proceedeth from the Father.

8. Now have we first declared out of the holy scriptures, that the person of the holy Ghost is distinguished, as well from the Father as the Son; and that he proceedeth from them both. Now must we see, whether he be God. This doth Paul show two manner of ways: first, when it is said; There be diversity of gifts, but one Spirit; diversity of operations, but one and the same God. But to give gifts and spiritual faculties, is no whit less, than to distribute operations: wherefore, seeing the holy Ghost is said to distribute gifts, and God to impart actions unto men, it is manifest that the holy Ghost is God. If the spirit be the author of graces, and the Father of operations; it is meet that the holy Ghost should be equal to God the Father. Further it is added; that The same spirit doth work all these things, distributing to everyone even as he will. Seeing then the sovereign choice is in him, to impart heavenly gifts, he is God. And it is written; Ye are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you: if any man do violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy. But it is not meet for any creature to have a temple, seeing the same is proper unto the divine nature. Wherefore, seeing we be called The temples of the holy Ghost, it is now manifest, that he is God.

And least we should think it lawful to build temples unto martyrs, let us hear 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 himself is this form of reasoning gathered. Neither did the apostle but only once say; that We are the temples of the holy Ghost, but

he hath the very same thing in the sixth chapter of the same epistle, where it is written; And do ye not know that your bodies are the temples of the holy Ghost? Furthermore the power of creating, which is proper unto God, is ascribed unto the holy Ghost; seeing David hath written; By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the powers of him by the spirit of his mouth. And again; 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 body of Christ, which should be brought forth in the virgin's womb; That which is borne in her, is of the holy Ghost. Again; The holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most high shall overshadow thee. Seeing then the holy Ghost hath the power of creating, (as it hath been declared) undoubtedly he is God.

In the same epistle to the Corinthians it is said, that he searcheth the bottom of God's secrets: and 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: even so the things that be of God, none knoweth but the spirit of God. And so he will have it, that even as the spirit of man is unto man; so the spirit of God is towards God. And no man is ignorant, but that the spirit of man belongeth unto the nature of man; whereby it is certain, that the spirit of God is of his divine nature. Basil against Eunomius useth another reason, which cometh in a manner to the selfsame; he saith, that the holy Ghost is the spirit both of the father and of the son, and therefore of the very same nature that they be. For it is written in the epistle to the Romans; And if the spirit of him, which raised up Jesus from death, do abide in you, he that raised up Christ shall also raise up your mortal bodies. This place declareth, that the holy Ghost doth belong unto the father, who in the same epistle is showed to belong also unto the son, when

as a little before 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 expressed in these words; And because ye be children, therefore hath God sent the spirit of his son into your hearts, whereby ye cry Abba father. Wherefore, seeing the holy Ghost is the spirit, as well of the father as of the son, he is wholly partaker of their nature.

9. Moreover in the Acts of the apostles, the fifth chapter, Peter said to Ananias; How darest thou lie unto the holy Ghost? Thou diddest not lie unto men, but unto God. Now in this place, he most manifestly calleth the holy Ghost God. Augustine in his book *De trinitate*, and elsewhere: and Ambrose also *De spiritu sancto* do both cite the apostle to the Philippians, the third chapter, where he writeth; Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of concision: for we be the circumcision which serve God in the spirit. Where you see, that the worshiping of God which the Grecians call λατρείαν, is done unto the holy Ghost, which he calleth God. Albeit in some place it is read in the genitive case, τοῦ θεοῦ: as if thou shouldst say, Serving the spirit of God. I see the place is not very firm; for some interpret it Serving God in spirit: but yet I thought it good to show that the fathers have used this argument. Basil in his treatise *De spiritu sancto*, the 22nd chap, and also Didymus *De spiritu sancto* declare that to be God, which can be in diverse places at one time: which thing is not agreeable to any creature. But that the holy Ghost, was present with the apostles and prophets in sundry parts of the world, at one time, no man professing the faith of Christ doubteth: wherefor it followeth that he is God.

Also Basil against Eunomius alleged the epistle of John, the fourth chapter; And in this we know that Christ dwelleth in us, and we in him, because we have received of his spirit: which should not be true, if we

should account the holy Ghost to be of another nature than Christ is; for then might the holy Ghost be communicated unto the faithful without Christ. He addeth also another reason; By the holy Ghost we are adopted to be the children of God: wherefore he himself is God. For the scriptures do everywhere call him The spirit of adoption. But none that is not God, can adopt any to be the children of God. In the Acts of the apostles we read; The holy Ghost said, Separate me Paul and Barnabas unto the work of the ministry, whereunto I have chosen them. And there is no doubt, but that it is the part of God only to call unto the ministry. Which reason Athanasius useth in disputing against Arius. There is also brought the twenty chapter of the Acts, where Paul thus admonisheth; Take heed unto the whole flock, wherein the holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to govern the church. But it is the office of none but of God only, to choose ministers and bishops of the churches.

Ambrose thoroughly weigheth of these words; All things are made by him, and he saith, that the holy Ghost spake in the Evangelist: and that therefore if it had been a creature, he should have said; All we things are made by him: by that means he had not excluded himself from the number of creatures. Again, he citeth that saying of John; He shall receive of mine: we cannot (saith he) understand this to be spoken of the body, no nor yet of the soul; and then it must be understood of the divine nature. He also taketh the testimony of Isaiah, which is written in Luke; The Spirit of the Lord hath anointed me, and sent me to preach glad tidings to the poor. But there is none that hath power to send Christ, no not as touching his human nature, unless it be God. We read in the psalm; I will hear what the Lord God will speak in me: but when David spake these words, there was none spake in him but the holy Ghost, wherefor he is God. In the tenth chapter to the

Hebrews; The holy Ghost hath testified, This is my testament that I will make unto them: he calleth it his testament, which only God made with his people; wherefore it is manifest that the holy Ghost, which did speak, is God.

10. And in the first epistle of John, the fifth chapter; There be three, which bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three be one. Many write, that this testimony is not found in the Greek; against whom is Jerome in his preface of the canonical epistles, who saith that these words are in the Greek, but have been left out by the Latin translators. Yet Cyrillus herein agreeth not with Jerome: for he reciteth in the 14th book of his Thesaurus, all this whole place, and omitteth this particle. Among the Latins Augustine and Beda read not these words. But Erasmus in his notes upon this place showeth, that there was found a Greek book in Britain, which had these words: also the Spanish edition hath them. But admit that these words be not had in the Greek copies, the strength of the argument shall not be anything diminished for that cause: for that which we affirm is proved by the other particle of the sentence, which is found extant as well among the Greeks, as among the Latins, namely; There be three things, which bear witness on the earth; blood, water, and the spirit. Augustine against Maximus the Arian bishop, in his third book, the 14th chapter useth this place; and he would, that the spirit should signify the Father, because God is a spirit; and the Father himself is the fountain and beginning of the whole divinity. Further, blood (as he saith) betokens the Son; because he took upon him the nature of man, and shed his blood for us. Finally water, in his judgment, doth manifestly declare the holy Ghost.

Whereunto the Gospel doth very well agree. For whereas Jesus said; Rivers of lively water shall flow out of his belly, it is expounded that he

spake this as touching the Spirit, which they should receive that believed in him. Wherefore insomuch as the three persons are represented in these three names, and that it is added withal, that these three be one; it is manifestly declared, that the three divine persons have one and the self-same substance. And Augustine treating upon this place, doth specially urge that particle; And they three be one. And he would have it to be a steadfast and firm thing in the scriptures, that when any things are said to be one, they differ not in substance. Even as when we read in the Gospel, that Christ said; I and the Father be one, there was meant to be one nature, both of the Father, and of the Son: so (saith he) we must now understand as touching these three, that they be one.

11. Cyrillus thus argueth unto this matter: John saith; It is the Spirit which beareth record, and the Spirit is verity, because there be three which bear record upon the earth; The Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three be one: but and if ye receive the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater. In this place thou seest (saith he) that the testimony of the holy Ghost, is called the testimony of God; whereby it is proved, that the holy Ghost is God. And that those three (I mean the spirit, blood, and water) do represent the three persons, it is showed by three reasons. [1] The first is taken from the Analogy or conveniency of the signs: which Augustine recited. [2] Secondly thou perceivest, that those three are said to be one; which is not meet for them, unless thou shalt respect those things which be represented: for otherwise, spirit, blood, and water do vary in nature or kind one from another. [3] Thirdly, those three nouns in the Greek ὕδωρ, πνεῦμα, αἷμα, that is water, spirit, and blood be of the neuter gender: unto which afterward is put the masculine article, in the plural number; namely, οἱ τρεῖς, that is, These three be unto one, or be one. But the masculine article,

as touching signs, which be of the neuter gender, might take no place, unless it should be applied unto those which are signified; that is, unto the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost. Neither let it trouble us, that it is read some-where; These three be unto one, as though it should make for the Arians, which said, that these three persons be unto one, because they consented together in one testimony; as though the speech concerneth not one manner of nature, but one manner of will. And the phrase cometh near unto the Hebrew: so as To be unto one, and To be one, is the self-same thing. As when we read in the psalm; I will be unto him a Father, and he shall be unto me a Son: it is as if it were said; I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son. And in another place; They shall be unto me a people, and I will be unto them a God, is all one, as to say; 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 a unity of substance. For unless there were some distinction, it should have been said; It is one.

12. Also, they allege the song of the three children, wherein, when all creatures are stirred up unto the praises of God, the Son and the holy Ghost are not mentioned: whereby it is plain, that they be not reckoned among creatures. Neither mayest thou say, that this song is a part of the Apocrypha, because this part of Daniel is wanting in the Chaldean edition: for thou shalt see the very same to be done every-where in the Psalms of David, wherein is the same stirring up of creatures unto divine praises. John in his first epistle saith; The spirit is truth: and this cannot be written of a creature, seeing truth is chief and principal, and dependeth not of another. They are wont to allege the beginning of the book of Genesis, where it is said; The spirit of the Lord moved upon the face of the waters. In which place they affirm, that there is mention made of three persons, namely, of the Father,

which created; of the Son, by whom all things were made (as when it is said, In the beginning, it is all one, as to say, By the beginning;) and of the holy Ghost. I know that the Hebrew expositors interpret far otherwise of these words; but I have only taken upon me to show those places, by which the fathers gathered the Godhead of the holy Ghost. Whereunto add, that Paul in his epistles seldom maketh mention of the father and the son, but he also speaketh of the holy ghost, either expressly, or by adding of somewhat pertaining to him. And Basil sheweth, that it was a custom received in the whole church, to add in the end of the Psalms, that which we now use; Glory be to the Father, to the Son, and to the holy Ghost, wherein the three persons are made equal the one to the other.

13. The Synod of Nice set forth a creed, in which we say; I believe in the holy Ghost. But it is very manifest, that we must not repose our confidence in anything that is created. And because in those days the contention was not much sprung up of the holy Ghost, there was nothing else added: but afterwards, when diverse and sundry heresies grew up as touching him, then in the Council of Constantinople, which was the second among the four principal, many things were added to make this article plain. For we grant, that We believe in the holy Ghost, both the Lord and giver of life. By the particle (Lord) they make him equal unto Christ, who in the scriptures is commonly called Lord, which epitheton or addition, they would therefore to be expressed, because the Arians affirmed, that Christ was altogether a creature, but yet the noblest (they said) which next unto God was the chief. And they said, that the holy Ghost was yet less than the son, and even his minister. Wherefore the Synod in place of Minister, put the title of Lord. The self-same thing did they in the particle; The giver of life: for they saw that it is written in John, that not only the father doth give life, but that the

son also can quicken whom-soever he will; and so, least the holy Ghost might seem to be excluded from this property, they added that particle. And that his Godhead might be the more manifest, it was added, that He together with the father and the son is worshipped and glorified.

14. Further, Athanasius hath in his creed; God the Father, God the Son, and God the holy Ghost. And to prove this thing, no less is the forgiving of sins taken for an argument which they grant as proper to the holy Ghost. For when Christ had breathed upon his disciples, he said; Receive ye the holy Ghost, and whose sins ye remit, they be remitted unto them; and whose sins ye retain, they be retained. Whereby it appeareth, that this power is yielded to the holy Ghost, and is proper unto God. And this, even the Scribes themselves testified, who hearing Christ say to the man sick of the palsy; Thy sins be forgiven thee, cried out that he spake blasphemy, in that he durst take upon him the office of God. Furthermore, the holy scriptures do call this self-same spirit, both A sanctifier and giver of light, which faculties are meet to be attributed unto God only. In Exodus, the fourth chapter, it is said unto Moses (when he detracted the time of doing his message, because he had an impediment in his speech;) Who hath given a mouth unto man? Or who maketh the dumb or deaf, the blind and seeing? Have not I the Lord? Wherefore I will be in thy mouth. By which place it is showed, that it is the work of almighty God, to speak in his ministers, to open their mouths, and to make them ready of speech. But Christ, when he speaketh of this matter, saith; It is not you that speak, but the spirit of your father: whereby it seems to be proved, that the holy Ghost is God, seeing he hath one and the self-same action with him.

Augustine in his epistle to Pascentius saith, that he doth wonder how it can be, that Christ, whose members we are, is believed to be God; and that

the holy Ghost, whose temple we be, should be denied to be God; seeing the excellency of the Godhead is more proved in the latter condition, than in the first. The reasons which we have brought, do in part prove of necessity, and do plainly show, that the holy Ghost is God. Others indeed be not altogether of such efficacy, but being joined with other things, do confirm the minds of the faithful in this truth; neither is there any of them, which the fathers have not some-where used. There might also be added other arguments of this sort, but with these we will hold ourselves contented.

15. Now remaineth to consider, what is wont to be objected against this doctrine. Some say; The holy Ghost prayeth for us, and that with sighing's unspeakable. How can he then be God, seeing it is not meet for God, to humble himself after the manner of suppliants? Some answer and say; That the son doth make intercession for us, who nevertheless is God, and that therefore to pray, is not strange from the nature of God; howbeit, this is frivolous, For Christ, in that he was man, was inferior to the father, and therefore might be a suitor unto him. But the holy Ghost hath not taken upon him the nature of any creature, into unity of person. Wherefore the respect that must be had towards him, and towards Christ, is far differing and unlike: and therefore we will answer, that the spirit prayeth, and maketh request for us, as it is written in the epistle to the Romans, because it driveth us forward to do these things: and it is therefore said to sigh, because it maketh us to sigh. Neither is this phrase strange from the scriptures, but it is very often used. For God said unto Abraham, when he would have sacrificed his son; Now have I known that thou fearest God. That undoubtedly was known before unto the divine majesty, and was commanded. For the hearts and cogitations of men are not hidden from him. But, I have known, in that place, is as much to say, as, I have caused to

know. That this phrase is so to be understood, the Apostle testifieth to the Galatians, when he saith; And seeing ye be children, therefore God hath sent the spirit of his son into your hearts, crying Abba father. In which words he seemeth to affirm, that the holy Ghost himself doth cry unto God. But to the Romans, the same Apostle doth make it very plain; For ye have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear anymore, but ye have received the spirit of adoption of children, whereby we cry Abba father: in which place it appeareth most plainly, that it is we which cry, the holy Ghost stirring and driving us forward thereunto.

16. Further they demand, that If the spirit proceed from the father, and also from the son, what is the cause why he is not called a son, seeing he hath not beginning of himself? We answer; Because that in divine and secret things, we follow both the doctrine and manner of speech of the holy scriptures. Seeing then that the scripture hath in no place said, that the holy Ghost either is begotten, or is the son, why should we attempt thus to say? And doubtless unto godly men this answer should suffice. It must be added moreover, that this issuing out of the holy Ghost, is called a proceeding, therefore we must call it so. And albeit that between the Greek and Latin churches, there was a long contention, whether the holy Ghost proceeded from the son, yet was it not of any great importance, unless it had been aggravated with the spirit of ambition. For after the time that the Grecians began to contend in the Church for primacy, they easily took in ill part the opinions of the Latins. But the dissention was taken up in the Council of Florence, where it was manifest, that the Latins meant no other thing, but that the holy Ghost had his proceeding or issuing out, as well from the father as from the son. The which seeing it may be found, as we have said, that in the holy scriptures it is called a proceeding, we are not to be blamed.

The son is said to send the holy Ghost, for when he breathed upon the Apostles, he said; Receive ye the holy Ghost. Again he said; He shall receive of mine. And many of the fathers, before the Council of Florence, wrote, that the holy Ghost is derived as well from the father as the son. Augustine against the heretic Maximinus, and elsewhere, sheweth it very plainly. Also Epiphanius in Ancorato confesseth, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from both, that is, from the father and the son.

17. Albeit that between proceeding and generation it is hard to put a difference, and that Augustine in the place now alleged, granteth, that he perceived not the difference: yet he said, that this he knew; namely, that whatsoever thing groweth, doth also proceed: but he saith not on the other side, that whatsoever things proceed, are also sprung forth. Howbeit, we cannot properly express the difference. Wherefore the holy Ghost is not said, either to be begotten, or unbegotten, least by saying unbegotten, we might seem to affirm him to be the father; or by affirming him to be begotten, we may seem to call him the son. This we have out of Augustine in his third tome, at the beginning of the small questions gathered out of the book *De trinitate*. Add withal, that if the holy Ghost should be said to be begotten, then in the trinity we should appoint two sons, and two fathers. For, seeing the holy Ghost is as well of the father, as of the son, he should have 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 say) be called both the son and sons son of one and the self-same Father. For in affirming him to be begotten of the Father, he should be called his Son; but in as much as it should be said, that he is born of the Son, he should be nephew unto the Father: which things be absurd, and wholly strange from the scriptures. Yea and further, to say that the holy Ghost is begotten, the words

of the scripture are against it, which very often do call the Son, The only begotten: whereof it followeth, that the holy Ghost is not begotten.

In the first chapter of John, it is said; We saw the glory thereof, as the glory of the only begotten of the father. And in the third chapter of the same gospel; So God loved the world, as he gave his only begotten son. And the same John in his epistle; In this the love of God towards us appeared, that he gave his only begotten son. And Christ as touching his human nature, hath been accustomed in the scripture to be called, not The only begotten of God, but The first born among many brethren: as it appeareth in the epistle to the Romans. Howbeit doubtless as touching his divine nature he hath no brethren. There be some which cavil, that in the Synod of Nice, the holy Ghost was not in express words called God; but that only the Godhead of the son was expressed. Unto which objection Epiphanius answereth, that in the Synod of Nice the controversy was as touching the son only. For Arius at the first contended only against this point. And Councils for the most part define not any other things, but such as are called in question: yet nevertheless, if a man diligently examine the matter, he shall see that those things be there defined, which do plainly enough declare the divine nature of the holy Ghost. For it is there said; We believe in the holy Ghost: and it is not lawful 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 object, that among the fathers there were some, and especially of the more ancient of them, which were slack in their writings, to express in plain words the holy Ghost to be God. Among whom Erasmus reckoneth Hilary, who was thought to be the first among the Latins that wrote against the Arians. This father, in his book *De trinitate*, never by

express words called the holy Ghost God. Unto this objection we answer, that the most ancient fathers, in teaching divine things used a singular modesty, and did imitate the holy scriptures so much as they could: and although they said not in express words, that the holy Ghost is God; yet in the mean time they wrote those things, which manifestly prove his Godhead. And further it appeareth, that they of set purpose disputed against them, which denied the Godhead of the holy Ghost, and equality of the three divine persons: as we see by the strife that was about the word Homousion; from which many of the Catholics at the beginning did restrain themselves, because it seemed to be but new, and that it was not had in the holy scriptures: and yet they nevertheless did embrace and most willingly admit the thing signified. Howbeit we strive not about these things, but grant first and chiefly whatsoever is in the holy scriptures: and then whatsoever is necessarily and manifestly derived out of them. Next unto those ancients sort of fathers did Basil, and diverse others succeed; which by all means both testify and defend the holy Ghost to be God.

19. Others cavil, because it is written; that None knoweth the Father but the Son, and on the other side; None the Son, but the Father: in which places they say, that there is no mention of the holy Ghost; and therefore it seemeth unto them, that he knoweth neither the Father, nor yet the Son, and that for the same cause he is not God. To these also we answer, that when the knowing of the Father, and of the Son is attributed to two persons, the holy Ghost must not be excluded; seeing he is said to be the spirit as well of the Father as of the Son: wherefor that which is belonging to both, is also common unto him. And if they demand a plain testimony hereof out of the scriptures, we will bring forth one out of the first epistle to the Corinth. where it is written; The things of man none knoweth, but the spirit of man,

which is within him: and even so those things which be of God, none knoweth but the spirit of God. Also it is written in the gospel; Blessed art thou Simon the son of Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed these things unto thee, but the spirit of my father, which is in heaven. By these testimonies it is manifest, that the holy Ghost doth not only know God, but doth also reveal and make him to be known unto others.

But this error, whereby some endeavor, to rebuke the holy Ghost with an ignorance of heavenly things, took beginning from Origin, who affirmed a certain degree to be among the natures of Intelligences; so as he thought that the Father knoweth himself only; and he said that the Son did not know the Father; and that the holy Ghost knew not the Son: and he would moreover, that the angels perceive not the holy Ghost, and lastly that men see not the angels. And that this order is set down by him, Epiphanius sheweth out of the book, as he testifieth, περί Ἀρχῶν; in which book nevertheless, so far as hitherto I remember, I have not read the matter plainly in such sort described. Which is no marvel; for that book which Ruffinus translated, hath many things imperfect. For he plucked out those things, which he thought tended most unto error, least the readers should be too much offended, whereby afterward there arose a great discord between him and Jerome.

20. There were some which affirmed, that seeing the holy Ghost is said to be sent, in like manner as the Son is said to be sent; he should have taken upon him, even as Christ did, some visible nature into the unity of person: which reason of theirs is not necessary. We grant, that sometimes he took upon him either a dove, or fiery tongues, by which he declared his presence; howbeit, these he took but for a time: neither was he made one person with these two natures, as we grant it to have come to pass in Christ. Albeit there

have been most impudent heretics, as Manes, of whom the Manichees were named; as were Montanus, Basilides, and such other pestilent men, which published themselves to be the holy Ghost, whom Christ had promised. But in vain were these things devised by them; for the Acts of the Apostles do sufficiently declare, that the promise of Christ was performed within a few days after his ascension.

21. But it must be considered, that the scripture speaketh 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) relieve them. Howbeit, to remember, accordeth not properly with God, seeing it noteth a certain forgetfulness that went before; which to ascribe unto God, were an unjust thing. But of knowing's we see there be three kinds, the which are distinguished one from another, according to the difference of time. For if a thing present he found out, to one which then beholdeth, it is called a certain beholding: and this knowledge is the root of all the other, and more surer than the rest. Further, if it have respect unto things that be past, it is called memory. If unto things to come, it is foresight; which third (for the most part) springeth from the second. For they which have experience of many things, and remember much, are wont by a certain wisdom achieved, to have great judgment of things to come. Of these kinds of knowledge, none is truly attributed unto God, but the first, seeing all things are present with him: and even 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 remembered, or that he foresaw; because oftentimes those effects are attributed unto him, which they are wont to do that foresee or remember anything. But memory requireth a knowledge that is past. We shall find that the scripture hath said, that Noah was just and

perfect in his generations. Then when he was minded to save him, and had made him safe in the ark, he seemed to attend for him: and when he had tarried so long shut up in the ark, and was not delivered from thence (if I shall speak after the manner of men) God seemed in a manner to forget him. And again, when he delivereth him, he is said to remember.

22. So, when it is said, that God waxed angry, it is not so to be understood, as though God were troubled with affects; for that belongeth unto men: but according to the common and received exposition of these places, we understand it, that God behaved himself like unto men that be angry. After the self-same manner it is sometimes written, that he repented him: wherefore God, either to repent, or to be angry, is nothing else, but that he doth those things, which men repenting, or being angry, are wont to do. For the one sort do either alter or undo all that ever they had done before; and the other revenge themselves of such wrongs as have been done unto them. Ambrose in his book of Noah and the ark, the fourth chapter, speaketh otherwise of the anger of God. For neither (saith he) doth God think as men do, as though he should be of any new mind; neither is he angry, as though he were mutable. But these things are therefore believed, to the intent that the bitterness of our sins may be expressed, which hath deserved the wrath of God, that so much, and so far forth hath the fault increased, as even God (which naturally is not moved, either with anger, hatred, or any other passion) may seem to be provoked unto wrath. And rightly is there mention made of anger, before that punishment is rehearsed; for men use first to be angry, before they revenge. And anger (if we may believe Aristotle in his Rhetoric's) is nothing else, but a desire of revengement, because of contempt. For they that perceive themselves to be despised and contemned, do straightway think upon revenge, and do

continually meditate how they may, by means of some punishment, requite either the injury or contumely that is done.

23. But yet peradventure some man will doubt, whether God, when he repented him, were in any respect changed. All the godly in a manner with one mouth confess, that God cannot be changed one jot, because that would be a certain sign, both of imperfection, and also of inconstancy: but they say, that this variety which happeneth herein, must not be ascribed to God himself, but unto us. For example sake. If one will say, that God out of all doubt ceased to favor the Chananits, against the children of Israel, whom he before so seemed to strengthen, as he would have them to oppress the Jews: and again, that he afterward exalted the Hebrews, whom before it seemed that he would have to be kept under by the Chananits; certainly no man can deny, but that these things be true. How shall we therefore defend, that the will of God is without alteration. I answer out of Jeremiah the 18th chapter, that undoubtedly there appeareth a plain diversity to be in the effects, whereas God notwithstanding doth always retain one manner of will. For thus it is there written in his name; So soon as I shall speak against a kingdom or nation, to destroy it, root it out, and overthrow it, if they shall repent, I also will repent. And contrariwise, when I shall speak good of a kingdom or people, to set them up and plant them; and that nation or kingdom shall do evil in my sight, I also will repent of the good which I meant to do unto them. These words show, that God is not variable in these kind of promises and threatening's; for he speaketh not absolutely and simply, but upon condition. But the fulfilling, or making void of the conditions, is looked for in us: wherefore the change must not be attributed unto him, but unto us.

But if thou wilt ask me, whether God hath known and decreed before what shall come to pass, as touching these conditions; I will grant he hath. For even at the first beginning, he not only knew what the events of things would be, but also decreed what should be. But seeing the secretness of his will, touching these things, is not opened unto us in the holy scriptures; therefore we must follow that rule, which is given by Jeremiah, even as we have rehearsed before. This rule, the Ninevites, and also Hezekiah the king had respect unto, even 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 meantime used. Neither is there any cause why we should suspect that God doth lie in anything, when he threateneth or promiseth those things which do not afterward come to pass. For as touching Hezekiah, death was undoubtedly to have taken hold of him, by reason of natural causes, commonly called the second causes: wherefore the sentence being pronounced according to those causes, he might not be accused of a lie. Also the Ninevites (if God had done by them as their sins deserved) there had been no other way with them but destruction. And God commanded Jonah to preach unto them, according to their deserts. Furthermore a lie, which in talk hath a supposition or condition joined therewith, cannot be blamed in such sort, as it may be in arguments which he absolute and without exception: seeing the event dependeth of the performing or violating of the condition.

CHAP. XIII. Of the Creation of All Things; wherein is entreated of Angels, of Men, of the Essence of the Soul, of the Image of God, and of diverse other things.

I would think that under the name of heaven and earth, Moses showed that the foundation or ground of all things, as well of the heavens, as of the elements was made, and that this matter is signified by the names of things already finished. For seeing it cannot be known otherwise, but by the form and perfection, it is meet that that also should be named and specified. Wherefore this whole heap is signified by the name of heaven and earth; wherein also come the other three elements, fire, air, and water. He showed us of the uttermost things, by which he will also have us to know the things that are between both. But how far these things at the first were out of square and order it is showed, when of the earth it is said; It was without form, and waste. Wherefore this rude heap was brought forth, being as yet, stuff or matter void of order, the which belonged as well to the upper things, as to the lower. And so perhaps, as the more noble had the uppermost place; so to the less noble was assigned the nethermost: for this cause, the name of creation is very fit for the first and unordered heap. For those things seem

only to be made of nothing, and other things are said to be made and fashioned. And yet this difference is not observed in all things; for some things are called created, which are said to be derived from some former matter. Two things doubtless men have been accustomed to attribute unto creation, both that it should be of a sudden, and that it require no matter to be beforehand.

2. Thus the world was not rashly made, neither is it coeternal with the maker or creator. Many of the ancient philosophers assigned the workmanship of things unto rashness and chance; seeing diverse of them in the stead of beginnings, named discord and debate, or else such little small bodies, as smaller cannot be. Aristotle attributed eternity unto that, whereby he maketh God, not to be the working cause of the world; but only attributed unto him the cause of the end: or 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 body, or as the light doth the sun. Which the Peripatetikes will seem to do for divine honor sake, least they should be driven to ascribe any lack of power or alteration in God. But these things hurt not us at all; for we affirm not, that God is borne, or apt to suffer anything: but we attribute unto him the chiefest power to do. And although God in his eternity, 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 us beware of the error of them in old time, which thought that there was an eternal and uncreated Chaos, or confused heap, extant before: and that God did only pick out those things, which were there mingled together. But we say, that the same heap also was made the first day. Some there be which demand, that seeing God could have brought forth the world long before, why he did it so late? This is an arrogant and

malapert question, wherein man's curiosity cannot be satisfied; but by beating down the folly thereof. For if I should grant thee, that the world was made before, at any certain instant of time, that thou couldest imagine; yet thou mightest still complain, that the same was but lately made, if thou refer thy cogitation to the eternity of God: so as we must herein deal after a godly manner, and not with this malapert and rash curiosity.

Of Angels and their creation.

3. But verily it seems to be a marvel, 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 say) because in the New Testament it is spoken of. In the first chapter to the Colossians, there is plain mention of their creation. There be some, which bring two places of the Old Testament, namely; Who maketh his Angels spirits. And in another place, when he said; And they be made. Howbeit these places do not firmly persuade it. It should be rather said, that they are comprehended under the name of heaven, seeing it is generally received, that the heavens are turned about by them. The first reason is, because if their creation had been first described, it might have seemed, that God used their labor in the bringing forth of other things. But to the intent we should attribute unto God the whole power of creation, therefore did Moses keep it in silence; least perhaps we might suspect ourselves to be their workmanship. And even as our redemption is only attributed unto Christ the son of God, and not to the Angels; so was it meet to be as touching our creation. The second reason; because of the proneness of men unto idolatry: for if they have worshipped heaven, stars, four-footed beasts, serpents, and birds; what would they have done, if Moses had described that spiritual creature in his colors; and had said, that they were made to do us service, to be presidents over countries, and to be at hand with every man?

What would not men have done? They would have run a madding to the worshipping of them. The first mention of them was at paradise with the sword of the cherubim's. Also in Abraham's time, when there was present an exceeding strong deliverer. For even then are dangers permitted by God, when most strong remedies are also used by him. And as touching this superstitious worshipping of Angels, Paul speaketh in the second to the Colossians.

4. Rabbi Selomoh saith that the names of Angels are secret; so as they, even themselves, do not know their own names: yea, and he addeth, that they have not names of their own, but that only surnames are appointed them of those things, unto which they are sent to take charge of. Whereunto the epistle to the Hebrews assenteth, when it calleth them Administering spirits. Rabbi Selomoh bringeth examples out of the holy scriptures. An Angel was sent unto Isaiah, and because he put unto his lips a burning coal, he was called Seraphim, of the Hebrew verb Saraph, which signifieth To burn. So of Raphael we may say, that he which cured Tobias was so called; as who should say; 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 himself in the 13th of Judges, signifieth Wonderful: for he came, to the intent he might do a miracle. And surly it was very 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 days were prone unto idolatry: and perhaps, when they had heard the name of the Angel, they would soon have been induced to worship it, more than right religion requireth. But Cherubim be Angels, whose name is derived of a figure. Ibn-ezra saith, that *Keruf* signifieth, A form 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 form of a living creature, as it appeareth in the tenth of Ezekiel. Others think, that the name is compounded of the Hebrew letter, **א**, which is a mark of similitude; and of *Raui*, which in the Chaldean speech signifieth Boys, or Young men, because Angels appeared in the form of men, and that of young men. And to that similitude those in the tabernacle were made, having wings put to them. Which peradventure Dionysius, and other followed; when they say, that they are signified by the fullness of knowledge, seeing a man, whose figure they bear, differeth in understanding and knowledge from brute beasts.

Wherefore Cherub is a certain figure given, and betokeneth unto us The messengers of God, which with great celerity do all those things which God commandeth. He useth them, and rideth as it were upon the winds, which are governed by those Angels, because by those things, that which God would, is brought to pass. Also, the Ethnics made Mercury with wings, and attributed wings unto the winds. The Angels likewise are often-times put with wings. In Exodus, the Cherubim are made with wings. Isaiah saith, that Seraphim came flying unto him. Ezekiel and Daniel saw Angels flying unto them. These things declare, that the ministry of Angels is exceeding swift. In the 104th Psalm; Who maketh his Angels spirits. We must not here imagine with the Sadducees, as though the Angels were but a bare service of no substance, severed from matter. They are not only moved with the moving that brute creatures have, but they understand, they speak, and they instruct us. An Angel came unto the virgin Marie, and unto Zechariah. Their Angels (as it is in the Gospel) do always behold the face of their heavenly father. Unto the Hebrews they are called Administering spirits. Finally, they govern kingdoms and provinces.

5. It followeth, that I speak somewhat of the visions of Angels. For an Angel appeared unto Manoah; and oftentimes in other places, as the scriptures declare, Angels have been seen of men. But it may be demanded, how they did appear, whether with any body, or only in fantasy: and if with a body, whether with their own body, or with a strange body: and whether the body were taken for a time, or forever? Of these things, there be diverse opinions of men. The Platonists say, that The minds, that is, the Intelligences are so framed, that certain of them have celestial bodies, and some have fiery bodies, some airy, some watery, and some earthy bodies, and some they affirm to be dark spirits, which do continually dwell in darkness and mist. Of these things Marsilius Ficinus hath gathered many things, in his tenth book *De legibus*, and in his Argument of Epinomis. The Peripatetikes affirm, that there be certain Intelligences, which guide and turn about the celestial circles, neither make they mention of any other. Also the school divines have decreed, that those minds and Intelligences are altogether spiritual, and that they have no bodies. And they were led thus to think, by reason that these Intelligences must needs excel the souls of men, whose perfectest faculty consisteth in understanding. Wherefore (as they think) it is meet, that in this work, the Intelligences should much exceed them: and that this cometh to pass, because those heavenly minds have no need of images or of senses, the which being so, it should be superfluous for them to have bodies.

6. But among the Fathers, some have affirmed far otherwise. Origin in his books *περί ἀρχῶν* (as Jerome hath noted in his epistle *Ad Pammachium de erroribus Johannes Hierosolymitani*) saith, that Those spiritual minds, so often as they offend, do fall, and are thrust into bodies, but yet not immediately into the vilest bodies; but first into starry bodies, then into

fiery and airy, afterward into watery, and last of all into human and earthy bodies: and if then also they behave not themselves well, they become devils. And further, that if they will yet then repent, they may come again by the self-same degrees unto their former state. And this he saith, we should understand by that ladder, upon which Jacob saw the Angels ascending and descending. But Jerome, to make the matter more plain, giveth a similitude. If a tribune (saith he) do not rightly execute his office, he is put from that degree, and is made a principal secretary, afterward a senator, a captain over two hundredth, a ruler over fewer, a constable of a watch, afterward a man at arms, 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 young soldier, but a principal secretary. Howbeit, these things be absurd, and worthy to be laughed at. And certainly herein Origin speaketh more like a Platonist, than a Christian. That which he first affirmeth; namely, that souls are thrust into bodies, as unto punishments, is manifestly false; forsomuch as God hath joined the body to the soul, for a help, not for a punishment. Neither doth he well, to put the devil into any hope of salvation in time to come, seeing Christ hath taught the contrary, saying; Go ye cursed into eternal fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. Neither can we in that place understand Eternal, to be only a long space of time. For Christ most plainly expoundeth his meaning, when he saith; Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched. Neither did he truly affirm, that the souls first sinned, before they came into bodies; seeing Paul writeth of Jacob and Esau, that before they were born, and had done neither good nor evil, it was said; Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated: the greater shall serve the lesser. Upon just cause therefore is this opinion of Origin rejected by all men.

7. Augustine in many places seemeth to attribute bodies unto Angels; and namely in his second book *De trinitate*, the seventh chapter, and in the third book, the first chapter. Which the school men perceiving, excused him, saying, that he spake not there after his own judgment, but according to the judgment of others. Which thing I also might allow, for so much as I see, that that father in his eight book and 16th chapter *De civitate Dei*, (after the opinion of Apuleius Madaurensis and Porphyrius) defineth, that Angels be in kind, sensible creatures; in soul, passive; in mind, reasonable; in body, airy; in time, eternal. Doubtless herein he followeth the doctrine of the Platonists; but in the places before alleged, he seemeth to speak altogether of himself. Yea and Barnard also, upon the song of the three children (as it appeareth) is of the same opinion. Wherefore the schoolmen be compelled to devise another shift, and they say; that Angels, if they be compared with men, are spirits: but if with God, they have bodies, because they are destitute of the single and pure nature of God. Tertullian *De carne Christi* affirmeth, that Angels have bodies: but that is the less marvel in him; for he attributeth a body even to God himself. But he calleth a body, whatsoever is; for he dealt with unlearned and rude men, which think, that whatsoever is not a body, is nothing. But the schoolmen say, that Angels in very deed are spirits; but that when they come unto men, they take upon them airy bodies, which they thicken and make very gross, whereby they can both be seen, touched, and perceived, beyond the nature of air. There be some also, which say, that some earthy or waterish thing is mixed with them; but in no wise will grant the same to be any perfect mixture, least they should be compelled there to appoint a generation. There have been also which thought, that Angels took upon them dead carcasses: but this to the more part seemeth an unworthy thing, to be thought of the holy Angels.

8. Here will some man say, that it is an absurd thing to charge the celestial Angels with feigning and lying; as they to feign themselves to be men, and yet are none indeed. Yea and this seemeth to weaken the argument of Christ, which he used after his resurrection, to declare that he had a very body indeed; Feel (saith he) and see: for a spirit hath no flesh and bones, as ye see me have. For the apostles, being dismayed, thought that they had seen a spirit; and therefore to bring them out of doubt, Christ bad them to handle and feel his body. But the apostles might have said; That which we feel is a fantasy, it seemeth indeed to be Christ, but perhaps it is not. For Angels also seem to have bodies, and to be touched and felt, whereas yet they have no bodies indeed. Also this opinion may weaken the argument of the fathers against Marcion, as touching the flesh of Christ. For he did eat (say they) he drank, he was hungry, he slept, he did sweat, and such like; and therefore had a true and human body. Unto these things might be answered, that the self-same things have happened unto Angels, whereas notwithstanding they had no bodies. I answer; that which they first say, that it is absurd to charge the Angels with lies; they should understand that everything, howsoever it be feigned, is not straightway a lie. Christ appeared unto his disciples as a stranger, and yet he lied not; even he was seen unto 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 prove themselves men, but only that they might converse and have communication with men.

To the argument of Christ, as touching his own body, thus I answer: first, the apostles thought that it had been a ghost, which appeared: and therefore Christ, to refell that, saith; Handle and see, for a spirit hath neither flesh nor bones. By the handling it self it might be perceived, that the same, which

was present, was a very true and perfect body, not a vain fantasy. But thou wilt say; It was a true body indeed, but yet taken for a time, and such a body as Angels sometime are wont to put on. But how could it be proved, that it was the same body which lay before in the sepulcher? Herein the authority of Christ, and of the scriptures must be of force: for the scriptures teach plainly enough, that Christ should die, and afterward rise again the third day: but nothing can rise again, except that which fell before, as Tertullian doth very learnedly write. And this did the Schoolmen perceive; whereupon Thomas Aquinas saith, that unless something else can be added, this is no good argument. The same may be answered unto the reasons of the fathers against Marcion. Indeed many of the actions before alleged, may be fit for Angels, or bodies assumed: but yet not all. For, to be born and nourished, to die and to feel, happen neither unto Angels, nor yet unto bodies assumed. But the scripture doth most plainly testify, that Christ was born, that he sorrowed, that he was hungry, that he suffered death, and that he was very true man. But of these things more at large hereafter.

9. There be many other things in the school Divines, as touching these matters: but because they are not so profitable, I will omit them, and will demand this; Whether Angels may take very bodies upon them, and those natural, which were bodies before, and may use them at their liberty, as the devil did put on the serpent, and thereby deceived Eve? An Angel also spake in Balaam's asse, wherefore then cannot an Angel after the same manner possess a human body, and speak therein? Doubtless it is written in the prophet Zechariah; The Angel of the Lord, which spake in me. Wherefore it appeareth, that Angels may use the bodies of men and beasts. Augustine in his third book *De trinitate*, the first chapter saith, that This is a very hard question, whether Angels may adjoin bodies to their own proper

bodies, and change them into diverse forms; as we use to do garments, or also to change them into very 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 writeth; I confess it passeth the strength of my capacity, whether that Angels, retaining the spiritual quality of their own body, may in working more secretly by it, take to them something of the more gross inferior elements, which being framed fit to themselves, may alter and turn the same, as it were a garment, into all bodily forms or shapes; yea, even into the true things themselves, as true water was turned into true wine by the Lord: or else, whether they can transform their own proper bodies into what they will, being applied to that thing which they go about to do. But whether of these be true, it belongeth not to the present question. But I say, that if there were very bodies of Angels, then was Christ's argument firm. And I will more willingly grant unto this, than to say as some do, that Angels deceived the senses of men. For after this manner they will strive against us, when we say that in the Eucharist remaineth bread, which is both seen 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. Truly I deny not, but that sometimes the senses may be deceived; but yet I affirm, that there be two kinds of those things which are perceived by the sense. For some things are common unto many senses, and others are proper unto someone sense alone. For figure, quantity, and number, are perceived of many senses: and doubtless in such things the senses may be deceived. As Carneades was wont to dispute of bending an ore in the water, and of the bigness of the body of the sun. But in things which properly be sensible, the sense is never deceived, unless it be long of some impediment of the body, or overmuch distance, or some such like let. Wherefore, seeing

that in the Eucharist our sense doth show us that bread remaineth, there is no need to feign that the sense is therein deceived.

10. But to appoint a certain compendious way of this disputation, three ways come to mind, by which it may seem that the Angels appeared. [1] For either they were seen in fantasy, so as they were thought to have bodies, when they had not (which way cannot be approved; for they did not beguile the senses, and they were not seen only of one person, but of many, and at many and sundry times, and were in such sort seen, as Abraham washed some of their feet, and Jacob wrestled a whole night with an Angel,) [2] or else they verily appeared with a true body, which notwithstanding was not such a body, as it was thought to be: [3] or else they had the very self-same body, truly and in very deed, which they seemed to have. Tertullian De carne Christi, hath written most learnedly of this third sort; Thou hast sometimes (saith he) both read and believed, that the Angels of the Creator were turned into the shape of a man, and that they carried such a truth of a body, as both Abraham washed their feet, and Lot by their hands was plucked from the Sodomites. An Angel also wrestled with a man, and desired to be loosed from the weight of the body of him, by whom he was held. That therefore, which was lawful unto Angels, which be inferior unto God (namely, that they being turned into the corpulency of men, and yet nevertheless remained Angels) this dost thou take away from God, which is more mighty: as though Christ, taking true manhood upon him, were not able to remain God? Thus Tertullian disputeth against the Marcionites; for they affirmed, that Christ did seem to have, but yet indeed had not, the body of a man. Tertullian objecteth 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 son of God? And he addeth; Or did these Angels also

appear in fantasy of flesh? But thou darest not say so. For if thou account so of the Angels of the Creator, as thou dost of Christ, Christ shall be of the same substance that Angels be of, and the Angels shall be such as Christ is. If thou haddest not of set purpose rejected the scriptures, which are contrary to thy opinion, and corrupted others, the Gospel of John would herein have abashed thee, which declareth, that The spirit coming down in the body of a dove, lighted upon the Lord, which, being the spirit, was as truly a dove, as he was the spirit: neither did the contrary substance taken, destroy his own proper substance.

11. I know there have been some schoolmen, which thought, that it was not a very dove, which descended upon the head of Christ, but that it was only an airy and thickened body, appearing to be a dove. But Augustine De agone Christiano writeth otherwise; namely, that the same was a very dove. For a thing (saith he) is more effectual to express the property of the holy Ghost, than is a sign. Even as Christians also are better expressed in sheep and lambs, than in the likeness of sheep and lambs. Again, if Christ had a true body, and deceived not; then the holy Ghost had the very true body of a dove. Tertullian addeth; Thou wilt demand where the body of the dove became, when the spirit was taken again into heaven, and in like manner of the Angels bodies? It was taken away, even after the self-same manner that it came. If thou haddest seen when it was brought forth of nothing, thou mightest also have known when it was taken away to nothing. If the beginning of it was not visible, no more was the end; then he remitteth the reader unto John: Was he also (saith he) a fantasy after his resurrection, when he offered his hands and feet to be seen of his disciples, saying; Behold, it is I; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have? Therefore Christ is brought in as a juggler or conjurer. And in his third book

against Marcion; Therefore his Christ, that he should not lie nor deceive, and by that means perhaps might be esteemed for the Creator, was not indeed that which he seemed to be, and that which he was, he was feigned 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 bear the shape of God? Shall I believe him as touching this inward substance, that is overthrown about the outward substance? How may he be thought to work soundly in secret, that is perceived to be false openly? And afterward; It is enough for me to affirm that, which is agreeable unto God, namely, the truth of that thing which he objecteth to three senses, to sight, to touching, and to hearing. Again, in his book *De carne Christi*, His virtues (saith he) proved that he had the spirit of God; and his passions, that he had the flesh of man. If virtues be not without spirit, neither shall passions be without flesh. If flesh together with the passions be feigned, the spirit also with his virtues is false. Why doest thou make division of Christ by an untruth? He is all wholly truth.

12. Apelles the heretic, being in a manner vanquished with these reasons, agreed indeed that Christ was endued with very flesh, but yet denied the same to be born, but said, that it was brought forth from heaven. And he objecteth, that The bodies which were taken by Angels, were true bodies, but were not born: such a body (saith he) Christ had. Whereunto Tertullian answereth, They (saith he) which publish the flesh of Christ to be after the example of the Angels, saying, that it was not born, namely a fleshy substance, I would have them also to compare the causes, as well why Christ, as why the Angels did come in the flesh. For there was never any Angel that came down to be crucified, to suffer death, and to rise again. If then there was never any such cause for Angels to incorporate themselves, then hast thou a cause why they take flesh, and yet were not born. They

came not to die, therefore they came not to be born; but Christ being sent to die, it was necessary that he should be born; for no man is wont to die, but he which is born. He addeth moreover; And even then also the Lord himself, among those Angels, appeared unto Abraham, with flesh indeed, without nativity, by reason of the same diversity of cause. After this he addeth, that Angels have their bodies rather from the earth than from heaven. For let them prove (saith he) that those Angels received of the stars substance of flesh; if they prove it not, because it is not written, then was not the flesh of Christ from thence, whereunto they apply their example. And in his third book against Marcion; My God (saith he) which having taken it out of the slime of the earth, formed it a new unto this quality, not as yet by the seed of matrimony, and yet flesh notwithstanding, might as well of any matter have framed flesh unto Angels, which also of nothing framed the world, and that with a word, into so many and such bodies.

Again, in his book *De carne Christi*; it is manifest, that Angels bare not flesh proper of their own, as in the nature of spiritual substance: and if they were of any body, yet was it of their own kind; and for a time they were changeable into human flesh, to the intent they might be seen and converse with men. Further, in the third book against Marcion; Understand thou (saith he) that neither it must be granted thee, that the flesh in Angels was an imagined thing, but of a true and perfect human substance. For if it were not hard for him to give both true senses and acts unto that imagined flesh, much easier was it for him, that he gave a true substance of flesh to true senses and actions: insomuch as he is the very proper author and worker thereof. For it is harder for God to make a lie, than to frame a body. Last of all, he thus concludeth; Therefore are they very human bodies, because of the truth of God, who is far from lying and deceit: and because they cannot

be dealt withal by men, after the manner of men, otherwise than in the substance of men. I might allege many other things out of Tertullian, but these may seem to suffice for this present purpose. Briefly, he thinketh that Angels have bodies for a time, but yet strange, and not their own: for their own bodies (as he thinketh) belongeth unto the spiritual kind. 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 wisdom of God. Thirdly he teacheth, that those bodies were true and substantial, and human bodies; not vain or feigned, but of very flesh; and not of that, which only 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, and also confirm the truth of human flesh in Christ. Whereby it is proved, that men's senses beguiled then not as touching these things; as the Papists confirm, that men are deceived about the bread and wine of the Eucharist.

13. But Origin in his book *περί ἀρχῶν*, as Jerome citeth him against John bishop of Jerusalem, was of a far other mind. For whereas we say, that the visions of Angels may be conceived three manner of ways; to wit, either in fantasy, or in body, but not human: or else in the very true body of a man; he taketh a certain mean, and saith; that The bodies of Angels, wherein they present themselves to the eyes of men, are neither perfect bodies, nor human bodies, nor yet fantastical bodies, and yet bodies nevertheless: and that he applieth to them that rise again. For we shall (saith he) have bodies in the resurrection, but yet only bodies, not bones, not sinews, not flesh. And indeed there is some difference between a body and flesh: for every flesh is a body, but everybody is not flesh. Such a difference Paul toucheth in the first chapter of his epistle to the Colossians, when he said; Ye are

reconciled in the body of his flesh. And in the second chapter; By putting off the sinful body of the flesh. Yea, and in the Creed also we say; that We believe in the resurrection of the flesh, and say not; Of the body. Origin said, that he saw two exceeding errors; the one was, of them which said, that there was no resurrection. Such were the Valentinians and Marcionites; of which sort also were Hymenaeus and Philetus, who (as Paul witnesseth) taught that the resurrection was already past; and such are the Libertines at this day reported to be. For they babble (I cannot tell what) of the matter both ungodly, and unlearnedly. Another of those which think, that perfect and true bodies shall rise again with flesh, sinews, and bones: which thing (he saith) is not possible; for Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.

But Origin should have weighed what Paul said afterward: for he addeth; Neither shall corruption possess incorruption. Wherefore, his meaning is, that a corruptible body cannot possess the kingdom of God. But Origin, to keep himself within that mean, which he appointed, confessed that bodies indeed shall rise again, yet not gross and bony, but spiritual: according as Paul said; It shall rise a spiritual body. But Origin in these words marked not, that Paul calleth it A spiritual body; not because it shall be wholly converted into a spirit, but because it shall have spiritual qualities: namely, incorruption, and most clear brightness. But because he perceived, that the body of Christ, which he after his resurrection offered to his disciples to be handled and felt, was against his doctrine, therefore he saith; Let not the body of Christ deceive you, for it had many singular properties, which are not granted unto other bodies. Further, he would have a true body after his resurrection, to the intent he might prove by this dispensation, that he was truly risen from the dead: not to signify that other bodies should be

semblable unto it at the resurrection. But he showed the nature of a spiritual body at Emmaus, when he vanished from the sight of his disciples; and at another time, when he went in to his disciples, the doors being fast shut.

14. Against these things Jerome repugneth; If Christ (saith he) after his resurrection, did verily eat with his disciples, he had also a very true body: if he did not eat, how did he by a false thing prove the truth of his body? In that he vanished from the sight of his disciples, this was not through the nature of his body, but by his own power: for so in Nazareth, when the people would have assailed him with stones, he withdrew himself out of their sight. And shall we not think, that the son of God was able to do that, which a magician could do? For Apollonius Tyanaeus, when he was brought into the council before Domitian, he forthwith vanished away. That this was in Christ, not in respect of the nature of his body, but of his divine power, it is showed by that which went before in the history. For while he was in the way with his disciples, their eyes were held, so as they could not know him. And whereas Origin affirmeth, that the body of Christ was spiritual, because it came in where the doors were shut: Jerome answereth, that the creature gave place to the creator, &c. Wherefore the body of Christ pierced not through the midst of the planks and boards, so as two bodies had been together in one and the self-same place; but herein was the miracle, in that the very timber of the doors gave way unto the body of Christ.

Further, whereas some do object, that the body of Christ came forth of the sepulcher 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 think that I devise this of myself, let him read the 83rd epistle of Leo unto the bishops of Palestine; The flesh (saith he) of Christ which came out of the sepulcher, the stone being rolled away, &c. Now to

return to the purpose. Because I said that the bodies of Angels, which they take unto them, may be thought either to have been fantastical or spiritual, or else substantial and very human bodies; and that the two first opinions are rejected: it now resteth, that the bodies of Angels, wherein they show themselves to be men, are very true and human bodies: and this only I affirm to be true, seeing Angels were in such sort seen, as they wrestled with men, and offered their feet to be washed. And I judge it not lawful to say, that men's senses were there deceived, seeing the things were outwardly done. I deny not indeed, but that sometimes there happened to the prophets visions imaginative, when they said that they saw God or the cherubim's, 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. Now remaineth two things to be examined; one whether the Angels, having in this wise put on human bodies, may be called men. I think not: for if we understand human flesh, which is formed and born a soul reasonable, surly it cannot be said that Angels in this sort have human flesh. What then (will some say) were the senses beguiled when men saw them? No verily: for the senses do only judge of outward things, and of such things as be apparent: but what doth inwardly force or move those things, which they see, they judge not; this is the part of reason to seek and search out. It must also be added, that Angels did not always keep those bodies with them; because they were not joined unto them in one and the self-same substance, so as the Angel and the body should become one person. The holy Ghost also, although it was a very dove wherein he descended, yet was not he together of one substance with it; wherefore the dove was not the holy Ghost, nor yet the holy Ghost the dove: otherwise Angels, as we taught

before, may enter secretly into a body which was made before, and which before had his being: as it is read of the Angel which spake in the asse of Balaam, and of the devil which spake unto Eve by the serpent. But of this kind we dispute not now; but only say, that Angels abiding after this manner in sensible creatures, are not joined to them in one and the self-same substance. Wherefore the asse could not be called an Angel, nor the Angel, an asse: no more than the serpent was in very deed the devil, or the devil a serpent. But the Son 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 self-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 joined 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 soul, so as there was only one substance or person, then might it be truly said that man was God, and God was man. By which means it came to pass, that he should verily be born, that he should suffer death, and redeem mankind: wherefore he truly called himself The son of man. And in John he saith; Ye seek 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 Isaiah; Behold a virgin shall conceive, and shall bring forth a son.

These words have great force: for unless Christ had been very man, a virgin could not have conceived him, neither have brought him forth, nor yet have called him her son. This doth Tertullian considerately note; If he had been a stranger (saith he) a virgin could not either have conceived him, or born him. Also the Angel saluted Marie on this manner; Fear not (saith he) for thou shalt conceive a son, &c. And Elizabeth said; How happeneth

this to me, that the mother of my Lord cometh unto me? If she had had Christ only as a ghost, she might not be called his mother. Also the said woman said; Blessed be the fruit of thy womb. But how could it have been called the fruit of her womb, if he had brought a body with him from heaven? And in Isaiah it is written; A rod shall come forth of the stock of Jesse, and a blossom shall flourish out of her root. Jesse was the stock, Marie was the root, and Christ was the blossom which took his body of her. Matthew also thus beginneth his gospel; The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. If Christ brought a body from heaven, how was he the son of Abraham, or of David? Moreover, the promise made to Abraham concerning Christ is on this wise; In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed. Paul entreating of these words in the epistle to the Galatians; He said not (saith he) in seeds, as though in many; but in thy seed, which is Christ. And in the epistle to the Romans, we read; Of whom Christ came according to the flesh. All these sayings prove most evidently, that Christ was very man; and that in him was one substance of God and man. These things cannot be said of the Angels, nor yet of the son of God, before he was born of the virgin: although when he appeared, he had very flesh, as we said before, but not joined to him in one and the self-same substance. Neither yet could it be said of the holy Ghost, that he was a very dove indeed; although the same, wherein he once appeared, was a very dove. And according to this sense wrote Tertullian those things that we cited before, which being not rightly understood, might breed either error or offense unto those that shall read them.

16. Now remaineth the other question; to wit, Whether Angels clothed with bodies taken, did eat and drink indeed? Of the Schoolmen some think that they did eat indeed, and some deny it. Scotus thinketh, that to eat, is

nothing else but to chew meat, and to convey it down into the belly: but this did the Angels; wherefore he gathereth that they did verily eat. Others think, that to eat, is not only to chew the meat, or to convey it down into the belly; but further, to convert it into the substance of his own body, by concoction, through the quickening power: which thing, seeing the Angels did not, they did not truly eat. The book of Tobias is not in the canon of the Hebrews; but yet we might apply the same to our purpose, saving that there is a disagreement in the copies. For in that book which Munster set forth in Hebrew, in the twelfth chapter, the Angel Raphael said; I seemed to you to eat and to drink, but I did not eat, nor yet drink. The common translation hath; I seemed to you to eat and to drink, but I use invisible meat and drink. Neither text denieth, but that the Angel did eat after some manner. But whatsoever may be gathered of these words, we thinketh that the interpretation of Augustine in his 13th book *De trinitate*, the 22nd chapter is to be received, where he wrote on this wise; The Angels did truly eat, yet not for need, but to procure conversation and familiarity with men. Wherefore when as in another text it is said, that Raphael did not eat, it must not so be understood, as though he did not eat at all, but that he did not eat after the manner of men. But this is specially to be noted there, that when the Angel answereth, that he doth feed upon invisible meat and drink; that spiritual food was nothing else, but a perfect and manifest knowledge of the true God, and an execution of his divine will. As Christ also said, that His meat was to do the will of his father. The very which also is our meat, although not after the same manner: for they see God manifestly, but we by a glass and in a dark speech.

17. We may call Angels (both according to the Greek and Hebrew name) messengers or legates, verily not as though they should teach God as

concerning the affairs of men, or any other business: nay rather, to the intent that they themselves may be instructed, what they ought to minister, and show tidings of. If so be thou read in the scriptures, that they offer up our prayers, this is not done of them to instruct or teach God: in like manner, as we, when we pray fervently, do not therefore lay before God, our calamities, as though he were ignorant of them: seeing the Lord testifieth of that matter; that He knoweth whereof we have need, even before we ask. But by discovering and laying them open, we ourselves be the more earnestly bent to crave the help of God. And what discommodity should arise, if we affirm this self-same thing to come to pass in Angels? These things did Augustine write in his 15th book *De trinitate*, the 13th chapter. And in *Enchiridio ad Laurentium*, the 58th chapter, he saith the same thing, when he entreateth of the names of Angels, which are recited in the first chapter of the epistle to the Colossians; Let them say what they can what be thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers; so they be able to prove that they say.

And against the Priscillianists, and Originists, the 11th chapter; Archangels (saith he) perhaps are powers, and we deny not, but that there is some difference between these; but to be ignorant of such a thing, will bring no great danger unto us. For there certainly are we in danger, where we despise the commandments of God, or neglect the obedience of him. But if thou wilt ask me, why the scriptures make mention of these things, if the knowing, or not knowing of them be of so small importance? He addeth a fit answer; namely, that If these things have been revealed to some excellent men, they may then know that there is nothing proved for a certainty, which is not found written in the scriptures. To which answer, I add also this other; Because we may be the more humble, and not to puff up ourselves, as

though we were able to sound unto the depth of all that we read in the canonical scriptures.

18. The Jews have noted in the history 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 say was done for honor sake. And thereof they argue further, that Jacob, and every godly man is more worthy than Angels, forsomuch as the person that is met, is more honorable than he that goeth forth to meet. Also, he is better which is borne of any man, than he which beareth him. But the scripture saith, that the Angels do bear [the godly] in their hands, least they should hurt their feet against the stones. Who so ever is appointed to have the custody of another, seemeth to be inferior to him which is kept. By which reasons they make Angels inferior unto holy men, who are called The friends of God. But all men do easily see how these reasons of theirs do prove. For the father and the mother do bear in their arms their young children, do they therefore bear more worthy than themselves? It is said, that Christ doth bear all things by the word of his power; but who is so far beside himself, or deceived, as to judge that things created, be more excellent than the Son of God? The shepherd when he findeth his sheep, beareth it upon his shoulders; doth he bear a better than himself? A father, a master, and a friend, go forth upon the way to meet with their son, scholar, or friend, returning from peril out of a strange country; do they this therefore as unto their better? Men be every-where set over flocks of sheep to keep them, yet are they much better than the sheep. In very deed the Angels do all these things, not that they are bound to us, but to the intent they may be thankful unto God. Wherefore the arguments of the Rabbins are vain and frivolous.

19. But unto this self-same purpose, there be reasons gathered out of the New Testament. For the Apostle saith in the first chapter to the Ephesians; Christ being raised up by his father from death, is lifted up on high, far above all principality, and power, and dominion, and above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come. Further, in the second chapter he testifieth, that God hath taken us up together with him, and hath already made us to sit on the right hand with him: whereby it cometh, that we are accounted greater than the Angels. For if we sit hard by Christ, and he no doubt hath ascended above all creatures, the highest degree giveth also place unto us. Howbeit, this is yet a blunt argument, for it may be, that we shall sit with Christ in glory, taking the saying generally. It is sufficient that we be partakers of that glory. And it followeth not necessarily thereof, that we shall be superiors unto the Angels; unless that thou wilt understand, that the state of men shall then be so absolute and perfect, as they shall have no more need of the help of Angels. When they shall have God and Christ present, and salvation attained, to what purpose shall there be need of the ministry of holy spirits? Whereof understand this reason; If so be that when Christ came, and poured out his spirit plentifully among the faithful, that same instruction of Angels was not used, or needful unto divine things, as commonly it had been in the Old Testament: even so in the everlasting kingdom, where we shall have Christ revealed, and the father evidently known unto us, certainly we shall enjoy the fellowship of Angels, but not use the ministry of them. But as touching the substance and nature of Angels, and of men, we cannot certainly know in what degree we and they shall be placed in the heavenly habitation: but yet, if we respect nature, we doubt not but that they are more excellent than we be. But who

can boldly either affirm or deny, whether the grace and spirit of God shall more abound in some certain men than in them?

Nevertheless, as concerning the place of S. Paul 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 head, may be said to sit at the right hand of the father, above all creatures. But afterwards, if one would infer thereby [that we shall do the same] as touching our own proper nature or person, that cannot be proved by any firm argument. And Paul useth things past for things to come, to wit, that we are already taken up, and sit in heavenly places (and that not without reason) that he might make the same more certain, even as those things be which are past already. Or else, if we have respect to the will and decree of God, these things be already done. But in the epistle to Timothy, the self-same things are assigned unto the time to come, when the Apostle saith; If we be dead together with Christ, we shall live together with him: If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him. Yet nevertheless, we must not accuse him of a lie, in that he useth those times that be past, instead of the times to come. For whatsoever is come to pass in our head, we confess it to be done in us; in so much verily, as we are grown up together with him. Wherefore let none say; If Christ be risen from death, if he be carried up into heaven, if he sit at the right hand of God, what belongeth this unto me? Yes doubtless, very much, for whatsoever hath happened unto him, thou mayest of good right esteem that it hath happened to thyself. Those shall not greatly trouble us, which by thrones, principalities, powers and dominions, will have to be understood such princes, monarchs, and magistrates. For Paul, when he maketh mention of these, speaketh manifestly of Angels, and of spirits that be above: whom in the second to the Ephesians, he calleth rulers or guiders of the world: and to

the Colossians he saith; Christ hath spoiled principalities and powers, and hath led them as it were in open triumph. In which place who seeth not, that these words do signify unto us the spirits which be adversaries unto God?

20. But whereas it is said in the first to the Corinthians, the 15th chapter; When he hath put down all principality, and rule, and power: these things, as well Chrysostom, as diverse other interpreters, refer unto the devil, and other wicked spirits, being soldiers of his band; which I mislike not. Albeit, if any will understand them as concerning magistrates and principalities of this world, I will not be against it. For kings and princes have the sword, to the intent that sin may be kept in subjection; and that innocent subjects may be defended from violence and injuries: which things shall take no place, when things shall be set at peace and quietness by Christ. We might also under these names comprehend the good Angels, which be assigned as ministers and helpers unto us, while we be here in this miserable life; as we read in the epistle to the Hebrews, and as Daniel testifieth, they be set over kingdoms, and they be the guardians of men: seeing Christ said, as touching the young children; Their Angels do always behold the face of the Father. But when the kingdom of Christ shall be fully appeased, then these ministries shall be superfluous; and therefore it is said, that they shall be taken away. Yea, and the labors of the sun, moon, stars, and celestial bodies shall not be needful: for therefore are they moved, and keep their circuit in the world, that they may drive away darkness and cold; and because that fruits also may be brought forth for the defense of our infirmity: which being perfectly healed, these helps and supportations shall be at rest. Wherefore we read in the Revelation of John, that an Angel sware by him that liveth forever, that hereafter there should be no time anymore: which cannot be taken away, unless the motions of the heavens 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 ecclesiastical dignities and functions, which now indeed further unto edification: but when all things shall be perfect and absolute in the elect, they shall cease and have an end.

Many things hath Dionysius concerning the signification of the words Principality, power, and dominion; but yet such as are spoken only of him: for among the rest of the fathers, there is very little extant as touching these things; and that for good cause: for the holy scriptures teach not these things, because they further not to our salvation. Wherefore they, which be of the greatest judgment in ascribing of books to the true authors of them, do not think that Dionysius, which wrote of these things, is that Areopagita the scholar of Paul, but some later Dionysius. Neither is it likely to be true, that that work was in estimation long ago, seeing that (Gregory except, who was a Latin man) none of the ancient fathers cited those writings. I have heard sometimes diverse say, that these surnames of Angels were commonly translated by a metaphor taken of the powers of this world; and therefore they would that Paul, when he happened to make mention of Angels, remembered these names: as if he should say; Whether they be principalities or dominions. And they allege the place unto the Ephesians, where it is said; that Christ is set above every name that is named, whether it be in this life, or in the life to come. But I do not much allow this judgment, because not only the Rabbins, but also the holy scripture hath the name of Archangel, or Seraphim, and of Cherubim; which things declare, that among the celestial spirits there be certain orders and diverse offices.

21. Perhaps therefore the scripture, by the name of principality understands the higher spirits, unto whom is committed nothing but the charge of provinces, empires, and kingdoms. This meant Daniel, when he wrote of the prince of the Grecians, and of the Persians, and brought in Michael the prince of God's people. Power, called in Greek δύναμις, is taken of Paul for that power, which is given of God to work miracles, whereby the wicked may be restrained: whereunto answereth on the other side, τό ἴαμα, which signifieth, The gift of healing. For even as by that power wicked men were chastened, so by this the vexed were made whole. By this power Peter slew Ananias and Zaphira, Paul made blind Elimas the sorcerer, and delivered diverse, which had sinned, into the hands of Satan. And those Angels in the eight chapter to the Romans, are called by this name, which be sent by God to punish the wicked. Such were they that destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah; and such was that Angel, which went between the host of the Egyptians, and the people of God, and which drowned Pharaoh with all his in the sea; and whom David saw upon the threshold of Areuna, destroying the people of God; and which consumed the host of Sennacherib with fire. Albeit God doth sometime the self-same things by evil Angels. For so David writeth in the psalm; that God sent plagues among the Egyptians, by the hands of evil Angels. Paul [in that place to the Romans] nameth the orders of the Angels by their ministries and offices. And it is a thing worthy to be noted, that in the holy scriptures there be very few things mentioned of Angels: for subtly and earnestly to search after them, declareth rather our curiosity, than furthereth our salvation. But those things which serve to edifying, are most diligently set forth in the scriptures: which thing I would to God that the Schoolmen had observed, for then they had not left behind them so many intricate and unprofitable

things, which at this day are to no purpose, and with great offense disputed of. It is profitable for us to understand, that there be certain Angels appointed about our affairs; for by that means we perceive the goodness of God towards us. And on the other side also it is profitable to know, that there be some evil spirits, by whom we be continually assaulted; both, that we may beware of them, and that we may implore the help of God against them. And these things indeed, because they be profitable to be known, the holy scripture hath not kept them in silence.

Of the estate of man; In Gen. 2:7.

22. When thou hearest that God did shape man, think not only upon these outward parts or lineaments, but consider the inward parts; namely, the uppermost skin, the veins and sinews, the powers and passages, the bones, marrow, and these instruments of our life, which lie hidden within. But I consider three principal things in the creation of man. First, consultation; Let us make man. Secondly; God formed him of the dust. Thirdly; that He breathed in his face the breath of life. Thou shalt not read that it was so done in other living creatures. And yet thou mayest find the verb of making or forming in other places attributed unto the heavens, and to other things; namely, in the 95th psalm; His hands have formed the dry land. In the 45th of Isaiah; It is I that formed the light. In the seventh of Amos; He formed grasshoppers. But it is not the last or least dignity of man's body, that the same is of an upright stature. Whereof Ovid;

Where stooping unto earth, each beast doth downward bend:

A face upright to man he gave, to heaven for to tend.

And he formed him out of the earth. Wherefore the name of Adam, was of earth; as if thou shouldest say, sprung of the earth. Albeit some say, that it was of Adom, that is Red; because that earth was red. First therefore is

formed the instrument, that is to wit, the body: next was added the mover, that is the soul, which should use the same. He breathed in his face or nostrils. For *Appaiim* first signifieth the nostrils; then, by the figure Synecdoche, by a part, the whole is taken for the countenance and face. Here it may signify both: first, the nostrils; because those, by drawing of breath, do chiefly show life: secondly, if thou understand it for the face, therein appear excellent tokens of the soul and of the life. Some would the metaphor to be taken from the forming of glasses. For by blowing thorough certain instruments they shape cups, boules, and diverse sorts of vessels. Howbeit, consider thou that here there is a metaphor, seeing God neither hath mouth, nor yet doth breath: even as he also hath no hands, by which he might frame men's bodies. But in these things it behooveth that thou understand the mighty power of God, his commandment, and most present strength. As touching the words *Neschama*, and *Nephesch*, they both of them sometime signify a blast of wind, or a breath: and otherwhile they be taken for substance, and for the soul, because the life is chiefly retained and showed by drawing of breath. Yea, and the Latin word *Anima*, that is the soul, is so called of wind and blast. In Greek it is *ἄνεμος*. It is also called of the Grecians *ψυχή*, of refrigeration or cooling. So as all these proper speeches may seem to have conspired together about the naming of the soul; that it should be so called of breathing out.

Hereupon, by reason of a double signification of the foresaid word, because it signifieth both the soul and a blast, there ariseth a double exposition. The first saith; By the commandment of God was the nostrils or face of man's body breathed into, and so he received life and soul: not that that blast was the soul, but a certain sign that the same should be planted in man by an outward beginning, and that the works of nature should not be

expected, as the rest of the lives are had of other living creatures. And so we read in the Gospel, that Christ breathed upon the Apostles, and said; Receive ye the holy Ghost. And yet was not that blast the nature of the holy Ghost, but a sign thereof, that he would from without come into their souls, and that by the work of Christ. Again, in taking of that word for a blast, we might say, that God breathed; that is, he made man himself to breath; that is, after the body was made, he gave him the power of breathing: so as he being alive, and endued with a soul, might be seen and beheld. The second interpretation is, that that blast is taken for the soul, which is given unto us by God. And they say, that *Nischmath* doth chiefly signify that which is divine and reasonable; that doth God give unto us. And where it is added; Man was made a living soul: *Nephesch* signifieth a sensible life, whereof other living creatures be partakers. Which thing plainly declareth unto us, that a soul reasonable is given unto us from above by God, and hath with it all power that other inferior creatures have.

Hence is excluded a double error. For we must not think, that the soul is of the substance of God, for that is invariable, and immutable: but the soul may become miserable, and it appeareth to be most inconstant. Furthermore, it is no blast of the nature and substance of the dying man: neither must it on the other side be accounted of the same quality and nature, that the lives be of other living creatures, because it is most certain, that in them is no understanding, seeing in the 32nd psalm, it is said of the horse and of the mule, that in them there is no understanding. And other beasts might think themselves wrongfully subdued unto men, if they had been endued with the same kind of soul. But this opinion needeth not to be confuted by many reasons, seeing the best philosophers were displeased therewith:

Look the propositions out of the second chapter of Genesis, in the end of this book.

23. But here they doubt, whether all the souls of men were created by God at the beginning, or else be made by him, and planted in bodies, according as the course of nature seemeth to require. There be some have thought, that they were all created at the beginning; among whom also there were many of the Jews. And among us Origin hath been reckoned of that opinion. And it seems that they were upon this cause moved hereunto; for that a reasonable soul being incorruptible, is not procreated of any matter. And therefore they say, that the same being by God made of nothing, it might not be truly said of him, that he rested the seventh day from all his work as touching creation. But this opinion hath no likelihood of truth. For seeing the soul is the lively part and form of the body, it seemeth that the bringing forth of them should be both joined together. Moreover, I would demand whether they be idle, or do something, all the while that they have their being before the body? If thou say that they be idle, it seemeth absurd, that things should be so long time destitute of their working. But if so be they do something, that must of necessity be either good or evil. But the scripture in the ninth to the Romans, pronounceth plainly of Jacob and Esau, that before they had done either good or evil.

But that which moveth more, is the history of the creation, which sheweth unto us, that the soul was made even when the body was wrought out of the earth. For seeing there is no mention made thereof before, and that the production of so notable a thing should not have been kept in silence, it remaineth to be understood, that it was made by God even then, when we read, that it was inspired or blown in by him. But that reason, which concerneth the ceasing from all his labor, we may easily answer, if we say,

that now also God doth work, either through the continual government of things; or else because, whatsoever things he maketh, are referred to the former, and be of the same kind that those be which were made in the first six days. But why the body was first made before the soul, this reason is showed by the fathers: because, if the soul should have been brought in before the body, it might have been idle, being without the organ and instrument of his actions. But this order hath God observed, that always should be first prepared those things, wherein the more excellent things should abide; and then to bring in the things themselves, that they might work so soon as ever they be made. First the earth was discovered from the waters, then the Sun and the Moon were made, which should exercise their power and strength upon the earth and plants thereof. All beasts were first made, and all the springs and plants of the earth; and last of all, man, which should be set over all these things, that immediately after he was created, he might have somewhat to do. In like manner now, the body is first, and then followeth the soul, least it should be idle. By which purpose of God we are taught, that among us this also may be done, that the more any men do excel, the more ready matter of working is ministered unto them, least they should live idly.

24. Moreover, man (saith Ibn-ezra) being made a living soul, he straightway moved himself: the first man was not created to be weak as young children be, which cannot guide themselves and walk; but after the manner of other living creatures, which walk immediately after they be brought forth;) or else he showed the tokens of the presence of the soul; moving (I mean) and sense. For these two (as Aristotle affirmeth) seemed to all the ancient philosophers to be the chief effects of the soul. Of this blast of God upon the dust or clay, whereof the body of man was compact (we

perceiving the same to be so mighty, as it quickened forthwith, and gave strength to all members) there is gathered a good argument for the easiness of our resurrection. For if his spirit shall blow again upon the ashes of the dead, they shall most easily put on again their souls, as it is described in the 37th chapter of Ezekiel, where he sheweth, that by the breath of the spirit of God those bones were quickened; which last renewing of bodies, shall so far excel this, as Paul calleth this first man Of the earth, earthy; and the latter he calleth both spiritual and heavenly.

25. But let us see how it is true that is avouched [in the ninth of Genesis] that the blood is the soul. This the Manichees cannot abide in the Old Testament, and reprove it as a lie: for they utterly renounce the old books. And that which is written in Genesis, Leviticus, and Deuteron. they taunt with these arguments. In the first to the Corinthians the 15th chapter it is said; Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, therefore blood is not the soul: otherwise Paul had excluded souls out of the kingdom of heaven. Further, Christ in the gospel saith; Fear not those which kill the body, and have not to do with the soul: if so be that the blood be the soul, then without controversy, the tyrants have to do with it, they shed it, they destroy it, &c: while they kill the holy martyrs of God. These arguments are two manner of ways dissolved by Augustine against Adimantus. In the Old Testament the speaking is of the lives of brute beasts, but the arguments, which these men bring out of the New Testament, conclude as touching a reasonable and human soul: wherefore their own argument hath reproved them unawares. But the more thoroughly to confute their first argument, note, that when Paul in that place speaketh of the resurrection to come, he by flesh and blood meaneth, that the conditions of a mortal body shall be taken away from the saints at the resurrection. Which thing, the words

alleged there by him do declare; It is sown in corruption and mortality, but it shall rise again in contrary conditions.

But thou imaginest, that as well the life of brute beasts, as the souls of men are called blood. That must be a figurative speech, to be interpreted by the figure Metonymia, as it were the sign put for the thing signified. In like manner as Augustine testifieth against Adimantus; the Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body. Seeing therefore the blood is a sign of the presence of the soul, therefore it may be called the soul itself. Again, as by the same figure, the thing containing is taken for the thing contained. For who is ignorant, that the soul of man is after a sort contained in the blood, which being spilled and consumed, it cannot abide any longer in the body: yea, and it is so joined to the same, as it followeth in a manner the affections, and perturbations thereof so long as we live in this life. Yea, and some have thought that it was therefore decreed, that men should refrain from eating of blood, least they should become of beastly manners; which they say are easily carried into our mind, if we should eat the blood of wild beasts: which thing I have alleged, not as though I allow this to be the cause why God gave that commandment, but to declare the conjunction even of man's soul with the body.

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 us make man after our image and likeness, that he may have dominion over the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea, and the beasts of the earth. Where it appeareth, that herein standeth the image of God, that he should be ruler over all creatures, even as God is the ruler over all things. Augustine doth oftentimes refer this to the memory, mind and will, which being faculties of one and the self-same soul, do represent (as he saith) the three persons in one substance. Howbeit

this doctrine of Augustine, doth rather show the cause of the image. For man is not set above other creatures, to have dominion over them, for any other cause, but in respect that he is endued with reason, which plainly sheweth itself by these three faculties. But yet this is not all that the image of God is bound unto. For it is not enough to govern and rule well the creatures of God, with memory, mind, and will; except we both understand, remember, and will those things, which be pleasing unto God. For if our mind remain infected, as it is, with sin; it will not lawfully have dominion of things, but will rather exercise tyranny against them. Wherefore the image of God is the new man, which understandeth the truth of God, and is desirous of the righteousness thereof; as Paul hath taught us, when he writeth to the Colossians; Put upon you the new man, which is shaped again in the knowledge of God, according to the image of him which created him. Where we see, that the knowledge of God is true and effectual, to lead unto the image of perfection. And this is more expressly set forth in the epistle to the Ephesians; Put you on the new man, which is created according to God, in righteousness and true holiness. When our mind is both endued with the knowledge of God, and adorned with righteousness, then doth it truly express God. For righteousness, and the knowledge of divine things are nothing else, but a certain flowing in of the divine nature into our minds.

But perhaps thou wilt urge, that after this manner a woman also is the image of God. We say, that if thou compare her with the rest of the creatures, she is the image of God; for she hath dominion over them, and hath the use of them. But in this place thou must compare her unto man, and then is she not said to be the image of God, because she doth not bear rule over the man, but rather obeyeth him. Wherefore Augustine in the 13th chapter of his book *De trinitate* said; If it be understood of man and woman,

in respect that they be endued with mind and reason, it is meet that they should be according unto the image of God: but the woman being compared unto man, as touching the actions and affairs of this life, she is not the image of God, because she was created to be a helper of man. And in the same place he hath another exposition, but the same allegorical. He saith, that we be called men, seeing we contemplate God; and that we are of good right bare headed, because we must there repose ourselves with incessant endeavor: for unsearchable is the end of divine things. But we are called women (saith he) when we descend with our cogitations unto the care of earthly things. There it is meet to have the head covered, because a measure must be used, and we must take heed, that we be not too much plunged in worldly things. Howbeit we must not lean unto allegorical interpretations. The exposition which we alleged before is plain.

Of the image of God, look more in the propositions out of the first and second chapters of Genesis, in the end of this book.

27. The image of any man is the form, whereby it representeth him. A similitude of any man is a quality, wherein it resembleth him. What this image then is, let us most absolutely declare. A man not only hath the power and strength of understanding, whereby he is not far from God; but he is also created with most excellent and heavenly qualities. He is endued with justice, wisdom, mercy, temperance, and charity. But the very full image of God, is Christ, as touching his divine nature; and further, as concerning his human nature, so much as there can be of the similitude of God in it: as appeareth in the first to the Hebrews, the first to the Colossians, and in the eight chapter to the Romans. Again; This is my well-beloved son in whom I am well pleased. We were made, to the end we should be such: for we have understanding, and are capable of divine perfections. In them we were

made, but we cannot be restored unto them, unless it be by the help and example of Christ, who is the principal and true image. How much we be the image of God, it appeareth by our felicity, which we have one and the same with our God; I mean, in loving and knowing. But if thou demand, by what power men rule over things? Doubtless not by bodily strength: for as touching that, the most part of living creatures exceed us. Wherefore this is done by reason, counsel, and art: by which man not only mastereth and taketh these living creatures, but he also moveth and changeth exceeding great and weighty things. This power is chiefly restored by faith; Thou shalt walk upon the adder and dragon: Psal. 91. Daniel was cast unto the lions; Christ lived among wild beasts in the wilderness; Paul took no harm by the viper; Samson and David overcame the lions.

As touching this dominion over beasts, there ariseth a difficulty; wherefore were these wild beasts made, that they should be a trouble unto men? I answer, to the intent that wicked children might be chastened. After sin, a scourge was meet for him; sin armed our own servants against us: for which cause the irruption and invasion of beasts was sent, as testifieth the scripture in the fifth of Ezekiel; I will send hunger and wicked beasts among you. Unto the righteous man all appeared to be meek and quiet. And now, albeit that they have rebelled, yet it happeneth that very few perish thereby. And if any man be destroyed by them, there cometh profit unto us two manner of ways by it. First, it is an example of the severity of God, as in the Samaritans, which were slain by the lions; the second book of Kings, the 17th chapter: in the children which were killed by the bears, because they mocked Elisha; the second book of Kings, the second chapter: in the disobedient prophet, which the lion killed: the first of Kings, the 13th chapter. Furthermore, it is showed how great the majesty of God is, that

even the wild beasts do revenge the injury done unto him. Lastly, behold here with me the goodness of God towards us, which hath bounded this hurtful cattle within the precincts of the desert and solitary places, and in a manner permitted them to wander but only in the night. Here also may man see his calamity after sin, that he being such and so notable a creature, should perish with the sting of one little silly scorpion, or by the biting of a mad dog. But yet nevertheless, the wild beasts have not been able, in respect of sin, utterly to shake off the yoke of men; they fear and tremble at the sight of him, yea, and thou mayest see a child to rule, beat, and threaten the greatest beasts. In him they do reverence the image of God.

28. This image is not properly meant as touching the body, seeing God is not of bodily substance; yet is it not far from the similitude of God, seeing as an instrument it expreseth many similitudes of God, which lie hidden in the soul. But there were some among the Hebrews, which affirmed that this was also spoken as concerning the body, if thou shalt respect those images and similitudes, wherein God showed himself to be seen unto the Patriarchs and Prophets. For he appeared as the son of man, the first chapter of Ezekiel, the seventh chapter of Daniel, and the sixth of Isaiah. Which reason of theirs, if it were to be allowed, we say that this was the rather true, by reason of the incarnation of Christ; to wit, that such a body was given unto man, as God did beforehand determine, that his word should take upon him. But (as I have said) this is understood of the inward man; namely, of the soul, whereof the body is the instrument, and therefore not altogether strange from that similitude. Wherefore thou hast here the true knowledge of man. Man is a creature of God, formed according to the image of his maker. By which declaration, not only his nature endued with reason is known, but also his properties, and his end; namely felicity, that according

to this his constitution, he should live in such actions, as may express the image of God.

Hereupon depend the laws, both of nature and of man, even that this image may be restored and preserved, that man may keep free dominion. Hereof it cometh, that of this excellent state, and condition of man's nature, proceedeth all virtues; as to be just, valiant, and endued with charity. From this condition of man's nature we may gather, that virtues are engrafted in man by nature: and that the arguments, whereby Aristotle in his second book of Ethics proveth the contrary, taketh place in this our corrupted nature. Thou mayest also consider the goodness of God, for that the felicity of man (over and besides the excellent actions of virtue) requireth abundance of outward things, seeing those be instruments; for by riches, as by instruments, we do many things: and therefore God would at the beginning adorn the first man, with such great riches and empire. Also man by this place is admonished of his duty, manner and form of all his actions. How often soever he is about to do anything, let him say with himself: Is this to show my father? Is this to live according to the image? By this also we learn, how convenient is our deliverance by Christ. For seeing our perfection consisteth in this, that we should retain the image of God, which was obscured by the fault of our first parents, it was very meet, that the same should be again imprinted in men by Christ, that is, by his spirit, which is the very lively image of God. And hereby we may learn, what dignity the Church of God is of; what manner of citizens it hath, and requireth; namely, such as be like unto God: finally, when thou hearest that God created man, thou must call to mind as touching the body, the whole workmanship of all the instrumental parts, and the commodities and

ornaments of the several members: and as touching the soul, all the powers, qualities, and actions which are found therein.

Of Paradise.

29. It is said, that God planted Paradise in Heden. But this word Paradise, although it be common as well to the Greeks as to the Hebrews, yet in very deed it is a Hebrew word, since Solomon used the same in Ecclesiastes the second chapter: and it signifieth a garden. So great a care had God of man, whom he had created, as he would have him set in a place of the greatest pleasure and delight. Heden in the second chapter of Genesis signifieth a region, so called by reason of the pleasant and delectable soil. And that the same was a region, we gather by diverse places. In the fourth chapter of Genesis it is said of Cain, that he lived like a runagate in the land of Nod eastward from Heden. And in the 27th chapter of Ezekiel there is mention made of the children of Heden, which are joined with Chamne and Charam. And we know that Charam is a region of Mesopotamia, unto which Abraham went, when he came forth of his country. So likewise we read of the children of Heden, in the 37th chapter of Isaiah: wherefore it is not only known to be a region; but by the reading of these prophets, we conjecture the coast and site wherein it is. Further, of the garden of Heden, there is oftentimes mention made in the holy scriptures; but that is by a manner of comparison, when the pleasantness of any place is to be expressed, as in the second of Joel, in the 51st of Isaiah, and in the 28th of Ezekiel. Wherefore (in mine opinion) they are very much deceived, which will understand all things here by allegory: for it was a garden indeed, planted by the commandment of God.

Neither are they to be heard, which seek for such a paradise upon the highest mountains, so as they would have the same to be near the moon, or

under the equinoctial line, by reason of the temperature of the air. Which opinion is disproved by these things, which we have said. It was planted by God in a certain region, which is not far from Mesopotamia. The history also is declared by Moses; wherefore we must not make a mere allegory thereof. It is said, that it was planted in the oriental part: which nevertheless some understand; From the beginning: seeing under that word, both may well be signified. The Hebrew interpreters (for the most part) understand it of the east situation, whom the seventy interpreters by their exposition do allow. Albeit they think (and it seemeth not absurd) that this garden was planted by the power of God the third day, when the rest of the green trees, plants, and herbs were brought forth; but yet placed in the second chapter, when the history of man's creation is set forth. Indeed that garden was appointed for the habitation of man. Howbeit this is but a small controversy; whether the same were planted the third day, or on the sixth, it maketh no great matter.

Look the propositions out of the fourth chapter of Genesis, at the end of this book.

30. Out of the region, wherein paradise was set, there issued forth a river or fountain, which went into the garden, and watered the same: and from thence it was divided into four branches. Whereabout this division is made, whether at the departing out of paradise, or at the very breaking forth from Heden, it doth but little appear by the words: but the greater part do judge, that it is to be thought, that it issueth forth from the entrance of paradise. Two of the names of the rivers be certain, and two be doubtful. As touching Euphrates and Tigris, which compass about Mesopotamia, there is no doubt. As concerning Physon and Ghihon what they are, the interpreters do vary. But by our writers Physon is taken for Ganges; but it is Nile, whose original

is so uncertain, as thereof hath risen a proverb (touching them which inquire after things that be very doubtful) that They seek the head of Nile. If there be any things reported of the beginning thereof, they are very uncertain; and (as many do affirm) it may arise in some other place, than it seemeth to do, and afterward break out through hollow places and parts under the earth, unto that place which seemeth now to be the fountain and head thereof: that no doubt is Nile. The fourth river Ghihon is thought of many to be Nile; which thing I think not to be true. For in the first of Kings, the first chapter, David commandeth that his son Solomon should be conveyed to Ghihon, which river the Chaldean interpreter translateth Syloa, whereof there is mention in the Gospel, and in Isaiah. And it is said, that it watereth the whole land of Ethiopia; not that Ethiopia which is in Egypt, but perhaps the Midianites and Ethiopians, which were neighbors to the Israelites; from whence was Ziphora an Aethiop woman, the wife of Moses, who nevertheless is said to be a Madianite. Wherefore by these known names of the rivers it is manifest, that paradise was in a certain region of the east part.

And we must not forget, that the word paradise is translated, to signify the state of eternal felicity: as when Christ said to the thief; This day shalt thou be with me in paradise. And Paul in the first to the Corinthians, the 12th chapter saith, that he was raptured up into paradise. The metaphor is plain, and very comfortable; as who would say, that is a pleasant and delectable garden, where it shall be lawful for us to enjoy God. Whereupon the Gentiles account their fields *Elysii* as gardens, [where they imagined the souls of good men to dwell.] But let us return to our terrestrial Heden. What is become thereof at this day? There be some which think, that it is yet extant, and that the place cannot be come unto. Others think, that it is no more to be found; unto which opinion I might easily subscribe. For seeing

that place was assigned unto man, when he was innocent; he ceasing to be such a one, unto what use should the garden serve? Wherefore this place either was taken away, when the flood drowned the world; or else immediately after the curse given to the man, the woman, and the serpent, when as the earth also was cursed, and then all those pleasures and delights perished. Against which opinion that nevertheless may seem to be, which is spoken of the Cherubim, that was set with a two-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 custody remained until Noah's flood. These things may we declare unto you, out of the saying of diverse interpreters; when as yet there is no certain determination made of this thing out of the holy scriptures.

That Adam used the Hebrew speech it is noted upon Gen. the first, verse the eight. And of the confusion of tongues, look the eleventh chapter of Genesis. Also if any be desirous to know the original of diverse nations and countries, let him read in Genesis, the tenth chapter, and Judge. 12:6.

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 lived so long; and that this age afterward was shortened by little and little, until it was brought by a common course unto fourscore years? Many were the causes of that long life in the old time. [And it hath been the general opinion, as well among the philosophers as Divines, that those ancients lived all that while by nature, and not miraculously. [1] And the first reason that moved them thereunto, was; that our first parents Adam and Eve were created immediately by the hand of God, without any means 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 means the children proceeding from them, resembled their parents in sound and good complexion, until the third generation. [2] Secondly, in those days they had no such cause to breed diseases and infirmities, as did afterward follow to their succession. [3] Thirdly, their temperance in eating and drinking, as well in quantity as in quality, did much further them; because they were not acquainted with the eating of flesh, nor yet with the confection of so many dainty dishes, as we are in these days. [4] Furthermore, in those days, fruits, plants and herbs were of more virtue than now they be, because they sprang from a new made ground, and as yet became not barren with the inundation of waters. [5] Also Adam out of all doubt knew the property of all herbs and plants, for the preservation of health, more than we at this day do, and brought the same knowledge to his succession after him. [6] Moreover, the course of the heavens, and the influence of the stars and planets were then more favorable unto them, than they be now unto us, when as they have passed so many eclipses, aspects and conjunctions; whereof proceedeth so great alterations and changes upon the earth.] [7] Besides this, many children were then to be procreated, and the world to be replenished, which was done by the means of long life. [8] Arts were to be found out, wherefore long life was requisite; for they are learned by experience. [9] And (that which was the chiefest cause) it behooved that the worshipping of the only true God should be retained among men; which thing in so great a variety of people might hardly have been done. Afterward, when so great a procreation was not needful, when arts were found out, and the holy scriptures (unto which the service of God was fastened) were given unto us, long life would have been tedious. The patriarch Jacob said; Few and evil are the days of thy servant, if they should

be compared unto the age of our forefathers, not to our age. So this shortening of man's age, was done of a certain mercy of God towards us.

But why did those first men abstain so long from procreation of children? For it is written, that they begat children at the age of five hundred years, at a hundred and thirty, and not before. Augustine in the 15th book *De civitate Dei*, the 15th chapter saith, that It may be answered two manner of ways; the first is, that in these men it was long before they came to the age of procreation, and that they enjoyed not the power of seed so soon as we do. Which answer may thus be confirmed; our age is divided into infancy, childhood, youth, and man's state. Wherein if so be the number of years be proportioned to the rate of our whole age, so was it then. And therefore, if their life did so greatly exceed ours, it behooved also that the time of their infancy and childhood should be more at length extended and enlarged. The second answer is, that in that genealogy, the descent is not reckoned from one first begotten to another. For it may be, that there were others begotten even before them; which thing is after this manner declared. The purpose of the scripture is to convey the course of the narration unto Abraham, from whom the people of Israel had their beginning: wherefore in the genealogy those children are chosen to be described, by whom they descend unto him. But it is of no necessity, that those had been of the first begotten. Even as in the gospel of Matthew, where the meaning of the Evangelist, in describing of the stock of Christ, is to descend by David unto Christ himself, therefore he doth not always take the first begotten; for Ishmael was born before Isaac, Esau went before Jacob: and in the order of the procreation, Judah among the children of Jacob was not the first begotten. And by Judah himself other children were begotten, before Phares and Zerah of Tamar. Neither was David the eldest son of his father, but the youngest among the

rest of his brethren. But by others, the stock would not have descended unto Christ. But why specially it was so long before that Noah begat children, was (as saith Rabbi Selomoh) because that the children, which should have been begotten before of him, might easily have been infected with the vices of other men. And God would that they, at the time of the flood, should be younger, whereby they might not be infected with such horrible vices as others were.

Finally, it is thus argued; These, if they had been born long before the flood, would either have been just or wicked; if they had been wicked, they must therefore have perished with others, and by that means sorrow had been added unto a righteous father, which thing God would not; if they had been good, and they also had begotten others, and perhaps Noah himself others also: all which, if God would have saved for Noah's sake, the ark should have been made much bigger. Whereby Noah had been more wearied, in the building of it, than reason would. This seemeth to be a pleasant devise. But (as I have said before) it shall appear sufficiently to a Christian man, that either these were not the first among his children, or else that children were denied him, so long as it pleased the Lord. Neither is it meet to cleave unto fables, so curiously invented. But what shall we say as concerning the great number of years, wherein they are said to have lived? Shall we be so hardy to affirm, that those were not so long as these years of ours, but that they were of two or three months long? And Pliny seemeth to report in the 7th book of his natural history, that diverse countries made their computation of years otherwise than we do; and that thereby it came to pass, that some may seem to have lived longer than the common course. This cannot possibly be proved by this argument; because in the description of the ark, and of the flood, there is mention made of the

second and tenth month: wherefore the same manner of years was then that are now. [Yea and by the whole course of the history ye may plainly perceive, that the full number of days and months, which we use in our age (or at the least wise within very few more or less) were completed at that time. For in the 17th day of the second month, at what time as the fountains of the great deep did break up, Noah entered into the ark. The 17th day of the second month, the ark rested upon the tops of Armenia. In the first day of the tenth month, the tops of the mountains were seen; then followed forty days before Noah opened the window of the ark; whereunto add 14 days more, which were spent in sending forth of the dove. Which being in all 54 days, or two months, make up the full number of twelve months; the very same reckoning which we at this day observe. So we have it sufficiently proved, that seeing as well the years as months of old time were the very same that ours be, or little differing, the time of their life in those days was no less, than the scriptures declare.]

Look the propositions out of the fourth chapter of Genesis, at the end of this book.

Of Giants.

32. Now, seeing that in the holy scriptures, there is mention made oftentimes of giants, it shall not be unprofitable if we speak somewhat of them. First we must understand, that they be called by diverse names in the scriptures, as Rephaim, Nephilim, Emim, and Hanakim. The Hebrew verb Hanak, is to environ or compass about, and from thence is derived the noun Hanak: and in the plural number it is both the masculine and feminine gender, and signifieth a chain; and it is transferred unto notable and famous men: as if thou shouldest say Knight and chainmen. But they were called Emim, by reason of a terror which they brought upon others with their look.

They were called Zamzumim, of wickedness; for they having confidence in their own power and strength, contemned both laws, justice, and honesty; and they always wrought wickedness. For doubtless the Hebrew word Zimma, signifieth wickedness, or mischief. Also they were named Rephaim, because men meeting with them, became in a manner astonished: for that word otherwhile signifieth dead men. Finally they be called Nephilim, as one may say oppressors, of the verb Naphal, which is To fall or to rush upon; because they did violently run upon all men. Som thought that they were sometime called Gibborim; but because we use to refer that word unto power, and Gibborim are properly called strong men; therefore I would not put it among these. Further, if thou wilt demand when giants began to be (to follow the opinion of Augustine in the 16th book *De civitate Dei*, the 23rd chapter) we may say that they were before the flood. Wherein we believe him, because he proveth it by the testimony of the holy scriptures: for we have it in the sixth of Genesis, that in those days there were giants upon the earth, whose stock although it were preserved after the flood, yet he thinketh that it was not in any great number.

33. Besides this, there is a doubt as touching procreation and parents. For some think that they were not begotten of men, but that angels or spirits were their parents: and this they say, is specially confirmed by that which is written in the book of Genesis; The sons of God seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took them to wives, and of them were born most mighty men or giants. Of this fall of angels, because they were conversant with women, many of the ancient fathers are of one mind: and among the rest Lactantius in the second book the 15th chapter. For (as we read there) he thought, that God feared least that Satan, to whom he had granted dominion of the world, would utterly have destroyed mankind: and

therefore he gave unto mankind angels for tutors, by whose industry and care they might be defended. But they being as well provoked by the craft of Satan, as allured by the beauty of fair women, committed uncleanness with them; wherefore he saith, that both they were cast from their dignity, and were made soldiers of the devil. This indeed did Lactantius think; yet he said not, that through those meetings of the angels with women, were born giants; but earthly Daemons or spirits, which walk about the earth to our great harm. Eusebius Caesariensis, in his fifth book *De praeparatione evangelica*, is in a manner of the same opinion. For he saith also, that the angels which fell, begat of women (whom they lewdly loved) those Daemons or spirits, which afterward in sundry wise brought great troubles to the world. And to the very same sort he referreth all those, which the poets and historiographers taught to be gods: and whose battles, contentions, lusts, sundry and great tumults, they have mentioned either in verse or in prose.

But Augustine *De civitate Dei*, the 15th book, and 23rd chapter, thinketh not that the opinion of these ancient fathers can be gathered out of that place of Genesis. For he saith, that such as be there called The sons of God, were very men, and came of the generation of Seth, the third son of Adam. For seeing they retained the true and sincere religion of God, and the pure invocation of his name, and were adorned with the favor and grace of God; they are called by the scriptures The children of God. Nevertheless, when they afterward burned in the lusting after those women, which descended of the stock of Cain, and therefore belonged to the society of the wicked, and had taken to themselves wives of them, they themselves also inclined to superstitions and ungodly worshipping's; and they of the sons of God not only became men, but also flesh. And (to show this by the way) Aquila

translating those words out of the Hebrew; Not (saith he) the sons of God, but the sons of gods, in this respect (as I think) because they had godly progenitors, which so miserably fell from God, through the mad love of women. But Symmachus translateth it; The sons of the mighty. But to return to Augustine, he constantly affirmeth, that out of that place of Genesis, there can be nothing gathered, as touching the copulation of angels with women: but rather thinketh, that far otherwise may be gathered of the words of God there written. For when the scripture had there said, that giants were upon the earth, and that the sons of God (as it is said) had transgressed and brought forth giants, it is added; And God said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, because he is flesh. By this saying Augustine will have it manifest, that they which so offended, are called men; not only as they were in their own nature, but also as they are called flesh, unto the which they inclined with their shameful lusts.

But they which understand it otherwise, think that they bring a great testimony of Enoch the seventh from Adam, of whom Jude speaketh in his canonical epistle. For in the book which is entitled to him, the giants are said to have had, not men, but angels to be the authors of their generation. But unto this answereth Augustine, that the book is altogether Apocryphus, [not canonical;] and therefore that credit must not be given to the fables, which be recited therein. He saith, that it must not be doubted, but that Enoch wrote many divine things, seeing Jude the apostle did plainly testify the same; but yet that it is not necessary to believe all the writings in the book of Apocryphus, which are showed to have come from him; forsomuch as they lack sufficient authority. Neither should it be thought, that if Jude uttered some certain sentence out of it, that therefore by his testimony he approved the whole book: unless thou wilt say, that Paul also allowed of all

things that were written by Epimenides, Aratus, and Menander; because he alleged one or two verses out of them. Which thing Jerome in expounding of the first chapter of the epistle to Titus, testifieth to be a very absurd and ridiculous thing. And as concerning Enoch, it would seem a very great marvel, if he were the seventh from Adam, how he could write that Michael wrestled with the devil for the body of Moses; seeing if these things were (as in very deed we must believe they were) they of necessity happened well-near a thousand, five hundred years after; unless we shall grant that this was revealed unto him at that time, by a certain excellent power of prophesy.

34. Neither must it be forgotten, that those, which think that giants had not men, but angels for their parents, were therefore brought thus to think; because they thought it might not possibly be, that huge giants can be born of men, which be of an ordinary stature and bigness. Wherefore there were some, which proceeded so far in the matter, as they affirmed, that the first man was a giant; and also Noah and his children. For they believed not, that that kind of men, either before or after the flood (if so be they might be thought to have sprung of men) could be, unless they had such progenitors. But Augustine proveth that opinion to be false, and saith; that A little before the destruction which the Goths made, there was in Rome a woman of a giants stature, whom to behold, they came by heaps out of diverse parts of the world; which woman nevertheless had parents, that exceeded not the common and usual stature of men. If 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 heat, and a moisture, which abundantly and largely ministereth matter. For the heat, not only 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 resort which the sons 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 I have showed. Also for a truth, there were of them born after the flood. For there is mention made of them in the books of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Paralipomenon, and in others of the holy books.

35. Of the greatness and stature of them, we may partly conjecture, and partly we have the same expressly described. The conjectures be, that Goliath had a coat of mail, which weighed fifty thousand sickles of brass. The haft of his spear was like a weavers beam, and the iron spear had weighed six hundred sickles of iron. We also conjecture of the exceeding great stature of Og the king of Basan, by his bed, which being of iron, was of ten cubits long. Also, the Israelites being compared with Anachis, seemed to be but grasshoppers: these things may be a token unto us, of what greatness these men were. But the greatness of Goliath is properly and distinctly set forth in the book of Samuel: for it is said there, that he was of six cubits and a hand-breadth high: and a cubit, if we follow the measure of the Greeks, is two foot; but according to the account of the Latins, one foot and a half. Some allege this to be the cause of the difference; that the measure may be sometimes extended from the elbow to the hand, sometime closed together, and sometime open and stretched forth. This is as much as I could gather of the stature of giants out of the holy scripture. But among the Ethnics we read of much more wonderful things, such as men can hardly be persuaded to give credit unto. For Pliny writeth in his seventh book, that in Candie there fell down a hill, and that there was found a man's body of six and forty cubits long, which some thought to be the body of Orion, some of

Otho. Also it is written, that the body of Orestis, being digged up, by the commandment of an oracle, was of 7 cubits. That which Berosus affirmeth of Adam, and of Seth his son, and of Noah and his sons, that they were all giants, seeing it is without scripture, it may be rejected. Philostratus saith in his *Heroikes*, that he saw a certain dead carcass of a giant of thirty cubits long, another of two and twenty, and another of twelve. But the common stature of men in these days is little above five foot. And herein the measure of a foot agreeth as well among the Greeks as Latins, that unto every foot are appointed four hand-breadths, and every hand-breadth containeth the breadth of four fingers, that is, the length of the little finger. But if so be that the two outward most fingers, I mean the thumb and the little finger be stretched out, every foot containeth only two spans or hand-breadths. Unto this place I thought good to transfer those things, which Augustine hath in his 15th book *De civitate Dei*, the ninth chapter, where he reproveth those, which affirm stoutly, that men were never of such tall stature; and showeth, that he himself saw upon the coast of Utica, a cheek-tooth of a man so exceeding great, as the same being divided into the form and quantity of usual teeth in our age, it might easily be judged a hundred times greater. And that there were many such personages in old time, he declareth out of the verses of Virgil in the 12th book of *Aeneidos*, where he brought in Turnus to have lifted up from the earth, and to have shaken at Aeneas so great a stone, as twelve choice men could scarcely rule.

He said no more, but straight a mighty stone be there beheld,
A mighty ancient stone, that then by chance within the field
There for a bownd did lie, all strife twixt lands for to appease,
Scarce could twelve chosen men that on their shoulders lift with ease.
Such men (I mean) as nowadays the earth to light do bring,

This up in hand he caught, and tumbling at his foe did fling.

Which thing he declared out of the sixth Iliad of Homer. Also Virgil in the first book of *Georgicks* saith, that men would wonder in time to come, when they should happen to till up the fields of Aematia, to see the greatness of bones which should be digged out of the graves. Further, he alledgeth Pliny the second, who in the seventh book affirmeth, that nature, the further forward that it goeth, the lesser bodies it daily bringeth forth. He calleth to mind, that Homer once in his verses bewailed the self-same thing, whereunto I might add the testimony of Cyprian against Demetrianus. But if I should be demanded, whether I think that men's bodies, which came after the flood, were less than those which were brought forth before the flood perhaps I would grant they were: but that they have continually decreased, even from the flood to this day, that I would not easily grant; especially considering the words which Aulus Gellius wrote in his third book, where he saith; that The stature whereunto man's body groweth, is of seven foot, which seemeth also at this day to be the measure of the taller statures. But yet we read in the Apocryphus of Esdras in the fourth book, at the end of the fifth chapter, that now also our bodies are less, and daily shall be lessened; because nature always becometh more barren. The self-same thing also (as I said a little before) Cyprian seemeth to affirm. But I alleged the cause why I cannot easily grant thereunto; namely, for that I see little diminished at this day of the measure which Aulus Gellius described.

36. Now it seemeth good to show the cause, why God would, that some men otherwhile should be born of such huge stature. Augustine in the 24th chapter of the book before alleged thinketh, this was done, to the intent that it should be left for a testimony unto us, that neither the beautifulness of the body, nor the largeness of stature, nor yet the strength of the flesh should be

accounted among the principal good things, seeing those are sometimes common, as well to the wicked, as to the godly. Certainly, they which bend their mind unto godliness, will judge that spiritual good things must be preferred far above; partly because they further us unto salvation, and partly because they in very deed make us better than other men. But that giants were nothing at all furthered unto salvation, through the greatness of their stature, he proveth by that which the prophet Baruch writeth in the third chapter; What is become of those famous giants, that were so great of bodies, and so worthy men of war? Those hath not the Lord chosen, neither hath he given them the way of knowledge: therefore were they destroyed, because they had no wisdom. But if a man will peruse the history of the Bible, he shall scarcely find, that they at any time took a good or godly cause in hand; nay rather he shall perceive, that through their pride and frowardness they were perpetual enemies unto God. For so was Og the king of Basan; so was Goliath and his brethren, they were most injurious to the people, whom God had embraced, and chosen from others to be peculiar unto himself.

Also there is another matter, which may very much confirm our faith. For the holy histories always make mention, that such huge giants were foully vanquished in battles; and that especially by weak men, and by men very unexpert in warfare: namely, by David, being as yet a shepherd; and by the people of Israel, when as yet they were young soldiers and ignorant in wars. Wherefore the spirit of God warneth us to be of a constant and steadfast mind, when for godliness sake we are to fight with such monstrous men. We must not then be dismayed for lack of strength, seeing the holy oracles in every place pronounce, that it is God which delivereth such huge bodies into the hands of those, whom he will defend. Which things being so, then

this undoubtedly is brought to pass, that we are not in any wise to stand in fear of tyrants, (which always for the most part are against God, and have a confidence in their own great strength) when they defend a wicked cause, and assure themselves of ability to overthrow the weak and feeble flock of Christ, at their own pleasure. For against them the strength of God's word, and the power of the spirit, although we be weak and feeble of nature, shall make us mighty and invincible. Indeed in man's reason we being compared with them, may easily appear to be but worms or grasshoppers; but we being fortified and walled in by the power of God, shall not only overcome them; but (as Paul to the Romans saith) We shall conquer them. For Christ himself shall be present with us, who bindeth that strong armed man, and plucketh from him by force those most rich spoils, which he had heaped together.

Happily did he wrestle with the devil and his members; and through him shall we also fight prosperous battles, and shall obtain a far more noble victory, than the poets feigned their gods to carry with them against the Cyclops, Titans, and other the giants, which at a place called Phlaegra (as they fable) were quite extinguished by Jupiter's thunder-claps. It is proof enough, why in old time the giants, and now at this day the mightiest princes, and wise men of the world resist God: verily even because they trust and lean overmuch to their own strength, wherein they having more affiance than is meet, there is no mischief, but they dare attempt, there is nothing that they think not lawful for them. But God vouchsafeth not by such men to bring to perfection those things, which he hath determined to do; but is wont rather by David's, and such other abjects, to perform the things that he hath purposed to do; to the intent that his strength and power may far and largely appear.

37. I would think that enough hath been spoken of this matter, but that yet there remaineth a certain place to be expounded: to wit, how it is written in Deuteronomy, that Og the king of Basan was only left of the giants. What Rabbi Selomoh fableth I am not ignorant, but his exposition is so childish and ridiculous, as I am ashamed to rehearse it. Wherefore I judge that it was not spoken absolutely, and without exception, that he was left; as though there had been no giants left in the world besides himself; but it is showed, that he only did remain in those places; namely on the other side of Jordan. Further, it must be known, that not the Israelites only did rid the giants out of those regions: for the Moabites also (as we read in the second chapt. of Deuteronomy) drove them out of their coasts. Which thing also we must think did happen unto them by the favor of God: for it is there declared, that God gave those regions to the Moabites to dwell in.

CHAP. XIV. Of Felicity in General, and of the Chiefest Good; out of the commentaries upon Aristotle's Ethics.

Touching the name of Felicity, all men in a manner agree; which is manifest by the Latins, Greeks, and Hebrews: for none of them do contend about the name; but about the thing itself, and especially wherein the subject or matter is to be placed, they are at great dissention, For the vulgar sort differ from the wise men; yea and if thou wilt somewhat narrowly consider the matter, all the common sort agree not with themselves; and wise men do not a little differ from wise men. From this felicity did Aristotle exclude all creatures void of reason, and this he did by virtue of the definition of felicity; which he affirmed to be the chief action of man's mind, arising of the most excellent virtue. If this be so, then brute creatures shall not be partakers thereof, seeing they be not capable of such an action. Indeed it would not be denied, but that they have in their own nature or kind some good, proper to themselves, which to them is principal and chief; but yet we must not think that the same is blessedness, seeing it is of such a nature, as it cannot be without reason.

But before we come to the thing itself, I think it shall be good to know how this definition of Aristotle doth either agree or disagree with the holy scriptures. And first, where he appointed man's work in act to be felicity, he decreed no otherwise than do the holy scriptures, where it is said; Blessed are those which walk in the law of the Lord. Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, and which doth meditate in the law of the Lord day and night. All these be most godly acts and exercises for this life. But it is objected; Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins be covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin: which things belong not to the work of men, but flow from the mere liberality of God. Hereunto we say, that Aristotle understood not, nor believed this justification through Christ, which the holy scriptures have revealed unto us; neither do we in the meantime speak of this felicity: but we speak only of that which followeth this first blessedness, and standeth in the right doing while we live here; and in the other world, in the contemplation and fruition of the sight of God's majesty. And yet nevertheless, if we will also regard the blessedness of justification, and lay that before our eyes, whereby it is applied unto us; then cometh the work of faith. For we be justified by believing, although we are not justified by the merit of that action, nor yet for the dignity thereof are received into grace: but of this felicity we do not now treat.

And that which we do speak of, although it be the work of man; yet doth it not break out from his strength, but is produced by the power of the spirit of God, and from the heavenly majesty. In the world to come this felicity shall be perfect, which shall never be interrupted, but shall be one, and a continual act. Whereas this blessedness of Aristotle, as his definition sheweth, may many times between whiles break off. He would that this action, whereby a man is blessed, should flow from a most excellent virtue.

The same also do we think, who show that the actions of faithful men are not right and acceptable unto God, unless they be the branches of faith, hope, and charity, the which we esteem for the chiefest virtues. We agree with him also as touching the continuance; for we require a perseverance while we live here, and in the world to come we believe to have everlasting blessedness. Only in this, there is a disagreement between Aristotle and us, that he requireth the good things of the world, but we affirm that they are not of necessity here in this world unto a Christian to make him blessed.

2. The opinions of the philosophers concerning felicity, may thus be distinguished; so as we may say, that some of them were notable, having famous patrons; but others vile and obscure, because they came from men of no account, and be not confirmed by strong and evident reasons. And of this kind are found health, riches, and such like, whose defenders were no notable men. To the other kind belongeth pleasure, honesty, virtue, to live agreeable with the first gifts of nature, knowledge, &c. These indeed are the ends, which are accounted without mixture. And there be some that have other things joined with them: for some men unto virtue do join pleasure; others unto honesty join a freedom from sorrow; othersome with virtue do join the accomplishment of a perfect life. Augustine against Julianus Scyllaeus blameth that good, which is compounded with pleasure; for in that honesty is placed therein, it representeth a show of man, the pleasure which is mingled, is a brutish thing. But he that will more fully understand of this matter, let him read Cicero as well in his second book *De finibus*, as in his *Tusculans quest*: and thou mayest also see, that sometimes some of them disagree with themselves; and that which they first judged to be the chiefest good, straightway they refuse it: for they which being whole, made small reckoning of health, afterward being destitute thereof, placed it in the

chiefest good, which also happeneth to them that be pressed with poverty: for such, not only make great account of riches, but above all things seek for the same. And these, whom we have spoken of, do appoint something that should be evident and manifest. For these things; namely, pleasure, riches, and honors be so plain and evident, that they are apparent, even to the senses. Yea and Epicurus said, that he therefore thought pleasure to be the chiefest good, because it was the most known, and most evident good thing. And he said, that pleasure was no less known to be the chiefest good, than snow to be white, or fire hot. Varro sheweth, that the number of opinions concerning this matter, was very great, as Augustine declareth in his book *De civitate Dei*: for he saith, that there might be reckoned two hundred fourscore and eight opinions touching felicity.

Let us then seek the cause why there arose so many and so variable opinions thereof: which therefore we say came to pass, because men did not deliberate of this matter with the better part of their mind, but rather counseled with their own affections, which as they be diverse, and do diversely stir up the affections, they inclined men's minds unto so manifold and sundry ends. A man may see young men, which diverse ways being hot in love, think themselves blessed; others make their belly their God; some have given themselves like bondslaves to the seeking of honor. There be some such also, which think that nothing is to be preferred above riches: and the liberty of the Cynic philosophers very well pleased Diogenes and his like. But if that reason itself had been consulted withal in this matter, above the senses and affections, without doubt we should not have had so many and so contrary opinions.

Now since there be, or may be so many in number, to reckon all, much less to examine them, should be over-great labor. Wherefore, that we take

not a superfluous matter in hand, we will in this treatise choose those things which might easily deceive us, seeing a great likelihood of truth is discerned in them; which Eustratius showed by a very learned similitude; If one (saith he) see a stock-dove, he will soon think he seeth a pigeon, which will not happen unto him when he seeth an eagle, seeing the same is far unlike unto a pigeon. So we may judge, that there be some opinions of blessedness, so far from the truth, as very few or none can be deceived by them: and again, others in a manner so near joined unto the truth, as it is not in all men to discern or know them one from another: wherefore those that be of this sort, ought not to be passed over, but to diligently be examined.

Aristotle declareth, that men, as touching the chieftest good things, bent their opinions unto those kinds of life, which they had determined to follow, which indeed are reckoned to be three; namely, delightful, civil, and contemplative. But if thou shalt demand the causes why one will incline to this kind of life, another to that, many causes may be showed: for many in the execution of their affairs, and ordering of their actions, do follow the constitution of their body, wherein, if they be given to surfeiting, to drunkenness, to the flesh, to excellent and good arts, to revenging of injuries, then they specially think themselves happy, when they have obtained those things, whereunto they are moved by a certain natural provocation. Others are greatly desirous to attain this or that thing, being brought thereunto by education; and it doth not seldom happen, that they become like unto those men, with whom they be conversant, and be joined in friendship. Again, unto others, and those without doubt not a few, nor always evil men, it is argument and cause enough for them to prosecute anything; because they regard their authority, which govern either the common wealth, or church, or schools, or warfare. For look what princes,

grave and wise men, whose authority is very great, do choose unto themselves as an end and thing most to be desired, that doth a great part of men take in hand and wish, according to that worthy sentence of Plato, and of other wise men; Such as the kings and princes be, such are their people. When England had king Edward who was a godly prince, and given to good learning, all the youth endeavored to imitate his labors. Causes indeed these be, but yet no just causes. We ought not to be moved by authors, nor by examples, nor yet by the force of bodily constitution, but by the suggestion of reason, and of the mind, and by the weight of the things themselves. But to follow Aristotle's similitude, herein the common people are like unto bond-slaves, and brute beasts. For this seems to be the manner of sheep, that if the ram, or that sheep which goeth foremost in the flock, depart unto any side, they do all follow: also bondslaves without any judgment or any choice do follow their masters. I would speak somewhat of Sardanapalus, saving that those things which Justin hath of him, are common unto all men: only that I will show, which they say he had always in his mouth; Eat, drink, and play. But Horace in his epistles reproveth those speeches; Thou hast plaid enough, thou hast drunk enough, and thou hast eaten enough, it is time for thee to be gone.

In the fifth book of Tusculans questions Cicero saith, that Sardanapalus willed to be written upon his tomb;

These things I only have that I did eat,
Delighting most to cram my paunch with meat:
Whereas those things that were of better kind,
As I them found, I left them all behind.

Cicero addeth that Aristotle said; What else wouldest thou write upon the tomb of an ox, not of a king? But what complain we only of Sardanapalus,

as though that Tiberius prince of the Romans were not so greatly given to these delights and wantonness, as he erected to himself even an office of pleasures. For even as unto kings and magistrates, there are some which be masters of requests, secretaries, and masters of the horses; so would he have a master of the pleasures. Also Heliogabalus, whom I cannot tell whether I should call an emperor, or a monster, appointed rewards to them which could devise strange kind of sauces, that he might the more provoke his appetite to eating and drinking. And not only did the Roman monarchs sin in this point, but also the great king of the Persians; even Xerxes, who appointed great rewards to the inventors of new pleasures.

Of Pleasure, and wherein it may concur with the chiefest good, and wherein it may not.

3. Now the place serveth to speak somewhat of pleasure; and that we may not think that all kind of pleasure is secluded from the chiefest good, or from felicity. For in very deed, felicity, whether we understand it for natural or theological, is either pleasure, or else is joined therewith; so as they cannot be plucked one from another. First I will show those things, which I have gathered thereof out of Platos doctrine; afterward I will briefly comprehend what Aristotle hath of the same. Plato divided our soul 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 whereby we approach very near unto God; so the other is gross, and in a manner brutish, and by it we communicate with beasts. This distinction of the mind being put and confirmed, he attributed unto the mind gladness and joy; but unto the sense, pleasure. But what the difference is between joy and gladness (as me thinks I find by his opinion) I will declare. He will have it, that gladness is sometimes good and commendable; but sometimes, if it shall pass the

limits, he affirmeth it to be a vice, and that it is to be despised. Which will appear the more plain, if it be defined: for it is a certain haughtiness of the mind, because of the presentness of some good thing: but every man doth see that gladness is right, if we be lifted up by reason of some present good, that is neither less nor more than the thing it self deserveth. Wherefore they be foolish, which puff up themselves for false good things, or be too much elevated for the obtainment of vile and simple goods. But those men are to be detested, which rejoyce at wickedness committed, which thorough the corruption of judgment seems good unto their minds. But on the other side, gladness is then praised and commended, when the mind is no more merrier nor puffed up, than agreeth with the good that is gotten. And Cicero in his second book *De finibus*, as he had learned of the Stoics, comprehended naughty gladness under these words, saying that the same is an exalting of the mind, which without reason thinks it enjoyeth a great good.

But I return to Plato, who also ascribeth joy unto the mind; but yet so, as there can no evil cleave thereunto, because he defineth the same to be a pleasantness, which floweth either from the contemplation of a wise man, or else from the actions of virtue. This pleasantness can suffer no evil access: for those things which be just, right, and as best becometh, cannot please any man too much. And he so commended joy, as in his book *De pulchro*, when he speaketh of heavenly and true blessed life, he affirmeth that thereby the minds of the faithful are nourished. And he will have it, that the poets did cunningly call that kind of meat Ambrosia and Nectar. But the pleasure, whereby the senses alone (as he thinketh) are replenished, is a sweet motion, which tickleth the senses. From which opinion Cicero nothing disagreeeth, who in the second book *De finibus* saith, that All men think this to be pleasure, which the sense receiving is moved, and is

replenished with a certain pleasantness: and after a few words between, he misliked not to repeat the same. That pleasant motion, wherewith the senses is made merry, all men call in Greek ἡδονήν; in Latin *Voluptatem*; that is pleasure. By these things which I now show, ye must observe this, that as well Plato, as the Stoics, and other ancient writers judged pleasure to be a motion or action: for afterward we shall see what truth this may have in it.

Plato thinketh, that this pleasure of the senses riseth of the infirmity of nature: for the same if it be spent, beginneth to desire those things wherewith it judgeth that it may be restored and renewed; and while we satisfy the want of nature, the senses are tickled and tempered with pleasantness. And contrariwise, while nature cannot obtain those things that it hath need of, both it languisheth, and thorough want is marvelously grieved. Whereupon the same author in Phileto said, that pleasures are the avoiding of sorrows, and thereof concludeth, that the pleasures of them that be sick are greater and more vehement than of them that be in good health: for when they be greatly tormented with griefs, they do exceedingly burn with the desire of medicines, I mean with the desire of all pleasures; therefore when they obtain them, they are delighted above measure. As we may perceive in them which are sick of most sharp fevers, and be in a manner consumed with intolerable thirst, to whom when the physician giveth leave to satisfy themselves with cold, or some other kind of drink; it cannot be said what exceeding pleasure they take. Hereunto in that place he addeth, that these grosser sort of pleasures, which belong unto the senses, are not single but mixed; for they have always some sorrow joined with them: for (as we have said) the neediness of nature breedeth griefs. Neither are the pleasures of this kind brought forth any longer, when the natural want is satisfied: for meat liketh not them that be satisfied and have their

fill; neither is drink welcome to them which have drunk abundantly. But and if it happen to be otherwise, as otherwhile we see it doth to them which be drunkards and gluttons, there is another cause of the pleasure than natural want; namely an ill disposition, or else some other thing, which is not now fit time to declare, seeing we treat of natural pleasures.

4. Howbeit Aristotle put not these differences of words; but those delectations which as well belong unto the mind or reason, as those which be of the senses he called pleasures, that is, ἡδίστα. Yea, and in the seventh book the eleventh chapter, he will that μακάριος, that is, happy, is so called of χαίρειν, which is to rejoice; and he speaketh of pleasure, which he joineth with blessedness. Certainly he speaketh not of this pleasure, wherewith the sense and grosser part of the mind is possessed: for that is only joined with the felicity which shall be of the mind, which as I have said, of a mingled word, is named pleasure. And perhaps Aristotle would not change the name, because he thought to speak as most men did, although he agreed with Plato as touching the difference of the thing. But yet herein they differ one from another, that Aristotle thinketh not (as Plato and the old philosophers did) that pleasure is a motion or action; but rather an affect cleaving unto the motion or operation. Wherefore these differ after a sort, although in the subject they agree. And if at any time Aristotle himself, or any Peripatetike, called pleasure a motion; that proposition, which commonly in the Schools they call *Identica*, must be ascribed unto them: for as it hath been said, both the affect, and motion or action; are in subject all one. Wherefore the general word thereof is the Predicament of quality, and pleasure belongeth to the third kind thereof, and the same is called a passion; or passable quality. It is called in Greek πάθος; whereby we are sweetly affected with the presence of some good thing agreeing with

our nature. And as beauty is a quality which riseth of a just and right temperature of the body, of well-favoredness, and of a comely color; so pleasure ariseth of a convenient motion and action. Wherefore thus it shall be lawful to define the same.

Pleasure is an affect, wherewith we are sweetly moved, by reason of an action which proceedeth from a nature that is of good constitution, or else from a habit according to nature without impediment. For the actions both of eating, and drinking, and procreating, seeing they arise of nature, do always to him that is in health bring pleasure with them; for they be not hindered by sickness, nor weakness, nor yet by saturity and fullness. Even so contemplations, and the actions of virtues, since they spring from a habit of the mind, they be ready and easy, and are a present good thing, which agreeth with the nature of man; and therefore have pleasure always joined with them. Aristotle in the tenth book of Ethics proveth, that pleasure is not a motion, because it is all whole together, as is a vision: and pleasure hath no succession, except it be accidentally. For if it follow actions, which have success, the same in like manner is prolonged, as it happeneth in eating and drinking; but if the action be momentary, as is a vision, hearing and understanding, then is all the pleasure had at once: even as the whole vision is at once; if the virtue and power of seeing be perfect, if the thing that is seen be set before the eyesight all at once, if the light going between be not obscured, and a convenient distance come between. A motion is not perfect in his parts, but pleasure is whole all at once; therefore it is no motion. Motion cannot be at one moment or instant, but pleasure may. The properties of motion be swiftness, and slowness; and these things are not answerable to pleasure. For while a man rejoiceth, he neither rejoiceth the

swifter, nor the slower; for if pleasure endure for an hour, it is all whole at once, while the hour lasteth.

5. Since we understand by the definition now brought, that the power must be perfect, and the habit firm; and that the action must be without impediment, and the object principal and excellent: it is gathered how long pleasure can endure. It so long abideth, as the object and ableness, or power of doing doth remain whole: for if the object fall from the excellency thereof, or that the faculty be not vehement and earnestly bent, delectation doth not follow. Hereof it cometh, that when in working men be tired, pleasures are oftentimes diminished. Which thing also happeneth, when anything is taken away from the excellency of the object. It appeareth also, why new things do so greatly delight; because the mind, so soon as any noble and excellent thing offereth itself to be beheld, doth behold the same earnestly and attentively; which, after it is known, the mind rebateth his earnestness, and so the pleasure ceaseth: but if any other new thing be put in place of the former object, then the understanding enforceth his study again in beholding of the same, and the pleasure returneth, and by this means we ever delight ourselves in new things. Besides this, it is showed hereby, that the actions which are done before we attain to a habit, breed not pleasure; because they be not easily and readily done, but with some difficulty and labor. These things are opened by that definition.

Now must we show what pleasure is by her forms and kinds. Neither is it any doubt, but that pleasures are divided among themselves in kind, seeing actions do differ. But pleasure (as we know) 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 any man ignorant, that there is one perfection

of a chest, another of a house, another of a plant, and another of a man. Wherefore since that actions be divided one from another, so shall the pleasures, whereby they are performed, differ. Furthermore, they strive one against another, and one extinguisheth or letteth another; whereof it cometh that they are distinguished. That pleasure, which shall come of music, will take away that which ariseth of speeches: and those, which be the grosser sort, do withstand and let the delights of the understanding and reason. Again, of actions some be evil, some good, and some between both; whereby it is brought to pass, that the pleasures which follow them have variety and difference. The which also by this means cometh to pass, because the desires of actions are sundry: for if the desires be varied, much more be the pleasures, which are more joined with the actions, than be the desires: for desires are oftentimes plucked away from the work, whereas pleasures cannot be separated from their actions. No doubt but some pleasures there be of horses, some of lions, some of bears, and therefore also there be some of men: and not only have they them diverse from other living creatures, but even men themselves also have them not alike among them. For those pleasures, which be naughty, do please naughty men; and those which be honest, do delight good men.

6. Wherefore now (as I think) 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 division is taken from works and actions; so as of them some be about the objects more severed from matter, or more joined with the same. Which how true it is, Galen hath very well declared in his second book *De causis symptomatum*; There are found (saith he) griefs and pleasures in all the senses: griefs (as he saith) come hereupon, that the senses are removed from their own constitution and

natural state; but pleasures come, when they return to the same. And that this may the more plainly appear, he thus runneth thorough all the senses. Feeling is removed from his own estate, if there happen too much heat, or too much cold; or else, if it incur those things which do strike, or gnaw, or break, &c. hereof do arise griefs unto it. Tasting is grieved with the self-same things, which it doth communicate with feeling: but as it is taste, it is offended with tastes, which be too tart, sour, sharp, and bitter; for by these the natural constitution thereof is disturbed, and the continuance broken off. Smelling is disturbed by the dissolution of over vehement vapors; for by them the continuance is broken off. Again, hearing is put from his state, by a voice too high, or too low, or too great, or too swift, and also by every violent noise. Finally, the sight is offended, when it happeneth upon most bright lights and colors; for these things do scatter and disperse the virtue thereof. With all these same things the senses are grieved, because through them they depart from their own measurable and quiet state. Again, they are delighted and take pleasure, when they are reduced to their proper and natural state. Whereof the sight hath trial, when it turneth itself to a brown color, whereby the power thereof is more gathered and knit together into one; or else when it beholdeth pleasant colors, as green, golden, blue, or sky colors. The hearing delighteth in a mild and treatable voice. The smelling, when those vapors be dissolved, which with a certain sweetness do strengthen and confirm the instruments of smelling. Unto tasting are fat and sweet relishes pleasant. And though we be sick, yet are we for a little while delighted with somewhat sharp and sour tastes. Feeling is delighted with qualities which be temperate, soft, and somewhat warm. Thus are the senses delighted, and do take pleasure, when they be reduced to their natural and proper constitution.

But it is to be understood, that those also may take pleasure, though they have not been first offended or removed from their natural state. For if there happen to come a pleasant color, or delightful sound, the sight and hearing is delighted, though it have not been first removed from the constitution thereof. Galen proceedeth in those things which he said, and showeth, that there is a degree of greater or less pureness in these actions of the senses, and in pleasures; and declareth that the same standeth in the means that the senses use. The sight worketh by light; hearing, by the air; smelling, by savor; these things be pure, and have little of the grosser and thicker kind of matter. Those things, wherein feeling is occupied, hold the lowest place; those be gross and terrestrial things. From thence we come to tasting; that also is exercised about watery humors, which be somewhat thick. Smelling is elevated unto vapors, far more pure than water. Unto hearing is the air, and that a pure air more near. Lastly, we come unto the light, which among those things that be perceived, is most fine, and hath a great deal of pureness. Howbeit, we are not there to rest, but after these things we come to imagination, cogitation, memory, and understanding, 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 have expounded the ground of the division.

7. After this division there followeth another, that some pleasures are bodily, others not bodily. Of the bodily, thus we affirm in general, that neither they be good, nor yet bad; as also are not the actions about meat, drink, and carnal pleasure. But as touching the kinds and parts, we must say, that if they exceed measure, they be evil; but if they contain themselves within just and due limits, they are indifferent, since that men may use them

both rightly, that is, according to virtue, and also unto good and laudable ends. They do also abuse them sometimes, namely, upon an ill determination and corruptly, as Catiline, when he tempered himself from delights and pleasures, to the intent he might destroy his country: but yet, if they shall be weighed in their own nature, they be rather good, according to civil goodness, than evil. We come now 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 did ever rightly or justly more than is requisite? And so in contemplations of the truth, be it of things natural, or mathematical, or divine; no man can rejoice, or take pleasure of them more than is requisite; neither can he in like manner, as touching things rightly done, and of the works of justice. But in being angry, in ambitious desire of promotion, in giving, in hearing, we may exceed measure, no less than in eating, drinking, and procreation.

Finally, the fourth distinction is, that of pleasures, some be single, and by themselves; because they have no sorrows mingled with them, nor yet be sweet, in respect they fill and restore nature, being wasted and consumed. Neither be they at one time pleasant, and at another time unpleasant, but are ever in their own nature to be wished and desired: and these pleasures are chiefly those, which are perceived in the mind; but others be mixed, namely with sorrows, and for that cause are pleasant, because they refresh and renew nature decaying, and therefore are not to be desired always and at all times.

8. These things being thus determined, let us go in hand with the pleasures which be impure, bodily, and which have 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 (for some

men are even by a propriety of nature, fierce, wild, and cruel; and others be beastly, and altogether intemperate) or else these evil actions and pleasures do come from a vicious habit, brought in by a naughty custom, as we see it in drunkards, gluttons, and lascivious men: wherefore from such shameful and wicked causes, nothing can happen which (as we have said) must not be avoided. Furthermore, since that pleasures of this kind, as it hath been already said, have been invented to be as it were medicines unto us, when we suffer them to exceed measure; so far is it off that they be medicines, as they are even hurtful unto us, and that in all kind of good things, and especially those things which come of fortune. For how many riotous men be there, which having spent their great and ample patrimonies, are constrained miserably to live in want? I speak nothing of the goods of the body, seeing gluttony and fleshly pleasure killeth far more than the sword, or any ordinary sickness, or defect of nature. Yea, and Galen in his second book *De semine* wrote, that Pleasure is sometime by itself the cause of dissolving the force and strength which giveth life. And there have been many, which have yielded up the ghost thorough too much pleasure. But and if that all abuse of things must be avoided, such kind of immoderate pleasures as these must be utterly shunned, seeing by this means they cure not the body, but do exceedingly destroy it. I let pass the goods of the mind, since nothing doth more harm unto wisdom, nor anything more weaken the right judgment of doing things, than these immoderate pleasures.

The reason which I have brought, that by these gross and immoderate pleasures, all the kinds of good things belonging to man be destroyed, is written by Cicero in his book called Hortensius, which book is lost; yet will I rehearse his words as they be recited of Augustine in his fourth book against Julian the 14th chapter; But are those pleasures of the body to be

desired, which truly and gravely are of Plato called the allurements and baits of evils? For what destroying (saith he) of health, what deforming of the color and the body, what foul loss, what dishonor is there, that is not called and brought forth by pleasure? Every motion whereof, the greater it is, the more is it enemy unto philosophy. For the pleasures of the body cannot agree with any great cogitation of the mind. For who is he, that when he useth the greatest pleasure he can, is able to apply his mind to make an account, or to think of any manner of thing? But who is so insatiable a person, that day and night, without any intermission of time, will have his senses so to be moved, as they be moved in the chiefest pleasures? What man endued with a good mind, had not rather that no pleasures at all should be given us of nature? Thus much said he. Under which sentence of his are comprehended the hurts, which are wont to be brought in through these pleasures of the body, which exceed measure. But thou wilt say, that If this reason were of force, it will condemn pleasures which spring of contemplation, and also that which ariseth of just actions; because both the body is hurt by too much study and contemplation: and that Socrates and also Aristides perished for their honesty sake. I answer, that this was accidentally; because Socrates lighted among evil men. Again, that the powers of the head, which do serve unto cogitation, are sometimes overmuch consumed. But some witty fellow will reply, that this also is accidental, as touching the pleasures of the body; which in very deed do arise of those actions, which destroy the body, and our good things, which the very pleasures by themselves would not do. Howbeit to this we answer, that it comes not always to pass, that a man perisheth for righteousness; nor yet that contemplation doth always harm. But these grosser and mixed

pleasures, so oft as they exceed the mean, it cannot be but they do hurt: and so the hurt is not to be accounted of both alike.

9. But this of some is counted a hard matter, that these pleasures must be shunned, seeing pleasure by itself is good, and to be desired. Wherefore to avoid this, they are wont to say, that They are not pleasures indeed, but only seem so to be; and although they seem so, yet that of wise men they ought not to be accounted pleasures. Even as those things are not said to be white, which so appear unto blear eyes; neither sweet or bitter, which those that are sick do so affirm. But me thinks it should not so be answered; because both Plato and Aristotle do call them pleasures, whereupon the definition before alleged doth truly agree unto them. Therefore would I rather say to the argument, that pleasure indeed is of his own nature good, and to be desired, but not to be taken of all things: even as we desire to satisfy hunger, yet not by every kind of meat. Just men also would become rich, but yet not by every kind of gain; we also desire health, but yet not by every kind of medicine; and so we would have pleasures, but yet not those which arise of actions that be dishonest and filthy, and which do hurt the body, and all the good things which we have. But seeing this kind of pleasures is both hurtful, and to be shunned, how happeneth it that it is desired of so many? Because pleasure in his own nature hath some certain divine thing in it, and is desired of all men. Howbeit it comes to pass, that seeing nature in many is not yet full perfect and confirmed, as in children, or else when men be endued with naughty and lewd habits of mind, as be drunkards and fleshly persons, they be deceived, and seek 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 endued with any virtue, and therefore may easily be deceived. Again, it must be

considered, that men do perpetually labor, and are wearied with sundry exercises; and therefore to be recreated and refreshed, they turn themselves to diverse pleasures; and when they cannot have honest, pure, and simple pleasures, they will be satisfied with those grosser and hurtful pleasures. And men have a compounded nature, not simply one and unmixed; and thereof it comes, that they embrace sundry kinds of pleasures. Sometimes they take those which belong unto the mind, and sometime those which be of the body; since that they consist as well of the mind as of the body. Yea, and the body itself, because it hath many humors, and is endued with many senses, therefore are we sometimes moved to these pleasures, and sometimes to those, according as the humors stir them up, or as the sundry objects do fall into the senses. But God, since he is one and most pure, he enjoyeth one and the self-same pure and eternal pleasure.

But to those pleasures of the body, they that be young, and melancholic men are most inclined. In them, while their stature is increased, the humors are disturbed, and nature is wearied and haled; and therefore do they fly unto pleasures, as unto a certain medicine and recreation. Likewise doth the melancholic humor disquiet and vex melancholic persons, and suffereth them not to rest; so as they being weary, return to pleasures, whereby they somewhat restore and exhilarate themselves. Whereupon it appeareth, that nature, yea God himself, did not unprofitably give unto mankind these pleasures, that the immoderate use of them might be avoided. For by them we lead the more commodious life, and we take more willingly in hand the necessary labors of life, and the preservation of mankind, and are the more readily healed of our daily infirmities. Moreover, young men, by certain honest and moderate pleasures, are stirred up unto honest duties, and excellent virtues; and by griefs they are terrified from sins and wickedness.

And Augustine addeth, that these base pleasures are certain steps of good, and as it were a little shadow of the nature of felicity, and of the chief good, whereby we may be stirred up to an earnest desire thereof: wherefore they be of force to awaken us, wherein nevertheless we are not to stay, but must rather rise up unto better things. And that we should not dwell in these things, God is so good, that he with these kinds of pleasures hath mingled many bitter things.

As touching those pure, unmixed, and no bodily pleasures, and which have no excess, let this be the proposition. They ought not to be refused, but since they are of the better sort, they draw not a little near unto the nature of the chiefest good: for they be desired; not for themselves, but for another thing. I said that they draw near to the nature of the chiefest good; because in very deed, the chiefest good is not in pleasure, no not of this kind: for that consisteth in the most perfect action, and unto it is pleasure joined, as a perpetual companion: wherefore it cannot be plucked from the chiefest good, so as it should not be comprehended in the nature thereof. We verily grant, that the same is wished for of all men, since there is none, but desireth both to live, and to live well. And as to live, is to work; so to live well, is to be occupied in a very good action: whereunto when excellent pleasure is joined, all men wish for the same, when they wish for that whereof it is a perpetual companion. But an excellent action it cannot be, unless it be conversant about the most noble object; whereof as of a fountain our perfection dependeth. Which that it may evidently 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 unto it. Again, we are made perfect through pleasure, which is an affect and quality, that is instilled into our mind. But it is called

into doubt by some, whether pleasure must be wished for the life sake, or life for pleasure sake. And to omit those things which may be said on the other part, that which to me seemeth good, I thus set down; Pleasure is desired for the life sake, not the life for pleasures sake; because pleasure hereof ariseth, that the action agreeth with nature, and this we both feel and know. Wherefore that above all is to be wished, to the intent that the action may be counted most perfect. Neither is any man ignorant, that perfection is instituted for that thing sake, which doth make it perfect, especially when in his own nature it hath no stability. And all men see, that meat itself is better than the sauce thereof.

10. But how those things, which Aristotle bringeth, do agree with the holy scriptures, we may easily perceive. First he saith, that this opinion, as touching the grosser sort of pleasures, is the opinion of many, and that of the vulgar sort of men. Which also Christ taught, affirming that the way of perdition is large, and many do go that way. He addeth moreover, that they which judge this, are φορτικοτάτους, that is, most burdensome. And in Isaiah we know, that it was said to wicked Ahaz; Is it a small matter unto you to be grievous unto men? Aristotle calleth them bond-slaves. And the Lord said; He that doth sin, is the servant of sin. Also Peter said; Every man is his servant, of whom he is overcome. Aristotle saith, that they choose a beastly life. And we have it in the Psalms; Man, when he should be in honor, is compared unto the brute beasts, and is made like unto them. Also Jeremiah; Every man neigheth at his neighbors wife. And again in the psalm; Be ye not like horse and mule, in whom there is no understanding. They which so think (saith the philosopher) do defend themselves by the authority of princes, which live after the manner of Sardanapalus. Neither doth this disagree with the holy scriptures, wherein we read, that such in a

manner were the people, as were the kings whom they had. And in Hosea we read; Such people, such priest. In the Proverbs, the 29th chapter; When the wicked shall bear rule, transgression shall be multiplied. And in the Gospels as touching Herod, when the wise men came to Jerusalem, we find that not only he himself was troubled, but also the whole city with him. Lastly, it is concluded, that in these grosser sort of pleasures cannot be reposed the chiefest good. Which also the Apostle confirmeth to the Corinthians; Meat for the belly, and the belly for meat, God shall destroy both the one and the other. And Christ himself speaking of the pleasure of procreation; In the regeneration they neither marry wives, nor are married, but they shall be like unto the angels.

11. Aristotle disputing yet further of pleasure saith, that the same must not be counted strange from felicity, and so proveth it, because it is of those kind of good things, which belong unto the mind, unless we will say, that stones, stocks, and metals rejoice and be glad. Let us first declare his general sentence; That is pleasant to every man, whereunto he is said to be, and thereof is named desirous. Hereby Aristotle meant, that pleasure seemeth to be of those kind of things, which have relation one to another. And it is no marvel, for those things which be sweet, must of necessity be sweet to somebody. But what he is, to whom pleasure is referred, is declared by affection, while he saith; A horse, a show, just things, and virtues do delight those men, which have been desirous of horses, shows, a just thing, and of virtues. The manner of all Syllogisms is, that first should be brought forth the cause in general, and then it is wont to be applied unto that thing whereof it is spoken. So in this matter, the general cause is set forth for which anything is pleasant and sweet unto any man; namely, for because he loveth it. This general cause is here restrained unto him that is

happy, because he is a lover of honest and good actions, whereupon of necessity it followeth, that he is very much delighted with them.

For the confirmation of that general cause, he useth diverse and manifold examples; and first, he alledgeth the pleasure that men have in riding of horses, wherewith, how fondly and earnestly some men are otherwhile delighted, the young man Strepsiades in Aristophanes doth testify. He bringeth forth them also, which are desirous to behold shows, unto whom we may add those, which give their mind to philosophy, wine, and money: all which men (we see) are wonderfully delighted, when at any time they enjoy their desires. By these examples the form of the argument, which the Logicians call Induction, being the major proposition, which comprehendeth the general cause, is plainly confirmed and showed, which is straightway applied to the matter in hand, whereas he saith, that The like reason is to be had of those causes that are of a just thing, and of good actions, and are referred to good and happy men, to wit, that those things be loved of them, and that they rejoyce not a little in them. Whereof it plainly cometh, that blessed and good men, if they either see or hear any to live well and honestly, they take great pleasure therein: but without doubt much more, while they themselves exercise themselves in just, good, and honest actions. By these things we now understand, that the life of happy men is not severed from pleasure; and we see, that they did not utterly stray from the right way, which joined themselves unto this felicity.

12. But the question is, whether all pleasures have fellowship with felicity, and if that all have not, as it should seem we must affirm, then, what pleasure shall we join therewith? To this we answer by distinction. Some things are pleasant in their own nature, and by themselves; but some have it not of their own property to delight, but taketh delight by a certain

corruption or viciousness of him that is caught therewith. Wisdom, virtues, honest actions, remembrance of good deeds, prudent government of things, finding out of profitable counsels, doctrine, contemplation, and such like, are delightful even of their own goodness, which if other whiles they be not liked of some, that happeneth through their own unskillfulness and rudeness. But on the other side, immoderate wine, gorgeous sights, surfeiting's and lusts, are not in their own nature pleasant and sweet, but do only delight them which of themselves be caught by such things. It is the common sort, which hunt after things not pleasant in their own nature, which things are diverse and in sundry sort, and those repugnant one to another. No man doubteth, but that there is a great number of pleasures of the common sort; for there be many minds, and everyone hath his own delight, which certainly is then not lawful, when it passeth his bounds, and when it deteineth men too much therein, or doth stir up and disquiet their minds. These, and other pleasures of the senses, if they hold themselves within their bounds and limits, and do not pass them, are both natural, and by right cannot be condemned.

And what contrariety there is of pleasures between the vulgar sort, Eustratius thus showeth; One is delighted with salt meat, another with sweet, one with drink somewhat bitter, another with sour, which tastes be one contrary to another, and cannot be had together in one and the same thing. But here a man may say, that this also may be seen among the pleasures which ye call natural; some are delighted in the mathematical sciences, others in the knowledge of natural things, some in logic, others only in prudent actions.

Wherefore since there is a variety as well here as there, this difference of contrariety after that manner interpreted, seems not to put a distinction

between pleasures, seeing it is found alike on both parts. Unless thou wilt say, there is a great variety and multitude of vulgar pleasures, which are contraries; as sweet and sour, harsh and mild are one repugnant to another; which contrariety is not in the honest pleasures that we have now recited. For the mathematical sciences are not against the knowledge of natural things; nor logic against prudence. But the difference is more truly declared, if we mark the repugnancy in the appetite of one and the self-same man: for even he that delighted in a thing, straightway hateth the same; and he that desired meat, doth by and by loath it. Whereupon Terence said; In love are all these faults, injuries, suspicions of enmity, truce, war, and peace again. Here we see a contrariety of things among themselves, and against the mind. But those things are pleasant indeed, wherewith the lovers of honesty are delighted: for they which give credit to reason, and not to the senses, take counsel of the better judge. Thou shalt moreover perceive those to be constant, and of one mind; and that the right things which once liked them, will never mislike them: neither do they suffer the true opinion to be wrong from them. Again, they say all one thing with men of their own profession: for so many as be lovers of honesty, allow the self-same virtues, and the same actions.

13. Finally, this have we learned out of the holy scriptures to concur with Aristotle, that Paul exhorted the godly, as being happy men, to true and perfect gladness, when he wrote; Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice. Also in the 21st chapter of the Proverbs; The just man delighteth to do judgment. And David doth many times stir up the just and godly to gladness, and rejoicing. And so true is this opinion, that even those good actions, which by the sense of nature, and judgment of the common sort seem to be repelled, do delight happy men. And therefore we read that

the Apostles went away merry and rejoicing from the sight of the council, because they were counted worthy of rebukes for the name of Christ. And we know, that not only many Christians suffered death with a joyful mind for the testimony of their faith, but that many Ethnics also, with great joy and cheerfulness, gave their life for the liberty of their country.

Of Honor, that it is not the chiefest good; but wherein it concurrerth with it, and wherein not.

14. Now that we have disputed of pleasures, it followeth that we speak of honors; and for good cause are these joined together, seeing both of them do accompany actions, though after a diverse manner. For seeing that action agreeth with nature, and that we mark it, and are made glad with pleasure; even to those actions, when they shall be good, and just, and honest, honor is joined. And that it may be made the plainer, which we treat of; I will speak somewhat of the nature of honor, and of those things which belong unto the same. And first of all we will set forth the definition thereof. Aristotle in his first book of Rhetoric's, will have it to be a signifying of the opinion, which is had of a man's honesty; and that consisteth of outward signs. To make this definition perfect, I think good to add thereunto the cause of the end, which since I cannot draw from the philosophers, I will borrow of our divinity. We therefore testify by manifest signs, that we judge well of honest men, to the intent that God, the author of all justice and goodness, may be honored in them: secondly, that the authority and example of them may profit others. Now do we comprehend all the causes of honor. The form is the signification, declaration, and testimony of our opinion touching good men. The efficient cause is touched, when we added thereto, the man's honesty: for by it are men stirred up to judge well. But the matter shall be in all those signs, whereby we give a testimony to good

and just men. And these things, since they be manifold, are mentioned in the book of Rhetoric's now alleged; namely, monuments, images, government, verses, sepulchers, a living of the public treasury, gifts; and we may ad thereto, the uncovering of our head, the giving of place, and rising up to our betters, &c.

And as all these things are many in number, so must we appoint as many parts, forms, or kinds of honor. And the difference of them is in respect of the matter of them. And we have also added the ends, that this testimony of ours may redound unto God, and that by our honors we may make the good examples of just men to be the more famous; or else that unto them which behave themselves well, there may be given an authority, and that thereby many others may be holpen. From the sense of this definition did Augustine not much vary, who saith, that Glory is a judgment of men, which have a good opinion of [other] men. Hereunto we have added certain outward testimonies of this judgment, and have expressed unto what men those testimonies must be given; that is to wit, unto honest men, and to those which order themselves aright. But this is wanting as well in Aristotle, as in Augustine, who should be those, that should signify their opinion. Certainly, those ought to be (as we gather out of the first book of Ethics) wise men, and such as do know us well. Quintilian yet more briefly, and in a certain compendious manner, hath thus expounded the matter; Glory (saith he) is the praise of good men consenting in one: where that word [of good men] may be joined both to them that are praised, and to them that do praise: for it behooveth them both to be good. Which to make more plain, we will thus divide honors; so that some of them we make to be of small importance, and but overshadowed, which all, only are raised by a brute of the people: and these, since they proceed not of a sound judgment, are

neither firm, nor yet yielded unto them, to whom they ought to be given. But others (as said Quintilian) proceed of the consent of good men; wherefore they be sound, and good men only are honored with them. But we have experience, that those former are so light and inconstant, as thou mayest see that well-near in one day, some are both justified, and condemned of the people: wherefore he that likened this kind of good to a glass, because it is very brittle and frail, strayed not much from the truth.

15. But now there riseth a question, Whether honor (to speak of the same which is sincere and constant) be the good of him that doth give the honor, or of him to whom the honor is given? This did Seneca handle in his 103rd epistle to Lucillus. I affirm it to be the good of them both. Without doubt it is his that is the praiser, seeing that his action is just and right. Neither think I it doubtful, that every good action is his good, whose action it is. Furthermore, since he, who is honored, hath in himself honesty, justice, and goodness, whereby both good and wise men are allured and provoked to commend him; therefore is his good also called honor: for he hath the beginning and cause thereof in himself. Moreover, he himself reapeth fruit of that honor, when his authority increaseth, and he is made the abler to persuade others, what shall best become them, and the better to retain them in their duty. Thirdly, also it is his good for this cause, that while he perceiveth good, honest, and thankful judges, to judge rightly of those things which he hath very well done, he greatly rejoiceth. Wherefore I have showed the reason why I judge, that honor is the good, as well of him that is praised, as of him that praiseth. And yet for this cause am I not contrary to Aristotle, which saith, that the same is in him which doth the honor, not in him which receiveth the honor: because he (as it is now brought in the definition) saith, that honor is a signifying of a man's opinion and mind;

and therefore he judgeth rightly, seeing as well the opinion as signification thereof proceed from him that honoreth, and rest on him, as on a certain foundation and matter subject thereunto. But yet I have respect to the original, whereupon this opinion was raised, and this judgment is stirred up in the minds of the wise; and moreover, 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 authority and gladness. Neither hath this my definition only place in honors; but it must be no otherwise esteemed of the lawful judgment of a judge, and of a just sentence, when he pronounceth the law. For these are the proper good things of him, which therewithal turn to his good, on whose side the matter is judged. And no otherwise should we say of justice; the same without doubt is his good that is just, but it is also good unto him, to whom, by the same justice, that which is due is rendered and paid. Now by these examples it plainly appeareth, how honor is a certain good thing, pertaining as well unto him which is had in estimation, as unto him which did give the same.

They doubt in like manner, whether the testimony of one honest and wise man be sufficient unto true and perfect honor; or rather that a signification from many is not required. I think it may be said, that according to the nature of true and sincere honor, the testimony of one wise and good man, and who knoweth us well, is sufficient; because in one which is of this sort, we have all others like unto him: for there is one mouth and one judgment of all wise and good men. Howbeit, to this end, that the example may be made manifest, and that the authority may grow and be confirmed to him that is praised, the testimony of one man is not of force; because a very great furtherance hereto is fame and good name, which things do require the testimonies of many. Now must this be seen, whether at any time honor be

severed from virtues and just deeds. Some say it is, and some say it is not. Certainly the more common opinion among the learned is, that honor followeth virtue, as a shadow followeth the body, which similitude in my judgment, expoundeth the question. The shadow accompanieth the body, but yet not always after one manner; sometime it goeth before, sometime it is upon one side, and goeth together, but sometime it followeth after: so the virtue of some men is had in honor, straightway after the beginning; of others it is not regarded, till it be increased and made perfect. Finally, thou mayest see some, which are not honored, till they be quite gone: for then are men wont otherwhile to perceive, though over-late, how great a good they have forgone. Which we know happened in old time to the prophets and apostles, and also in our times to many most just princes, good pastors, and godly preachers. While there were plenty of them, they were contemned; but when they were now taken away, then did they stir up an incredible desire of them. Wherefore honor do accompany virtue, but not always in the same step: sometime before, otherwhile together, and oftentimes after. And besides this, the testimony and signification of wise men is never wanting unto true virtue, and just actions, except there be a want of the wise, and such as have seen and known these things.

16. Now at the length let us come nearer to the matter, and consider ye together with me, whether the desire of honor should be accounted among good things, or among evil things. Shall we not commend honor, seeing it is planted in us by God and by nature; seeing God promiseth it unto them that be his, and that not seldom; They that glorify me (saith he) I will glorify them? And The elders are by Paul pronounced worthy of double honor. And therefore it seems, that God planted this desire in men's minds, that we might be more and more stirred up to live well and justly. Neither is that

common proverb rashly to be rejected; Honor nourisheth arts. Again Virtue commended increaseth. Moreover, there is none which hath but a spark of godliness can deny, but that all our works must be so ordered, as they may be allowed both of God and of men; namely that men, by the seeing of them, should (as meet it is) glorify God. Wherefore seeing honor, for the things that be well done stayeth not in us, but redoundeth unto God himself, how many soever be desirous of his glory, as we ought all to be, we may, at the least-wise for this cause, desire honor. Over this, who ought not to wish, but that all the brethren should not fail of doing their duty and office? Verily this hath God commanded all men, that they should honor their parents, and by the same reason the magistrates. And by Paul he commandeth; In giving honor go one before another. Also in the first epistle to Timothy the fifth chapter; Honor widows, which be widows indeed. In the first of Peter, the second chapter; Honor all men, love brotherly fellowship. And of Epaphroditus he said in the epistle to the Philippians; And such as he is have ye in honor. Such places as these be I may bring many; but seeing these be sufficient, it appeareth that when any man hath honor given 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 behave themselves well, commend it and be glad of it, and also wish that it may be done? Why do we pray; Let thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven?

Hereunto add, that in giving honor unto good men, we shall obtain rewards and benefits; That thou mayest (saith God) live long upon the earth. And on the other side, in contemning of them, they procure destruction to themselves; as the children which derided the prophet Elisha were rent in sunder of bears. Which seeing it is thus, he loveth not his neighbor, which desireth not that he may avoid these punishments, and obtain these

commodities and rewards. Wherefore even as with the good favor of God we may wish for due honors; so are we driven to the very same thing by that charity wherewith we ought to love our neighbor. And this doth David very well confirm in the 15th Psalm, when he spake of him which should dwell in the house of God, and in the everlasting habitation, among other his virtues this he reckoneth; He that is lowly in his own eyes, and glorifieth them that fear God. Therefore since without controversy, eternal life is to be wished unto our neighbors; this is to be wished for with most ardent prayers; that the godly, and those which fear God may be had in honor: which is this kind of honor, namely to have them in estimation, to be delighted with their company, to maintain their good name, and cheerfully to relieve their necessities: all which things, since they be so coldly done in these days, they which be godly cannot choose but earnestly sorrow, and wish that at the length it may be done even as God hath commanded. Augustine in his Soliloquies the first book, and eleventh chapter judgeth, that since of honors authority doth increase, and that authority doth much further to induce men unto honesty, and to drive men as well unto true opinions, as unto holiness of life, therefore honors are to be desired. Yea, and for their sakes, whom we ought by our ministry to help; if we see our authority to be despised, we ought for just and honest causes to defend the same, least in very deed it become unprofitable. To this belongeth that which Paul wrote unto Timothy; Let no man despise thy youth.

And when we do well, it doth not a little further to the confirming of us, if we have the commendation of good men. For even as we are in a manner all troubled with the disease of self-love, we are easily deceived in affairs and actions; and those things which we do least commendably, 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 signs the same were yielded: for by these things their mind and judgment is established. But those which be not doubtful, nay rather be assured, that those things which they do, be right, when they are adorned by wise and good men with a just kind of honor, they cannot choose but exceedingly rejoice and be glad in themselves, that they have gotten so good and just judges; wherefore honors do also profit these men. Neither do these things, which we have said, differ from the opinion of Aristotle. For albeit he deny honor to be the chiefest good, yet doth he not exclude it from the number of good things. Touching those things, which I have spoken of firm and perfect honor, there is nothing so agreeable, as that that shall be the chiefest, which the faithful in the last day of judgment shall have of Christ, when he shall say unto them; Come ye blessed of my father, &c. For that praise shall proceed from the most wise judge, to whom all justice is best known, neither can our doings any way be hidden from him.

17. Wherefore I think it is now sufficiently concluded, and made apparent, that the moderate desire of honors is not to be blamed: yet because many do soon over-reach themselves herein, and that the place is slippery, therefore must we declare some things, which we ought to take heed of, least in seeking for virtue, we shamefully fall into vices. To this must we have a special regard, that even Aristotle being an Ethnic saw, that we desire not honor for itself: for this were of a mean good, to make the principal good, and to enjoy those things which we ought but to use. Let the same desire therefore tend both to the glory of God, and to the edifying of our brethren. Next of all let us beware, that we take not too much care for honor; for so would the mind be soon disquieted, which when many, who were accounted

civil, did not avoid, they with the desire of praise became in a manner mad. We know with what a fury Alexander of Macedonia was carried in a manner through the world, seeking glory without measure and reason, who at length was brought to that pass, as he thought that there were other worlds to be conquered besides this; One world sufficeth not for young Pellaëus. With the very which disease, Julius Caesar being infected, set upon his country, and rashly violated the laws and liberty thereof. So then let this desire be moderate, and let it be bounded within certain and just limits. And in receiving of honors, let us follow Augustine's counsel; Neither receive thou (saith he) all that is offered, nor yet refuse thou all: for he that rejecteth all the honor, which is yielded unto him, for the things that he hath rightly and very well done, seems as it were to suppress the gifts of God, and that he would not have them acknowledged, which in very deed is against true godliness. And on the other side, he that embraceth whatsoever is offered him, doth many times pass the limits of modesty.

And here withal must heed be taken, that the kind of honor, which is brought, be not greater than the dignity of men can sustain; which when it happeneth, must not be abidden: for thereat is God angry, and doth severely take vengeance for his honors usurped by men. Herod was most grievously punished, when the people cried unto him with voices not fit for a man, but such as were meet for God. And for the same fault is Domitian, Nero, and many other most insolent Emperors justly condemned, which would not be worshipped as princes, but as God. Those things which belong to God, let them be rendered unto God; and let good men receive human honors rightly and moderately when they be offered. Also, let there be kept a just and right measure in obtaining of honors. There is only one way and mean commended, and that is by well bringing of things to effect, which the

Grecians call κατορθώματα, which things hypocrites do counterfeit, and while by outward signs they endeavor to declare themselves godly and holy, they be had in estimation of the people. But of them Christ said; They have received their reward. And there be others, which are carried so far forth, as they buy honors, which vice without doubt is condemned by all just laws, and of the Latins it is called Ambitus, that is, Ambition: for it is a most vile thing to crave the people's voices by great gifts. Hereof in the digests *Ad legem Juliam, de ambitu*, are many things extant. Those which were convicted, were condemned of infamy, and also in a payment of money. And the punishments of this fault were many times in the commonweal of Rome increased; for the fault did grow on without measure. Yea, and the ecclesiastical Canons did imitate the Roman laws. And because this vice grew mightily in the church, and at this day reigneth everywhere, many laws were decreed, which are in the first cause, quest. 1. throughout the whole question: and in the fifth book of the decretals, in the title *De Simonia*, and in another title, that the prelates should not grant their own places, or places of the church, for a yearly rent. They that sell ecclesiastical dignities, follow Gehazi the servant of Helizaeus, and they which buy them, are like unto Simon Magus. Neither is only money, but words, and every kind of flattery, if they be done only unto that end, to obtain ecclesiastical honors, to be esteemed as a price. And the fathers did so persecute this vice, as against those that commit Simony, they admitted any sort of accusers, even those that were infamous, dishonest persons, and harlots, and such other sort of men, which is not suffered in the complaint of other crimes. Lastly, must be regarded, that we use honors well when they be gotten, which I therefore speak, because we may see some every-where, which abuse them, to obtain power to compass riches, and follow pleasures, unto

all which things they make the way easy to themselves by dignities and honors, as well civil, as ecclesiastical.

18. These things we thought good to be recited, as touching them which receive honors; now must we speak a few words of them, whose part is to yield honor unto others: for these also must be admonished, because herein men may sin diversely and manifoldly. I suppose there is none that doubteth, but they do greatly err, which deny just and meet honors to them, that well and rightly behave themselves, and yet we see that there be many such as deny this. And those men are a great deal worse than these, which in the stead of giving honor, do hate them, do diminish their deserts, be disquieted and grieved, if they shall see anything go well with them: these men without doubt are to be accounted unjust, and most ungrateful. Some indeed there be, which frankly enough do honor good men, but this they do, to reap in like manner some benefit, favor, or help of them: and these pass not much of the well doings of honest men, but only seek their own good; wherefore they rather sell their honor, than make it a reward of virtues. Again we have known others, which are ready enough to give honors unto honest men, but in doing thereof, use a perverse judgment; for those good things which they ought to regard, they neglect, and do greatly esteem those things which be of less value. If a man do well over-see his church, bring sound doctrine, live godly, and showeth everywhere good examples, in this respect they make small account of him: but if the same man give crafty and expert counsel to increase wealth, or show some unknown thing in husbandry, or in physic, then they have him in admiration, and with praises extol him to heaven. There be also those which do flatter, and which adorn even foul vices with the names of virtues. Also, there be some, which in

giving of honors keep no mean, but either they give them sparingly, or else more than they should.

19. All these things, which I have rehearsed, must be diligently taken heed of; which since I have largely enough declared, now remaineth that we show how the doctrine of Aristotle agreeth with the holy scriptures, or else differeth from them. Indeed when he saith, that honor is not the chiefest good, he disagreeeth not anything from the holy scriptures: for the chiefest good cannot be desired more than is meet; but in wishing for honors we must temper our desire. I would not have you (saith the Lord to his apostles) be called Rabbi, or masters, or fathers; but rather regard this, that ye serve one another, and that with a lowly and moderate mind. Besides this, our savior would not suffer his to be defrauded of the chiefest good, seeing he came purposely to make us happy. But he setteth us open in a manner unto rebukes, and he foreshowed that his children should have contumelies done unto them, whom he comforteth by his own example; Who abased himself, and taking upon him the form of a servant, was made obedient even to the death of the cross. And whereas it is affirmed, that our chiefest good should be firm, proper, and not easy to be removed, it maketh with that which Paul saith; that therefore our salvation and justification doth consist of grace and faith, but not of works, that the promise may be firm. That honors may soon be taken away, the holy scriptures do testify: for Christ said; that No prophet is without honor, save in his own country. And we see that the saints, having honor many-times done unto them, are within a while after accused and caught unto punishment. And finally, the holy scriptures teach, that honor is of the kind of those good things, which are referred to some other thing: because the Lord said; Let others see your good works, and glorify your father. Where we see, that glory and honor

ought not to rest only in us; but must be referred unto divine honors and praises.

Of certain good things attending upon Felicity; namely, riches, beauty, nobility, and such like: and how far men may use them without hindrance unto Felicity.

20. In the definition of Felicity, action of the mind was the general word under which it was contained; which very well agreeth with the old writers, who divided good things into three parts, and among those things gave the principal and chief place unto the goods of the mind. Wherefore, seeing felicity is the chiefest good, it is well assigned to belong unto the actions of the mind. That same distinction of good things, proceeded from the Academics, and before them from Socrates, as it may appear in Platos fifth book *De legibus*: albeit afterward followed the Stoics, which only made one kind of good things; though Aristotle made no mention of them, because they flourished after his time. The goods of the mind are distinguished; for either they are referred to that which is to be understood, or to that which is to be desired: unto the former part are referred sharpness of wit, quickness of spirit, speediness of perceiving, fast holding in the memory, prudence, wisdom, and also knowledges and right opinions: but as for the will and desire, all the moral virtues do adorn. The goods of the body are distinguished; for some of them are dispersed over all the body, as health, strength, and beauty: for these settle not in one part of the body, but generally in the whole. But there be other things which are proper unto some of the members; namely, swift running, unto the feet; to the hands, strength in holding fast, in driving in, in drawing to, and in casting from; volubility or readiness unto the tongue, and to all the senses. Outward good things are distributed into friends, nobility, honors, riches, and such like.

But why the goods of the mind have the first place, many reasons may be brought; but now it shall be sufficient to say, that in good right those are the better properties, which are of a better matter than is subject. But the argument of Aristotle may thus be gathered; Those be the chiefest good things, which belong to felicity; But the goods of the mind be the chiefest; Justly therefore are they comprehended in the definition of blessedness. Wherefore, since the actions of the mind obtain the first place among the good things thereof, they are rightly set down to be the general word, under which felicity is contained.

Many there were, and those not of the vulgar sort, which held riches in estimation, as the chiefest good; and therefore Aristotle for two causes removed those things from felicity, the first is, for that they belong unto violence; for that which is violent, hath no respect of felicity. But that the possession and obtaining of riches is a violent thing, use and experience doth teach us; for there is none that can get great and abundant riches, or can long keep them, unless there be a violence, and that no small violence used. Another reason is, because they tend to profit, and are referred to another thing; wherefore the state of them is servile. For we have them to this end, that they may help us to other things which we desire: neither would any man esteem them the value of an heir, unless he knew them to be profitable unto those things that he would have. And how strange this is from the nature of the chief good, all they are not ignorant, which know that the same should be desired for itself sake. Very much therefore are they deceived, which have riches in the greatest honor, because they be profitable unto all things. This if Midas had set before his eyes, he would not have so addicted himself to the study of heaping up riches, that he was justly called χρυσομανής, that is, even mad for the desire of gold. Neither is

he alone among princes and kings to be reprov'd, seeing now the greatest part of them is infected with this vice, who nevertheless might have been admonished, not only by these two reasons of Aristotle, but by many other reasons, to set down some moderation of their desire. For it is without reason, so greatly to esteem that kind of good, which is external, and in a manner pertaineth nothing to the mind; but is only reckoned among the instruments, whereby men are holpen to do those things which they have purposed. Also, this kind of good doth besot men, if it happen upon them that be unwise: they be very careful to attain unto riches, but have no care of their children, to whom they shall leave them; nor yet of themselves, who should use them. They are like unto him, which would have many shoes, and in the meantime went barefoot. Besides this, the nature of riches is doubtful, in so much as they serve no less to the accomplishing of lewd desires and wickedness, than of honest and just duties.

Moreover, if virtue be therefore not the chiefest good, because it may be with them which be asleep, and which be in misery, whom no man judging prudently would call happy; how shall felicity be attributed unto riches, seeing 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 virtues? Unto honor it is denied, and that justly, that it should not be accounted blessedness; because it is not in their power which be had in honor. Which if we shall affirm, no doubt but we may judge the same of riches; seeing the possession of them is subject to infinite perils: they are gotten and lost well-near in an hour. One man boasted of exceeding great riches, which his ships had brought unto him: another hearing him, answered, that he made no account of goods which hung on gables and winds. And that they be not the chief good indeed, it seems they very well

knew, which termed riches a gilded felicity. Indeed I deny not, but that riches be good; but that they be the chiefest good, that we deny. That they be violent, and are referred to another thing, the holy scriptures in one word testify; Make ye friends of unrighteous Mammon. That they do hurt the unwise, it is said; The root of all evils is covetousness; They which will become rich fall into snares and temptation, &c. And as for the inconstancy of them, [Paul saith to Timothy;] Command that they trust not in the uncertainty of riches; [and Christ said] This night will they fetch away thy soul from thee. Finally, they are a hindrance unto men, as in the gospel; And the young man being rich, went his ways: so as they be good things, but yet in their own degree.

Certainly this word συμπαραλαμβάνουσι, 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 chiefly standeth. To what end are they then? First they are therefore added, to the intent they may further many actions of an happy man; for neither a liberal man, nor a man of valiant courage, nor he that is honorable can do anything of their own virtue; if they want money, if they lack store of things, and finally if they be needy and poor. And moreover, without riches, a happy man not only cannot help another man, but can be at no leisure to give himself to contemplation; because with his travel he must provide for his daily sustenance.

21. But some do not allow of it, that so excellent a thing as felicity is, should have need of goods far inferior unto it: howbeit this knot is undone

by our distinction. In itself and of his own nature it hath no need of them: for if in itself it should have need of these things, nothing might be happy, unless it abounded with these things: which must not be granted, seeing God and the angels are blessed without the small help of these goods. This poor lack, which is of a corruptible and mortal man, is joined to this felicity. Even as our power of understanding is not able, by consideration, to do anything at all, without the senses and similitudes which we contemplate: which in very deed happeneth unto it, not in respect it is a mind or understanding: for if it were on this wise, neither God nor angels should understand anything without senses and imagination. So then, the mind and understanding require those things, not by themselves, or their own nature; but in respect they belong unto men. It is to be noted moreover, that the matter which is subject, may be understood two ways: for either it representeth that matter, about which our actions are occupied; or else it is the matter wherein our mind is, namely the body, to the nourishing, sustaining and feeding whereof these outward goods are in any wise required; wherefore in these two respects felicity hath need of the outward good things.

Besides, we see in arts, that many things are done, not only by the art, which is placed in the mind of the artificers, and in the members of their body; but by the help also of outward instruments. The smith useth fire, tongs, a hammer, and an anvil: the carpenter a rule, a saw, an axe, and such other things, and that because of the matter which is subject: and so oftentimes it sufficeth not artificers to have art, and the members of the body. In like manner doth it come to pass touching felicity; although the mind be endued with excellent virtues, and that it will and can show forth excellent actions, and is not destitute of bodily power, yet hath it need of

friends, riches, and civil power. By civil power I understand honors, good will, favors, protection, and such like. As for riches, they are divided some into natural, and some into artificial: natural are counted whatsoever things do grow out of the earth, and which the breed of cattle produceth: but artificial consisteth on money, which in very deed was invented, that it should be indifferent to both parties in the exchange of things. And both these kinds being called faculties, we gather by the etymology of the word, that they are a great furtherance unto doing.

Aristotle, to the furtherance of a man's felicity, required a beautifullness of the body, nobility, store of children, and of true friends. Neither (as I suppose) doth he here mean a pleasant phisnomy, but that a man be not altogether deformed: and this is the meaning of *πάναιχρης*, as it is in Greek. The reason of this saying (as Eustratius thinketh) may be, because men's minds are prone to love and esteem them, whom they perceive to excel other mortal men in some goodly form: of which inclination moreover ariseth, that they willingly obey and follow them, which are thus beautiful. And a man, having the minds of the people thus affected towards him, doth undoubtedly help very much forward to the execution of excellent things: for the people bring many things to pass, when they be moved of their own accord, and when they fulfill the mind of one man with an earnest love and voluntary 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 ruddy, and of an excellent beauty. Another thing moreover there is, whereby men are moved to love them that be beautiful; because the beauty of the body is a certain image of the mind: which mind, since above all things we must seek to have

it honest and good, and that it cannot be discerned by the eye, it remaineth that the common sort follow the form of the body: after which manner if they were led, which are the lovers of our bodies, they should not be blamed. But at this day there is in a manner nothing done with moderation, but all things are wrought with uncleanness and lust.

Also unto blessedness, he requireth nobility; because the people obey and reverence noble personages: for nobility is in that kind, out of which have proceeded many famous and excellent men: and virtues, which shined in the ancestors, are wont to be looked for in their posterity. I know indeed, that some do think, that nobility is but riches preserved of long time in some family: but the former opinion liketh me much better. Eustratius moreover addeth, that the nobleness of a stock is therefore available unto civil felicity: for the people are wont to esteem of new men, when they start up, not only according to their present virtues or excellent acts; but according to that which they were a little before. Wherefore the former baseness, while it is considered of, doth somewhat obscure the present glory; which cometh so much the more to pass, as men be exceedingly given unto backbiting. εὐτεκνία is a doubtful word, because it signifieth not so much a store of children, as it doth their goodness. And indeed as touching store of children, they which abound in them, are both grateful unto the city, and are feared of others: grateful truly they be, because they increase the Common-weal. Wherefore among the Romans there was a privilege for those that had five or seven children. And a young man of the Lacedaemonians would not rise up unto an ancient, who otherwise had deserved well of the Commonwealth; Because (saith he) he leaveth not behind him, one that may rise and uncover his head unto me, when I shall be old. But then only children do further unto felicity, if they shall be well instructed: for otherwise they shall

be rotten impostoms and cankers; as Octavius Augustus spake of his daughter and niece, when they were unchaste. Also Tiberius sorrowed, that he did nourish in his house for the people of Rome Caligula, a most cruel snake.

22. Furthermore, how friendship doth fortify men with excellent helps, to the leading of a good life, may be gathered sufficiently by good writers, and by human custom. But he is far more to be reprov'd, which hath ill friends, than he which hath corrupt children. For sometimes it may so happen, that through an ill nature, what diligence so 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 choice of them, and they may be forsaken. Moreover, the loss of these (I mean of honest children and friends) Aristotle testifieth, may be a great hindrance unto blessedness; because their death cannot be without great sorrow and mourning. And although we suffer those calamities with an indifferent mind, if we be endued with the virtue of fortitude; yet are we subject thereunto not without detriment, which detriment no doubt doth not a little blemish our felicity.

Neither doth the holy scripture disagree 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 many places there is promised abundance of children to them that fear him. Which self-same thing we may easily know as touching riches. God enriched Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest of their friends. He granted of his own accord riches unto Solomon, which desired wisdom. And he would that his people, if they behaved themselves well, should so abound in riches, that they might lend unto other nations; but not borrow of them.

Nobility was in such estimation with the people of God, as every family would have his own genealogies, wherein they reckoned up 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. Yea, and the Evangelists Luke and Matthew rehearsed the genealogy of Christ, least he should seem to be of an unknown stock according to the flesh. Again, the apostle in the ninth chapter to the Romans described what nobility the Israelites were of; To whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the law 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.

A beauty of the body I showed before, was granted unto those two kings Saul and David. I showed also that the same was so requisite in the priests, as none that was lame, blind, crook-backed, or blemished with any notable deformity, might execute the room of high priest. Moreover, that friendship might increase among the Hebrews, God provided specially by his laws: all which, if they be narrowly considered, do serve very much for the joining of men together. Wherefore these things, which Aristotle hath rehearsed, must not be rejected; yet as touching felicity, there must be no more ascribed to them than is meet. It is said indeed in the book of Ecclesiastes, the tenth chapter, that Unto money all things are obedient. But that sentence is rehearsed as a common saying of the people, not as a true saying, but that thereby man's error might be reprov'd. Nay rather, the scriptures elsewhere do teach, namely, in the 17th chapter of the Proverbs; What do riches profit a fool, seeing he cannot buy wisdom for himself? These things then being some-what narrowly and diligently considered, we say that these gifts of God are not to be contemned, seeing they further very much to the good and

right execution of many civil duties belonging to blessedness; but we must not rely altogether upon them: yea rather, if at any time we want these good things, the true and perfect felicity, which we seek for, is not for this cause taken away. And if we, for the name of Christ, and confession of his faith, be deprived of these things; so far is it off, that true blessedness is blemished, as it is rather made a great deal the more excellent.

First that poverty is no let unto us, it appeareth, seeing not the least part of the saints was collected of poor men. And Christ commanded the young man, that he should sell that which he had, and give it to the poor; whom nevertheless he would without all doubt have made happy, which in very deed could not have been done [if poverty had been a hindrance unto felicity.] Yea, and Antisthenes and Crates the Theban, that they might in their philosophy be made the more happy, cast from them their money and treasure. And the Lord promised a hundredth fold, and eternal life to them, which for his sake should lose all things which are of this kind. What shall we say as touching nobility? Look to your calling (saith Paul) not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble are called, &c. Also, the lack of children is no let, for in the 56th chapter of Isaiah, the Eunuchs are said to have the better place in the house of God, not in respect they be Eunuchs, or lead a single life; but in as much as they shall more diligently keep the commandments of God than other men. In like manner, if friendships fail, they exclude not men from true felicity; seeing it cometh to pass sometime, that for the name of Christ, the godly are become hated of all men, which nevertheless is not against Aristotle, seeing he writeth but of a politic or civil blessedness.

Of contemplation, and what Felicity is therein.

23. Eustratius in expounding of Aristotle, (who in the tenth book of his Ethics affirmeth contemplation to be the chiefest perfection of our felicity) saith, that There be some which are not men exercised in civil and politic administration, but altogether given to contemplation, and these separate themselves from domestical and civil cares, and do fly from company and society; yea, and they study all that they can, to be severed even from their own flesh, whereof it comes to pass, that to the obtaining of felicity, there needeth not (as Aristotle would) the goods of the mind, for the teaching, counseling, and ruling of others; nor the goods of the body, for defending of their country; nor yet the goods of fortune, for relieving, succoring, and helping of the poor: and that only it is enough to apply the mind to understanding and contemplation. And he saith, that these men have a hard felicity, because they be as it were at war with nature, not seeking in deed to destroy the body or flesh; but provide this, that those things may be no impediment to their contemplation. And therefore, since this is a more private life, it needeth not many things. But he saith, that Aristotle spake not of these men, which he testified when he saith, that By nature a man is civil: and they which are of this sort, unless they minister to their elders and parents those things which be necessary, and also unto their posterity, wife, friends, and citizens, they have a maimed and imperfect felicity, although they be furnished with many good things. And the diminishing of their felicity is either more or less, according as they shall more or less want those good things which we have recited. It belongeth therefore unto a happy man, to have a care of all those things, which I have recited; which if he may commodiously do, he hath enough, and may be content; otherwise he shall not be counted happy.

These things I thought good to rehearse out of the doctrine of Eustratius; to whose opinion I subscribe not. For in that he will have any man so to live alone, that he should give himself only to contemplation, and be hidden from the company of other men, forsaking the duties of charity, and other virtues toward them, is both against philosophy and divinity. For the philosophers cry out generally, that men are not born to themselves; and declare that it is man's nature to help others, and in like manner to be holpen of others. Moreover, there wants no testimonies of the holy scriptures, whereby such a kind of life is condemned. Paul said; that None ought to seek their own, but that all should be done to the edification of our neighbors. And God commanded in the law, that the parents should be honored; which precept in very deed commandeth the maintenance of them. And the parents are commanded, that they should diligently and earnestly instruct their children. Neither are there laws wanting of wedlock, of defending and preserving of friends, and of the poor. Yea and Paul unto Timothy said; He that hath cast away the care of his own, and especially of his own household, hath denied his faith, and is worse than an infidel. Wherefore it is not lawful for any man to choose to himself so solitary a life, as he will set apart the care of other men. True indeed it is, that Aristotle treateth severally of civil life and function, and also of life contemplative; but yet not for this purpose, that any man should wholly addict himself to one of these lives: but to the intent, that whosoever aspireth to felicity, may know, that he is not able to obtain the same, except in an excellent sort he be partaker of both these estates of life.

Two properties doubtless there be of our nature; for nature itself hath made us both men of understanding and civil. Wherefore in our actions we must answer to both conditions; namely, that when they happen unto us in

our actions, we may execute them as we ought, and according to virtue. Again, that when any leisure serveth us, or that by any chance we are let from doing of things, then we to be occupied with great pleasure in the contemplation of divine and human things; that so these actions, which in kind seem to be diverse, may help one another. For if a man be exercised in moral and civil virtues, in governing of a family and common-weal, to the intent he may have the more ready and quiet mind in the helping and succoring of his friends, it so comes to pass, that he returneth the more apt to contemplation. And on the other side, when any man, by reason of his leisure, shall be in earnest contemplation of divine and human things, he is afterward thought to be much the readier to do other affairs. This we know did Tully, Cato, Pompeius, Lucullus, and such like singular men among the Ethnics. And we read in the holy scriptures, that Christ our savior did sometimes withdraw himself unto the mountains, and woods, that he might pray and meditate of divine things; but within awhile he returned to the people, and was all manner of ways a help unto mankind. The very same thing did John Baptist, Elias, and other the prophets. Yea, and the same Jesus our Lord first taught his apostles in the wilderness; afterward he sent them out into Judea, to preach and to heal them that were sick. So then let there be two kinds of life, but yet not in such sort, that any man should perpetually be addicted to any one of them.

That virtue is not the chiefest good; and wherein the same agreeth with it.

24. Among some of the philosopher's virtue was taken to be the chiefest good, which Aristotle refelled on this wise; It behooveth that the chief good be perfect, But virtue is not perfect, Therefore it must not be counted the chiefest good. The major proposition appeareth: for if it be not a perfect

chief good, our desire resteth not therein, but will desire moreover some other chief good. The minor proposition; namely, that virtue is not perfect, is proved; because it is a habit, that is, a power not in act: and it may oftentimes be in the subject without the action thereof, as a thing that many ways may be stopped; as by sleep, and by taking away of the occasion, if matter be wanting, and when afflictions, sickness, and misfortunes do disquiet us. This opinion, which placeth the chiefest good in virtue itself, is of all other that we have heretofore recited most near unto truth, and therefore it hath had great and grave patrons. But how it draweth near unto the truth, hereby we easily gather; that there is none more certain nor surer preparation unto felicity than virtue: for from the habit of virtue proceedeth that action, which is affirmed by Aristotle to be very felicity: virtue therefore is the nearest power or faculty unto felicity. But why the same cannot be the chiefest good, and felicity itself, it is cause enough, that it is referred unto a further end. For to what purpose do we procure unto ourselves the habits of virtues, but that we may the more easily and readily do well? Wherefore, since that virtue is directed unto 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 Stoics, have been accustomed to object against the Peripatetikes, saying that they, while they appoint virtue to be the chiefest good, do not understand it, as it is in the power, and lieth without act; but do take the same as it is joined with her action: and so laugh Aristotle to scorn, which objected not against them, but an idle virtue, and severed from right action. This answer at the first sight seems unto some to be just, and likely to be true: but if the thing be more narrowly considered, and that we shall more diligently look into the same, it is rather a shift, than a true dissolving of the argument; because whether

they will or no, action, and virtue, from whence it proceedeth, are distinguished [one from another:] for they be contained in sundry Predicaments, and are many times severed one from another. For virtue, when it is a habit, belongeth unto quality; but the act which it worketh, is comprehended under the Predicament of action. But how they be severed one from another, I think no man that diligently considereth the matter, is ignorant: for he which is endued with knowledge or wisdom, doth neither contemplate always, nor yet is always occupied about those things which he knoweth. Whereupon it cometh to pass, that they which comprehend two for one, and distinguish them not, do easily swerve from the mark, whereunto they should have an aim; and instead of an absolute and perfect doctrine, do follow that which is confused and not plain. This Aristotle perceiving distinguished and severed one of them from another, and when he seeth that one of them is referred to the other, he denieth that that which tendeth to another end can be the chief: which reason of his opinion is so evident, as I think nothing can be more manifest than the same. But they which cannot confute the reason, do return the argument upon Aristotle himself, who denieth that felicity is therefore placed in virtue, because virtue may easily and many ways be hindered.

If this argument (say they) like thee so well, neither canst thou indeed defend the most perfect action to be the chiefest good; because the same also is as many ways subject to impediments, as thou didst object against virtue. For he which sleepeth doth not contemplate; neither can he do the same, which is vexed with grievous torments; and he cannot endure any perils, which liveth in quiet and peaceable common-wealth's. Wherefore thou that sayest that virtue, for these causes, is not the chiefest good; thou shalt also say, that the most perfect action must not be accounted for

felicity. A show indeed of truth this hath, which is objected, but it maketh no matter at all; because the Peripatetikes will easily grant, that the same most perfect action, which they say is felicity, is not continued so as it cannot be broken off; but so long as it is, they would not grant it to be no felicity, and much less will they yield that the same is referred to a better end. Both which things cannot be said of the habit which is virtue. For the same, as it is in a man that sleepeth, or is vexed with most painful griefs, can neither be called felicity, nor yet can make him blessed in whose mind it is: for the habit may remain, when the action is taken away; but an action being let from breaking forth, neither is it, nor yet remaineth it. And besides this, a habit, while it yet remaineth hindered, who seeth not that it is still referred unto action, when as it inclineth the mind and desire thereunto. Moreover, that should be accounted our felicity, which approacheth most near unto the divine felicity; but God, seeing he is not only perfect, but even perfection itself, hath felicity in act, not in power; in very deed, not in habit; therefore our felicity also shall be an action: which notwithstanding is requisite to be less than the blessedness of God, which therefore happeneth; because his act cannot fail him, but ours is very oftentimes broken off.

25. After those things, which we have now spoken, must their cavil also be confuted, which laugh at the argument, brought as touching the impediments, whereby the action of virtue is repressed, that it cannot be effectual. Ye feign (say they) that the work of virtues pertaineth to the body; but it is not so: because the whole action of virtue is in the soul, and therein it standeth full and whole: the goods of the body, or instruments of fortune belong nothing thereunto. And without doubt, a poor man may be liberal, by wishing to give unto them to whom he thinketh meet to be given. Again, in the midst of torments, and in the very flames themselves, fear doth shine the

more, and becometh more glorious. According to which opinion Seneca unto Lucillus, the seventy epistle writeth many things, and among others saith; Virtue hath also place in the bed: overcome thou thy sickness with a valiant courage, because, if others that be present, shall perceive thee to be courageous, great, and upright in torments, they will wonder at the brightness of thy virtue; and thou, whilst thou art so vexed, shalt rightly instruct them, and thorough virtue shalt not only help thyself very much, but them also. What manner of things these be, now will we more narrowly consider. They declare, that the action of virtue is whole, full, and perfect in the mind: that we deny. For if we shall declare the nature of a habit, the same is nothing else, then a quality brought in by long exercise, by the benefit whereof the powers of the mind and body are made more ready and fit to occupy themselves. Neither doth virtue in the mind alone express her action. They which say that virtue doth bear rule in eating, drinking, fleshly desire, and such like; those also will say, that the action of that virtue is expressed in the body also, not in the soul only. So it may be lawful to say, as touching fortitude, liberality, and many other virtues; to show that the body and goods of fortune were not given by God unto mankind. Howbeit, these men perhaps persuade themselves, that the nature of man is fulfilled, and made perfect in the soul only: which how far it is from the truth, yourselves without me may perceive.

A poor man (say they) may be liberal, while he desireth to give unto them, to whom he thinketh it meet to be given. But I would fain learn of these Stoics, whether they that be endued with virtue, and being hindered, do desire to work by it; for what cause they desire this? Doo they it not for blessedness sake? This if they shall deny, they will declare themselves to be unwise in desiring of those things which they refer not unto the chiefest

good. But if they will grant, that they wish those works for felicity sake, it shall be lawful to say that felicity is perfectly gotten, not in virtue, but in action. I will easily grant, that virtue shineth, and is more glorious in the midst of flames, and in most cruel torments; and him that with a valiant courage suffereth these things, I will extol with praises among good and wise men; but yet so, as I will deny him, in the meantime, to enjoy whole and perfect felicity. He shall very well by his example instruct and teach others, yet shall he not perfectly and all manner of ways be blessed. These things be so very true, as even they, which profess the Stoical discipline, must whether they will or no yield unto this opinion. For Cicero in his fifth book of Tusculane questions, at the beginning saith; If virtue be not of such strength, that it can defend itself, I fear me least we are not so much to lean to the hope of a blessed life, upon confidence of virtue, as it may seem that we have more need to pray for it. Verily I myself, when I consider those chances, wherein fortune hath exceedingly exercised me, I begin to mistrust this opinion, and other whiles also stand in great fear of man's weakness and frailty. For I fear least that when nature gave unto us weak bodies, and with them joined incurable diseases, and intolerable griefs; it also gave minds agreeable to the griefs of the bodies, and severally entangled with the vexations and troubles thereof. But herein I reform myself, that I judge of the strength of virtue according to other men's niceness, and peradventure according to mine own, not according to virtue itself, &c. How he doubted, and in a manner became of this opinion, he plainly expressed in these words: and it maketh no matter, that he saith he reformed himself, because that is uncertain: and, he addeth this word Peradventure, which is a token of doubting.

Moreover, what is so certain, as that Cicero himself in his fourth book *De finibus* disputed against Cato, who had before in the third book extolled the opinion of Zeno and the Stoics to the heavens? Yea and the Stoics as in virtue alone they boasted, that they were blessed, yet did they not repose themselves in that alone; but called the powers of the body, the pureness of the senses, dignities, riches and such like προηγμένα; that is, Things coming naturally without any other beginning: which Cicero calleth Things produced, promoted, principal, advanced above other. With the sense of which words if we would urge the Stoics, we shall say, that they attribute more unto this kind of things, than the Peripatetiks; as they which do name those things principal, and above others; whereas the Peripatetiks call them indeed good things, but yet of the lowest degree, and which are not of much account, being compared with just and honest things; and therefore, as the time serves, to be contemned, and not much to be desired. I know indeed that the Stoics do call these things principal and chief, while they be compared with their contraries; not when they be compared with virtues: but yet by these their new and made words they attribute very much to this order of things, when they call these things, Commodities, things to be preferred, and of chief regard; and their contraries ἀποπροηγμένα (ἀπό προηγμένα): as who should say Discommodities, and things rejected. Wherefore, though the Stoics would contend with the Peripatetiks in talk, yet in reason and in the thing it self they agree with them. The Stoics delight in a magnificent kind of speech, and only in words bring in a unsensibleness of passion, which when they come afterward to the matter, all men feel by experience, that it is quite differing from our senses, and from our tried customs, and also very far from the strength of our human nature.

26. And I do not think, that I should lightly pass over those things, which I cited a little before, out of the fifth book of Tusculane questions; If (saith Cicero) virtue had not help enough in itself, that then we must make our prayers for the same. What is this we hear? As though if virtue were sufficient in itself, is there nothing then to be wished for, or to be desired of God; as if we had all things consisting in our own selves? Shall Tully on this wise, in making more of virtue than is requisite, take away godliness, which is the chief virtue of all others, by abolishing the invocation of God? Trulie even thus did the Stoics think. For Seneca writeth, that Jupiter can do no more than a good man. Wherefore the Stoics used no less magnificent kind of speech, than their doctrine was altogether differing from religion. Which I do not therefore say, as though I endeavored to pronounce Aristotle's opinion to be godly and religious; but to give warning, that the Stoics are not so to be esteemed, as though in praising of their virtues, they drew very near (as some think) unto the Christian doctrine. Yet will I bear more in this behalf with the Stoics, than with the Epicures; because they speak in a manner always that which is agreeable to their own opinion, whereas the Epicures many times affirm things not agreeable to their own rules. Because Epicurus accounteth grief for the chiefest evil, he also placeth pleasure of the body, or voidness of sorrow to be the chiefest good. If he be tormented, or descend into Phalaris bull, and tell me how sweet this is, as he boasteth that His wise man will say, without doubt he shall speak most inconstantly, and such things as no manner of way accord in themselves.

Let these words so glorious and worthy of memory be left unto the Stoics, which so boast of their virtues, as they think that a wise man endued with them, shall never be without happiness. Neither can they persuade their

mind, that seeing felicity doth evermore accompany virtues, it will then forsake them, and that it will stay upon the threshold, wherein they enter into the prison; as though it may not be lawful for it to enter into a sorrowful place, nor (as said Theophrastus) to ascend upon the rock or wheel of torment. Theophrastus, no doubt, was far wiser than Epicurus. For he which saw, that by the Peripatetiks doctrine, was required unto civil felicity, whereof we now entreat, both the goods of the body, and the goods external; the very same man understood, how impossible it was, that even the wisest man should be blessed in torments and misery. But Epicurus, who was delighted with such a chief good, as we have now declared, will speak things neither meet nor agreeable to his purpose, while he speaketh so magnifically, and useth such glorious sentences. But yet this is no marvel; for he contemned Logic, which is the right means of disputing: but of this thing we have spoken enough.

26. Let us now see what the holy scriptures say hereunto: truly they make no mention of virtues, when they show the felicity of man. In the psalm, wherein is rehearsed the opinion of the common sort, which thought him to be happy that hath abundance, and who is replenished 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 showed, not a power; Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord; blessed is the man that walketh in the law of the Lord. Further, that even the good habits of the mind may be sometime idle and unprofitable, hereby it is evident; that Paul warneth us to take heed, that we receive not the grace of God in vain. And Paul adviseth Timothy, To stir up the gifts of God, which were in him, by laying on of hands by authority of the eldership. Seeing then the gifts of the spirit, which are more excellent than moral virtues, are

referred unto action, that others may be holpen and instructed, (otherwise we should not become the better for them) this must be judged much truer, and more certain as touching human virtues. Where it is said of Aristotle, that Calamities and miseries do let, that men cannot be counted happy; if this should be considered by itself, as it is said without any distinction, it agreeth not with the holy scriptures. For they which suffer for Christ, are in great penury, and are troubled with grievous punishments; yet do they enjoy that blessedness, which in this life is possible to be attained unto: because their sins are not imputed unto them, and their soul and body are then exceedingly renewed toward the attainment of eternal life. Howbeit, seeing the felicity 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 blessedness; seeing they look shortly to have the same, wherein they shall feel none of these miseries. For the oracles of God say; God shall wipe away all tears from the eyes of his saints, neither shall there be mourning nor lamentation anymore: for these former things are parted away. Wherefore we say with Aristotle, that between perfect and full felicity, and miseries and calamities there is no agreement, which nevertheless disagreeeth not with that felicity, which we have here begun.

And Paul saw the displeasures of this life to be so repugnant unto perfect blessedness, and that they could not abide together, as he said unto the Corinthians; If the dead rise not again, we are more unhappy than all men. And if that Christ pronounced them blessed, which mourn, and which suffer persecution for his name; that must not so be understood, as though we should be blessed, because we weep, and sigh, and suffer persecution; but because we wait for better things hereafter, and are saved by hope. Neither do I deny, but that in the midst of the troubles of the flesh, God will give

marvelous comforts to them that be his: which I persuade myself passeth all the delights of civil happiness. Yet cometh it not to pass thereby, that perfect felicity is joined with these calamities. After this manner did Paul comfort the soldiers 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 us, when we reign together with Christ. But Aristotle was constrained to judge as he said, because he was ignorant of the blessedness to come, and saw that the civil happiness, which he treated of, was obscured and diminished by adversities and afflictions. And unto him were unknown those heavenly comforts, which God, above the power of nature, bringeth to the confessors of the truth, even in the very torments. Wherefore, if as touching this matter, the Stoics seem somewhat to disagree from us, this they did unadvisedly; seeing they also knew nothing of the life to come, neither had they ever trial of the consolations of God in the midst of miseries and death.

Of the causes of Felicity.

27. Now that we have largely enough disputed as touching the nature of felicity, we will inquire of the cause thereof. Aristotle reckoneth up five causes, which may be gathered into two; for either they be inward, or outward. They are reckoned inward, because discipline, custom, and exercise do proceed from us. But the outward causes are thought to be God and fortune. Between custom and exercise this is the difference, that custom is referred unto virtues, which are bred by often and continual actions. But exercises and labors are to be applied to a sure obtaining and keeping of riches, honor, and health; in which things many (as it hath been said) have placed felicity. And first as touching discipline, it belongeth unto them, which have thought that virtues are learned by applying of doctrines.

Wherefore if there be need of discipline, it must be learned; if of custom, we must not desist from honest actions; if it be ascribed to exercise, there must of necessity be no labor spared; if it be expected of God, he must be prayed unto; but if of fortune, since we are able to do nothing concerning it, all must wholly be committed unto the same. The Stoics, and especially Epictetus, distinguish all things which are found either to be in us, or not to be within us. By those things that are in us, they understand the things which we can rule by our counsel, and obtain by our strength: and those things that are said to be not within us, are the same that we have not in our power; as nobility, health, and riches.

Whether God be the cause of felicity, Aristotle in his first book of his Ethics speaketh very ambiguously, and bringeth a conditional proposition, but absolves not the argument. If any gift (saith he) be of God, felicity shall be given of him. And he sheweth a reason of the conclusion, because the same hath the chiefest place among all human things. But to the making up of the argument, there may be added a double minor proposition: that the felicity of the godly, and ours is all one; But many things are given unto men by God, therefore must felicity be expected from him. And that many things are given unto men by God, we doubt nothing at all, who do also extol his providence in everything: and since from him, as from the chief good, and fountain of goodness, is derived whatsoever is good, we do not once imagine, that this doth flow without his pleasure, will, and election. But there be some, and those indeed Peripatetiks, which do deem far otherwise of the providence of God: for they think that his providence, as touching particular things, stretcheth not lower than the moon; because so far, all things are done constantly, and in singular order. But, as touching the things which are beneath the moon, they make providence to be only of

general things, not of particular. Wherefore they should take this for the minor proposition; But no gifts are distributed by God unto men, neither therefore is felicity given. And they say, that gifts are not given by God unto 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 giving or bestowing from election, will, and free choice. The good things, which we have, and felicity, they will grant do depend of God, and of the motion of the heaven, and that they cannot otherwise be had; but they think that those be not given by him, by a certain distribution which he considereth of, or which he giveth by a free disposition. For they think that God dealeth necessarily, and by a natural impulsion.

Wherefore we must note, that Aristotle in the place above mentioned, neither affirmeth nor denieth that felicity is given of God. He affirmeth it not, because he saith, that this work belongeth to another treatise; namely, to the metaphysics, or treatise of supernatural things, wherein is treated of the providence of God, without which doctrine, this question cannot be defined. Neither yet doth he deny felicity to be given of God, least he should fall into an absurdity. For it seems to be contrary to reason, that the rest of the gifts should be given by God, and felicity not to be given by him. Wherefore he teacheth it under a condition, namely, If other things be had from God, felicity likewise doth proceed from him: but he affirmeth nothing at all. But I see not how fitly he putteth over this treatise to another place; for if this definition do depend of providence, might he not in the meantime have borrowed so much of his metaphysical treatise, as should have been sufficient for the explaining of his mind? This he did as touching the soul, and took from his treatise of natural things so much as served unto moral doctrine, and saith, that The soul as we shall shortly see, hath diverse parts.

So likewise might he here have written of this, although he had not here purposely proved it, but taken it from some other treatise; that God by his providence doth give many gifts unto men; than the which gifts seeing felicity is far more excellent, it is meet that the same also should belong unto it. Howbeit, dissembling this, he passed it over, and saith it belonged to another treatise. But I beseech you, what more convenient place had there been, seeing in that book he was to treat of manners and virtues, the understanding whereof dependeth altogether of the knowledge of felicity? Now was it time to affirm thereof simply, that he might no less have expected the same of God, than other gifts. Now then, when he speaketh on this wise, he seemeth to shun the hatred of ungodliness, but deserved no praise for a plain and sincere confession. If he had meant well and honestly, he should not have used these ambiguities. But what should he have done? He could not by philosophy know anything of the will of God towards men; for whatsoever we know thereof, we are all wholly beholding for it unto the holy scriptures, and especially to the gospel.

28. When Aristotle had after a sort denied, that felicity cometh from God, in that he would not confess it; this nevertheless he granteth, that it is a thing most divine, that is, most perfect, which also God enjoyeth. For he, although not as men be, yet after a certain manner of his own, is blessed. here Eustratius added [of his own] that God doth give felicity, but not without the means which we have rehearsed, I mean learning, custom and exercise. And undoubtedly, there be certain things given unto us by God, without any labor or endeavor of us. For when did ever any man labor that he might be born witty, noble, or of a sound body, or of a perfect complexion? Assuredly no man. As for other things, God so giveth them, as we should attain unto them by certain means. Howbeit this must be

diligently considered, that if we will think well and godly of the matter, even the very means are given unto us by God himself: for no man shall be moved to receive sound doctrine, nor to take in hand a good custom nor a profitable exercise, unless he be stirred up by God. If felicity have those three things, for causes and certain principles, it may soon be common unto many; except those which have not their senses perfect, which be feeble, and born lame, and for that cause cannot attain unto felicity. For there be some, which be born fools, and of an ill temperature of the body; and therefore they which be deaf, dumb, or which be overcome with great griefs and weakness, cannot learn good arts and literature, neither are they fit for exercises; nor yet to procure unto themselves good manners. And doctrine is not admitted for moral virtues sake; but because of the faculties and sciences which be contemplative, in which things for the most part felicity doth consist. And because it is said, that felicity is common unto many; hearers and readers be encouraged to think, that if they fall from it, it must be imputed to their own default which would not learn and accustom themselves to good actions, and painful exercises.

From felicity he in like manner exempted children; because they, in respect of their age, which in them is very young and tender, cannot execute that action to all intents and purposes. But the reason which he maketh, why they cannot be blessed, let us examine it as it is produced by Aristotle; There is need (saith he) unto felicity, both virtue, and a perfect life. Touching life, there is no controversy; because as one swallow 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 lengthened, and his time produced. There is also required a perfect virtue; for unless it shall take deep root, it will soon slip away, as having small fastening. Briefly,

Aristotle will that a happy man should be in such a state, as he cannot easily be removed therefrom; whereunto all men see, that a full age and perfect virtue is requisite. This opinion pleased the Pelagians, which placed righteousness, and the kingdom of heaven in the power of men. Also it pleased the schoolmen; for as the Pelagians denied grace, and said that nature doth suffice: so these men likewise affirming grace in bare name, have in very deed quite taken it away, as they which have made the same common and open to all men, as though it were in every man, either to receive it, or to put it from him. And when they be asked who doth give grace to them, which accept it, in such sort as they both desire it, and receive it, when it is offered to them; they fly unto free will: and of all these is Pelagius the standard-bearer.

Wherefore, if either thou ask of Aristotle, or of them; Since felicity is thus common, as ye say, how comes it to pass, that so few obtain the same? Because few (say they) will learn, few will labor, few will accustom themselves to honest and good exercises. But we will here note a general and a certain proposition; To every nature or kind there is a purposed end, the which all that be comprehended in it may attain. And surely, that which Aristotle answered, as touching them that have not their perfect senses, be lame, and feeble, why they cannot be partakers of felicity; namely, because of their natural defect; that proposition may be understood, when the powers shall be perfect: so do we answer, that men cannot now by themselves be perfect, because nature was corrupted even from the beginning, and that we have not the powers as well of the mind, as of the body perfect. So that now, when we hear these things, let us think that we hear Aristotle, not Paul, or Christ. Here have we three things that are spoken of felicity; It is a divine thing, it may be obtained by the three principal

things, which he have already rehearsed, and it is common in a manner to all men.

29. There remaineth fortune, which Aristotle removeth from the causes of felicity; because it is thought unworthy that it should be admitted to open so excellent a gift unto men. But before I show the reason brought by Aristotle, I will endeavor to declare what fortune is. As it is written in the second book of natural philosophy; It is an accidental cause, and then it cometh in place, when anything is joined to any man, which is author of the effect following; unto the producing of which effect, that which is joined thereunto, worketh nothing, but only giveth sometimes an occasion; and the effect may well come to pass without it. This is made plain by a similitude; If a man, by reason of an ague, become temperate, we will say that this fell out by fortune: for temperance cometh of the will as of her own proper cause, which will bridleth the affection of lust. The ague might have been the occasion whereby this came to pass, but the cause it could not be. And because these things, to wit, the will of temperate government, and the ague, meet by fortune in one and the same man; therefore doth temperance spring by fortune from the ague. But it appeareth plainly enough, that the fever is not by itself the cause of the temperance; otherwise, all that be grieved with a fever, would become temperate. According to this manner of speaking must the sentence of Paul be examined and understood; Knowledge puffeth up. Pride, which immediately preferreth our own things above other men's, proceedeth from the will; hereby we become vain and puffed up. And because knowledge giveth an occasion unto some that this is done, therefore knowledge is said to puff up, but yet by fortune; because in one self man, are joined together by chance these two things, to wit, the desire of passing and excelling others, and also some knowledge of things.

And as these things be joined together at all adventures; so doth vain puffing up proceed by fortune from knowledge. Also it happeneth, that when unto that effect, which we desire by itself, and by our own advise, another effect by chance is joined therewith; then the same cometh of fortune, not purposely, whereas we in very deed sought for another thing. As otherwhile it happeneth unto them that be diggers, that they in laboring do find treasure, when as they only intended the trimming of their vines and trees: this I say 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 affirm this, he must of necessity avouch, that all diggers do find treasures. Add moreover, that all the effects of fortune do very seldom come to pass, and that contrariwise than falleth out in the true and proper causes, which very seldom are hindered from bringing forth their effects. Which things being so, it appeareth, and that manifestly, that fortune is repugnant to reason and counsel. Wherefore it is not meet to attribute unto it, that it bringeth forth felicity. And so Aristotle concludeth, that seeing felicity is better derived from the causes before mentioned, than from fortune, it is meet that we should determine it so to be; because it ought to be in the best manner that it can.

One reason, whereby Aristotle proveth fortune to be no cause of felicity is this; The chiefest good ought not to be referred unto a vile and abject cause; Felicity is the chiefest good, and fortune is but vile among the causes; Wherefore blessedness ought not to be reduced unto fortune, being a cause less worthy than others. And hereof dependeth the force of this argument: for although a noble cause do otherwhile bring forth a vile effect (as we know that the sun doth not only breed a man, but also frogs, fleas, and flies) yet excellent effects cannot proceed but of noble causes. Here we see, that

by evident and most manifest words Aristotle excludeth fortune, as he that would not number the same among the causes of felicity, and taketh propositions as well out of his book of natural philosophy, as also out of his metaphysics: the very which certainly he might have done, in affirming God to be the cause of man's blessedness. So that he excludeth from this number both God and fortune: God, as over-worthy and too high; but fortune, as an unworthy and a more vile cause. For it is a most inconstant thing, and hath no substantial ground-work: which nevertheless is so excluded, as it can do nothing about the nature and substance of felicity; and yet undoubtedly it can do somewhat about those good things which help unto felicity, and be the instruments thereof. But if it be of power, concerning riches, and honors, and such like, which (as it hath been said) do not a little further unto felicity; why do they deny them to be the cause thereof? We grant indeed, that these things do accomplish, and do service unto felicity, and do such service, as it may not be without them; but we deny that it doth properly cause the same. For it so fareth not, that as the lack of these things may hinder blessedness; so if they be present, they can perform and bring the same to pass. For thou shalt see many men that be noble, rich, strong, and in honors, who nevertheless being wicked, thou wilt not call happy. Which assuredly should not come to pass, if these things were by themselves causes of happiness. But if these kinds of good things be taken away from honest and wise men, they suffer them not to be happy, although (as it hath been said) those things themselves are not the causes of blessedness. But if thou demand, whether the good things of the body do also come from fortune? I may easily deny it; because fortune is affirmed to be one of those causes, which rarely and seldom comes in action: for scarcely within a hundred year it happeneth, that a digger of vine trees, or a ploughman

chanceth upon a treasure. But it is very often given unto men even from their birth, to have a good constitution of their body, and have given 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 sense is; because felicity is an action, and that no small action of the mind, it ought not to be expected of fortune: for the nature of minds and of virtues is otherwise, then it is of fortune. But he saith not absolutely, that blessedness is an action of the mind; but he added, that it is a certain kind of action, that is to wit, a most absolute and most perfect action; because it proceedeth from a most excellent virtue. Hereof dependeth the force of the argument, that neither the mind of man, nor virtue do any action by fortune. He again confirmeth felicity not to be of fortune; because he said at the beginning, that the end of civil faculty is the chiefest good; but no man doubteth, but that the same faculty worketh not by chance, or by fortune. And he proveth, that therefore the chief end of man belongeth unto that faculty, because therein civil virtue doth very much labor, to the end it may make good citizens. Wherefore, if it use diligence, it cannot be said to deal by fortune. For counsel, industry, and diligence are altogether repugnant unto fortune: for the civil art endeavoreth to make good citizens, and to be of excellent conditions, and singular qualities; first by making of good laws, afterward by giving of honors and rewards to the keepers and faithful observers of them; and on the other side, by punishing, and keeping under those which do transgress them.

Let us now briefly examine these things by the holy scriptures, how much they agree with them, or how much they dissent from them. Aristotle speaketh doubtfully of God, whether he be the author of felicity or no. But we constantly affirm that he is; I will (saith God unto Abraham) be thine

exceeding great reward. And least we should suspect that this is naturally true, but not at the will and election of God himself, there followeth there the making of a covenant, whereby he chose to himself a certain people; and he covenanted that he would be the God of those that believe. And Moses, who very well understood, that felicity consisteth herein, that God might be understood and seen, desired this of God, when he said; Show me thy face, which also he obtained. And David sang; Pleasures are at thy right hand for evermore. And Christ our savior, who is our God; Come (saith he) unto me all that labor and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. And he said speaking of his sheep; They hear my voice, and I give them eternal life. Let this be a full persuasion to every one of us, that our felicity is to be expected and desired of God himself. As for the exercises, customs, and doctrines which Aristotle mentioneth, in our opinion also must not be contemned; nay rather they are commanded us in every place of the scriptures: yet not so, that they should be the causes of our felicity. For we be freely justified, not of works; and eternal life is granted freely unto us.

But there be certain means, whereby God doth lead us unto him, and to the felicity which we desire: and these means we have from God himself. Wherefore it was upon good cause said by Paul; It is God which giveth unto us both to will and to perform. But as for fortune much less than Aristotle did, do we commit blessedness thereunto; as we that think, that all our doings are governed by the counsel and will of God, so as without his will, not so much as one hair can fall from our head. And we think this of all other to be most false, which is commonly said of the Ethnics, that Every wise man frameth to himself his own fortune. Aristotle denieth that children can be happy, but we on the other side affirm them to be happy, seeing Christ said; Suffer them to come unto me, and he embraced them with great

favor, and with singular clemency. We know indeed, that they as yet cannot be workers of excellent actions, but yet by Christ both original sin is forgiven them, and a way unto eternal life is opened to them. Neither do we grant unto him, that they cannot be called happy, which are afflicted with great mischances; since it may be, that they which are truly 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 felicity and blessedness, look more Part. 2. Cap. 16. Art. 26.

CHAP. XV. Whether any Man can be Counted Happy, while he liveth in this world.

Aristotle in his first book of Ethics, disputing whither a man may be accounted happy in this life, saith; that Since unto all men, though they live justly and well, may happen the same things that happened unto Priamus, there is left a doubt, whether any man, while he liveth, being subject to so many alterations, can rightly be called happy. And having secluded brute beasts and children, it seemeth for good cause to be doubted, whether any man should be accounted partaker of that blessedness: which as it might seem, is not rashly to be affirmed; because of the manifold alterations. For what sea or river is there, that can be tossed with so many storms, that can be disquieted with so many troublesome tossing's, as is the life of men, which though it be wholly well settled; one day, or one unfortunate night doth not a little cast it under foot, yea oftentimes utterly bring it to naught? And not only the body is changed, which after a sort would be tolerable; but also the mind, whereby we now learn precepts, and now forget them; now receive counsels, now reject them; what within a while we decreed, we overthrow; what a little before pleased us, is now earnestly refused. These

things Eustratius considering with himself, and perceiving the cause of alteration of all these things to be derived from the body, saith; that Our soul, when it is joined with it, is as if it should be let down into a water troubled and most swiftly running, whose whirlpools our mind is so far unable to resist, as it is rather most vehemently drawn by them. By which saying we may perceive the great infirmity of man's mind, wherewith he is so holden, as he is not able to rule the violent course of worldly alterations.

Aristotle indeed might have named the variable and inconstant state, as well of the body, as of the mind, but he set forth that manifold diversity of things, which is perpetually seen in outward things. And that the thing which he said might be the more plain, he showed an example very well known even unto children, which had heard the fables of the Poets, namely Priamus the most rich king of Asia, who had abundance of posterity, as he that was father of fifty children, whereof seventeen were born to him of lawful wives, he had great store of friends, he was famous in warfare. But the more that fortune flattered him continually all his life long, the more did she at the end of his life, take all things most miserably from him. Wherefore justly and for good cause doth Aristotle demand, whether any man is to be counted happy while he liveth? And this may be called a question as touching the time; for he had before inquired of the causes of blessedness, and afterward he disputed of the matter, the subject, or persons which should be capable thereof; and now he searcheth out, at what time a man may be blessed, or so called. Whether (saith he) shall this be attributed unto him while he liveth, or after his death? The question hath two parts, and Aristotle treateth of either part. In the first place he dealeth with their opinion, which would have us to expect until the time of death, because that opinion is false, neither doth he follow the same; and he always placeth the

false things before the true, that those being confuted, that which is true may be the better confirmed.

The opinion seems to be proved by the authority 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. This sentence was spoken by him unto the king of the Lydians, whose name was Croesus, who outrageously boasting of his substance, riches, power of his kingdom, pleasures, and other good things which he enjoyed; And doest not thou (saith he) count me happy? In speaking hereof, he seemed to glory over the philosophers, who with their doctrines and sciences, in some manner of sort were in need; whereas he having no philosophy, seemed unto himself to be full fraught with felicity. Solon hearing these words, repressed with a wise answer the insolency of the proud king; No man (saith he) is happy before his death, admonishing him, in a free philosophical manner, that by ill fortune, all those things might be easily taken from him, in such wise, that notwithstanding so great things, he might be cast down to extreme calamity. Wherein he was not deceived; for Croesus being overcome by Cyrus, he saw all that ever he had, quite overthrown. This sentence of this Philosopher did Ovid thus express;

Of every man we must expect, the last and fatal day:

Nor any person happy call, till time of death we may.

2. The saying of Solon may be understood two manner of ways. The first sense is, that it should be meant of the thing itself, 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 reproved as absurd, and most repugnant to the definition alleged of felicity. For if felicity be an action, and that a perfect action, it ought not to be given to the dead; who,

since they have no longer being, are able to do nothing. This is a special place to testify, that Aristotle thought the soul to be mortal: for if it remain safe after death, assuredly it can work, and that much more readily than being joined with the body. Wherefore he should neither rightly nor orderly withdraw action from it, as he doth when he bringeth forth such a reason, as cannot be firm; unless it shall be granted, that they which depart do nothing. He seemeth to say, that this would be so absurd, as the self-same men, at one and the self-same time, both do and not do. If they shall be counted happy, then they do; but if they be dead, they do not. Neither is it convenient, that they which be not happy, should be called happy. I know indeed, that some so defend Aristotle, that he speaketh in this place of civil felicity, such as is not to be expected of us in another life. But what felicity soever it be, whether civil, or perfect, and eternal, it must needs be an action. Besides, if he had judged rightly, he might in one word have signified the same, by testifying that there is another felicity to be looked for after this life, of which he did not presently speak. Again, when he showeth a little after, that the dead as yet are subject unto good and evil, he turneth all his disputation to the good and evil things of this life. Thus did not Plato speak, in his last book of the common-weal, where he showeth, that then chiefly do remain pure and happy actions for us, when we be called away from this life. And in his book of the immortality of the soul, he appointeth philosophy to be a sound and sincere meditation of death; namely, that we should always seek to remove the mind from the body, the plucking away whereof from the senses, we shall then at the last attain, when we shall be departed from hence. But Aristotle, so far as I know, never spake one word of the blessedness thereof.

The other sense of Solon, Aristotle sheweth: for he saith; If we shall say that he, which is dead, is not blessed, seeing now he hath no being, and is dead, then will some man in defense of Solon make exception to this that we say; This was not Solons meaning in his sentence. For he will grant thus much, that a man is happy in very deed, even while he liveth here; but that he ought not to be pronounced happy of us, till he be dead; because then in very truth a man may safely say it, when he is now out of dangers and evils. There is a difference between κακά, δυστυχήματα, and ἄλλοτε μητύη ἡμέρα, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ; the first signifieth the vices, which we of our own choice and judgment do join unto us: but the other signifieth the mischances which happen unto us against our wills. Unto this exception of these defenders of Solon; Aristotle opposeth himself, and saith; That which is affirmed is doubtful, namely that the dead are now out of evils and calamities: for even the dead are yet subject to evil things, and to good. Neither must we think, that Aristotle here speaketh of purgatory and of hell; but of the good and unfortunate things of this life. Let us thus set down his argument; They which be not past the good and evil things of this life are not yet in safety, nor cannot be called blessed; But the dead are not yet exempted from these things, but are subject unto them; Therefore they be not in safety. The major proposition is manifest, the minor appeareth by a similitude: for if a man, while he is alive, be absent, he may have some evil and good things done unto him, though he perceive it not; as if some certain honor be decreed unto him without his knowledge, if there happen unto him some great inheritance, if there be a fair child born unto him, and such like things. These things, although he knew not of them, and be far off; yet are they his good things. And on the other side, there may evils happen; to wit, that he may be defamed, he may be punished, he may be banished, his

goods utterly lost, &c. Wherefore, although the dead be absent from hence, and perceive them not; yet may they be partakers of the good and evil things which here are done.

3. But let us see, how any good or evil things may be said to belong unto them, which are absent, and have no perceiving of them: neither do I think, that this is otherwise done, but because they be referred unto those men, and that they which do see those things, say and judge that they belong unto them; because they perceive that some of those commodities or discommodities, which are done, do come unto them, or be taken away from them. But without doubt, there is a far other respect of them that be alive. Although they be absent, and perceive not, yet have they a possibility to be present and perceive; and sometimes it will be told them what is done: but none of the dead can either be present again, or feel what is done in this life. Aristotle alleged against these Solonists, If we will regard the alterations and changes of fortune, the very dead indeed cannot be called happy; because they also may be subject to such alterations, at the least-wise for their posterity sake which be alive. Which he proved by a similitude of the living; for although being absent they feel not, yet may they have both good and evil things done unto them. Now we see the small strength of this reason; he seemeth to reject the same by this argument, which nevertheless, seeing the changes of the posterity are diverse and manifold, it should be said that the dead are never at rest. Which that he may the better lay before our eyes, he bringeth in a certain man which lived happily, until the end of his old age, and in the very same state of life died; this man's state shall now be oftentimes changed diverse and sundry ways for this variableness of his posterity, and of a happy man shall become miserable, and rise again from misery to happiness. And not without cause

said Aristotle [Until his old age] to show, that while he lived, he wanted no constantness towards the perfection of felicity. Which how greatly it is required unto blessedness, both it is showed before, and here Eustratius declareth by the example of Achilles, who notwithstanding he greatly flourished in that same expedition of Troy, and that he was upholden with all kind of good things; yet could he not be called blessed, since he died a young man. And that many changes of things shall fall out in the posterity, Aristotle understood as a most manifest thing. For Hesiodus saith;

Sometime the day is a stepmother, and sometime a mother.

Furthermore, by this word ἀποστήμασι he understandeth nothing else, then a space or distance of time, that endeth by the revolution either of years or months. Hereof he will have it to follow, that such a man as he described, should by infinite interchanges become sometimes happy, and sometimes miserable. These things are spoken to show, that those things which are done here, pertain not to the dead: when as nevertheless he seemed before to affirm this by a similitude. Now he denieth the same by an argument that leadeth to an absurdity, and the absurdity will therefore become the more manifest, because then, neither in life, nor after death, any man can for the self-same cause be called happy; to wit, because of the alterations which be imminent, which will hinder as well him that is alive as dead, from being happy.

4. Neither could he rest himself in that which he last declared; For (saith he) it seemeth very absurd, that the matters of the posterity should not at any time belong unto their parents: but wherein this is absurd he sheweth not. He leaveth it, as a thing known well enough, and so known, as the common sort were of that mind: for all men (in a manner) thought that the dead are careful about those things that we do. Hence came the fables of the

poets, as touching Palinurus and Achilles, which would have their ghosts to be pacified by the chiefest sacrifice. And why he said [Not at any time] the reason is, because they might have made exception to the former reason; namely, that they did not affirm an infinite proceeding, so that all the alteration of things of all posterities should come unto the dead, but of near kinsfolk only; as if you should say, even to the fourth generation. Therefore Aristotle said, that it would seem absurd, if the matters of the living should not once at any time belong to them that be dead: he declareth not the reason of the absurdity. But Eustratius saith, that this seemeth to be against the nature of man, and without all affection, as though all communion between us and the dead were quite broken off. But let us return (saith he) to the doubt that was set down at the beginning; namely, Whether any man may be called happy while he liveth, or else after his death. For by the dissolving of that question, this perhaps that we now search will appear.

They which deny this, say, that they do it, because of the alteration and change of things: howbeit they be deceived, because the alterations, which be imminent, may bring it to pass, that the felicity which is present may cease; but this shall they never cause, but that while it is present, it may be affirmed of him with whom it was present. And whereas they affirm, that a man may be called happy, because he was so; they ought much more to grant the same, while actually he is so. For according unto their saying, he might be called happy, even in that respect that he was happy, much more therefore while he was happy; because that for which anything is like, that is affirmed to be much more like. And as the Logicians say; No proposition can be true of a time past, unless that which answereth thereunto have sometime been true of the time present. The opinion of these men is grounded upon two principles; first, that felicity is a certain firm and stable

thing; secondly, that the same dependeth of fortune. The first is true; for blessedness is not easily changed, and therefore it dependeth of virtues, which are confirmed habits of the mind, and not easy to be moved. And therefore Cicero in his second book *De finibus*, said, that Therefore felicity dependeth of wisdom, because the same cleaveth fast and steadfastly to the mind. That fortunes are oftentimes changed and altered, no man doubteth; whereupon appeareth, how far these be out of the way, as touching the other point; because they think, that fortune must be followed in the placing of blessedness. But how far these err, he sheweth hereby; that they are fain to make a happy man changeable and unstable, like the chameleon; which must needs fall out, if we shall follow fortune, in the which there is no constantness nor stability: for such are the goods of the world, as they never continue in one state.

Moreover Aristotle saith, that we must not regard fortune when we treat of felicity; seeing the good and evil of man is not placed therein. A very grave sentence truly is this, that the good and evil of man standeth not in casual things. What (saith Eustratius) would it profit to have any being at all, if to be happy and in good plight depend of fortune, and not of ourselves? And yet of these, which we call the goods of fortune, the life of man hath need. For some man might say; Since thou sayest that felicity is not put in these casual goods of man, why do we desire them? Why didst thou seek those things? Because (saith he) man's life hath need of them. But virtues, in very deed, and the actions of them, obtain the dominion and chief place in felicity. And a reason may be brought, why blessedness dependeth not of these things which be not in us, such as fortune is; but hath the originals thereof placed in our own selves. And as the actions, which proceed of virtue, are the beginnings of felicity; so the contraries, namely those which

come of vices be of a contrary effect; to wit, the originals of calamity and misery: so as it is concluded, that felicity is not of fortune, because there we do not choose or deliberate of those things; but in these actions which proceed of virtue, both our choice and deliberation have place. But and if that the common sort do think, that felicity is to be placed in good things, they must not be heard, seeing they err in many other things. And this only will we receive of Solon, that felicity stayeth itself upon a stable and firm 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 called accidental causes.

5. To confirm, that fortune is not to be followed in obtaining of felicity, Aristotle bringeth the question moved a little before: for it is much doubted of this, whether any man may be called happy in this life; because there was a respect had to the alterations and changes of fortune. Then if we shall set aside fortune, that doubt will become apparent. So that the philosopher was moved to determine this sentence, to wit, that Nothing may seem more unstable than fortune. Wherefore it may be proved by Solon himself, that felicity must not be placed therein; because he judgeth, that in any wise it must be steadfast. But there is nothing more firm and constant in this life, than be the actions which proceed of virtue: which by an argument brought of comparison, he showeth; More steadfast (saith he) be virtues than sciences, whereas notwithstanding sciences among human things seem to be very constant. The foundation of the reason is; Because those things that be more constant than others, which seem to be very constant, are in that kind specially to be accounted for steadfast. And truly knowledges, if thou have respect whereabouts they be exercised, namely, about things necessary, and which cannot otherwise be; and about the appearance of an assent,

which is most firmly gotten by demonstrations; they seem among human things to have most steadfastness. And yet notwithstanding it is not so in sciences, because that sciences break not out so often into their actions, as virtues do. If we should always be in contemplation, as we must always be doing something so long as we live, without doubt sciences should be as firm as virtues be: but contemplation is many times left off. And those which profess the mathematical sciences, while they leave off their study, they forget many demonstrations. Indeed, as well these as those are habits of the mind; and the nature of habits is, that they are hardly abolished: but yet those habits are sooner abolished, about which we are not often exercised. Both sorts of habits in their own nature may by discontinuance fall away: but discontinuance cannot happen alike to virtues and to knowledge's; for in all actions there is need of wisdom. In perils, fortitude; in bargaining, justice; in meat, drink, and carnal pleasure temperance; in conversation with men, friendship and courtesy; and finally, in every work a measure and mean is needful. Seeing therefore to all blessed men, the use of virtues is open, but not of sciences; it is manifest, that there may sooner happen a forgetfulness of sciences, than of virtues. For sciences oftentimes for the most part be of those things, whereof we have no doing: but virtues be of those things, wherein the blessed are conversant. And that which is spoken of sciences, we may also affirm of arts; for if any man, though he be a noble artificer, do rest a long while from his work, he will easily become ignorant and unlearned. All this reason cleaveth unto this ground, that it is not lawful of a sound and constant thing to assign a mutable cause; which certainly would be, if of blessedness, which should be stable, we would make fortune to be the cause, the same being variable and in a manner never abiding in one state.

6. Here will some man say; How doth this doctrine agree with those things which were before set down, that where it was affirmed, that felicity is the cause of virtues and honest actions, and therefore we should above all things, have determined of it, as of the chief and principal cause of all moral things. But here it is said, that therefore blessedness doth not depend of fortune, but is produced by virtues and good deeds, because these be firm and constant; but fortune is uncertain and variable. Indeed there seems but small agreement between these things; namely, blessedness to be the cause of virtues, and just actions; and on the other side, that felicity cometh from them. Howbeit, this disagreement will easily be reconciled, if thou wilt distinguish of the causes. Of outward causes, we must make two kinds, and the final causes must be severed from the efficient; and then it will be granted, that among the final causes, felicity is the chief: which nevertheless to be brought to pass by those things, whereof felicity itself is the end, no man must marvel; since between the end, and the efficient, this change or course is always perceived: for as the end is brought forth by the efficient, so the efficient is moved by the end. But which shall be those principal among moral virtues, which Aristotle pronounced to be most steadfast, and in a manner immovable? No others, in my judgment, but those four virtues commonly commended; wisdom, justice, fortitude, and temperance: for these do comprehend almost all the actions of man's life; therefore of a happy man they cannot be forgotten.

Another thing in this place is called into doubt; namely, that there may be found some man, which will both set aside the care of household affairs, and which hath decreed never to deal with matters of the common-weal, but to live only alone, and to exercise himself in sundry sciences which he hath learned. He, because nature is contented with a little, will be occupied in

very few actions, and will altogether give himself to contemplations and sciences; whereof it will come, that he will soon forget virtues, or else will sooner be without them, than forgetfulness can abolish sciences: or else that he doth not with great endeavor provide to have them. Wherefore, as touching this man, that will not hold, which Aristotle said; to wit, that sciences are easilier forgotten, then virtues. Hereunto will I say, that such a man shall seldom and hardly be found, who yet if he can at any time be found, is not so greatly to be accounted of, as for his sake the common condition of men should be changed. That which is taught here, happeneth among the most sort of men; neither can there be a science had of those things which rarely happen. And let us add, that such manners are not agreeable to the nature of man, that any should so lead his life in solitariness, 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 happiness in himself, even while he yet liveth; and by it may be called happy: and that changeable events and mishaps do nothing hinder it. And this reason he giveth of his opinion; namely, that a blessed man will always, or above all other things, both do his actions, and contemplate according to virtue. After he had said, Always, he added, Or above all other things; because it cannot be, that a man can always be in action or in contemplation. Sometimes men must sleep: and they that be awake, do many times for their mind sake, set apart the cogitations of learning, and endeavor of doing. Fitly he did rehearse as well action as contemplation; because the whole life of man is distributed into these twain. But here if one should reply: You speak nothing as touching misfortunes. What if any great mischance should befall unto your happy

man? He answereth, that this blessed man will very well, and as shall best beseem him, sustain these misfortunes. For it fareth not with him, as with the vulgar sort, who, if they be pressed with calamity, are discouraged, and have their mind troubled, so as they can see in a manner nothing: in like manner, as when fortune favoreth them, they be puffed up, they give over their accustomed study, and become in a manner negligent. Thus will not the happy man do, but will in a manner always keep one and the same estate of mind.

7. Moreover, those things which happen unto us are either prosperous, or hurtful; and as well hurtful things, as prosperous, be either great or small. The small things as well in the kind of hurtful, 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 endued with virtue: otherwise, the common sort of men, and they which be of no account, are easily and in a manner for the smallest causes of all, troubled and disquieted, which good and grave men will not in like sort do. Then he taketh 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. Felicity beyond his own proper bounds cannot be increased, seeing it is the chiefest good of all. But in the blessedness of his own kind it may be greater, and it may be less. But since that Aristotle saith, that blessedness may be adorned, it seemeth the same may be compared with a singular form or beauty; which though by itself it be delightful, yet is it more sweet, if there be any ornament decently joined thereunto. And the art of handicraft, when it obtaineth instruments more fit, doth express a greater cunning, than when grosser tools are

applied thereunto. But if on the contrary part, the misfortunes which befall are grievous and many, I say that they press down, and blemish felicity.

And Aristotle sheweth what manner of oppression or blemish it is; Grievs (saith he) do bring in these things, and are a hindrance unto excellent actions. Hindrance riseth of two causes; first, they which be sore grieved become unapt to bring things to pass. And when the instruments be lost, we cannot without them do as we would: thus doth the loss of outward good things hinder him that is happy. Yet doth he mitigate this oppression or blemish; For an honest man (saith he) doth shine even in these adversities, as bright things do in obscure places. Wherefore the darkness of adverse fortune extinguisheth not felicity so, but that it spreadeth out his bright beams, even in that state; which is a token that honesty is still retained, which in blessedness beareth the chief sway: otherwise it might not give forth her brightness. And not to go far from the example already set forth: Even as if a man, or a most beautiful woman bereaved 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 show itself even in that attire. Neither doth Aristotle conceal wherein that brightness doth consist; to wit, in enduring patiently and with a quiet mind those hard chances: indeed not Stoically, by a certain insensibleness of grief; but of a nobleness of mind and excellent courage. These things may suffice to resolve this question; whether that we may affirm that a man can be blessed in this life. And hereby may we fitly answer those things, which were before alleged, as touching the dead.

And briefly we gather, that outward good things, or prosperous fortune, do not fall indeed into the proper and natural definition of felicity; but are only applied as certain instruments and helps. Even as neither a handy craft

ought to be defined by the instruments which it useth, although without them it cannot do anything. By adverse fortune therefore is felicity straitened and stopped, in such wise, as it can but smally break out into act: for by the grief which it bringeth therewith, the mind is darkened, and the powers do as it were faint. But Aristotle removeth ἀναλγησίαν, the Insensibleness of grief, because therein is no virtue, but rather a certain kind of astonishment. And men must not be either stocks or stones, which while they be assailed with grievous strokes, should feel nothing. But herein is virtue, that those things which we feel, we should so moderate and govern, as they disturb us not from the right state of our mind. I know here that the Stoics do cry out on Aristotle, who think that felicity and virtue are not hindered or blemished by any adversities; but that perfect blessedness may be still retained even in Phalaris bull. And the Epicures, as it were out of their apothecaries shops, drew out that same notable consolation of theirs, as Cicero hath in his book *De finibus bonorum and malorum*; namely; In griefs, if long, easy; if grievous, short. These things nevertheless are easilier said than proved, and they be very contrary to the nature of man. Those things which Aristotle teacheth, are not only agreeable unto reason and to our nature; but also do very well consent with practice and experience. Against the saying of Solon did he affirm, that felicity, while we live here, is not subject to alteration; because it dependeth upon a stable and sure thing, namely, of that action which is just, and according to virtue, against which fortune being most inconstant 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 unhappiness doth grow by evil actions, as we said before, of which actions the blessed man shall not be author. Unhonest and filthy deeds doth Aristotle call μισητά και φαῦλα; that is,

odious and frivolous: for frivolous they be, and of no value, because they turn a man from the just and true end: and odious they are justly called, because they be hurtful as well to others, as to those that commit them.

8. After this he teacheth, what a happy man should do, when by chance he falleth into adversities; Of those things (saith he) which are appointed 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 always meet instruments, and fit matter; yet do they never so deal, as they will suffer those things which are granted unto them, to perish without any profit. And without doubt, in this lack of matter and instruments, this industry of theirs doth exceedingly shine, which also we taught before as touching the happy man: the virtue which remaineth in him will appear, even in the midst of calamities. Here if thou wilt say; Why then are not adversities rather said to make felicity more renowned, than to blemish it? To this we answer; Because though calamities do not altogether overwhelm felicity; yet after some manner they overpress it and obscure it. And whereas virtue doth somewhat shine in them, that comes not by any vigor of calamities; neither for that they conspire not herein, that the same virtue 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 draw an example even from arts; If any men which wanting their hands, as otherwhile it happeneth, do sow or write with their feet, all men will marvel, and will commend their writing and sowing; not as perfect and in all respects absolute, but in respect of the instrument. Wherefore Aristotle in his Rhetoric's, when he teacheth to amplify and commend anything, sheweth that there must be a consideration

had; not only of the time, place, society, and such like; but especially of the instruments. Whereupon the devil perceiving this, and thinking that Job would not do such deeds that should be meet and decent, if the outward instruments of felicity were taken from him by God, desired leave, that it might be permitted him at his own pleasure to take away those instruments from him.

Two examples are so set down for explaining of the foresaid opinion, as one of them belongeth to the instruments, and the other to the matter, and these are not a little joined 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 unto the efficient cause. But it seems, that we should rather yield to the former opinion; because as in motion the matter receiveth the form; so the instruments themselves sustain 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 immediately moved. A chief captain after a warlike manner, useth his army, such as it is; when he prudently setteth his host in array, when he beforehand possesseth the places of greater advantage, and when he letteth slip no occasion of getting the victory, and well and wisely considereth such other like things. He is said to use well the army which is present with him, because it behooveth him well to know that army which he hath, as well touching number as strength, and the same howsoever it be, to use well, and not to desire a better. When it is come to the stroke of the battle: if he could not have a better or more copious army, now it is not required of him, but that he use that well which he hath already. Those things which are spoken of a chief captain, be also agreeable

unto a shoemaker: the difference only between 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 shoemaker, are the matter of his handy-craft; so the chief captain hath his army for an instrument of victory. But between these things this is the difference: the matter is made, the instruments are not made, when anything is wrought. Again, that which is wrought, standeth of the matter; not so of the instruments, seeing they have no ingrediency into the effect. Finally, the matter is in power to receive form, and before it obtain the same, it is subject to the privation thereof. All which things do so agree to the matter, as they cannot be attributed to the instruments. It is proved by that, which hath been said, that the works of every artificer are not simply to be regarded; but according to the commodity and 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 falleth into adversities: for those are to be judged of according to the present state of him that is author of them. And then that followeth, which was said before; namely, that those things have their certain beauty, even in calamities themselves. For if a happy man, that is afflicted with ill fortune, shall always do good deeds of such things as he hath, he cannot become miserable. When that change therefore of fortune shall happen unto him, what shall this happy man be? What shall he be called? Here hath Aristotle somewhat to do, and while he is urged too sore, at the last he affirmeth, that partly he is happy, and partly not; because he hath not full felicity, though he have not fully lost the same.

9. At the last he appointeth a certain mean between a blessed and a miserable man, and in that place accounteth that man happy, which is overwhelmed with grievous afflictions. Trulie there have been some which

thought, that a blessed man doth differ from a happy man; because he is called blessed, which fully and all manner of ways is absolute and perfect; but a happy man, who having virtue and good actions, yet wanteth outward good things, and helps, and riches. Howbeit I dispute not of that matter; this nevertheless I say, that this distinction cannot be applied to the words of Aristotle: for he saith afterward, that a man cannot easily so plunge out from Priamus miseries, as he can be again a happy man. Where it appears, that he puts no difference between blessed and happy; but useth these two words for one signification. Wherefore he shall be in a mean; neither can he be judged miserable, since he still retaineth the root of that same blessedness. But since that a blessed man may be subject to some alteration, how can he then be said to be firm and stable? Because he will not be changed, unless there happen many and great mischances. Therefore did Aristotle fitly make mention of Priamus mishaps, which both in number and greatness oppressed that king. Again, he is called firm and stable; because he is not so changed, as he falleth into the contrary, and becometh miserable. But it is demanded, whether it can by any means be, that at length a happy man should become miserable? Trulie there have been some found, which being oppressed with calamities, have in like manner been so much changed with fortune, that at the length also they have yielded to slothfulness, and to very great vices; and have quite fallen from the virtues which they had before. But I would rather think, that those, while they flourished with outward wealth, did rather seem to be honest, than that they were so indeed. For it oftentimes cometh to pass, that in these mighty and famous men, there is a certain show of virtue, but no sound and sincere honesty; and vices, under the renown of honor and riches, were easily hidden, which afterward when prosperity is gone, are discovered.

But why true virtues do not easily turn into vices, hereby it appeareth; because they be habits: and habits (as they be defined by Aristotle in his Categories) are hardly removed. Finally, he is constant, seeing even in misfortunes themselves, he hath virtue, being the root and foundation of felicity, and thereby hath a most excellent action. At the last Aristotle concludeth of this property of him that is happy, and saith, that he is not variable or easy to be changed; as Solon did imagine, who for this cause thought that no man in his life time is to be called happy. He is not changed, saith Aristotle, by every kind of fortune. Which very well agreeth with that which was said before; Those things, which be easy, as well adversities as felicities, have small or no moment at all unto the life of a happy man. Howbeit he granteth, that he is to be changed, if calamities be many and great. Whereby it appeareth, that that perfect action is not sufficient unto a full felicity, especially if we speak of the same according to a civil sense. And some do marvel how it cometh to pass, that if vile actions and vices do suffice unto misery; why virtue and honest actions are not sufficient unto felicity, since it seemeth that there should be one and the same respect had of contraries. But hereunto is answered, that the argument doth not always hold in contraries; because every man is able to kill himself, but no man can call himself again from death. Moreover, unto health is required a temperature and equality of all the humors; whereas unto sickness it is enough, that even one humor depart from his natural constitution.

10. Aristotle having spoken of the one kind of alteration; namely, when one from a happy state is thrown down, not into misery, but to such a point as he is neither miserable nor happy; then likewise he dealeth with the other change, seeking whether any man, plunging out of these infinite and manifold misfortunes, can return again to his former felicity. Where first

note, that he speaketh here of a happy man, as of one that is absolutely and perfectly blessed. For it is demanded, whether from those miseries and grievous mishaps a return is to be granted unto the former felicity, from whence being blessed he fell; as Priamus or Croesus, or such other, which before were happy? Aristotle answereth to the question, that this indeed may be done, but not in any short time. For there is need of many things, which cannot straightway be gotten and obtained, especially of them which be oppressed with the injuries of fortune. And as a blessed man, like a square stone, cannot easily be removed; so being thrown down he cannot easily be set up again. We read not in histories, that such things did commonly happen; neither do I know of any notable personage, which being utterly confounded, did return to his former state. The holy scriptures set forth unto us only Job, which was indeed a pointing stock, and by the singular providence of God was restored: and if there happen any such things, truly they may be accounted wonderful and rare works. And how hard this is to be done, the example of Priamus now set forth may plainly show. Admit he could sometime have risen from so great evils; but when could he ever have renewed his city overthrown? When could he have restored his kingdom to the ancient form and glory? When could he have put away the sorrow for so many children slain, for so many kinsfolk which were now led away captive, and served the Grecians? The perfect time, which Aristotle speaketh of, signifieth nothing else, but all the course of life. And that in the same time (he meaneth the residue of time, until the end) it should be needful for him to possess very many great and good things, otherwise he shall not become happy again. If we would yield anything unto Solon, or gratify him, we might thus say; that blessed they be, and so called in this life, but with a condition withal; to wit, that they so

remain hereafter. Neither doth Aristotle seem to deny it, but granteth this, so as the time to come may agree with the time present. It is not granted to Solon, that a man cannot be happy, nor so be called, while he liveth, as though death were to be looked for. But perhaps when he is called happy, we must add a condition therewith. For it is to be noted, that he saith not, that they are blessed absolutely, but as men; signifying thereby, that there is a certain other most perfect blessedness, which cannot be changed by any means, and hath no need of adding a condition of the time to come; and this blessedness is of God, not of men: men are blessed, and yet they are but blessed men.

11. Now remaineth to show, how these things, which have been showed in this matter, may agree with the holy scriptures, or dissent from them. First we made a distinction of blessedness, 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 with Solon; for we agree, that it is not to be had in this world. But the other, which standeth in the forgiveness of sins, and renewing of life by good manners, may be had here. But how a man may be called happy by it, we affirm, that every man is persuaded thereof in his own self; for every man can tell whether he believe or believe not. And this is that which is said; Let every man examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. And we have the spirit to bear witness; Who testifieth to our spirit, that we be the sons of God: he is present as a testimony of our conscience and good life. Of others we can know nothing, seeing their mind and grace is not known unto us: but so long as they profess the right faith, and live tolerably in the church, we are to hope well of them. And to affirm felicity to be an action, doth nothing hinder, but that after death, those which be departed, may enjoy the same; since our actions

shall then be more ready than now they are. And that our felicity may be firm and stable, let us, as Aristotle did of his, weight it by the principles thereof. Our felicity dependeth of predestination, of the spirit, and of faith; which are far more excellent things, than any human virtues or actions are. And of much less force is fortune in these, than in those principles of Aristotle. Moreover, whatsoever Aristotle appointeth in his felicity, we have in ours: for both we would, that they which be justified, should live rightly, and renew themselves with true and perfect virtues. And besides these, we say, that there be high principles, which excel nature; namely, divine election, the spirit, and faith. And no less do we agree with him in this, that we affirm, there be principles of misery contrary unto these; namely, the reprobation of God, the want of gods spirit, and infidelity. He that is subject unto these evils, is to be counted altogether miserable and unhappy.

Touching the comparison between virtues and sciences, we by no means disagree from him: yea, and we grant, that virtues are more constant and firm than human knowledge is. And so great a steadfastness there is of blessedness, as Paul said touching predestination; The foundation standeth sure, the Lord knoweth who be his. And by faith and grace, the Lord would have us to be justified; not by works, that the promise might be firm, and that we might not stumble at those things, having respect to our infirmity. Again, Paul saith; I know whom I have believed upon, and I am assured, &c. And he that enjoyeth this our blessedness, sustaineth very well the strokes of fortune; yea, though they be grievous. Paul said, that He knew how to humble himself, and how to excel, to hunger and to thirst, to abound, and to suffer penury. Our happy man in like manner is, as the four-square stone; Who (saith Paul) shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or sword, or danger, or

nakedness? &c. And he addeth, that He is most assured, that neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, &c. Our happy man is not hindered by casual things, but All things proceed happily to them that love God. Yea, and he will most of all shine in adversities; Tribulation worketh patience; patience experience; experience hope; and hope maketh not ashamed. And as Aristotle misliketh of unsensibleness of grief, so we also do not admit the same. Yea rather Christ, next the prophets and the saints did weep, and we are commanded to sorrow with them that sorrow. Aristotle saith, that his happy man will never commit vile and naughty things. This do not we pronounce of ours; for David fell grievously, and Peter grievously. Those happy men of his cannot soon be repaired, but we have the most ready medicine of repentance, and that always at hand. In like manner, our happy man, of those things which are ministered unto him, is able to do most excellent things, according to the state and condition which he hath obtained. Wherefore that little mite, which the widow offered, was so well pleasing, so grateful and acceptable to God, as it excelled the oblations of the rich men. Lastly, temporal chances and misfortunes, whatsoever they be, do the more drive godly men unto God, and do draw them from the world. For our men cannot be blessed, unless they be poor in spirit.

CHAP. XVI. Of Providence; upon Genesis 28:16.

The Grecians call providence πρόνοιαν, or προνοήν. The Hebrews derive it from the verb *Hisgiah*, in the conjugation *Hiphal*, which is To see exactly and to discern. As touching the definition thereof Cicero saith in his book *De inventione*, that it is that, whereby anything to come is foreseen before it come to pass. Howbeit, this definition, if it be referred unto divine providence, doth not express it: because this doth only show the knowledge of that which is to come, and the power of foreknowing. But in divine providence, is not only comprehended the knowledge of the mind of God, but also his will and election, whereby things are decreed and determined to come to pass, rather by one way than another. Further, there is also a power and ableness therein, to govern and direct those things which it is said to foresee; for in things, there is not only found the nature and substance of them; but also the order wherewith they be knit one with another. And the one so reacheth to the other, that it helpeth it, or is made perfect by it: and both ways things be well ordained; particularly, as touching themselves, 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 prove it by the nature of order itself: for it is defined by Augustine to be the disposition of things like and unlike, attributing to everyone that which belongeth unto it. But no man is ignorant, that the parts of the world are diverse, and not alike, if they be compared one with another.

Moreover, how conveniently each one of them is allotted by God to his own place, proper seat, and standing, both experience teacheth, and the holy scriptures testify. For it is said; That God hath set the seas and the waters their bounds, neither may they pass the limits appointed unto them. Further; He measureth the air with his span, &c. And seeing that so great a benefit of his, ought to be ascribed unto him, in respect of his providence, we may thus define it; that It is the mean which God useth in directing of things to their proper ends. In which definition is not only comprehended the knowledge, but also the will and power of doing it. Whereupon this that we avouch, Paul in the first chapter to the Ephesians, hath very well expressed, when he saith; Who worketh all things according to the counsel of his will. And Cicero in his oration for Milo, taught by what tokens this providence may be known from natural reason: for thus he writeth; Neither doubtless can any man judge otherwise, unless it be such a one, as thinketh that there is no heavenly power, nor divine majesty; and whom neither the sun, neither the motions of the heavens and signs thereof, neither yet the order and course of all things do move; and so forth. The very self-same demonstration Paul describeth in the first chapter to the Romans. And Job in the twelfth chapter; Ask the cattle, and the fowls of the air, the fishes of the sea, and the plants of the earth, and they shall inform thee. Also in the 19th psalm; The heavens declare the power of God. Again Job in the 39th and

40th chapters; Concerning the goats, the harts, the horse, the Leviathan, 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 adventures; wherefore God worketh according to his purpose: and unto his own providence, as unto a certain general and chief art, all things are subject; neither is there anything to be found, that can escape the same. Which nevertheless some are bold to deny, who think that only the chief and principal things are committed to the care of God: but the residue, if they be of small account, they attribute to natural causes; if they be of greater importance, to angels and devils. Which thing a man may see in the dialogue of Plato called *Protagoras*, where the creation of things is so described, that some things are granted to Epimetheus to make, and some things to Prometheus. Yet to the intent that mankind might be well provided for, this only is avouched, that it was done by the works of the gods. But in the Gospel we be otherwise taught by Christ; All the hairs of your head are numbered. And; Of two sparrows not one of them lighteth upon the ground without the will of your heavenly father. Again; The Lord himself hath looked down from heaven upon the children of men. But if these men would understand the matter thus, as though the providence of God extended not itself unto all things, after such a sort as it doth unto men: we would grant it; not that the providence which is merely simple in itself, should be said to be manifold; but because the effects which be directed by it, are diverse and sundry, therefore it self also seemeth to have diverse respects. Wherefore we grant, that the providence over godly men surmounteth so far, as in comparison of them, it is said by the Lord unto them that shall be damned, and to the foolish virgins; I know you not, and

so is it over men more than over unreasonable creatures. And by a lively faith of this providence, we reap many commodities, and especially a comfort in adversity; where we know that those things happen unto us, not by casualty, but by the will and procurement of God our father. Also we be daily stirred up the more unto good things, when we understand that God is both the knower and witness of our actions; who afterward will give a true judgment of them. Besides this, the gifts which we enjoy, be much more acceptable unto us in this respect, that they be offered us by God which provided them. Further, in the same we behold predestination, which bringeth so great a comfort unto godly men, as thereby they are wonderfully confirmed.

3. Neither must we stand in any fear, that there is any newness in God, because of his providence. Men, which by their parents are brought forth into the world without knowledge, cannot attain thereunto without alteration. Which thing we must not surmise as touching God, seeing he hath had his knowledge from all eternity. Further, we draw the same from the nature of things; but he hath it of himself. Wherefore James did truly write, With him there is no variableness, nor shadowing by turning. Neither cometh it to pass 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, least he should abuse the same as men do, of whom Jeremiah in his fourth chapter writeth; They are wise only, to the intent they may do evil. But God is most excellent, and he hath the knowledge of that thing that is most excellent, which knowledge who so ever hath, cannot use other things amiss, as Plato taught in his second dialogue called Alcibiades; where it is proved, that without that knowledge, it is better to be ignorant of many things. For it had been much better for

Orestes, if he had not known 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 felicity, or from the contemplation of better things. This thing happeneth unto men, that sometimes by dealing in matters not necessary, be drawn away from weighty and better occupations. Wherefore Paul, not without cause, condemned vain and curious questions. And this cometh through the slenderness of our understanding, which is not able to apply itself to more things at once. But God being infinite as touching all his doings, can easily perceive all things that now be, that shall be, and that at any time have been. Neither is God by this knowledge of things provoked to evil: for that happeneth unto men, because they have a corrupt desire.

Wherefore Solomon said; Behold not the wine when it showeth fair in the glass, &c. Psalm 119. Turn away mine eyes least they behold vanity. And Job in the 31st chapter, saith, that He made a covenant with his eyes, least he should think upon a virgin. But God, which is the principal rule of justice and goodness, cannot be moved to evil. But Averroes said, that at the least-wise his understanding should be embased, if he would look upon and acknowledge all these simple things. But because he attaineth this knowledge, not from the things, but from himself; therefore that is not granted, neither doth it in very deed follow. Even as we see that a glass is not therefore stained, because it showeth the images of vile things; neither yet is this sun that we see, defiled, when it shineth upon places that be foul and loathsome. Labor also in understanding doth not disquiet God, seeing in this action he useth no instrument of a body; as men do, unto whom, by means of their body, there ariseth labor in understanding, for therein the body is very much afflicted and wearied. Wherefore Solomon upon just

cause, called this endeavor of knowledge, A consuming and affliction of the spirit: for knowledge sometime breedeth unto us disquietness. For the more men do understand, the more things they see that do displease them, wherewith they are aggrieved. Wherefore not without cause it is said; He that addeth knowledge, increaseth labor also. For we do not easily bear those things that be unworthily committed. But God is not subject to these human affections, who hath it in him to fore-see the end of things: and although the things be unworthy, yet he directeth them, and knoweth that they shall tend to his own glory.

4. But it hath been no hard matter, to take away from divine providence, those objections, which we have hitherto removed: for a plain and ready way was offered for the confuting of them. But there remain certain other things, more hard to be expounded. The first is, because of chance and fortune, which seemeth to be taken away from the nature of things, if we attribute unto God the providence of all: for there is nothing more against fortune and chance, than is reason. For fortune is a cause that worketh besides the purpose, when anything, not intended, or appointed, or decreed, happeneth to us unawares, and besides our expectation. But this argument we resist on this wise; As touching us, fortune and chance are not taken away by the providence of God. For what doth let (as touching God) that nothing is done by chance, but (as touching us) that many things be done rashly and by fortune? There is brought a meetly fit similitude: Admit that a master send his servant to the market, there to remain till nine of the clock; which hour being not yet past, if he send thither some other servant of his; as touching the master it cometh not to pass rashly or by chance, that those two servants meet together, seeing he fore-seeth the sending unto that place: but unto them it cometh not to pass of purpose, seeing the one knew nothing

at all of the others coming. Wherefore 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 (say they) be directed by God, and done by his counsel, as we believe they be, where shall now be the chance of things? For all things will come to pass of necessity. And some think 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 form 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 do happen, both are, and are justly called things happening by chance; for it is nothing repugnant to that cause, that it bring forth as well this effect, as another effect that is contrary thereunto. For as touching mine own will, it may so come to pass, that I do sit, as also that I do not sit. So then if these effects be referred unto 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 deny but that they are of necessity. Wherefore there is granted a double necessity; that is to wit, a necessity absolute, and a necessity 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.

Isaiah in the 14th chapter sheweth, that the kingdom of Babylon should be destroyed; which was but a chance, as touching the worldly causes thereof: for there was no let, but that it might otherwise be. And yet nevertheless, the prophet minding to show that it should undoubtedly come to pass, groundeth his reason upon the determinate will of God, and said; God hath so purposed, and who shall be able to disannul it? The hand of the Lord is

now stretched forth, and who shall pluck it back? Wherefore the thing now by this reason was of necessity. And in the 33rd Psalm we read; But the counsel of the Lord endureth forever, and the purposes of his heart from generation to generation. Yet they still urge the contrary; Necessity seemeth to be a let to the providence of God: for we consult not of those things which cannot otherwise be. Forsomuch then as there be many things in the world, which seem to be of necessity, those that be of this sort seem to exclude the providence of God. But here we must understand in this place, that although all things, as they have relation to the purpose and determinate will of God, being as it were done 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 speak of the definitions of things, or of necessary propositions or conclusions; seeing these things are not governed by divine providence: for they be descriptions of the eternal truth and divine nature. Some there be also which think, that there should be no evil found in the world, if it were governed of God by his providence. For none that dealeth providently in his works, would permit evil to take place. But these may be easily answered, that there is no evil to be found, that is not either profitable to the saints, and furthereth them to salvation; or that declareth not the justice and mercy of God; or else that advanceth not the order of all things, and the preservation of the same.

The same place is expounded in 1. Sam. 10:2.

5. But to follow some order herein; first let us search whether there be any providence, or no; secondly, what it is; thirdly, whether all things be subject unto it; fourthly, whether it can be changed; and lastly, whether it may abide any casualty of things. But before I come to the purpose, let us speak

somewhat as touching the signification of the names thereof. Wherefore among the Grecians a thing that cometh by chance is called ἐνδεχόμενον, 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 absurdity, either against reason, or against the word of God. It is distinguished into 3 parts; of which the first is called by the Grecians ὁπότερο τυχίω, because it inclineth equally as much one way as another. The second ὡς ἐπὶ τό πολὺ, which for the most part useth to happen after this manner or after that, but yet may otherwise come to pass. The third is called ὡς ἐλάχιστον, because it falleth out but seldom, and not usually. The philosophers assign two grounds or beginnings of chance, one in the matter, the which as it lighteth upon diverse and sundry active causes, so it receiveth a diverse and sundry form; the other in the will, whereby our actions are governed: now the will hath consideration of the matter, because it is directed and forced by the understanding. Augustine in his book of questions, quest. 31. saith, Wisdom is by the philosophers divided into three parts; namely, into understanding, memory, and providence: and that memory is referred unto things past, understanding to things present; and that he is provident, which through the consideration of things past, and things present, can determine what will afterward come to pass. But God, not only understandeth and seeth what will come to pass, but he also addeth a will unto the same. For we affirm not only a bare understanding to be in God, but an effectual will also, whereby he ruleth and governeth all things. This of the Grecians is called πρόνοια, that is, Providence. And Cicero in his book *De natura deorum*, nameth it An old soothsaying wife of the Stoics; who was of such account among them in old time, as in the Isle of Delos, she was worshipped even for a Goddess, because she helped Latona at her child-bearing. But that fable signifieth nothing else, but that second

causes, although they have some force in themselves, yet they bring nothing to pass without the providence of God. For Latona, is nature; and providence the midwife: so that unless this latter be present, do help, and as it were play the midwives part, the other bringeth forth nothing.

6. But now, as touching those five points, which at the beginning I determined to entreat of severally. In the first place, I propound to myself, that there is a providence: which thing may be proved by many sure and invincible arguments. For first, seeing that God is the author and creator of all things, and that he can do nothing unadvisedly, but that with himself he hath his own certain and assured reasons, therefore of necessity there is a providence. For if there be no artificer, but that he seeth the reasons and ends of his work, and conceiveth the ways by which he may bring the same to his purposed ends; it were a madness not to attribute that unto God the chief workman, whom the holy scriptures not only teach to be the creator of all things, but as it were a potter. Chrysostom in the 19th Homily upon the epistle to the Ephesians saith, that If a ship, though it be sound and well rigged, cannot brook the seas without a good master or governor; how much less can the whole workmanship of the world stand without the care and government of God? For if a master-workman will not begin to build, before he have devised in his mind all the parts, fashions, and forms of the building; shall we think, that God hath rashly, without counsel, or reason, made all things universally? Undoubtedly, the heavenly spheres, the stars, the firmament, the air, the water, the heat, the cold, so many causes and changes of things contrary and repugnant one to another, would fall to ruin, unless they were sustained by some governor. Without care and providence, our body might not be defended from the rigor of the heaven. We call those provident men, which being of such excellent judgment and disposition, do

keep all the parts of their body in their proper office and duty. But God hath the same place in the world, that the mind hath in man. Besides this, the holy scriptures ascribe unto God the destructions of kingdoms, and propheties, and miracles, which things do far pass the compass of our nature. And last of all, they attribute unto him the general judgment, wherein God will one day render to every man according to their works. Wherefore we, being induced by these, and many more reasons, do conclude that there is a providence. For we pass not for the Epicureans, whose manner of speech is this;

Even so the powers on high,
With labors toil are pressed,
The care whereof which on them lie,
Bereave them of their rest.

And this also; God walketh upon the poles of heaven, and considereth not the affairs of men. These monstrous opinions have they bred, partly for that they being of gross wit, could not perceive higher things; and partly being of a shameful and abominable life, would devise for themselves this consolation, least they should be perpetually tormented with the fear of punishments. For, He that liveth wickedly, abhorreth the light. And children, when they have done a fault, would not have either their father to be at home, or the master in the school. And as touching the first part, these things undoubtedly should be sufficient for Christians, who are persuaded only by the word of God, without other reason, that there is a providence.

7. But what providence is, we shall easily understand by the definition of the same. Providence is the power of God, whereby he directeth all things, and bringeth them to their [appointed] ends. In this definition, the general word is power. Assuredly, God is most absolute, yet for our capacity sake,

we say that there is in him two manner of powers, to wit, the power of understanding, and the power of willing. For God understandeth and seeth all things; and not this only, but he also willeth all things. Here I will make no needles disputation, whether the will of God be before the understanding, or understanding before the will. If any man would know these things, I send them unto Scotus and Thomas. This power and faculty which I speak of, belongeth unto the quality, for it is a natural power. The difference is, that God by this power directeth all things, whatsoever either be, or hereafter shall be. But yet this is not enough; for he also conducteth them to their ends. But to what ends? Even unto agreeable ends. And those be agreeable, which his purpose hath appointed. The power 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 speak, because there can be given 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 anything. But the final cause is, that all things may attain to their own ends, and may redound to the glory of God. By this definition we see, that the providence of God is not only a bare knowledge, but it is some bringing to effect. For as Paul saith; In him we live, we move, and have our being. And again; Of him, and in him, and by him are all things. And as Solomon saith; Man may prepare his heart, but God ordereth the speech. For we are not able to move, no not the tongue, being the lightest part of the body, without the providence of God. And Christ saith; that A sparrow doth not light upon the ground without the will of our heavenly Father. And, All the hairs of our head are numbered. Some dream that God indeed made all these things; but after he had made them, cast them off. So (forsooth) carpenters, when

they have done sufficiently in building of a house, they afterward leave the same: but if God should do so, this world would soon come to ruin. For a house, unless it be oftentimes repaired and underpropped, falleth to ruin and decay. If the soul be severed from the body, what remaineth, but that the body will become putrefied and rotten?

Neither are they to be heard, which say; that God indeed ruleth all things: but that this is nothing else, but to minister unto all things the common influence, which everything draweth unto itself. This is even to make God, not in very deed, but in name to be the ruler and governor of the world. For if so be that everything, according to the nature thereof do bend and apply unto itself that common influence of God, then God followeth the nature of things created; whereas rather contrariwise all things created ought to follow and seek after God. But they say, that even as he, which throweth a stone, or shooteth an arrow, hath done enough to have first forced the same, although he himself afterward follow not after them, when they be out of his hand: so it was sufficient for God, in that he endued all things with a certain power, although he do not perpetually govern them. But these things be not alike; for a stone and an arrow do fall immediately after that they be shot, because that force which is in things created cannot be of long continuance. Wherefore, unless that God should prosecute by his everlasting care and providence, the thing which he hath forced, the nature of everything could not abide. When the Peripatetiks perceived that all these inferior things, were continually troubled; they judged that the providence of God was above the moon: as if it were not convenient for it to be careful for these inferior things, no further forth than a certain common influence is thereby ministered unto all things. But these are fond reasons; for the scriptures teach us, that even these things, which to us may seem to come

most of all by chance, are yet governed by the providence of God. In Deuteronomy the 19th. If an ax flying by chance out of his hands that heweth wood, strike a man and kill him as he passeth by; It is I (saith the Lord) that delivered him into the hand of the slayer. And in the 14th chapter of Job, it is said of God; Thou hast appointed man his bounds, which he shall not pass. Also in the book of wisdom, (which book though it be not in the canon, yet containeth it many good and godly sayings) in that book (I say) in the eight chapter, it is written; Wisdom reacheth from one end to another εὐρωςτος, and disposeth all things χρηστός: it reacheth (saith he) εὐρωςτος, that is to say, Strong and mighty: and disposeth Profitably: for so soundeth χρηστός; and not Sweetly, as the old translation hath. And that profit, although it be not oftentimes perceived of us, yet is it always of such sort, as it doth tend to the glory of God.

8. But whether all things be subject to the providence of God, is a matter in controversy: for some say, they be; and some say, they be not. But, as we said before; if God have made all things, undoubtedly nothing is exempted from his providence: for if anything should be exempted from his providence, that also should be exempted from creation. It is written in the epistle to the Hebrews; He upholdeth all things by the word of his power. The Hebrew phrase; The word of his power is instead of His mighty word. This place agreeth with that which we cited out of the book of wisdom. Ezekiel calleth God; The Lord of all flesh. And Moses calleth God; The Lord of spirits. And Paul saith; It is he that worketh all things, according to the determination of his will. Also Hesiodus an Ethnic poet saith; In this life we can nowhere escape from the mind of God. Yet there be some which would exempt from God's providence, men and free will, and things that either be of necessity, or that come by chance. Cicero in his book *De fato*

saith; that The most ancient philosophers, such as Empedocles and Heraclitus, affirmed, that All things come to pass of necessity: but the Peripatetikes were of the opinion, that many things come by chance. And Chrysippus as a notable umpire, although he taught that all other things were of necessity; yet affirmed, that man's will, as touching the first election, is free. Wherefore Eusebius in his treatise *De praeparatione evangelica*, said pleasantly, that Democritus made men to be slaves; but that Chrysippus made them but half slaves.

Also Cicero in his second book *De divinatione*, will rather exclude all providence, than that men should not be free. Which vanity Augustine deriding in his fifth book *De civitate Dei*, saith, that He to make men free, had made them rob God of his glory. So we see, that there be some which think not, that all things be under providence: but in that they except man by name, which is the chieftest workmanship of God, that seemeth too contumelious a thing against God. For seeing all artificers contemn trifling works of small value, but do adorn, and have a special care of those works which be excellent; who will imagine that God could despise that work, 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 adversity? 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 Zechariah; He that toucheth you, shall touch the apple of mine eye. And I (saith the Lord) am thy buckler, and thy strong wall. The Lord (saith David) is my helper, and I shall not be afraid what man can do against me. Though their tents were pitched against me, yet my heart shall not be afraid.

9. But thou wilt say, that In inferior matters, many things are done either without order, or else disorderly: for we see often-times the godly to be

oppressed, 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 shouldest be in a smiths shop, and seest many tools, some crooked, some bowed, some hooked, and some sawed in; wouldest thou strait-way condemn them all for naught, because they appear not straight and handsome? I think not; but thou wouldest rather confess thyself to be ignorant of the use of them. Such an honor must be given to God, as when thou seest tyrants and wicked men to enjoy wealth and prosperity, thou must say, that they be instruments of the providence of God, although thou canst not perceive what God intendeth by them. Augustine saith, that God is so good, as he is able to draw out some goodness even out of the wicked. Further, if there were no tyrants, what virtue and patience of martyrs should there be? God will have some to be the triumph of his goodness, he will have some also upon whom he may exercise his might and power. But perhaps thou wilt say; Is it not enough that men be martyrs in the preparation of their mind? Indeed there be noble virtues hidden in the minds of the godly, but yet oftentimes this doth not satisfy God: he will bring them forth into act, that they may be seen. Wherefore our eyes must be lifted up, that we think not of the ungodly, but of God. So the prophets call Nebuchadnezzar, Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, hatchets, hammers, saws, 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 draw out unto the outward part of the body the corrupt humors, which be hidden within the body; yet we would abhor blains and sores: but the physician saith, that then the sick man beginneth to heal, when such things break forth. In like

manner God, with his medicines and fires of persecutions bringeth into light those things, which before lay 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 Pilate and Herod; They agreed together, that they might do, whatsoever thy will and thy counsel had decreed to do.

10. But thou wilt say; Some things be of necessity, which cannot otherwise be than they are; do those fall under the providence of God? Yea truly, 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 said; God reacheth from end to end, and ordereth all things. What thing is of more necessity than the course of the sun? And yet Joshua made the sun to stand still. What thing is of more necessity, than that the fire should burn, if fuel be applied thereunto? Therefore it hath been an old saying; If active things be applied to things passive, the action must follow of necessity. Yet nevertheless God brought to pass, that those three young men walked safely in the flaming furnace. What is of more necessity, than that the shadow should follow the sun shining? And yet God brought to pass, that when the sun did shine, the shadow went backward. But man seemed to have been made, and to be left in the hand of his own counsel. Thou shalt keep those things (saith Ecclesiasticus) and they shall keep 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 hear the holy scriptures as touching that matter. For Ecclesiasticus is not among the number of the canonical books; The kings heart (saith Solomon) is in the hand of God. But God saith; I have given them precepts. But he also saith; I will make you to walk in my

commandments. Again; I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit. Wherefore man is not to be exempted from the providence of God.

11. But much less are those things to be excluded, which seem to be done by chance. For although we cannot perceive the reason of the second causes, yet God seeth it; yea, the Philosophers teach us, that every cause, which they call *Per accidens*, that is, Coming by chance, must be revoked unto that which is a cause by itself: for that which is *Per accidens*, cannot be any cause. Wherefore Aristotle in his little book *De bona fortuna*, when he demanded for what cause some were fortunate, and some not? He answered, that it is done by a certain violent motion, and impulsions; whereof nevertheless, he that is driven, cannot yield a cause: hereby it cometh to pass (saith he) that some are fortunate, and some not. Furthermore he saith, that this event, if it be referred to our will and knowledge, happeneth by chance; but that enforcement is a cause by itself. But the question is not thus dissolved. For how cometh it to pass, that this fortune is given to one man, and not to another? The Astrologers would supply that, which they thought Aristotle wanted. Ptolemy in his book ἀποτελεσμάτων, referreth this unto the stars; by which (he saith) men being diversely born, are carried some to prosperity, and some to adversity. And this, some called, A power, some Constellation, and other some Particular destiny; Socrates called it *Daemoniu*. But why it happeneth more to one man, than to another; and 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 glory of God.

It is not you (saith Joseph to his brethren) that sold me into Egypt; but God sent me hither before you. So God said that he sent Saul unto Samuel, although it seemed as if he had turned out of the way to him by chance. So

Christ said unto his Apostles; There shall one meet you bearing a pitcher of water. These things were certain unto the providence of God, although otherwise in the sight of men, they might seem but things coming by chance. But thou wilt say; Be there then no second causes? Doeth God nothing by his angels? We take not away the second causes; but we make them instruments of the providence of God: for Angels be administering spirits. And David saith; Who do execute his will. But although God send his angels, yet he himself is present and principal over all things; If I shall ascend (saith David) into heaven, thou art there; if I go down into hell, thou art there also. For he doth not so give his angels charge, as though he himself were absent. Which thing the poets feign of Apollo, that he placed Phaethon in his chariot, and by that means all the heavens in his absence were set on fire. But sins, (will some man say) depend not on providence. How sins be ruled by God, shall be showed afterward. In the meantime this I say; The cause of sin undoubtedly cometh from us: but at what time, and against whom it should break forth, that is in the power of God. It was wholly determined by Nebuchadnezzar, that he would oppress some people; but that he should oppress the Jews more than others, that was provided by God.

12. The next question is, Whether this providence be immutable. Whie should it not? For it is the rule of all things that be done. It is written in the third of Malachi; I am the Lord, and am not changed. In the first of James; With him there is no variableness, nor shadowing by turning. And in the 19th of Proverbs; There be many cogitations in the heart of man, but the counsel of the Lord continueth steadfast. In the 46th of Isaiah; It is I that speak, and my counsel abideth surly, and I do what so ever pleaseth me. For seeing providence is both the knowledge and will of God, and that those

things belong to the very essence of God, it cannot be changed, except God himself be changed therewithal. The second causes indeed, seeing they be diverse and sundry, they oftentimes hinder themselves; which thing we see come to pass in the influences of heaven, that some of them be an impediment to others; but the will of God cannot be hindered by any violence. In old time God ordained the ceremonies of the Jews, afterward he would have them to be abrogated. How then? Is not the providence of God mutable? I answer; that In God is altogether one and the self-same will; but that he fore-saw from the beginning, what might agree with the diversity of times. Augustine to Marcellinus saith, that A husbandman doth sometime sow, sometime reap, and sometime compass the soil; yet we must not say that the art of husbandry is therefore mutable. Vindicianus saith, that A certain physician ministered a medicine to a sick man, and healed him; and that he many years after falling into the same disease, took the same medicine without the counsel of the physician: but when he waxed worse, he came to the physician, showing him the matter, and began to complain of the medicine. No marvel (quoteth Vindicianus) then; for I ministered not the same unto thee. Now when some men marveled thereat, and were of opinion that he used some enchantment; There is no such matter (saith he) for now is he of another age, and hath other humors than he had when I gave him that his medicine. But shall not therefore the art of physic be like itself? Even so in any wise God, although he foresee all things, yet he hath not decreed, that all things should be done at one time.

13. Now let us come to chance. If so be that the providence of God be so certain, whether can it admit any casualty? Here will I first use two distinctions, and afterward I will answer. There is one necessity which is absolute, and another conditional. For when we say, that God is wise or just,

we understand that that is simply, and absolutely necessary. There be other things necessary by supposition; as that which is commonly canvassed in the schools, to wit, that whatsoever is, while it is, is necessary. Christ and the prophets fore-showed that the city of Jerusalem should be overthrown; therefore of necessity it shall be overthrown: not that this necessity is in the nature of the city, but because Christ and the prophets have foretold it, who could not be deceived. Paul saith; that There must needs be heresies: and Christ saith; It is necessary that offenses come. For these causes being set down; namely, the corrupt natures of men, and the devil's hatred towards mankind: and the end being granted, to wit that the elect should be tried, it is necessary by supposition, that it should so come to pass. Also things may be considered two manner of ways, either as they be in act; and in that case they have the nature of necessity, for they be no longer indefinite. As, to write, or not to write, is by chance: but if thou be now in the act of writing, it is no more chance, but necessary. Wherefore we say that the knowledge of the senses is certain, because the things themselves cannot otherwise be. Or else 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 necessary power of working in them. But if those things be referred unto 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 are to come forever hereafter, are notwithstanding present unto him. Here also cometh in the will of God; for we must not ascribe unto him a bare knowledge; but such as is effectual, or actual. And by this means I say, that the very things themselves are to be considered as necessary. Augustine *In genesi ad literam*, the sixth book, chapter 15. There be many ways whereby man, and

other things might have been made by God, and those means had some possibility, and no necessity: but this is by the will of God, whose will is the necessity of things. And though such things, being referred unto God, be necessary; yet of us they must be weighed according to their inward and proper causes, and so be called things contingent, or that come by chance. For it is of no necessity, that such as the efficient cause is, such also should be the effect.

14. If thou demand, Whie these two kinds of causes be in the nature of things, so as some be limited and necessary, others indefinite and contingent? Nothing else can be answered, but that God hath laid these conditions upon all things. God bringeth forth all things, and he limiteth and boundeth all things; but yet so, as he neither confoundeth nor destroyeth the nature of things. Boetius in his Topics saith, that Destiny is so called, of drawing to, and giving place fitly: for God draweth all things; but yet after a sort so giveth place, as he disturbeth nothing. Even so things, although in their own nature they incline indifferently on both parts; yet by God, they are made to incline more to one side than to another. The will of Saul, of his own nature, was no more determined to go than to tarry: but when God would send him unto 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 pass, that the same should effectually move and persuade his mind: and that all other desires of rest and ease (if any were) that might have retained him at home, should be subdued. Wherefore it came to pass, that the will of Saul obeyed the providence of God. But yet in the meantime, the nature of the thing was not violated; but that the will of Saul was alike free unto either part. Hereby it appeareth, how necessary the grace of God is unto us. For our own will, as it is all manner of ways corrupted, turneth all things to the

worser part. Also there be many things, which do dull and blind our understanding, that the will cannot easily follow. God therefore propoundeth good unto our understanding, afterward he kindleth faith, and stirreth up the will that we do will the same effectually.

15. But thou wilt say; Why is anything said to be contingent, seeing God hath already determined of the one part, and so it is made a thing of necessity? I answer; Every thing of his own property and beginning is contingent; but providence, which bringeth a necessity, is an outward cause, of which nothing ought to be named. I know there be many, which affirm, that those things which cannot be done by man's power, are brought unto that pass by God, that our will may either choose or refuse them; and that there the providence of God stayeth, and goeth no further: but when as God foreseeth what every man will choose, and what he will refuse, his foreknowledge hindereth nothing at all. Howbeit, these sayings do not sufficiently agree with the holy scriptures. For they teach, that God doth not provide for things, that he will forsake them; but that (as we have said) he may conduct them to their ends, and those ends do serve the providence of God. For so saith Paul; God hath made all things according to the purpose of his will. So said God himself in Isaiah; All things that I will, I do. And Christ saith; Verily, even a little sparrow lighteth not upon the ground without the will of our father. I know that Origin, Cyril, Chrysostom, and others being urged by certain manifest places of the scriptures, such as these are; It behooved Christ to suffer; The scriptures ought to be fulfilled, do thus interpret them; to wit, that these things did not therefore come to pass, because God fore-saw them; but therefore God fore-saw them, because they should come to pass. This judgment of theirs, if they spake as touching absolute knowledge, could not much be reprehended. For, not because I see

a man writing, therefore he writeth; but because he writeth, therefore I see him writing. Howbeit, we cannot affirm a bare knowledge in God, but we must also attribute unto 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 say) *A posteriore*, that is, of the latter. For we hereof, that a thing is done, do understand, that it was the purpose of God that so it should be. Otherwise the scriptures speak very plainly; It behooved Christ to die; It behooved that the scriptures should be fulfilled. But how did it behoove? By supposition; because God so for-saw it: not that that necessity was in the nature of the thing.

16. But peradventure thou wilt say, that therefore the causes in the nature of the thing it self be infinite, for that I take not the perfect and full causes, in so much as I should have added the providence of God. I answer; I only take the inward and proper causes of everything, whose effects, because they might or might not be brought forth by them, be things contingent. But I add not providence, because the same is an outward cause. The which being added, it cannot be avoided, but that by supposition, some necessity must follow. For, Saul met with men caring of kids, bread, and wine: their will, in respect of the nature thereof, was infinite, either to have given him, or not to have given him anything: but God by his providence did limit that will unto the one part. They went to Bethel, there to sacrifice; they met with Saul weary upon the way, and almost dead with hunger; it seemed a courtesy to refresh him: this did God put into their minds. And if there were anything, which might be a let unto this will, those things he bridled. And these things we dispute only concerning the wills of men: for otherwise, in other things which be contingent, I know the means be infinite, which God is wont to use. Another example of this matter we have out of the 21st

chapter of Ezekiel; Nebuchadnezzar marched into Syria, and when he was now onward on the way, at a place where two ways met, he began to consult with himself, whether it were better for him to lead his power against the Jews, or else against Rabath the chief city of the Ammonites. He drew lots thereupon, the lots did God so frame, that he brought him to Jerusalem. The nature of the thing itself was contingent, but the same being appointed of God became a thing of necessity. Joseph was so sold and carried into Egypt, that as concerning the nature of the thing, it might be, that either he should live always in bondage, or else that he should at one time or other be delivered. But God sent dreams into the Baker and Butler; those dreams did Joseph interpret: afterward he showed Pharaoh a dream, which when none of the diviners could expound, the Butler gave him intelligence of Joseph: and by this means it came to pass, that Joseph was delivered out of prison. Wherefore be it thus determined (as we have said) that all things having relation to the providence of God, be necessary; but of their own nature are contingent.

But thou wilt say; Shall the affects be absolutely called things coming by chance, or rather of necessity? Some there be, that for the dignity of providence, will have them called necessary: but I would rather call them contingent, according to their own nature. Albeit I will not greatly strive, so that the same necessity be understood only by supposition. Rightly did some of the Greeks name providence πεπρωμένιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πεπεράτῳσθαι, of passing through; because it passeth through everything: others called it ἄδραστείαν, because nothing can escape it. Some will say, that we receive the opinion of the Stoics concerning destiny. That is not true; for they defined their destiny to be a necessity by a knitting together of causes, and affirmed that the same did over-rule even God himself. But contrariwise, we

teach that God governeth all things, and that he useth them to his own glory. But if they affirm that destiny is nothing else, but the providence of God; the question is only as touching the word, and not of the thing: as Augustine else-where hath taught. Lastly, thou wilt say, that by this means, there will be no place for advisements, admonitions, and corrections, seeing that which God will, must needs come to pass. The self-same thing was objected to Augustine, whereupon he wrote the book *De correptione & gratia*. Undoubtedly God, although he have decreed a thing to be done, yet he useth means in bringing the same to pass. He will change the naughty will of man; he useth admonitions, preachings, and chastisements. For these be the instruments of God's providence: so far 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 entreat another time, when opportunity shall serve.

I know I am misreported, that I make God to be the author of sin; but that is not true, as it shall plainly appear. But I only endeavor by my doctrine, to show how the scriptures must be understood, when they seem so to affirm: Also what Augustine meant, who said, that God bendeth the wills of men as well unto good, as unto evil: And in like manner, how Zwingli and Oecolampadius, and other great learned men, professors of the Gospel, must be understood, when they seem to avouch the same.

CHAP. XVII. Whether God be the Author of sin; out of 2 Sam. 16:22.

Look in Judg. 3:9 and 9:24, and 2 Sam. 2:27, and 1 Kings. 22:21, and in Rom. 1:23.

It remaineth now, that we entreat of the question; Whether God be the author of sin? For as well the curse of Semei, as the defiling of David's concubines, may seem at the first view to proceed from God. For as touching the curse, David himself said, that it came from God. And as touching the adultery of David's concubines, it was spoken by Nathan under the person of God. Wherefore it may very well be called in controversy, whether God be the author of sin. And truly there are very many and strong arguments of both sides: a good part of them I will recite, unto the which all the rest may be referred. [1] God cannot truly and rightly be said to be the cause of sin. Excellent is the sentence of Augustine, in his book of 83 questions; God is not the author of anything, whereby a man becometh the worse: But no man doubteth that men are the worse through sin, Therefore God cannot properly be called the author of sin. It is not likely, that God will deform man: artificers desire to adorn their works. [2]

Further, God himself generally in the scripture professeth himself a revenger of sins. If he be a revenger, he is no author; for then he should punish his own. If he were truly the cause of sin, he should condemn that which he made, which thing is absurd. [3] Thirdly it is said, that He loveth those things which he made, and hateth nothing that he hath made. But he testifieth that he did hate sin, therefore he doth not enforce to sin. To hate and to love are contrary; wherefore both cannot be spoken of one thing, at one and the self-same time. If he hate sin, then he loveth it not; but if so be it were of God, it should be beloved: for God loveth those things which he made. [4] If God were the cause of sin, he in the bringing forth of sin, should sin; he that stealeth, is a thief; he that committeth murder, is a man-killer: but far be it from God, that he should be either said to sin, or to be a sinner. What is else to sin, but to stray from the right end? But God is infinite, and cannot be lead away from the end by another greater force. He is not ignorant, that he can stray from the end; for he is most wise. And that he himself should cause others to sin, it seemeth to be absurd.

[5] Let us consider what is done among these natural things created by God. There be many efficient causes; it seemeth that every efficient cause coveteth to make that like unto itself, whereabout it worketh. Fire, if it take hold upon wood, so worketh, as those things, whereupon it worketh, may be made like unto itself; a man doth procreate a man. Thus in things created do agents work; why shall we not say, that in God's doings, his endeavor is to make like unto himself; and that therefore he sinneth not? The holy scriptures teach us the same; they bring in laws which stir up good works, but sins at no time. [6] If God should provoke sin, or would it to be done, he should seem to be a hypocrite; he should closely and secretly do another thing, then he openly pretendeth. [7] Jeremiah spake of false prophets; They

ran, but I sent them not; they prophesied, and I spake not with them; namely, that they should speak this thing. [8] Oseas saith; Thy salvation, O Israel, is of me, thy perdition is of thyself. But no man is ignorant that sin is the cause of perdition. If perdition were of Israel, then sin also: but salvation, and whatsoever goeth before salvation, is of God. If salvation 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 virtues of God. [9] More manifest is that which is written in the eight chapter of John, where Christ speaking of the devil, saith; When he speaketh lies, he speaketh of his own: if of his own, he hath no need to be stirred up of another. [10] And again, This is the condemnation of man, that light came into the world, but they loved darkness more. [11] 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 whereby we be tempted, and that is not of God, but of the world.

2. [12] In the second of Paralipomenon, the last chapter, there is a special place, where the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem is given and ascribed to the sins of the people: and in such sort it is so disproved, 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) betimes in the morning, but they hardened their heart. [13] Christ wept over the city of Jerusalem; he was sorry for the overthrow thereof. If the effect displeased him, much rather did the cause: he wept, because they so sinned, as they deserved utter destruction. If Christ wept, who not only was man, but very God also, he was displeased with sins: therefore God is not the author of sin. [14] Neither can it be affirmed, that God is the cause of sin, unless we

will charge him with tyranny, in that he condemneth men for their sins, because they have done wickedly, whom yet after a sort he hath led unto wickedness. Tyrants are wont to set forth laws, and then to provide cunningly that their subjects may commit something against those laws, whereby they may punish them. [15] Moreover, the scripture attributeth unto God the judgment over all flesh: but how shall he judge the world of sin, if he himself have been the author of sin? In the third chapter to the Romans; If our righteousness do set forth the righteousness of God, is God unjust for punishing? That it may be perceived how absurd a thing it is, that our sins should make to the glory of God: for if they make to the glory of God, why doth he condemn 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 judge the world? [16] Also there will seem to be in him two wills, and those one contrary to the other: but in God there is only one will; if there should be more, they would be one against another, as touching one and the self-same thing; so that he would have us both not to do, and to do the self-same things. [17] We will demand, to what purpose are so many exhortations, persuasions, and callings to do well, in the holy scriptures? All these things will seem to be vain. To what end did Christ give warning unto Judas, if he would be betrayed of him? These speeches may seem to be done as it were in game. But God dealeth gravely and earnestly in those things, which he dealeth with men. [18] Also there would follow a great absurdity; for the differences between good and evil, and between virtue and sin, would be taken away. God should be appointed the author of both; whereas he being the sovereign good, there can proceed nothing but goodness from him. If a man should detest murder, adultery, and incest, he would say; it is a good work. The matter would be brought to such a pass, as good would be called

evil, and evil good: yea rather there would be no difference at all betwixt them. For through the will of God, whereby he forbiddeth and commandeth anything, we judge of good and evil: but by this means we should be void of all judgment.

[19] In like manner would be taken away the judgments of our consciences. We read in the epistle to the Romans, that we have cogitations, which shall defend and accuse one another in the judgment of the Lord. If this other opinion were true, we will gather, that we should not accuse ourselves, but God the author. [20] There is plenty of excuse for the wicked, they will say; Wherefore need I to repent for this thing, seeing God himself is the author of it? Repentance will be taken away, and a window opened unto great mischiefs. [21] Wherefore shall we give thanks unto God, because he hath delivered us from our sins? But sin was good; It had been all one to have lien still in sin; [22] We will not lament our sins, but rather rejoice in them, for it is the work of God; it is meet that we should rejoice for the works of God. If God himself be the author of sin, praise and rejoicing will follow; but not sorrow. [23] Much will be drawn away from the estimation of God, if he should be put the author of sin. [24] That saying also, which they show, might be brought; namely, that God would have all men to be saved. If he will have them to be saved, he useth good means; he encourageth not men to sin: for sins do lead men to perdition. Many more reasons might be brought, but for this time we will content ourselves with these.

3. Let us see on the other part, what things they be that might affirm God to be the cause of sin. [1] In the first chapter to the Romans it is written; that Seeing the idolaters knew God, and would not worship him as God, therefore (as meet it was) he gave them up unto a reprobate sense, and unto

shameful lusts. If he gave them, he also provoked and moved them. [2] In Exodus it is written, that God had hardened and dulled the heart of Pharaoh, so that he would not hearken, when Moses commanded him in the name of God to let the people depart. [3] In the sixth of Isaiah, He is said to blind the people, that they should not see. [4] When we pour out our prayers before God, we desire him that he Lead us not into temptation, but that he will deliver us from evil. To what end should we thus pray, if these things should not sometimes be? No man entreateth, except for those things which may be, or which do hang over his head, or which he feareth will come to pass. They are wont to say, that God doth and willeth these things, not as they be sins, but in respect that they be punishments to chasten him that hath sinned. But it is hard to appoint the punishment and fault to be all one thing, seeing the nature of punishment and fault is diverse. A fault ariseth from the will, whereas punishment is laid upon us against our will. If it be committed voluntarily, then it is no punishment. To affirm a thing to be voluntary, and yet involuntary, can hardly be made to agree. [5] 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 given us a will, inclinations, properties and effects, whereby we are provoked to sin. If God be said to be the cause of these things, why dare we not say that he is the cause of sins? [6] That which removeth the impediments, if the thing afterward happen, or the effect follow, it shall be called the cause of sin. What doth chiefly let sins? Even grace, and the good spirit of God: except these keep us back, we shall rush headlong into most grievous crimes. Who can remove grace, or take away the spirit, but only God which gave them? If he remove the lets, no doubt but he is some cause of sins. [7] Also, he that ministereth an occasion of anything, he seemeth to be an author thereof: although he be not the

chiefest cause, if he give an occasion he shall not fail to be called author. God knew the hardness of Pharaoh's heart, and he knew that he being not holpen by the spirit, would be provoked to sin. So The law is said to increase sin, if it be not proposed to the regenerate: for we always bend ourselves unto that which we be forbidden, and covet that which we be denied. God commandeth [Pharaoh] to let the people go; what is this, but to offer an occasion that he might be the more hardened? We cannot deny but that God doth minister occasions: yea, and he not only giveth occasions, but we can also show commandments wherein he commandeth sin. [8] We have in the history of the kings, that Ahab was a wicked prince; that God determined to punish him in battle; he would have him brought to this by the flatteries and false persuasions of false prophets. God is brought in to talk with the spirits; Who can seduce Ahab? There stepped forth an evil spirit which said; I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of the false prophets. God alloweth and commandeth it; Go thy ways, do so. He giveth encouragement; It shall be so.

[9] Further, we cannot deny, but that sin is a certain human action: but every deed, as it comes in act, dependeth of the first principle of all things. God is (as the Philosophers acknowledge him) *Primus actus*, the first agent. Unless he be the upholder, there can be no agent: wherefore sin dependeth on God, as upon the cause efficient. [10] Sins for the most part be motions; and motions have an order, so as the inferior dependeth upon the superior: therefore the cause of sin, so far-forth as it is a motion, is directed unto his own mover. [11] Augustine hath certain testimonies of this thing, and confirmeth it also by some places of the scripture. In his book *De gratia & libero arbitrio*, the twelfth chapter, he saith; that There is no doubt, but that God worketh in men's minds, to make their wills incline, either to good

according to his mercy, or unto evil according to their merits; by his judgment undoubtedly which sometime is open, sometime secret, but evermore just. In the beginning of that chapter he saith; Who can but tremble at these horrible judgments of God, whereby he worketh what he will in the hearts of the wicked, yielding to everyone according to his deserts? And he addeth; He verily worketh in the hearts of men the motions of their will, and by them he doth those things that he will do, who nevertheless cannot will anything unjustly. This he proveth by the scriptures. In the first of Kings we have the history of Roboam, who hearkened not to the counsel of the ancients, that he should deal mildly with the people. But it is said, that this turning away was of the Lord, to the intent he might establish the saying of Ahia the Silonite. Wherefore (as Augustine expoundeth it) that naughty will was of the Lord. He alledgeth another place, out of the second book of Chronicles, the 21st chapter. God stirred up the Philistines and Arabians against Joram, which followed idolatry; God was minded to punish him. Undoubtedly the motions of the minds in the Philistines and Arabians were wicked against Joram, insomuch as they invaded other men's countries, and were infected with cruelty; and yet God is said to have stirred them up. In the same history of kings, there is speaking of Amasias, which provoked Joash the king of Israel unto battle. Yea and Joash himself, and also the prophet of the Lord discouraged him from the purpose; but he being carried with ambition, hearkened not unto the godly admonitions: which thing nevertheless came from God, who would that he should be delivered into his hands, because he followed the idols of Edom.

4. [12] We read in the 14. chapter of Ezekiel; If the prophet be deceived, I have seduced him; and I will stretch forth my hand, and will smite him. He

entreateth of the false prophets, which ever between whiles vainly fed the people. [13] Jeremiah saith in the fourth chapter, that God deceived the people. [14] In the 63. chapter of Isaiah the prophet complaineth; Wherefore hath God so seduced the people, or made them to err, that they should depart from him? [15] Solomon saith in his Proverbs; Even as the violence of waters, so is the kings heart in the hand of God. Undoubtedly Pharaoh was a king, therefore he inclined his will unto what part he would. [16] Nebuchadnezzar was a king, therefore he inclined his will unto which part he would. [17] In the 104th psalm, it is said of the Egyptians, that God turned their hearts, so as they hated the children of Israel: they seemed before to love the Israelites. [18] In the second epistle to the Thessalonians, the second chapter; Because men cast away the love of the truth, therefore God sent them strong illusions, that they might give credit unto lies. It is written in the eleventh chapter of Joshua, that None made peace with the children of Israel, among all the nations of the Chanaanites, save only the Gabeonites. For God encouraged their heart to fight against the Israelites. And it is added, unto what end; namely, that they should be weeded out by them. Assuredly, he did animate them, that they should not desire to have peace, but rather to have war. [19] Moreover, he that would an end, seemeth to will those things, which serve unto the end; and by the same will he would those means which crave an end. The physician, willing to heal a sick man, seeth that cutting, or searing, or else a bitter potion is fit, and even these he will use for recovery of health. When God would that a testimony unto the truth should be given by the martyrs, and that Christ should die, he also would those things that should procure this end; namely, the vexation of the saints, and cruelty of kings and people: for it behooved to attain unto that end by these kind of means. [20] In the prophets, especially in Isaiah,

kings are said to be in the hand of God, like rods, hammers, and axes; which comparisons have no place, if it were not understood, that God moveth the hearts: for they be not moved, unless they be driven forward. [21] Also when God was displeased with the people of Israel, he stirred up the heart of David to number that people by the poll; which thing was wicked. It is to small purpose, if thou wilt say that in the book of Chronicles is read, that Satan provoked him: for Satan can do no more than God giveth him leave. Whether God did it by himself, or by Satan, thou seest that David was stirred up by the will of God, unto that which was not lawful. They are wont to excuse this matter, that God permitteth, but not helpeth. We say, it is not enough; for the offense is still left in our minds. [22] God as yet seemeth after some sort to will sin; he knoweth, that a man cannot stand by himself. If some blind man should walk before us, and we should see him ready either to stumble against a stone, or to fall into a ditch; and we are present, we may help him, but we will not, we suffer him to go on: now when he falleth, shall not we after some sort be said to be guilty of his fall? For thou wouldest have him fall, if thou diddest not stay him when thou mightest.

[23] And that which yet is more grievous; if so be that an old impotent man were leaning upon his staff, and so after a sort were going, and if some man should take away his staff whereunto he leaned, although he enforced 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; doth he not after some sort seem to be the cause of their fall? Wherefore, that which they bring, will be a weak defense, when they say that God forsaketh men. [24] While we would seem to excuse God, we lay as grievous things unto him; to wit, that he is no more a God; and while we

shun the smoke, we fall into the fire. If any things be done besides the will of God, whether he will or no; if there be any effects, whereof he is not the cause: he is not then the universal cause of all, nor yet God. But he compelleth not to fall; the excuse will not serve. [25] Admit there be some good man of the house, whose family behaveth itself very ill: if he be reproved, he will excuse himself, saying; I bad them not, I commanded them not: that excuse shall not be counted lawful; for he ought not to permit that which he could have hindered. Many times the good man of the house cannot let wicked acts, but the power of God is invincible. There be no wills so evil and corrupt, but he can amend and make them good. [26] Anselmus in his book *De casu diaboli*, the 91st chapter; Why (saith he) do we account it absurd, that God doth particular actions by a naughty will, seeing we know, that he maketh sundry substances, which are brought forth by a dishonest action? As when a child is procreated by adultery. [27] That adultery is evil, no man doubteth, but that child is the creature of God. This seemeth twice to be affirmed in the Acts of the apostles. In the second chapter Peter saith of Jesus the son of God; that The Jews had taken him, and delivered him to be slain by the determinate will and counsel of God. Afterward in the fourth chapter, when the church gave thanks unto God, it prayeth on this wise; Against thy holy son Jesus, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles and people of Israel, gathered themselves together, to do those things that thy hand and thy counsel had determined to be done. With these arguments, whereunto others might be added, I will hold myself content.

5. Now that we have set down the reasons for each part, there remaineth that the question itself be expounded. I find three opinions; the first is to be detested, namely of the Libertines, which say, that God is all wholly the

cause of sin: and so say, as they affirm, all sins to be excusable, and not to be reprov'd, because they be the works of God: and if any fault should be, they would lay it upon God. This one thing they endeavor; namely, to take away from all men the feeling of sin. If any man have committed murder, it is not he (say they) that hath committed it, God hath done it. And unless that a man so think, they say, that he is imperfect, and cannot allow of all God's works. What can be more wickedly imagined? The devil could not have found out a readier way to hell. Let these men go to perdition, seeing we cannot mend them: let us pray unto God that he will take away these pestilent persons out of the church. The second opinion is of certain learned men, who mislike not that sense, which the scriptures appear to have at the first sight. They say, that God hardeneth, that he punisheth sins with sins; and finally, they grant him to be the cause of sin: but they add, that these actions, seeing they proceed from the very corrupt nature of men, so far forth as they be of God, have a respect to justice; and that men be not excused, because they be inclined unto these things: they lay not the blame unto God, who doth his part rightly. If (say they) it cannot be comprehended by reason, how he doth justly, and we unjustly; we must refer ourselves to the judgment of the scriptures. There be many other things, which by man's reason we cannot know, which nevertheless we do believe. The third opinion is of them, which interpret all these places of the scripture by the words; He suffered, He gave leave, He permitted, or according to the Greek; He did not hinder it, and such like. So they think that all dangers are avoided.

6. But what my judgment is, I will not be loath to declare; afterward your own selves shall judge. And that the matter may be the more easily known, it shall be good to examine it the more deeply: and somewhat I will say, of

Evil, under which general word, sin is contained. Evil is a certain privation, of good I mean; yet not of every good, but of such a good thing as is requisite for the perfection of every creature, which I say belongeth to the perfection of the thing despoiled. For if we take away sight from a stone, it shall have no hurt: for that quality of nature is not meet for it. Evil being a privation, cannot consist without good: for it must have a subject. A subject seeing it is a substance, is a good thing; wherefore evil cannot be but in good: even as blindness is a privation of sight, it hangeth not in the air, but it sticketh in the eye. So may it be showed by many other examples. But not to depart from that which we have in hand; sin itself depriveth man's action of dutifulness and obedience towards the word of God. These things ought to be in action; but when we sin, action is bereft of those good things. And action, seeing it is a certain thing, it is in his own nature good; wherefore evil cannot be but in good. Moreover, evil is not desired for itself, but men do sin in consideration of good; for unless there appeared some likeness of good, they would not depart from goodness. So great therefore is the power of good, as evil cannot be except in good, and unto good. Wherefore rightly have the wise men said, that we may grant, there is the chiefest good; but not affirm that there is the chiefest evil, which can deprive good altogether: for then it should destroy it self. It might have no subject wherein it should be, nor yet outward show, whereby it should be desired. To speak now of evil; it is distinguished into punishment, and fault. Fault is called that which we commit against the law of God; punishment is that which is laid upon us for sin: and that also hath a privation of some commodity; as when God sendeth sickness, sickness is the privation of health, and hath place in the body of a living creature. He sendeth famine and bareness, which is the privation of fertility; and it is in the earth itself: this (I say) belongeth unto

punishment. But sin taketh place in the mind only: punishments doubtless may both be in the mind, and in the body. There is added a third member, which is so a punishment, as it is also sin: as original sin is, so is the natural corruption left after baptism. These things thus concluded, I put forth a certain sentence or proposition to be confirmed, the which hath two parts. The first is, that God is not by himself and properly the cause of sin. The second is, that there is nothing done in the world, no not sins themselves, without his will, determination, and providence.

7. To prove the question, it behooveth to confirm it as touching both parts. Let us speak of the first; that God by himself is not the cause of sin. Unto this purpose serve the arguments in the first place. But I add, that when good or evil are opposed, as Habit and Privation; the habit by itself doth never bring in privation. Light itself doth always illuminate, it never bringeth in darkness. Wherefore if we put good and evil as contrary privatives, evil shall not be of good. God is the chiefest good, let us then put him to be the habit: wherefore by himself and properly, he maketh no privation. But I said that he is not the cause of sin by himself and properly. These words I have added, because, if we will speak less properly, he may be said after some sort to be either the beginning, or the cause of sin: not indeed the proper cause; but that cause, which of the philosophers is called removing or prohibiting. I will make the matter plain by similitudes. The sun is altogether bright, the proper effect thereof is to make light; yet after some manner it may be said to make darkness, not in that it shineth, but in that it is moved, and departeth from one place to another. For bodies be round, therefore when it departeth, it cannot always by reason of the motion, give light to that place from whence it went, but shadows do come

between: so then after some sort it is said to make darkness by the departure thereof; because bodies are so ordered, and it self is moved.

So likewise it happeneth as touching some ruinous house; it is held up by a prop, some man approaching removeth the prop, the stones and buildings through their own weight fall down from the top; which things have in themselves the causes of their coming down: yet notwithstanding, he which taketh away the prop, is said after a sort to cause the fall: for he removeth the stay which letted the ruin. In like manner God, in his own nature is good, yet in respect that he is just, he will punish sinners; he taketh away his grace, and after some sort may be called the cause of those things which afterward be naughtily done; yet not the true cause: for that proper cause is inward, that is to wit, the naughty will of them. But why he sometimes taketh away his spirit from men, a reason may be yielded; when they sin, he removeth his grace from them, not only to the intent he may punish, but that the excellency of his favor may be known: and to let us understand, that that which God giveth, he giveth it freely, and that it is not of nature. For if we should always have [his grace] and after one and the self-same manner, as if God would not at some time stack his strength, we would attribute unto our own power the good things that we do. But thus it is, to the intent we may acknowledge our own infirmity, and pray the more fervently for preservation and increase of the heavenly gift. But when the grace and favor of God is justly taken away from us, sin doth naturally follow: neither is there need of any other efficient cause; I mean, there needeth no other cause, to come from our infected and corrupt affections.

This appeareth by the similitudes alleged, if the sun be removed, darkness doth follow; not through any efficient cause, but by itself. If the habit be removed, privation is straightway present of his own accord. If one so

hurteth his eye, as the sight be lost; blindness doth immediately follow: neither is it needful to seek any other thing that worketh. Which seeing the Manichees perceived not, they erred most shamefully: they would not attribute the cause of evil unto the good God; but they saw that there were many evils, and they judged that evils could not be without a true cause: whereupon they affirmed that there be two beginnings. And because they saw a great power to be both in evil, and in good, they brought in two gods; one good, and another bad. Of these we read much in Augustine. But that evil, which is sin, cometh, if the spirit of God be taken away: for then man is left unto himself. But whether is he so left, as God doth no more anything concerning him, or his sin? That this may be understood, I will declare three sorts of working, which we may perceive in God towards his creatures: not that other works of his cannot be showed, but because these three do most of all serve unto the matter we have in hand.

8. Some action of God is general, seeing by his providence he cherisheth, sustaineth, and governeth all things in their conditions, qualities, and inclinations, as they stood at the beginning when they were created. And thus is the order of nature preserved; which thing is excellent to be known. We see that heaven retaineth his own nature: surly it hath many things to be marveled at. We see that the nature of fire is vehement, of air is pleasant, of water is flowing: we see also the metals, the trees, the works of artificers, which things assuredly be wonderful. All these are governed by God; yea, and if he should withdraw his hand from them, they would fall to nothing. Profitable doubtless is the consideration of his divine government. Oftentimes doth God exhort us in the psalms, to magnify him for these works. In the first to the Romans it is written, that The Gentiles by these creatures did know God, and a kind of his everlasting force, working,

government, and godhead, in such sort, as Aratus said; We are in very deed the lineage of God. We have an excellent example of this work in our selves. The soul which is not seen, is indivisible, yet it moveth and quickeneth the whole body. Even so all creatures do retain their properties and inclinations.

9. Secondly, another work of God is, whereby the creatures are not only preserved and ruled, but do also obey the counsels of God. For God useth the actions of all things, even of men, and of evil men: he useth them (I say) for the establishment of his purposes. When he favoreth his own, he giveth them plentiful increase of fruits; the rain falleth early and late. But if he will of his justice punish the wicked, nothing cometh well to pass; there is given a heaven of brass, and an earth of iron: if the fruits be ripe, they perish in one night. These things must not be ascribed unto fortune. When we know not the cause, we take it to be fortune; whereupon the poet saith,

A goddess Fortune we thee call,
And place thee high in heavenly stall.

Wherefore we must not occupy ourselves alonely in a general consideration of things of the world, but we must weigh the use wherein they serve the providence of God; whereas sin cometh of proper causes, I mean of our own will, and corrupt affections, yet doth the same serve God also. A similitude; There be many poisons in the world, they have many and dangerous qualities; yet the physician occupieth them, and the magistrate rightly useth them. The physician by tempering of the poisons, healeth the sick: the magistrate at Athens gave poison for the taking away of such as were guilty. So was Socrates compelled to drink hemlock. Although therefore poisons are evil, yet may the magistrate and the physician use them well for the safety of the common-wealth, and preservation of the sick. Even so God ruleth sins (which have their proper causes corrupted) for

the performing and bringing forth of his counsels to act. I might also use another similitude; Those things which seem to be done of us by chance in the world, do most of all serve the providence of God. For the Lord saith in the law, Exodus 21, and Deut. 19. If two shall go together into the grove to hew wood, and the axe flieth out of one of their hands, and he is smitten therewith that stood next him, and is slain: this he did unwittingly, he shall not be guilty of death. For God delivered him [thereunto] and that for just causes delivered he him of a determinate purpose; we understand it not, he knoweth it. Even so they which offend, indeed they do as they would, they have determined with themselves what they will do: but yet God useth these actions. So by the curse of Semei, God would have the patience of David to be thoroughly known unto all men, and would open his judgments against his adultery and murder: but this man meant to show his hatred against David. God doth that which he will, as touching those crimes which men of another purpose committed; not to the intent they might obey the will of God, but their own corrupt lusts.

And to return to the testimony now alleged. He that heweth wood, this he would do, but the axe hitteth another man, and the hitting serveth the counsel of God. Jerome upon the twelfth chapter of Jeremiah writeth, that Nothing happeneth rashly and without providence, whether it be good or evil; but that all things come to pass by the judgment of God. Wherefore creatures be certain instruments in the hand of God; he useth them according to his own purpose. But yet these instruments be not all after one sort; for some there be which have no knowledge, nor sense, nor will, and yet nevertheless they do service unto God. But there be others, which perceive, understand, and will those things which they do, and yet they do it not always of purpose to serve God: yea rather they oftentimes unwillingly

and unwittingly do that which God appointeth. Wherefore we will say, that as well living creatures, as not living creatures; things having sense, and having no sense; Angels good and bad, and generally all creatures be the instruments of God, which he useth according to the consideration of his providence. He did use the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks and Romans, for punishment of the wicked Hebrews: he did use also the devil against Saul and against Job. But it is further to be considered, that when God useth creatures, especially the reasonable creatures, and evil creatures, such as be evil men and devils; he doth not so use them, as though they did nothing themselves; for even they themselves fulfill their own naughtiness, but God useth it [to purpose.] God dealeth not with these as with stones, which have no sense at all; they will, they know, and they have sense: and when wicked men, and the devil do naughtily, and are moved by their own proper lust, they do service unto the providence of God. They perceive doubtless, and will, not that their mind is such as they would serve God, for they seek their own. Neither are they so moved by the superior cause, as they use not withal their own naughtiness.

10. But thou wilt say, that If God after this manner, have recourse as the chiefest cause unto these actions, and that evil men as the next causes do them, it shall be all one work of God, of the devil, and of naughty men. This indeed must not be denied; but yet this work cometh far otherwise from the superior good cause, then from the next cause which is corrupt. This work, as it is of the devil, and of wicked men, is evil. It draweth infection from the wickedness of the devil, and of naughty men; which being evil trees, cannot bring forth good fruit. But God, the very best, and chiefest cause, as he concurrerth with these actions, doth them rightly and in due order. Even as both God and the devil would Jerusalem to be destroyed, but yet in sundry

respects; God, to the intent he might punish the obstinate; the devil, that he might fulfill his cruel hatred against mankind. Christ was to be delivered unto the cross, which also was done; and this work, as it proceeded from the hatred and malice of the Jews, was evil: but the self-same, in as much as God, through that most holy action, would have mercy upon mankind, had goodness. Wherefore it is said in the Acts of the apostles; that They did those things against the Son of God, which his counsel and hand had determined. Yet must those things which they did against Christ, merely be called evil; because they have both their name and nature from the next cause, although that God rightly used them according to his own providence. The devil and God exercise Job in a far sundry respect; also the Sabees, and other robbers spoiled his substance for the satisfying of their own hatred: so did the devil. But God did it to prove his patience, and to testify his good will towards the godly, by a joyful deliverance. Wherefore the works were all one, but the purposes were diverse. For which cause, when Job said (The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away) he praiseth God, as the chiefest cause, without whose providence these things were not done, and whose providence used all things to a good end; yet doth he not praise the robbers, and the devil. So did David also behave himself; he commended not Semei, he said not that those cursing's were of their own nature good: but turned himself to the providence of God. The work was wicked, yet in some respect it may be called the work of God; because he ruled it and used it. Also it is said in the prophet; Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently: and the work of the Lord he calleth the affliction of the people, whereby the wicked overpressed them. Wherefore, the wicked cannot excuse their sins, in respect of this use of God: for they have the cause of those sins in themselves. And even as God's

good use of these things excuseth not sinners, so on the other part, the naughtiness of sinners doth not contaminate the good use and providence of God, who can exceedingly well use the things which be done amiss.

Augustine in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, chapter 101 declareth, that It may be, that God and man would one and the same thing; and that God in so willing, doth rightly; but that man doth sin, although he will those things which God willeth. He bringeth an example. The father of a wicked son sickeneth, the will of God by his just judgment is, that he should die of that disease, the ungracious child also would the same; but to the intent he may the sooner come unto the inheritance, and be free from the power of his father: God willeth justly, but the child ungodly. 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 he as God willeth rightly. Admit that the father, which is sick, have a good child; God would that the father should die: the child thorough an honest affection would it not, for he is desirous to have his father live; they will diversely, and yet they both will justly. It consisteth only in the purpose of the will; for thereof dependeth oftentimes goodness and naughtiness. But there ariseth a doubt; If that one manner of work depend both on God and man, and that it draw naughtiness from the infection of man, and that it hath some goodness, in respect that God useth it, so as nothing may escape God or his providence, wherefor doth Zechariah in the first chapter complain; I was but a little angry with my people, but they helped forward unto evil; that is, they passed the bounds. That which they sin, seemeth to exceed the providence of God; so as they did more than God had decreed. We answer, that It must not be understood, that they did more, than that thing might serve to the use of God's providence: for there can be nothing at all done besides the will of God and

his decrees, which be most firm. Augustine in the same *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, 102nd chapter, saith; The will of God is invincible, how then are they said to have exceeded? Not the bounds of the eternal decree, but the just measure of victory. There be certain bounds, limits, and laws, which ought to be kept by conquerors. They exceeded that which became them, but that they could do more than providence would use, it must in no wise be granted.

11. The third kind of the works of God we call that which is proper unto the saints; for thereby he most mercifully bringeth many things to pass in them: for he reigneth, he liveth, and he worketh in us both to will and to perform. Otherwise in nature we be certain barren trees, we are blind, we will no good things. The judgment is corrupted, the will and choice is corrupt in those dregs of original sin: but God, by his spirit, fashioneth his chosen anew. We have from the beginning a nature given according to the similitude of God, whereunto should be agreeable, to will, to choose, to do these things and those things. But in that we cannot do good of ourselves, it hath proceeded of corruption: but in that we will rightly, and do serve God by an obedience begun, it is of the supernatural grace of God. Wherefore the first kind of God's works, which belongeth to the universal providence, serveth not to the question now in hand. The second kind of working and the third belong unto this.

12. Although therefore that God do govern even sins and evils; yet he is not properly said to be the efficient cause. Augustine in his twelfth book *De civitate Dei*, the seventh chapter, speaketh very well as concerning a naughty will, when he saith; An evil thing hath no efficient, but a deficient cause. And if any will search out this efficient cause, it is even like as if he would see the darkness with his eyes, or comprehend silence with his ears:

which being privations, it is no need that they should have efficient causes. Yet nevertheless, they be things known unto us; for there is all one sense of things that be contrary. The sight seeth not other than bright things, the ear heareth not other than noises, and yet by these senses we know even these things; not by the use of them, but by the privation only. A naughty will doth God use, to the ends appointed: not because he is not able, unless it be by these means, to attain to that which he will; but so it pleased him to declare his wisdom and power, that he might show himself able to do something mediately [as they say] and immediately: and that it maketh no matter unto him, whether the instruments that he useth be good or bad. Wherefore let us seek out what is the deficient cause of evil actions, and among the rest we shall find wicked affections and inclinations, which seeing they fall away from the word of God, and from right reason, it is no marvel if things that be faulty, proceed there-from. These be the inward causes of sin, but they be rather deficient than efficient causes. The devil also is said to be the cause of sin: for we read in the book of wisdom; By the devil death entered into the world, therefore sin also: for death is the effect of sin. But yet the devil cannot be called the proper and absolute cause of our sin: the reason is; for that such is the nature of every proper and perfect cause, that the same being put, the effect doth of necessity follow. But in the devil it is not thus; for although he sometime suggest evil things in the mind of the godly, yet nevertheless sin doth not always follow. For many godly men do valiantly resist him, and when sin followeth not, he cannot be called the absolute and perfect cause thereof. In deed, he provoketh men, but yet not so, that sin must of necessity follow.

I might bring another reason. Let us imagine that the devil himself had not revolted from God, and that man had been created, man could yet of his

own nature have sinned, and have had the cause of sin in himself: but the suggestion of the devil could not have been 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 have therefore showed from whence sin hath his deficient cause; namely, from our own corruption. Yet nevertheless God doth govern and rule sin itself; he doth not idly look on, but he doth the part of a judge and governor: and he leaveth not all things without guiding. But after what sort is he said to govern sin? Even as touching time, manner, form, and matter; to wit, that it is carried sometimes rather against this man, and sometimes rather against that man. Our corruptions lie hidden within us, but God suffereth not the same at all times to break forth, nor yet so long as the wicked would: he bridleth sins, and sometimes interrupteth them. Further, he bringeth to pass, that our wickedness shall rather bend unto one part, than unto another; as the rage of Semei was more bent against David, than against another man. And the providence of God is showed rather at one time than at another; God directed the power of Nebuchadnezzar rather against the Hebrews, than against their neighbors.

13. There is also a certain other thing to be considered of in sins, when they break forth into act. God himself putteth us in mind of some things, which in their own 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 lay hidden before, do break forth. But yet these suggestions, either inward or outward, cannot be properly called the causes of sin, seeing those causes be within in men: yet may they be called occasions. But of occasions, some be given, and some taken; in like manner as they distinguish Scandalum, that is, an offense. An offense taken, is the occasion

of an offense, not on the behalf of him that giveth 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 Scribes 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 given, 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 own nature are good, the which falling into an evil nature, become occasions of sinning.

14. The matter must be made plain by examples. Some godly man seeth a man sin, he cometh to him, he diligently warneth him to beware: that which is put in mind is good, but it happeneth into a naughty mind, which then beginneth more and more to break forth into the hatred of virtue, and to wax cruel against the godly. This admonition was an occasion that these things should break out into act; God suggested by the godly man that which in nature is good, wherefore he is said to do rightly, for he doth that which was his part to do. But unto evil men, good things are made occasions of sinning, yea and of more grievous sinning, than if perhaps they had not been ministered. Howbeit this is the difference between God and us; that we, while we suggest good things, are ignorant whether the party will become the worse; but God is not ignorant. For example; God sent Moses and Aaron unto Pharaoh, he commandeth that he should let his people go: this suggestion in his own nature being good, Pharaoh taketh in ill part, and began to be the more cruel. If this suggestion had fallen into a godly man, he would have said; It is meet I should obey God: and because it is his will that I should let the people go, I will in any wise do it; for I can challenge no right over them longer than he will himself. But Pharaoh, when he heard these words, began to blaspheme, saying; Who is this God? And he brake

out into cruelty. The same will we declare by other examples and testimonies of the scriptures. Not only that admonition given unto Pharaoh by Moses and Aaron is a good thing, and is applied outwardly by God; and he which was evil, used the same naughtily: but we have the self-same thing in the seventh chapter to the Romans; The law is holy and spiritual, but it hath wrought in me concupiscence and death. The commandment of God in his own nature is unto life, but the filthiness [of sin] 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 whatsoever things are good, we must always think that they be of God. Pharaoh, which came after the death of Joseph, began to cast thus in his mind; We must take heed that the common-weal suffer no detriment. This cogitation was good, and it proceeded from God; but it lighted into an evil mind, therefore it was wrested against the Hebrews: for he said; The people of the Hebrews will increase, and when occasion is offered, will subdue us: wherefore let them be destroyed. He set forth an edict, that all the men children of the Hebrews should be thrown into the river. The first cogitation was good, but through his naughtiness it turned unto evil. Nebuchadnezzar said; 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 himself unto foreign nations, and armed not his power as he ought to have done, against the wickedness of his own people. The same prince (as we read in Daniel) being in his hall, reckoned with himself the victories which he had, and the greatness of empire which he had gotten. These thoughts were good; for we should weigh with ourselves the benefits of God, but they lighted into an evil mind: he straightway thought with himself, that he had established the kingdom by his own power: therein he

sinned against God. Also the sons of Jacob weighed with themselves, that Joseph was beloved of his parents, that he had divine dreams put into him by God; this was a good thought, for we must behold the works of God even in others, much more in our own selves. If they had rightly used that cogitation, they should have given thanks to God, but they turned it to envy, they devised how to rid him away, and to sell him. Undoubtedly God, who suggesteth these good things, seeing he knoweth of the doing of them, he doth not there let the occasions of evils: he suffereth them to be done; for he is at hand with his providence, and governeth them. Wherefore by Pharaoh he would be glorified, by Nebuchadnezzar he would punish the Israelites, by the brothers selling of Joseph, he would have him to be honored with great benefits in Egypt, and to feed the household of Jacob. Semei saw David to be cast forth, and the kingdom to be given unto Absalom: he said; These be the judgments of God. That cogitation was good, it fell into an evil mind, he abused the same, he spake contumeliously against David, he followed his own wrath and revenge. Absalom having gotten the kingdom, was put in mind that he should hearken unto the counsel of the wise, that many eyes do see more than one eye. The cogitation was good, but it fell into an ill mind; and he judged that counsels, so they be profitable, though otherwise they be wicked and dishonest, should be harkened unto. The first suggestion that was good, he used naughtily: God suffered it, he would not let it, he ruled it, that the sin of David might be punished, and that the hatred of God towards sin might be showed. Now I think that the matter is evident.

15. But it is demanded, that Seeing God knoweth that wicked men will abuse these inward and outward motions, although they be good, wherefore doth he suggest them? The reasons of his own counsels are known to

himself; but yet two reasons are set before us. The first is, that his justice may appear the more: for to behold the justice of God we are blind. But by making comparison it is known; namely, by unrighteousness, whereof in God there can be none seen: but in devils and corrupt men we see it. The second is, that the boldness of men may be restrained: for many would say; If God should put into our mind's 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, sin (through our own fault) doth arise even of things be they never so good: of occasions (I mean) taken, but not given. And so I understand the words, which Augustine hath in his book of Grace and Free-will; namely, that God doth sometime incline our wills, either unto good or unto evil; because if the things, which he suggesteth, do light upon good men, they are inclined unto good; but if they fall into ill men, they are inclined unto evil. And so I understand that which he writeth against Julianus the fifth book, and 3rd chapter; that God worketh not only in the bodies of men, but also in their minds. So likewise I understand those things which Zwingli (of godly memory) a learned and constant man, did sometimes write; that Men are other whiles by God's providence provoked to sin: and that one and the self-same action cometh both from God, and from wicked men; justly from him, and unjustly from them. And thus I understand those places of the scriptures, wherein it is said, that God gave them up to a reprobate sense, that He stirred them up.

16. Certainly a permission is there, but something that is more ample is showed by these effectual speeches. And we grant, that there is a permission; for if God would resist, these things should not be done: therefore he permitteth; howbeit we must understand, that permission is a

certain kind of will. In deed it is not the efficient will, but yet it is a kind of will. For as Augustine saith in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*; God permitteth either willingly or unwillingly: doubtless unwillingly he doth not, for that should be with grief, and there should be a power greater than himself: if it be with his will, he permitteth; permission is a certain kind of will. But thou demandest, that If he will it any way, wherefore doth he forbid it? On the other part I would demand; If he would it not at all, how cometh it to pass that it is done? For the will of God is invincible. Paul saith; Who can resist his will? God willeth, and that which he willeth, he willeth justly. They which sin, do will unjustly that which they will. That same Julianus, against whom Augustine disputeth, held, that there was a bare permission in those things; to the intent we might understand, that God doth nothing at all: and he said, that God doth rather suffer, and that this belongeth to his patience. Augustine answereth; Not only to his patience, but also to his power: because he ruleth sin, and thereof he worketh what he will. And he alledgeth a place unto the Romans; If God, willing to show his wrath, and make his power manifest, did suffer with great lenity the vessels of wrath, &c. Hereby 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 souls unto 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 belongeth also unto the will.

This did Augustine show in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, the 100th chapter, where he treateth upon that place of the psalm; Great are the works

of God, searched out upon all the wills of them. He followeth the Greek translation. The Hebrew text hath, Unto all the will of them. He writeth; that So far as belonged to them, (he entreateth of sinners) they did that which God would not. This could they not by any means bring to pass, as touching his power: for even in this, that they did against his will, his will was wrought upon them; therefore great are the works of the Lord. He addeth, that by a marvelous and unspeakable means, even that which is done against his will, is not done without his will: for unless he suffered it, it should not be. Neither doth he suffer it unwillingly, but willingly: neither would he, being good, suffer ill to be done; but that he being almighty, of that evil, can make good. The will of God concurreth both to good things, and to evil; but after a sundry manner: to evils, indirectly: he suffereth them to be done. He suggesteth good things, but because they happen into evil men, sins do ensue. But as for the good things, he not only suggesteth them, but he bringeth them to pass. Yet he ruleth and governeth sin also, that it may not rage against every man, neither at all times, nor beyond measure. Those evils lurk within us, but when they break forth, they cannot escape the providence of God. But good things (as I have said) he not only letteth not, but he bringeth them to effect, he worketh together with us, and he sweetly bendeth our will, that we may be glad to do those things that did mislike us.

Wherefore the respect of general providence is one; the respect of using of things, though evil, is another; and the respect of things, which he doth in us that be regenerate, is another. So understand I, that Pharaoh was hardened by God, and that also he hardened himself: for he had in himself the cause of obduration. But God is said to have hardened, by reason of suggesting and governing: further, because he so ruled sin, and used the

same to his own glory. And Paul saith, that he raised him up for to declare his power. So understand I the vessels of wrath to be prepared unto destruction. By what means? They be of themselves, of their own naughtiness, of their own corrupt nature prone unto sin. In like manner it may be said, that they after a sort are prepared by God; because through his good suggestions, wickedness breaketh forth: and while it breaketh forth, it is yet in the hand of God to apply the same as he will, one way or another; for God with a good will doth that, which we do with a most perverse mind. Permission is a kind of will, but yet not absolutely: for the will of God properly is the cause of things. It is not as man's will is, we will many things, which we bring not to pass. What is then the cause why God would not have sin? It is, for that sin is among those things which have no need of a cause efficient, but of a deficient cause. Therefore sin doth not properly come under the will of God. And if that God be put as the cause, not efficient but deficient, shall we say that God doth fail in himself? No; but he is said to fail, 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 mollify, a will not to illuminate.

17. Neither for all this, doth God, either by suggesting anything, or by not letting, constrain the will; neither can the devil do this. For if the will should not work of his own accord, it were no will; but rather an unwillingness. It may as ill be ascribed unto 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 favor of God be withdrawn; of his own accord, and by itself, it inclineth to evil. The which nevertheless, from the time of his beginning was not evil: but because it is brought forth of nothing, and is confirmed and sustained by the grace and power of God; if that be withdrawn which

confirmeth it, straightway it will to worse of his own accord. But if man's will be not constrained to evil, neither is evil of his own creation, but only is said to sin by depravation; what shall we say as touching the sin of the first man? In him nature was good, grace and the help of God was not wanting, and yet nevertheless he sinned. Here we say, that we must judge one thing, as concerning the first man; and another as touching our nature, which we have now corrupted. God bestowed upon him many gifts, but yet he so made him, as he might stand; he might also fall. No doubt but God, if he would, might have made him so perfect, as he could not have sinned. Which the state of the blessed saints doth declare; for the holy spirits in the heavenly habitation, and we when we shall be there, shall be so confirmed, as we shall not be able to sin anymore: otherwise it would be no perfect felicity; it should be joined with a fear of falling. But yet he did not this unto Adam; and whereas by his prescience or foreknowledge he knew that he would fall, he might have kept him there-from; but he would not, but would suffer him to fall, and by his eternal decree had Christ to be the remedy of his fall. The rest of the things concerning that state, we cannot more particularly declare, because we have not the perfect knowledge thereof. Let us return to our own state; the which is such, as before the renewing by Christ, we were not able to will any good thing, but of necessity to lie in sins, neither might we lift up our selves: so far is it off, that we should be able to stand upright, as it was granted unto the first Adam.

But although God, as we said, is not properly the cause of sin; yet must he not be drawn out of his throne, but that he also ruleth sins, and maketh a remedy for them. And this we may be assured with our selves, that there can be nothing done either of us, or of any creature, besides the will of God.

But yet let us not hereby excuse our sins, as though we would obey the will of God by committing of sin. We must accuse ourselves, seeing we have the originals of sin in us. As concerning the will of God, we must follow that which the scripture teacheth; and we must not depart from his law. And when we otherwhile depart from him, we must weigh with our selves, that the motion of turning away from God, and of the inclination to allurements of this world, is a thing proper unto our will being now corrupted, not as it was instituted by God. Wherefore there be deficient causes of this motion; but an efficient cause which hath God a worker together with us, we must not seek. Whereupon we note in the book of Genesis, that it is not said that darkness was made of God; The darkness (saith he) were upon the face of the deep, yet God did so order them, as they should prevail by night: they were privations. So this motion of turning away from God, seeing it forsaketh, and depriveth men's actions of convenient goodness, a cause surly it hath, but the same is deficient.

18. These things being declared, there remain three things to be spoken of: the first shall be of the guiltiness of sins, or bond unto punishment: the second of the subject of deformity and privation; that is, of the act itself of man's will: the third is (which also is commonly received) that sin is the punishment of sin; and whether under these three considerations it may be said, that sin dependeth on God. As for the first, we must understand, that the deformed and naughty act, is in some respect the groundwork unto the punishment that is due; for The reward of sin (saith the Apostle) is death: and when we sin, there groweth a bond, whereby we must suffer punishment for the wickedness committed. That guiltiness is said to arise through the justice of God, in consideration that he will yield to everyone that which belongeth unto him: but the bond ariseth not, except that sin be

or have been; so as by sinning we give a just occasion of the bond unto punishment. Wherefore, if by sin we understand the guiltiness and the bond, we doubt not but these things are of God, as of the efficient cause. Howbeit, these things ought not properly to be called sin, seeing they belong unto justice, yet sometimes they are so called; as when we say, that God doth remit, blot out, and forgive our sins: for he bringeth not to pass that they be not, nor have not been (and undoubtedly there remain evil motions in us) but the bond of suffering punishment, for the wickedness committed, is taken away, which (as we have said) belongeth unto justice, and is a good thing.

19. Secondly, let us consider of the subject itself, unto which the deformity of sin doth cleave; and of this, if we speak as the thing is, we shall not be afraid to say, that God is the cause, seeing the action itself is a certain 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 universal particle comprehendeth all things, whatsoever they be, by what means so ever they be, and how far forth so ever they be. Augustine in his book *De moribus monachorum*, about the beginning saith; that The catholic church believeth, that God is the author of all natures and substances. What he understandeth by nature, he declared a little before, by these words; Nature is nothing else, but that which is understood to be some certain thing in his kind. Wherefore as we now, by a new name, of that which is Esse, to be, do call essence, which many times also we name substance; so they in old time, which had not those names, instead of essence and substance, called it nature. Seeing therefore the motions of our minds be certain things, there is no doubt but after this manner they depend of God. God assuredly worketh as the highest

cause; the creatures work together with him. Wherefore Anshelmus in his book *De casu diaboli*, wrote, that Even the evil willing of the devil, so far forth as it is to will, dependeth on God. And the thing itself is not wicked, but in respect that he himself doth naughtily will it. And that the same act is something, hereby it appeareth; because it is in the general word or predicament of action: wherefore as it is something, it is of God, and is a creature. Yea and Augustine in his ninth book *De trinitate*, and tenth chapter, said, that The accidents of the mind are better than the accidents of the body; by reason of the worthiness of the subject. Wherefore the form or beauty, as it is in the mind, is more excellent, than as it is outwardly found in the body. Also the soul itself, being a soul, how ill soever it be, is yet more noble than any body. Seeing therefore the deeds of the mind (whereunto afterward, through our own fault, there cleaveth privation) so farforth as they be things, are not brought forth without God.

Anshelmus in the place above cited, saith, that God himself is the bringer forth of things, and that not alonely of substantial things, but also of accidental, universal, and particular things, yea, and of the evil motions of the will: for the power of God is infinite. Wherefore there is nothing can be brought forth whatsoever it be, but is under his action; for if anything could escape the same, then should it not be infinite, then should it not fill all things? Neither might our will break out into act, unless that high supreme will wrought together with us. Augustine in his treatise *De vera religione*, the 34th chapter, writeth thus; that The very being itself, be it never so little, is good; for the chiefest being, is the chiefest good. And a little after he saith; The chiefest beauty is the chiefest good, the least beauty is the least good, yet is it good. So as, if that action, which we speak of, do by any means pertain to the being, it is of some goodness. Wherefore, if we dispute

of sin, we must distinguish it, and we must see what is therein of the positive, as they reason in the schools: and the first subject itself must be considered; and on the other part, to see what defect and privation cleaveth thereunto. But in the very same privation, since we see a defect, the deficient 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 sum of all efficient causes is God.

20. But here ariseth no small doubt. There be certain sins, called sins of omission [or negligence,] and there seemeth not to be grounded the very act and work of will, whereunto either defect or privation should cleave; howbeit whatsoever is there, it seemeth to be privation. A man is said to omit his duty, because he doth not that which he ought to do. As for example; If a man love not his neighbor, if one come not to the congregation to hear the word of the Lord, and to participate the sacraments; here in this sin, there seemeth only a privation to be, without any certain act, whereupon this should be grounded. Some answer, that even in this place also, we are to seek a nature or action, a work or a thing, that is the groundwork unto privation: and they say, that it is the will which maketh defect. For even that same sinning will, as it is a nature, is kept in his order by God; but not in respect that it sinneth. This saying may be borne withal. But in searching the matter more narrowly, it seemeth otherwise unto me; and I see even in those sins of omission, that there is an act. For the same omitting of our duty, is sometimes done by contemplation; and then that corrupt person hath a will not to love his neighbor, hath a will not to go to the holy assembly.

Wherefore we see here, that the act of will, and that same action thereof, which is the action of nature, doth depend of God; deformity and privation

doth not so. But sometime they be omitted, because a man doth not think of those things, I mean not, of a contempt. Here, say I, that although there be no action there of that kind, yet is there another, which contendeth with right reason. He is not mindful of the holy congregation, because he will walk about for his pleasure, or else use some pastime; and those actions be adversaries to right working. Or if that be no action at that instant, yet was it a little before. For example; Overnight he would feed like a glutton, afterward he could not rise early to be present in the holy congregation. Wherefore in the sins of omission, we shall find an action, either proper to that kind; or else another striving with the good motion of the will, either which is then presently retained, or else that went before.

21. God then is the cause of all things; and inferior things, according to their own nature, receive the moving of the first cause. Wherefore, if sin be drawn, it is drawn by the nature of the second causes. I will make the matter plain by a similitude; In living creatures we have that power which hath his name local motion, and it moveth beasts either to walk or to run; and those creatures are moved according as they receive their moving from that local motive power: but if a leg be defective, be out of joint, or crooked, that motion hath halting in that course joined therewith; but that halting, as it is a moving, cometh from the moving power of the soul; as it is faulty and lame, it dependeth of the faultiness of the leg which was broken. And thus it is as touching that continual moving, wherewith God stirreth his creatures. There is indeed a common influence, and it is received in things according to the quality of them: so the subject of deformity or privation is of God; and the moving of God sometime passeth through the mind corrupted, whereupon the fault of the action is not of God, but is drawn from the next cause. But what it is that God there doth, and how he governeth that

deformity, is declared before: now we treat of the act which breaketh forth from our will. Wherefore it is rightly said, that the privation of righteousness followeth not the work of our will, and the motion thereof, so far forth as it is in the kind of nature, but as it is in the kind of moving.

Augustine in his seventh book *De civitate Dei*, the 30th chapter saith; that God doth so govern his creatures, as he permitteth them to exercise and work together with him their own proper motions. For God dealeth not alone, but (as I said before) the wicked men, and the devil also do use their naughty endeavor in working. But when we say, that the act itself (which afterward through our own fault is evil) is brought forth by the chiefest cause, that is by God; and by us, that is, by our will: how shall we understand this? Whether that God do it wholly, or we wholly? Or whether it be partly from him, and partly from us? And here we draw this producement to the very act of our will. We answer; If consideration of the whole be referred unto the cause, we must speak after one sort; if it be referred unto the effect, after another sort. If the whole be referred to the cause, so that we understand our will to be the whole cause of the action, that it be able by itself to work without God, it is not true: for unless God would assent thereunto, it should not be able to bring forth action. So God, although by his absolute power he might perform the work itself by himself, yet as the course of things is, he will not deal alone, but will have the creature to be a doer together with him: by this means are neither the will nor yet God, said to be the whole cause. But if it be referred to the effect it self, God and the will are the full cause; for God and the will make the whole effect, although they be joined together in action. I will show the thing by an example; For bringing forth of an action, we have 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 nigh, the other further off. And so is it of the will and of God; the will doth all, and God doth all; but one is the first cause, and the other is the second.

22. As touching the third point, the sin which followeth is sometimes said to be a punishment of the sin that went before; and so God is said to punish sins with sins. Then if the sins, which follow, be weighed as they be punishments, they after a sort be attributed unto God; not that God doth instill new naughtiness, or that he driveth men directly unto sinning; but when he hath withdrawn his gifts, then doth sin follow, whereby the mind is destroyed. And those destructions, and those wounds of minds, as they be punishments, they come unto us by just desert. Hereof we read in the first chapter to the Romans; that God gave them up unto a reprobate sense, as we have declared before. And that sin hath the respect of punishment, insomuch as it corrupteth nature, it is manifest. Augustine saith, and it is usually received; Thou hast commanded Lord, and truly so it is, that every sin is the punishment of him that sinneth. This also do the Ethnics acknowledge, Horace saith;

The Sicill tyrants yet could never find,
Than envy, greater torment of the mind.

Those evil affections do dry up the bones, made feeble the strength, and do afflict the minds; yet this is justly done: for God is just and righteous in all his ways. But if we be deprived of grace, we have deserved the same.

23. Wherefore we conclude this question of ours, and say; that, To speak properly and plainly, God is not the author of sin; neither would he sin to be. And yet is not God said to be the unperfector, or the weaker; because he cannot make sin: for that is not imperfection and impotency, but perfection. These things cannot God do, because he is the chief good, and the chief

perfection: nay rather, he establisheth laws against sins, he crieth out against them, and he punisheth them. And marvel not, when I said that God cannot properly will sin; for then might he turn away men from himself, then should he deny himself to be God. Paul saith unto Timothy; God cannot deny himself. By which reason Barnard in his little book *De praecepto & dispensatione* was moved to say, that God can undo somewhat of the precepts in the second table, but not of the first table. Of the second he did relinquish something, as when he willeth Abraham to kill his son; so likewise while he commanded the children of Israel that they should carry away other men's goods: but whatsoever things be of the first table cannot he remitted. If God would not be loved and worshipped, he should deny his own self. If he be the chiefest good, should we not love and worship him? And some allege this reason; that The good things which belong unto our neighbors, be particular; and God can take away any private good thing, to put a greater in place. But those things which appertain to the worshipping of him, have respect to the universal good, and therefore cannot be taken away. Augustine in his book which is entitled *Confutatio catholica quorundam sibi falso impositorum*, the third chapter saith; Whatsoever is condemned in any man, is far from the author of nature. In the same place; That opinion is to be detested, which holdeth God to be the author of any naughty deed, or of any naughty will.

24. Now have we generally declared the proper causes of sin; but to show them particularly, we say that the cause of sin is man's will, his understanding, his depraved sense, his licentious appetite, the show of good which offereth itself (for nothing is desired of us, but in respect of some good.) Here withal the corruption remaining of original sin, from thence as out of a standing puddle, do always breath out evil affections. A cause also

is our own infirmity and ignorance, also the suggestion of the devil and of naughty men; who nevertheless are able to prevail no further than God doth give them leave. There be ill examples also, sin itself is the cause of sin; for some prodigal men stealeth for the satisfying of his lust. Wherefore seeing there be so many true causes of sin, we must not make God to be author, to the intent we may excuse ourselves. Now it may appear, that the wicked opinion of the Libertines must be condemned, who excuse all manner of sins. They which make God to be the cause of evil, but yet not so as we should be excused, seem not well to expound this question. In like manner is it of them, which allow but of a bare permission.

First therefore (to gather all into few words) we have said, that God is not properly the author of sin; secondly that God, when he will, doth justly withdraw from us his grace, which should be the hindrance of sin. Moreover, we have showed that God doth so govern sins by his providence, as they shall not rage any further than he permitteth; and in no otherwise than may be expedient for his providence. We have declared that God doth sometimes suggest both inwardly and outwardly, such things as in their own nature be good; but if they fall into corrupt men, they become occasions taken and not given of sins. Also that God doth not let, but permit sins; and that the same permission is not altogether without the will of God. Further, that seeing sin is a falling away and privation, it hath no need of an efficient, but of a deficient cause. Further, that our motion of turning away from God, is proper unto 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 deformity, cometh as well from God as from us, in the kind of the cause. And we showed, that sins are punished with sins. And last of all, we reckoned up the true causes of sins.

25. But now hereafter we will examine the former reasons alleged. They which denied God to be the cause of sin, as we also say, used these reasons. In the first, Augustine said in the 83rd book of questions, quest. 3. A man is not made the worse, by having a wise man to be author: neither is he therefore [the worse] by having God to be author. I grant it; for man became not the worse, in respect that God gave a law; for by his law, he commanded not evil: neither is man become the worse, as touching the natural act which God bringeth forth; but he becometh the worse by reason of his backsliding, whereof we ourselves have deficient causes in our selves. Wherefore the devil, wicked men, our own sensuality, and especially the corruption of our own will do make us 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 revenger of the things, whereof he himself is the author. We grant the argument; God doth not revenge that act, as it is a natural thing, as it dependeth of him; neither [doth he revenge] his own government which he useth, but the naughtiness which proceedeth from us, and which cometh from our own selves. The third reason; God hateth not those things which he maketh, but he hateth sin. The reason is firm. But the doubt is, that if he verily hate sin, why he doth not forbid it, seeing he may.

Scarcely can human reason discern God's perfect hatred against sin, seeing he taketh not the same quite away. Doubtless it is a difficult thing. Howbeit it cometh oftentimes to pass, that something which displeaseth, is, for some good end and purpose, not taken away; whereof there are plenty of examples in the state of man's life. There happeneth some man to be diseased in the body, whereby the corruption breaking out, there ariseth a grievous sore in some member; notwithstanding that this be very painful unto him, yet because he knoweth that it will turn to the benefit of his body,

he suffereth the pain, neither doth he stop the sore. Also among the good corn there springeth up cockle and darnel; it displeaseth, yet are they not quite rid away, because men stand in fear, least the corn should be plucked up. So might we say of God, he hath his ends; namely, that not only his goodness, but also his righteousness may be declared: and therefore he hateth sins; yet not so, but that he will accomplish by them such an end as he hath prescribed.

Other arguments; If he did make sin, he should be a sinner; and if he would induce us to sin, he should do against his own nature: for natural things working, endeavor to make that which they do, like unto themselves. These arguments be firm. Neither is the action of God and working together of the creature, that is, of man's will, so to be affirmed, as if we ourselves apply not our own lewdness. God might seem to deal hypocritically, if he should on the one part command good things; and on the other part should will sin. I answer, that the argument would be of efficacy, if it might be said that God poureth in new lewdness: but in that he governeth sin, he worketh nothing against his law. Moreover, we must distinguish as touching the will of God, what respect it hath towards the commandments, and towards men. The commandments written we say are the will of God, for they express his nature and property: but if we mark how the will of God is towards men, and do say, that God would equally further all men to the keeping of his commandments, and that he giveth his grace equally unto all men, this must not so be allowed: for God hath his elect, and hath others also whom by his just judgment he overskipeth, and leaveth to sin and destruction. The Lord saith; I will have mercy upon whom I will have mercy: that is, Upon whomsoever it liketh me, I will have mercy. But they say that Men have free will, whereby they be able to keep the law of God, if they will

themselves; and that there is no difference to be put in the help of God and grace, which is not given to all men after one sort. But I affirm that there is free will in God, he is free in his election, and in distributing of his graces: but his freedom dependeth not of us, who shall verily be free, if the son will make us free.

Wherefore in the law or commandments, God sheweth what his property is, and what he judgeth to be right: but as touching the favor, wherewith he favoreth particular men, to keep those commandments, the question is otherwise. It was said, in the second of Chronicles; God rose up early, and sent his prophets unto them, wherefore he is no cause of sin. It is most true; God did so; but yet those suggestions, which in their own nature are good, fell into men, which were naughty of nature; who through their own lewdness were made the worse by those admonitions: for by their own fault they were stirred up to sin. 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 say, that it was the determination of God to save them wholly at that time; for he upon just cause did withdraw his grace from them, and they of themselves, neither could nor would obey the admonitions of the prophets. The son of God wept for the destruction of Jerusalem: and this happened for sin; wherefore God will not that sins should be. I grant, that sins are not done properly by the will of God. Why then did he weep? He was now our neighbor, and the evils of his neighbors could not choose but make him sorrowful: also he knew that sin 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 thyself, O Israel, but thy salvation cometh of me. The sentence is most true: for seeing

that sins proceed from ourselves, as from the proper causes, perdition also is of ourselves. The guiltiness or bond to abide the punishment, may be said to come from God: but that (as we said before) is not properly called sin, but belongeth unto righteousness. John the eight; The devil, when he speaketh a lie, speaketh of his own. It is most true; God instilleth not malice into him, but yet he is wont to use his falsehood, even as he doth other things. We read in Jeremiah; They ran, and I sent them not. In that place there is no speaking of the providence of God, but of the lewd dealing of false prophets, which feigned themselves to have received the word from God, their own conscience bearing them record that God spake not unto them. They said, that they had dreamed dreams, and they vainly babbled that God had revealed some things unto them, when as nevertheless they lied, and knew that they did lie. Wherefore no reproaches ought to be laid against God for this matter, as though it should not be lawful unto him by his providence to use their lies.

This is the condemnation of them, that light came into the world; but men loved darkness more than light: wherefor God is not the cause, but they which loved darkness. We grant the argument; The will of man, of his own proper naughtiness, hath in it the motion of turning away from light to darkness. It was said; that God tempteth no man: but if he were the cause of sin, he should tempt men. As touching that place, understand it after this manner. It is not there spoken of every kind of temptation, otherwise the word should not be true. For God sometime tempteth his people, not that his own knowledge may be augmented, but that men may know him; and that others also may see how great things God hath wrought in them, and what grace he hath bestowed upon them. Also there is a certain kind of temptation to be desired: as in the psalm David saith; Tempt Lord or prove

me, examine my reins and my heart. Neither must we forget that which we affirmed; namely, that God doth sometimes suggest inwardly and outwardly, 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 properly are suggested evil things, which provoke us to do against the law of God. Neither doth such lusting depend on God, except so far forth as he doth not resist it: even as also he doth not always hinder the devil.

It was added; that God might seem to deal tyrannically: whereto we answer, That he doth not properly stir up men unto sin; but yet he useth the sins of wicked men, and also guideth them, least they should pass beyond their bounds. It is added; How should he judge the world? For if he were author of sin, he should judge himself. We say that God shall justly judge the world: for what wickedness soever men do, they do it against the law of God, they do it willingly, and of their own accord, not by constraint: and The spirit of God shall reprove the world of judgment, of sin, &c. Besides this it was inferred, that by this means it would follow, 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 only will, which is the essence and nature of God: but yet, if we consider moreover the sundry objects, it may be called manifold. In respect of his commandments it is just, good, and one only: but in respect of men, some it promoteth, and other some it justly depriveth of God's favor. But they be no repugnant wills, because they be not occupied about one thing. Certainly such things as be repugnant, it behooveth that they be referred to the self-same subject. A father hath two sons; his will is, that the one should attend unto learning, and the other not.

But be there two wills of the father? No forsooth; it is but one, and he doth rightly, so he do it upon good consideration.

Moreover James, in the fourth chapter saith; Ye say, We will go into such a city: ye ought rather to say; If God will, we will do this or that thing. Wherefore the will of God is, not only as touching the law and commandments; but it is also concerning those things, which be daily done of men. And that will belongeth not to the commandments: for these things are not contained in the Decalogue, and they after a sort be things indifferent. Very well did Augustine write in his Enchiridion unto Laurence, in the 102nd chapter; The omnipotent God, whether through his mercy he have pity upon whom he will; or through his judgment shall judge whom he will; doth nothing unjustly: neither doth he otherwise than with his will. Afterward it was said; If he should be a cause of sin, to what end tend so many warnings, and so many obtestations of his, by the son of God, by the prophets and apostles? We say, that these things are not done in vain; nay rather, they bring profit and utility. First they which admonish, rebuke, and exhort, do obey the commandments of God, who would this to be done. But thou wilt say; It will not profit me, the event must be committed unto God. Further, these things do profit the saints, which are predestinated; though it appear not presently, yet in some case they have their fruit: doubtless they make the ungodly the less excusable. Of this matter read in the book of Augustine *De correctione & gratia*; for these things were also objected to him.

27. It was argued, that If the matter should be on this wise, all difference between good and evil would be taken away; all things without exception should be the works of God, as the Libertines do say. We grant, that if God were verily the cause of sins, the Libertines should say rightly, but their

opinion is detestable. The judgment of consciences would be taken away, inward accusations, and repentance would be dispatched, a window would be opened unto mischiefs, giving of thanks would be withdrawn; for we would delight in sin, and a great deal of the estimation of God would be lost. All these things be most true, but they make not against us; for we affirm not God to be truly the cause of sin. Lastly was brought forth, that God would have all men to be saved: if he will this, he useth good means, not evil; therefore he is not the cause of sin. We most plainly confess, that God is not properly the cause of sin: but yet out of this place I affirm with Augustine in his Enchiridion the 103rd chapter, that the sentence must not be so absolutely understood, as though there were not some, which God would not have to be saved. This sentence (saith he) is thus meant; God hath his elect among every state and condition of men; so in this respect, he accepteth not the person. He calleth kings and private men, bond men and free men, man and woman. And excellently well doth this interpretation agree with the place of Paul. He had commanded to pray for princes: but some man might have thought, that the condition of them was such, as salvation should be repugnant therewith. In no wise (saith he,) God hath his elect among every kind of men.

The like reason he bringeth there, out of the 23rd chapter of Matthew; Ye tithe mint and rue, and every herb; that is, all kinds of herbs that are among you, not which be in India and Europe: for how could they tithe herbs of all the world? From which opinion disagreed not he that was author of the book *De vocatione gentium*, which they attribute unto Ambrose. For he saith, that God hath his generality; wherefor he judgeth that this general proposition must so be restrained, as if it were said, that God would have them to be saved, which belong unto his flock and number: even as, when it

is said; All shall be taught of God: And again; All flesh shall see the salvation of God. Another way, whereby Augustine understandeth this place, is even there also; We understand (saith he) that none shall be saved, but such as God will have to be saved. As if thou shouldest say; A Grammarian is at the city of Tigurie, which teacheth grammar unto 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,] He lighteneth everyone that cometh into this world; that is, How many soever be lightened, are lightened by this word. But that he would all men absolutely to be saved, he saith it is not true. For in the eleventh of Matthew it is written; Woe be to thee Chorazin, Woe be to thee Bethsaida: for if the miracles that were done in the city of Tyre and Sidon, had been done in you, they had long ago repented of their wickedness in sackcloth and ashes. Christ would not show forth the power of miracles among them, who (he said) would have repented, if they had been showed forth. And he addeth; Expound it which way ye will, so we be not compelled to believe that God omnipotent would have something to be done, and is not done: when as the truth speaketh, that All things, whatsoever he would have done in heaven and earth, he hath done: and surly what he would not, that hath he not done. And thus much touching the arguments made unto the 1st part.

28. Now let us take their arguments, which affirm God to be the cause of evil. In the first to the Romans it is said, that God gave them up to a reprobate sense. The interpretation is easy; he gave them up to the desires of their own heart, as afterward he himself expoundeth it: wherefore these desires were first evil. What did God? Verily he permitted them to obey their own naughty desires; he himself did not evil, but, in leaving them

destitute of his grace, forthwith wicked desires took place in them; privation of itself followed: howbeit God used their naughty desires to the performance of his justice, namely, in punishing of them. Of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, it is sufficiently declared before. In the sixth chapter of Isaiah, when God saith by the prophet; Blind thou the heart of this people, that they hearing may not hear, and seeing may not understand, &c. This is two ways to be expounded. Jerome for interpreting of these words, taketh a place out of the 11th chapter to the Romans, where it is said of the Ethnics and Hebrews; The Gentiles were in times past unbelievers, when ye did believe, but now they have obtained mercy, through your unbelief. While the Gentiles believed not, the Jews seemed to have the true worship: and on the other side, when preaching was afterward offered unto them, and they believed not, the apostles forsaking them, turned to the Gentiles: and so they were to become unbelievers, to the end that the Gentiles might be admitted unto grace. Thus did God use the incredulity of the Jews, and therefore he added; that God did shut up all under unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. Wherefore that same blinding of the unbelievers was, to do service to the providence of God, which the prophet foreshoweth.

Another interpretation there may be, and that more commodious. God's mind was, that Isaiah should be sent to preach; but least he might be discouraged afterward, when he should see their obstinacy, and that they were offended at the word, God telleth him before, that the same would come to pass. The word of God of itself hath not this, but he justly withdrew his spirit and grace from them. This word of thine (saith he) will be an occasion taken, through which they shall become more blind, and be turned away from me. This must be understood as touching the greater part; for there were some good men among them. Unto this end it is declared,

that this should come to pass, that they by perishing, might make manifest the justice of God; who of his just judgment would make this their blindness to do him service. But that the blindness came of God, we must not understand it otherwise, then as touching outward things; for he offered them his word by Isaiah.

29. Another place; Lead us not into temptation. It is so spoken, as though God doth lead some into temptation, and by that means is the cause of sin. This sentence of the Lord Augustine in his book *De natura and gratia*, the 58th chapter interpreteth; To the intent we may resist the devil, we pray that the devil may fly from us, when we say; Lead us not into temptation. Therefore also are we warned, as it were by a grand captain exhorting soldiers, and saying; Watch and pray, least ye enter into temptation. Wherefore Augustine in that place referreth these things unto the temptation of the devil, who is able to bring nothing to pass further than God will give leave. And in the 67th chapter of the same book he addeth; Two manner of ways we provide against the diseases of the body; namely, that either they may not happen at all; or else if they do come, that we may quickly be delivered of them. Thus when we say, Lead us not into temptation, we desire that God may turn away sin, that it happen not: but if we have fallen, and committed sin, we pray him that he will remit and forgive it. The same author against the two epistles of Pelagius, in the fourth book and ninth chapter, by the testimony of Cyprian writeth, when it is said; Lead us not into temptation, that we be warned of our infirmity and weakness. For it is said by the Lord; Watch and pray, least ye enter into temptation: the reason is added; For the spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak: let us not be insolently puffed up. In this place, temptation is ascribed to the flesh, and to weakness; so as God is excluded from being author.

In his book *De bono perseverantiae*, and sixth chapter, he saith, that Cyprian bringeth in that particle in these words; Suffer us not to be led into temptation: for he seeth that the devil can do no more than God hath given him leave to do. And God, as touching his own people, bringeth to pass, that he shall not prevail: but as touching the wicked, if he have the over hand, God cannot be blamed; unless he will say he is to be blamed, for that he hindered not, and that he ruleth evils, and useth them according to his providence. Here we objected, that it can hardly be, that the punishment and the fault should be all one. For it is called sin, in that it is voluntary; but punishment is always laid upon 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 as touching sin two manner of ways; one way, as sin proceedeth from thence, and is brought to effect by means of the same, and in that respect it is called a voluntary thing; another way, sin is considered as it is in the mind or will, and deformeth it, and after this sort it cannot be voluntary: for no evil men would have their mind to be polluted, wounded, or destroyed. Wherefore sin, as it is brought forth from the will, being the effectual cause, is voluntary; but as it bringeth in blemish or deformity, it is done against the will: for we would be all perfect. It was added; God is the cause of the cause of sin, therefore also the cause of sin. By what things do we sin? By the will and affections, the which God hath brought forth; therefore he is also the cause of the last effect. We answer, that sin dependeth not of the will and affections, as they were made by God; but as they are now corrupted: I showed an example before of halting.

30. Besides we said, that God removeth his grace and holy spirit, which do hinder sins, and therefore, &c. This we grant, but we add, that he doth justly remove his spirit. Indeed the removing of that which letteth is a

cause; but yet that is not the proper cause: for there do also rest in us inward causes of evil. He giveth occasions; It is true, he suggesteth both outwardly and inwardly, but yet good things; the which, men through their own lewdness do use amiss. But he not only giveth occasions, but he also gave out his commandments. He said unto the devil; Go forth, do this: hereof will I note a few things. The prophet, by the figure Prosopopoeia, doth as it were bring in God to sit upon a seat like a judge: he would that Ahab should be slain, he seeketh who shall deceive him. Whereunto tendeth this inquisition? It putteth us in mind, that this should else-where be sought; because it is not in the nature of God, to deceive. The end is there set forth by his justice; he willeth that Ahab should now be slain. Divers ways are devised, this spirit showed one way, and that spirit another way: to the intent we may understand, that the providence of God hath innumerable ways, whereby he can punish men.

Those ways were there propounded, but not put in practice; because the providence of God was not minded to use them. A spirit stepped forth, who said; I will deceive him. Hereby it is gathered, that devils are prompt and ready to deceive; and when they do deceive, it is of their own doing. In the mean time we be taught, that those spirits be able to do no more than God doth give them leave: and in respect that he will use them, they be executioners [appointed] of God. Wherefore God said; Go forth: this is the imperative mood. If we respect the end, it was to slay and punish Ahab. But this leave was given, to the intent that the devil should exercise his naughty will, and deceive. And God used the sin of the devil, and would not hinder his work, nor yet let Ahab, but that he should believe the false prophets. Augustine, in his book of the 83. questions, quest 53. noted three things; The first is, that that which God did against Ahab, he did it by judgment;

secondly, that he did it by an angel, and not by himself; thirdly, he saith not by every manner of angel, but by an evil angel; ready of his own nature to deceive.

It was said, that sin is a motion, and a certain action, and that the first mover is God: nothing is concluded, but that the subject of sin, that is, the act itself, hath will to be the nearest cause, and also God himself, in respect it is a natural thing. The saying of Augustine *De gratia & libero arbitrio* the 21st chapter, is expounded of the inclination unto good by himself, and unto evil indirectly. Also the dealing of Roboam, and the stirring up of the Philistines, and that Amazias would not hearken unto the warnings of the king of Israel's prophet, appertaineth to the justice of God: God was minded to punish them. As touching the words of Ahia the Silonite, for performing whereof, &c. These things were not done, because they were foretold; but foretold, because God foresaw that they should be. And to the end that they might so be, he appointed them for punishments of the wicked; and he knew how he would use them, and his reasons were allowed of God. It is written in the 14th chapter of Ezekiel; If the prophet be deceived, it is I that have seduced him. Here have we nothing else, but that the sin of the false prophet may be two ways considered. As it proceedeth from the will of an ill prophet, so it displeaseth God; and therefore he said he would punish it: but if afterward the use of it should be weighed, that God by such seducing would be revenged of the people, then he did justly withdraw his grace from them further, he used that seducement, which properly and by itself may not be ascribed to God.

31. There was brought a place out of the 21st chapter of the Proverbs, where it is said; that The heart of the king is in the hand of God, and he inclineth the same which way soever he will. The proposition is general;

Which way soever he will, he inclineth the same. Here is no exception; therefore as well unto good things, as unto evil things. In the twelfth of Job, it is said; that God doth take away the hearts of them that be rulers of the earth, and that he maketh them stagger like drunken men. And how these things must be understood of inclination, I have declared. Wherefore I understand this sentence of Solomon no otherwise, then those words of saint Augustine, in his book *De gratia & libero arbitrio*; to wit, that he inclineth our wills unto good or evil, according to his good pleasure. Another argument was out of the 105th psalm, where it is said; God turned their heart, so as they hated them. What manner of turning that is, which he made in their hearts, Augustine doth teach very well in the same place; it was no good heart that God made evil. But such is the goodness of God, that he useth both angels and men; and when they be evil, he piketh good things out of them. He increased the Israelites with children and with wealth; these things were good: wherefor God, by doing good unto the Hebrews, turned the heart of the Egyptians unto hatred; for hatred ariseth through other men's felicity. Wherefore God turned their heart, which naturally was evil, unto a hatred against the Hebrews; not by making of their heart evil. Ye see therefore that I feigned not, when I said that God suggesteth either inwardly or outwardly, such things as in their own nature be good; but through our fault do come occasions of sinning, but yet occasions taken, not given. And the occasions which be offered, be not the furthest removed causes, as is the fir tree hewn upon mount Pelion; but they be immediate occasions, which stir up our desires: even as the Hebrews happiness was the immediate occasion, why the Egyptians envied them.

Isaiah the 63rd chapter; Wherefore hast thou made us to err, Lord? Which saying Jerome interpreteth of God's loving kindness. God did not

straightway punish their sins; wherefore they began to condemn his judgments: God did suggest this his mercy in them, which was good; but through their fault, it was drawn to contempt. They may also be the words of the wicked, which cast upon God the cause of their sins. Or else the godly, when they think themselves, by the just judgment of God, to be forsaken of his grace; and afterward, they acknowledging their sins, speak after such a sort: doubtless not in blaming of God, but in marveling at his judgments. But howsoever thou understand it, God is exempted from the fault. It is written in the fourth of Jeremiah; Thou, O Lord, hast seduced thy people. Jerome answereth, saying; Those things, which were now spoken, seemed unto the prophet to be repugnant to the other words, which were spoken in the third chapter before: where God declared unto him, that Jerusalem should be called the seat of God, and that all the heathen should flock about it. But now God said, that The heart of the king, and of the princes should quail, the priests and people should be astonished: and therefore the prophet cried; Thou saidest, we shall have peace, but behold the sword. But the times (saith Jerome) must be distinguished; for those things, which were first spoken, were to be fulfilled after the captivity of Babylon: and that calamity, which was showed of afterward, was even at the doors.

32. Joshua saith, that God hardened the hearts 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 sin. We answer with Augustine, out of the eighth chapter, *De gratia & praedestinatione*: it is also entitled The book *De voluntate Dei*; What is it to harden? That he will not mollify: What is it to blinden? That he will not illuminate: what is it to enforce or reject? That he will not call.

Which he speaketh, not of the general calling; but of that which is effectual; God poureth not in new hardness, which is not in the heart. Wherefore it may be said, that God hardened those nations; because he would not make them relent, whereby they might have made peace with the Hebrews: nevertheless, they were already to be destroyed, by reason of their own sins. 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 Jerome upon the prophet Abacuk, the second chapter is alleged; Although that the soul, by reason of the naughtiness thereof, be made a habitation for the Chaldeans; yet by nature it is the tabernacle of God. And no creature endued with reason is hereunto made, that it should be a habitation of the devil. Indeed these words doth Jerome speak. But if thou understand him absolutely, he is against the scripture, which speaketh otherwise. It saith, that The potter hath power of one lump, to make one vessel to honor, and another to dishonor. And it is said of Pharaoh; To this purpose have I raised thee, that I might show forth my power. God suffereth the vessels, prepared unto destruction, to the intent he may make his power manifest. It is also said by Solomon in the 16th of Proverbs; that The ungodly man is made for the day of wrath. In the epistle of Jude, there is mention of certain men, which were before ordained to this judgment, or to this condemnation.

But true it is, that this decree of God, before it be put in execution, hath just cause of condemning any man. For sins are committed in the meantime, for the which they that should be condemned, are condemned: yet is it the decree of God, that he calleth them not effectually; and surly that decree is just. But as touching Jerome himself, I answer; that the reasonable creature is not made, to the end he should be compelled to sin; for he sinneth through his own fault: yet it is in the decree of God, not to hinder that fault

of his. I answer further with Zwingli, in his little book *De providentia Dei*, the sixth chapter; [Hereof] it would follow, that God doth procure theft, and such other things. He saith; proceed yet further, and thou mayest say, that this is done for the declaration of his justice. Then we see, to what end the reasonable creature is made; even that on the one side the goodness of God, and on the other side his severity may be declared. What wise man is there, that would ordain a thing to any such end, as he knew he could not attain unto? God fore-knoweth all things, he knoweth that the wicked shall be damned; it shall not therefore be said, that he maketh those to salvation 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 undoubtedly, but not after one manner; for that which is good, he would for itself 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 use those things. Where I say, that he would those things after a sort, it must not be inferred, that therefore he would them falsely, or like a subtle sophister. John saith; He that is born of God doth not sin; that is to say, against the holy ghost, and without repentance. And seeing such a one doth some way sin, it must not be said, that he doth sin sophistically and falsely; for there is no such consequent: for he sinneth in very deed, and not sophistically and falsely. In like manner, the law of it self is holy; and yet after a sort, it is the cause of wrath and damnation: but yet not falsely nor sophistically; for so Paul himself speaketh, and that truly. Wherefore it followeth not, that God would after a sort, therefore he would that thing falsely and sophistically. But if God would those things, which be unto an

end; and sins after a sort, because he hath determined not to let them, and is minded to use them: then his will being immutable, there shall follow an unavoidable necessity. I answer, that there shall be a necessity, but no constraint; and if our will be forsaken by the grace of God, it is in the necessity of sinning.

Verily, the providence of God, as touching his decrees, is as the iron and the adamant. For Zechariah as touching the chariots and empires, which should succeed after him; They went (saith he) through mountains of iron. The decrees of God are most steadfast. And Christ said; Those whom my father hath given me, none can pluck out of my hands. Yet there is somewhat, that may seem to withstand this saying. It is written in the 68th psalm; Let them be wiped out of the book of the living: wherefore if they be wiped out, who were written in before, they will seemeth not to be constant. Read Augustine upon that place; A man commonly saith, *Quod scripsi scripsi*; What I have written, that have I written: and will God wipe out that which he hath written? How then are they said to be wiped out? The kind of speech is according to the hope of them. In very deed, they were not registered, but they thought themselves to be registered. But there be some, which refer blindness and hardening of hearts to foreknowledge only. Howbeit, there is not a bare prescience of these things, but there is a certain will of God, whereby God cannot foreknow things to come, unless they be such as shall come to pass. And those things that shall be, or be, cannot come to pass, or be, unless that God, with some kind of will, will have them to be, or to come to pass. Wherefore there is some will of God that precedeth fore-knowledge: he hath a will, not to let things; and he hath a will to use them according to his predestinated counsels.

33. Another argument; These tyrants Nebuchadnezzar, Sennacherib, and others, were in the hand of God, as a staff and rod; and therefore God seemeth to be the cause of sin. Indeed it is true that they were as a rod; and when they had executed their office, they were thrown into the fire: yet were they not without sense and perceiving, but were moved forward by their own naughty will, and therefore are justly punished. For there is two kinds of instruments, as I declared before. Howbeit this is no beguiling; that God will use these things, and yet command that they shall not be done. These men do them of a naughty will, but God useth their naughtiness. Men also can use well the naughty actions of their adversaries, and many times they do use them without any crafty dealing, even to the intent they may take heed to themselves, and may show patience. Sometime God useth sins, to punish the sinners themselves: yea rather, he useth them so always, for because sin is always a punishment of the sinner. And otherwhile he useth them for the punishment of others.

Another argument was; that God put into the heart of David to number the people. Indeed, the scripture speaketh after this manner. These kind of speeches we hear not in the poets, but in the word of God: Plato might banish poets out of his common weal, but we may not drive out scriptures, which speak on this wise. But how these things must be understood, I have declared before. God withdrew his help from David, he hindered him not; he would use that work for punishing of the people. But it is objected; If God withdraw his grace, he doth it justly. I grant it, yet notwithstanding he doth the same: further, he useth the devil also. In the book of Chronicles it is said, that the devil set on David; therefore God also did it, insomuch as he gave the devil leave. But they object against that, which we have oftentimes spoken; namely, that grace being removed from us, sin doth creep on of

itself, seeing our own will, of itself inclineth unto it, even as darkness doth naturally come, after the light is gone. God (say they) is even as the sun, because his light shineth in every place; but there be men, which convey themselves into corners; but if his lightening be in every place, into what corners should men go where that light is not? The divine scripture saith otherwise: for it saith of him that abused the talent; Take it away from him, &c. David prayeth; Take not away thine holy spirit from me: wherefore God meant to use the sin of David for punishment of the people. And Aeschylus the tragical poet, is by some unjustly accused, who saith; that God, if he will destroy and take away any, he giveth the causes and occasions, seeing the scripture so speaketh, which can speak against the laws of Plato, but not against the laws of God. For it saith, that the sons of Helie did not hearken to their father, because the will of God was to destroy them: and that Roboam would not give ear unto the elders, because the turning away was of God.

It was said, that If the matter should be thus, then God should not be the cause of all things, if he be not the cause of sins. It followeth not; for although God be not the cause of sin, yet he governeth the sins, which be committed, he useth them, and maketh the very ground-work, so far forth as it is a natural thing. But it behooveth (say they) that sin be voluntary. If we speak of actual sins, it is true; but of original sin, it is not true. Also the first motions which be sins, are not voluntary. And Barnard in his treatise of free will, setteth down certain degrees of man's nature. Men that be blessed in the heavenly habitation cannot sin; it was in Adam, not to have sinned: after sin committed, we cannot choose but sin. So be the damned, so be the reprobate and wicked. But the godly and regenerate are able not to give place unto sin, and bring to pass that sin shall not altogether reign in them;

and this they have of the spirit of God. Whereby it appeareth by this distinction, that the sin of the damned is of necessity; and yet sin nevertheless. For although it be a thing of necessity, yet it is voluntary; but not so voluntary, as we be able of ourselves to make choice of the other part, which is contrary thereunto: for we cannot have the choice on the other part, but through the same spirit of God. Sins are justly punished, but there is no respect had what thou art able or not able, but whether that which thou doest, be done against the law of God or no.

And God doth injury unto no man. Wherefore this objection is not of force, if we respect God. If one see a blind man to be falling, and doth not stretch forth his hand to help him, or setteth him not up again, it seemeth to be cruelty: God seeth a man ready to fall, he putteth not forth his hand, it seemeth to be cruelty. In whom? In men; because the law is prescribed unto them: God is not subject to these laws. This answer maketh Zwingli in his book *De providentia*, and in his book *De falsa & vera religione*, where he entreateth of merit. And although God bestow not so large gifts upon the reprobate, as he doth upon others; yet he giveth them many things. The preaching of the Gospel is set forth unto them, many other things giveth he unto all men, although he hath not mercy upon all unto salvation: God may do with his own what he will. These, thou sayest, reject his mercy. Jerome saith upon Jonah; God is merciful and pitiful of nature, ready to save those by his mercy, whom he cannot by his justice; but we cast away his mercy, which is offered. I grant it, insomuch as it is offered us by general preaching: nevertheless, God doth not change their wills; that he can do this, who denieth? If he will not, it is upon just cause that he will not. Augustine *De bono perseverantiae*, the fourth chapter, saith; that In one and the self-same thing, we see a difference of God's judgment; and in diverse

things we see one judgment. There were two twins in the womb of Rebecca, before they had done either good or evil, yet is said; I have loved Jacob, and hated Esau. Some labored in the vineyard a whole day, others labored but one hour only, and yet received all one reward.

As for the instance of the goodman of the house, whose sons and servants do offend; I (saith he) enforce them not. The goodman of the house is rightly accused, because he hath a law: but God hath no law prescribed unto him, he himself hath prescribed to himself, that he will do nothing unjustly: but his will is the chief rule of justice. God forsaketh the reprobates, and is also forsaken by them, and he doth rightly. But in that he leaveth such as leave him, that is testified in the second book of Chronicles, the 15th chapter. The prophet Azarias, the son of Obed, saith unto king Amazias; Seeing that ye forsake him, he will forsake you. God is everywhere by his essence and his power, but in those that are his, by favor, grace, and ready help. He leaveth not the wicked in the two former sorts, but in the third. There was alleged the sentence of Anshelme *De casu diaboli*; If God (saith he) by a dishonest work, such as is adultery, do bring forth a child; why cannot that will of God, by a naughty will bring it forth as it is a natural thing? We grant that the subject may be brought forth of God; but afterward it behooveth to consider the defect in itself.

34. It is read in the acts, that they came together against Christ, to do whatsoever the hand and counsel of God had decreed; and that Christ was delivered by the determined counsel of God. Touching the death of Christ, the will of God hath another meaning towards Christ, then it hath towards the Jews. As touching Christ, God would that he should bear the cross, according to obedience and charity, because he is our redemption; and the divine nature brought to pass in him, that he did bear it. The Jews should

deal so cruelly, God permitted them; but in that permission there was a will, not to hinder their naughty will, that he might use the same, and that redemption might follow. By this it appeareth, that he could have letted it, if he would; Could not my father (saith Jesus) give me eleven legions of angels to fight for me? He used that sin to redeem us. Many good things were offered by God unto the Jews; such were the preachings, miracles, and reprehensions which he used, but through their default, they were taken in the worse part: wherefore they are left even in the necessity of sinning.

Where shall now be free will? It is lost. Augustine in the thirty chapter of his Enchiridion to Laurence saith, that After man had sinned, he lost himself, and his freewill also: he saith so twice in that chapter, and elsewhere also; and we have it in the second book of Sentences the 25th distinction. But Barnard saith, that it is not lost. These fathers disagree not if they be rightly understood; for Augustine taketh free will for free power of choosing things contrary, this or that. And while we be not regenerated, we cannot truly do acceptable things unto God, unless we be restored by the son of God; because free will, as touching those things doth not remain in us. Whereas Barnard saith, that free will remaineth, what is his meaning? He meaneth, that although men sin, they are not compelled, they have a consent, they are willing: and such free will remaineth. And he himself expounds himself, when he setteth down three sorts of liberty. He hath free will, from compulsion; from sin, when his will is regenerate; from misery, when he shall come into the kingdom of heaven. We have no freedom from misery in this life, from necessity we have; by necessity, he meaneth compulsion. This appeareth out of Barnard, for he placeth a freedom of will in God; he of necessity is good, and yet this taketh not away his free will. The angels, and holy men in the heavenly country cannot sin, yet they have

a free will. Also he granteth a freedom unto the devil, and damned souls; and yet they cannot be good: but the evil which they will, they will it of their own accord, not that they be able to do the contrary.

The same author saith; It is grace which preserveth, and free will which is preserved. By what means? It taketh health willingly, that is, it assenteth, it consenteth: but he saith not that it consenteth of itself, nay rather he alledgeth the place of Paul; that We cannot of ourselves think a good thought, much less give our consent thereto: And; God worketh in us to will and to perform. God (saith he) without us, setteth before us good cogitations, by preventing us; afterward he changeth the will: he changeth (saith he) the affection, that the same being changed, the consent may follow. Wherefore he saith; that God doth four things in us; first, he stirreth up, by sending in good cogitations; secondly, he healeth, that is, he changeth the will; thirdly he confirmeth, that is, he leadeth to the act; fourthly, he preserveth, that we may not feel the want, that we may persevere, and that the good work may be accomplished.

35. To be brief, we also affirm that God, as concerning sin, is (as Epiphanius saith) ἀναίτιον πάντων κακῶν, that is, clear from the cause of all sin; because properly, he is not the cause, and yet he sleepeth not. This word also signifieth unblameable. God cannot be drawn into law by us; what he doth, he doth justly. And for our part we add, that it is a general opinion, and must still be retained in the church; that There is nothing done in the world, be it good or bad, without God's providence. Human actions cannot pass out of the bounds of God's providence, seeing All the hears of our head are numbered. If sparrows, being small silly birds, of the least estimation, do not light on the ground without the will of God; what shall we say of man's doings, the which so far excel? Divine providence hath an

exceeding great scope; albeit it deal not all after a sort towards good things, and towards bad; yet are they not done without the providence of God, which is God's divine will, whereby things be mightily and very well governed, and directed to their own proper ends. Neither ought it to be any offense unto us, that he leaveth some evils in the world; for although they be against particular natures, yet they be available for common commodity. If all evils were taken away, we should be destitute of many good things: wherefor it is said, that There would be no life of lions, if there were no slaughter of sheep, wherewith the lions be fed: neither would there be patience of martyrs, unless the cruelty of tyrants were permitted by God.

That which Plato writeth in the second book *De Republica*, seemeth to be against this doctrine of ours: he saith, that God is author but of few things unto men, because there be many evils amongst men, and God is the cause of none of them: whereby he seemeth to straighten the providence of God into a narrow room. If he mean the cause effectual, and speak of sins, we do grant it: and yet in the meantime providence is not in a profound sleep. But Plato in the same place hath, that, which must not be granted generally of the godly: for he denieth, that God cometh unto men in the likeness of strangers: but angels were entertained by Abraham and Lot in guest wise. Whereas he saith, that God cannot be changed, as touching his substance; it is true: but that he appeared sometimes in certain forms, it must be granted. He talked with Moses out of the burning bush; he declared himself upon mount Sina by voices; he exhibited himself unto the prophets by sundry likenesses. I think that Plato meaneth those vile changes, which the poets speak of; that he was changed into a swan, an eagle, or a bull: which things must in no wise be attributed unto God.

36. But whereas I said, that all things, whatsoever they be, are ruled by the providence 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 book, the 29th chapter; that Those things, which be not in us, are subject to the providence of God: for he addeth, that the things within us are not of God's providence, but belong to our own free will. But shall not therefore our actions, which he saith are within us, be in the providence of God? Let them believe this that will; for I believe it not. He addeth that which is more hard; namely, that The choice of doing things is in us, but that the perfection and accomplishment of good things is the work of God together with us. Who will say, it cometh from us, if we choose to be done such things as are good? The apostle saith, that God worketh in us, to will and perform. And whereas Damascene taketh away these things from divine providence, I like it not. He distinguisheth providence, into good pleasure and permission; these I am not against, I affirm both: namely, that providence not only ruleth good things, but that it also bringeth them to pass; and that it permitteth evil things, but yet not so as it permitteth them all wholly to themselves: for it useth them.

And he distinguisheth that same permission or good pleasure, and saith, that one is a dispensing and instructing permission; because it turneth to the discipline of saints, if they be left without help for a time. Sometime it is called a full grown permission, and as it were without hope of recovery; as when men, through their own default, perish and become past amendment. Even we also say, that God leaveth his elect for a time, but others forever. Moreover he saith; that God by an inward cause will have men to be partakers of salvation; but that he will afterward punish them when they offend. He calleth it a following will, as though it doth follow by our own

default. I [for my part] say, that the will of God is of one sort, but that the objects be diverse. There is a chosen sort, whom he will have to be saved; and there be reprobates also, whom he will for their sins to be punished. But yet we must not there make a stay, he will show his power in them. Wherefore I affirm, that providence is universal, whatsoever Damascene saith. Of which mind Augustine also is in the 58th sentence, saying; that There is nothing done, either visibly or sensibly, which is not either commanded or permitted from the invisible or perpetual palace of the high Emperor: and so he excepteth nothing from the providence of God.

37. These be the things, that I thought meet to be spoken of concerning this matter. There remain many other things, but an end must be had. Indeed I know, that the reverend man Philip Melanchthon, whom I love and honor, seemeth to say otherwise: but here I appeal to the same man himself, in his old common places; read ye those things which be there, concerning predestination and free will. He saith, that the word [free will] which peradventure I would not have said, is most strange unto the divine scriptures, and from the judgment and meaning of the spirit. Further he saith, that Platos philosophy, in the beginning of the church, subverted piety. In the conclusion of that place; If we come (saith he) to our own inward and outward doings, those being referred to God providence, all things do come to pass even as they be appointed. But in outward actions, if they be referred unto will, there is a freedom [in us.] If we shall consider the inward good things, which God doth require, there he saith is no freedom: if our inward affects begin to pass measure, they cannot be staid. The same thing saith Ambrose upon Luke, and it is often alleged by Augustine, that Our heart is not in our own power. There be others also, which disagree not from them; of which number are Zwingli and Luther, the noble instruments

of reformed religion; likewise Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Calvin: and I might allege others, but I strive not to bring many witnesses. I said, that to speak properly, God is not the cause of sin: and that there is nothing done in the world, be it good or evil, without the providence of God. But and if I have not hit the mark I shot at; I am sorry for it. If any man shall by any sufficient proofs show this opinion to be ungodly, or hurtful to good conversation, I am ready to alter the same. I have discoursed the more at large hereof, because it is a thing of great importance: and it falleth out oftentimes in the holy scriptures. And things are better understood, which be set down to the full; than such as are declared here and there by piecemeal.

We have added these few things out of the like place upon the first of Samuel, the second chapter.

38. Now there resteth, that we speak of the very will itself of God. First of all I grant, that the distinction, which the schoolmen use to make, misliketh me not, when as they affirm, that the will signified is one, and the will effectual, or (as others write) the well pleasing will is another. The will signified is that, which showeth what we ought to do, or what we ought to avoid; for thereby we gather the judgment and ordinance of God, and that consisteth in the law, in the commandments, promises, threatening's and counsels: moreover to this kind of will belongeth that saying; Thou art the God that wouldest not iniquity: and that saying also; Thou hast hated lying and iniquity: and all those testimonies; by which it can be showed, that God would not have sins. And how I pray you can God be willing that sins should be, seeing he hath made a law against them; seeing he most severely punisheth them; seeing he hath planted in the minds of godly men the abhorring of sins; seeing for the taking away of sin he suffered his own

well-beloved son to be put to death upon the cross? But we must note, that against this will of God, which is called the will of the sign, many things be committed and done. The number is great of wicked men, which contend against the law of God, which disquiet preachers, which slay the prophets; yea which in times past killed the son of God himself. Neither must we omit, that this is truly so named, and indeed the will of God, seeing Christ saith; He that doth the will of my father, the same is my mother, my brother and my sister. And it is written in Deuteronomy; What other thing will God, but that thou love him, and walk in his ways?

Moreover, the other will of God is that, which is called mighty, effectual, and according to his good pleasure, which by no power can be vanquished and overcome; seeing it is written thereof, that Whatsoever he would, that hath he done. Of this will Paul saith; Who is able to resist his will? And surly, if there might be anything done against God's 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 act appeareth to be most absolute. But forsomuch as God doth not always reveal his general and whole counsel unto men (for that is not needful, seeing it hath been enough for him to show that which is sufficient for obtaining of salvation) thereof it coms, that these two wills do differ. For what he hath by any means declared, that must be referred to his signified will; and whatsoever he hath kept to himself, as secret and hidden, that appertaineth to his well pleasing will. But to the end that this may be the easilier understood, it is meet to be showed by plain and notable examples. God commanded Abraham, that he should go to sacrifice his only son Isaac; certainly in this precept was contained his signified will: for God showed Abraham, that he would only make a trial of his obedience; and showed him not, that he

would afterward let the sacrificing of Isaac; which prohibition doubtless did follow afterward; neither was his well pleasing will made manifest before. Wherefore we may decree, that his well pleasing will, and his signified will is all one; but is in sundry wise called, according as it is known or unknown unto us.

Besides this, it was said unto Hezekiah; Set thine house in order, seeing thou shalt now die. Certainly, there was no other way in the king but death, considering the force of his disease, and course of nature; and his death was the will of God, as it might be perceived both by a natural sign, and by the words of the prophet. Yet, because God, of his mercy, had decreed, upon his repentance and tears, to prolong life for many years; this will of his was as well effectual as well pleasing. Also by his signified will destruction after forty days was denounced unto the Ninevites, when as nevertheless God, by his well pleasing will, minded to forgive them being penitent. This will is joined with the other; for they which fall from the one, do light upon the other: and they which reject that will of God, whereby he publisheth his law, his promises, his threatening's and counsels, do run into that, whereby sinners suffer punishment for their wicked offenses.

39. Wherefore Augustine in his Enchiridion unto Laurence, the 101st chapter, very well saith; That which God will have done, is in any wise done, either of us, or upon us: of us, when we live well; upon us, when we receive punishment for sins committed. And in the 102nd chapter he saith, that Sinners do as much as in them lieth against the law of God; but as touching his omnipotency they cannot. Yea, and Gregory wrote in his morals, the 11th chapter, and sixth book; Many do the will of God, when they endeavor to change the same: and in resisting, they unwittingly obey the counsel of God. Also Joseph answereth his brethren with this saying;

You sold me indeed, but God's purpose was to send me before you into Egypt, that I might prepare for you both food and safety. Moreover, this is the same will, whereby God doth predestinate his elect unto eternal life; the which, as it is unknown unto us, so the same being most mighty, cannot be weakened. By this distinction of God's will, we understand sufficiently what answer we ought to make, when it is objected unto us, that God made man a living soul, and therefore would not that he should perish. For we say, that this is true as touching his signified will; for he offered unto man a law, promises, threatening's, and counsels: which things, if he had embraced, he had surly lived. But if we have respect unto that other mighty and effectual will, doubtless we cannot deny, but he would have men to perish. For as we read in the 16th of Proverbs; God made all things for his own self, even the ungodly to an evil day. And Paul teacheth us, that God is like unto a potter, and that he maketh some vessels to honor, and some to dishonor. And this is also the same will, whereby God ruleth, governeth, and moderateth the naughty desires and sins of men at his own pleasure, as it hath been said before. By this will, God delivereth the wicked into a reprobate sense, sendeth in the Chaldeans to lead away his people into captivity, addeth efficacy unto illusions, would have the wicked to be seduced, and is said to harden them.

40. But seeing these things are expressly read, and that we oftentimes light upon them in the holy scriptures, we must diligently consider, how they should be understood. The common sort think, that whereas it is written, that God doth blind, doth harden, doth deliver, doth send in, doth be guile; nothing else is meant thereby, but that he suffereth these things to be done. After the which manner, very many of the fathers do interpret those speeches, being led doubtless by this reason; that they thought it a wicked

and blasphemous thing, if God should be accounted the author of sin; and they would not that men should cast upon God himself the causes of their sins. Which counsel of theirs, I very well allow, and confess (together with them) that these things be done by the permission of God: for seeing he can inhibit sins to be done, and yet doth not let them, he is rightly said to permit or suffer them. Wherefore Augustine very well saith, in his Enchiridion unto Laurence, the 98th 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 Julian, in the fifth book, the ninth chapter showeth, that There be many evils, which God would not permit, unless he were willing thereunto.

But there must be somewhat else also brought besides permission, if we will duly satisfy those places of the scripture, which are objected. For they which say, that God doth only permit, they cannot altogether exclude his will; because he permitteth the same either willingly or else unwillingly: unwillingly I am assured he doth not, because none may compel him; it followeth therefore, that he doth willingly permit those things to be done. Neither must we imagine, the same will of permission to be stack 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 only permit sin, but also after a sort willeth it; yet not in respect that it is sin, (for his will is always of necessity carried unto good) but in that it is a punishment of wickedness done before: for in that respect, although it be sin, yet it goeth under the form of good. So do princes and magistrates other whiles set lions and wild beasts upon ill men, and encourage elephants against enemies; yet they made not those kind of beasts, but they cause the fierceness and cruelty of

them to serve their use. So God useth the labor of tyrants, when he will take just punishment of any people.

Wherefore the king of Babylon is called the hammer, staff, and saw of the Lord's 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 own force to afflict the children of Israel: nay rather, he was rebuked of arrogancy, because he sometime ascribed that thing to his own strength: for God declareth, that he himself was the very author of so great destruction. And Job, when he was so grievously vexed by the Sabees, by the Chaldeans, and also by the devil, and deprived in a manner of all his goods, he no less godly than wisely said; The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away. And that he might the more evidently show, that this happened by the will of God, he added; Even as it pleased the Lord, so it is come to pass: for he saw that God used the Sabees, Chaldeans, and the devil as instruments. And in the second book of Samuel, the 24th chapter, it is said, that God stirred up David to number the people: which act in Paralipomenon is attributed to the devil. Both with sayings be true, because God, by the ministry and work of the devil provoked him to do it. For even as Solomon saith; The heart of the king is in the hand of God, he inclineth the same which way soever he will: certainly, not by instilling of new evil, as we have oftentimes said before; but by using of the same which he hath [already] found, either to the punishment of sins, or else 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 only forsaketh and leaveth; but that he also applieth his will.

41. Neither must we pass it over, that in the seventh and eight of Exodus, it is written, that God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, when nevertheless in

the eight chapter it is written, that Pharaoh himself hardened his own heart, either of which is certainly true. For first Pharaoh had in himself the originals of so great an obstinacy, and he willingly, and of his own accord set himself against the word of God. But on the other part (as I have declared before) God provided, that the same his obstinacy should be openly showed, and did moderate and govern it according to his own pleasure. We must not think, that God doth so rule the world, as he should sit like an idle man in a watch tower, and there do nothing: or that he suffereth the world and inferior things, to have scope to wander at will, as doth a horse which hath the reins at liberty. Neither is that true, which is alleged by some, that God neither willeth nor nilleth those evils or sins; as if he thought not upon them at all. Even as if one should ask me, whether I would the French king should hunt this day or no, I might rightly answer, that neither I would it, nor would it not, seeing the matter pertaineth nothing unto me. But as touching God, it cannot rightly be answered so; seeing what things soever are in all the world, they do belong to his care and providence.

But I would that these men did weigh with themselves, by what testimony of the scripture they be able to confirm that permission of theirs, which they so obstinately retain. I am not ignorant, that they allege for themselves, that which is said in the 81st psalm; I permitted them to their own hearts lust. But if we confer with the true Hebrew text, it will appear more feeble, and of less proof than they be aware of. For the verb *Schillach* in the Hebrew, is in the conjugation *Piel*, which by the force of the conjugation signifieth, A vehement action; neither is it convenient, that we should abate the force thereof, through expounding of it by the word Permission. Nay rather, it agrees with the phrase of Paul, wherein it is said in the epistle to the

Romans, that God delivered the wicked to a reprobate sense: and it is rather showed, that God cast away the wicked, than permitted them. But whereto did he permit them, or cast them off? Verily to their own wicked desires; as who saith, they should be wholly possessed and governed by them. And in this sense is that Hebrew word oftentimes used in the scriptures. In Genesis it is showed, that God cast man out of Paradise; and who would there interpret the word Cast out [by the word] Permitted, seeing he rather drove and thrust them out from thence? Moreover, in the 19th chapter the angels say, And the Lord hath sent us out to destroy Sodom: in which place, To send forth cannot be the self-same that is to Permit. And it is written in Ezekiel; It brought forth the branch: while notwithstanding a vine doth not permit the branch to come forth of it, but doth rather enforce it to bud out. Wherefore let the interpreter beware, least in that place he interpret the Hebrew verb *Schillach*, by the verb of permitting.

42. Neither must we pass it over, that the holy scriptures no less attribute the permission of God unto good things than unto evil. For the apostle in the sixth chapter to the Hebrews, when he entreated of good things, saith; If God shall permit. Julian the Pelagian (as appeareth out of Augustine, in the third chapter of the fifth book which he wrote against him) was of the opinion, that when it is said in the scriptures, that God delivereth or blindeth; it must only be understood, that he leaveth or permitteth. But contrariwise, Augustine saith, that God doth not only permit, but (as the apostle taught) He declareth his wrath and power. Furthermore, Julian writeth, that such speeches are hyperbolical or excessive speeches: but Augustine affirmeth that they be proper. Julian interpreteth, that these which are said to be delivered to their own lusts, were infected before with these diseases: wherefor, he addeth; What need was it, that they should be

delivered to them? It was enough that they were suffered to wallow and rest in them. Unto this Augustine saith; Doest thou think it all one, to have desires, and to be given over unto them? For the ungodly be given over unto their naughty lusts, not only that they may have them, but that they may be altogether had and possessed of them. Wherefore the same father added; Even as God dealeth in the bodies of wicked men, by vexing and punishing them; even so he worketh in the minds of them, by driving of them unto sins. And in the same place he entreateth of the history of Semei, where David saith; The Lord commanded him to curse me. The Lord (saith Augustine) justly inclined the will of Semei (being evil through his own fault) to rail upon David: and the cause is showed; For the Lord shall reward me good for this rebuke.

The same Augustine also in his book *De gratia & libero arbitrio* writeth, that God doth work in men's minds, inclining them as well unto good as unto evil, oftentimes by his secret judgment, yet sometimes by his manifest judgment, but evermore by his just judgment. Whereunto add, that how and for what cause he doth these things, it is exceeding hard to express. But yet this is most certainly to be determined, that these evils, so far forth as they come of God, be not sins; but are things just and good: but in that they proceed either from the devil, or from men; of good right they ought to be accounted sins. The Manichees, when they could not unwrap themselves out of this doubt, did feign, that there were two beginnings of things, whereof the one should be good, but the other evil. But we teach, that there is one God, the author of all good things; we say, that sins sprang up by the departing of Adam from God, and yet that those sins are tempered and ruled by the will and pleasure of God. Whereupon we conclude, that the very actions themselves, that is, the subjects of sins; be of God; and that he,

when he thinketh it meet, doth withdraw his grace and succor, and that afterward he ruleth and bendeth the naughty lusts of men, which way soever it shall please him: and that seeing he useth the sins of men to the punishment of other sins, it cannot be said, that he by no means at all would them.

But of the sin of Adam the question is the more difficult, because there was no fall of his went before, which should be punished by God with a latter sin. Yet unto this we answer, that the action of his, that is, the subject of deformity and unrighteousness was of God; but the privation or defect came of the free will of Adam, whom God created uncorrupt, free and perfect; but yet not so, that he might not revolt and do amiss. Neither was the grace of God, whereby he should be kept back from falling, so great, as it did firmly establish him. And it cannot be doubted, but that God would that Adam should fall; otherwise he had not fallen: and he would have him fall, doubtless not in respect of sin; but that he might use that fall to make manifest his power, and the immeasurable riches of his goodness: and that he might show himself able, not only to make man pure and perfect; but to restore him also, being fallen and perished. And for that cause he sent his son to die for mankind upon the cross. Wherefore Gregory cried out; O happy fault, which deserved to have such a redeemer!

43. But this must be diligently 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 only, whereof notwithstanding there be diverse objects: for he considereth our mind and determination, the which oftentimes he alloweth. But on the other part, he hath before his eyes, the order of his providence, the which by all means he willeth to be sound 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 have those things to be brought to an end, because they serve not to the order of his providence. So we say, that the prayer of Christ, wherein he desired to escape death, pleased God, although he would not fulfill the same. Neither did Christ, with a lewd or corrupt will, but with a righteous and good will, will that which he desired. But the providence and predestination of God remained immoveable, whereby he had decreed, that at the very same time he should be fastened upon the cross for our salvation. Wherefore we must religiously and godly meditate many things; but when we understand that God will not have those things to be done, our cogitations must be applied to his will. But to entreat of this thing with more perspicuity and plainness, let us first of all determine, that man's 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 is it not of necessity, that what God would have to be done, should please us all manner of ways; because it is requisite sometimes, that the same should displease us, and that rightly, and without sin. Which thing the better to understand, it shall be showed by examples.

Moses heard, that God would root out his people; he otherwise would, and sorrowed exceedingly: and that it might not be, he resisted it by prayer. Also Samuel knew that Saul was rejected, yet he did not forthwith settle his mind upon that will of God; but he heavily took the fall of that king, and for that cause he wept along time. And Jeremiah understood that Jerusalem should be destroyed, and he lamentably bewailed the ruin thereof. Here some say, that the decree or pleasure of God, is either known to us, or else unknown. When it shall be manifest unto us, we ought to bend our will unto him; but if it be hidden from us, we have a law revealed, which we may

safely follow. Indeed these men say somewhat, but yet this saying of theirs doth not fully satisfy. For Jeremiah and Christ knew very well, that by the decree and will of God Jerusalem should be utterly destroyed; yet nevertheless they wept for the cause, and in weeping they sinned not. Moreover, it cometh oftentimes to pass, that even by the very works of God we know his will; wherein yet, we must not straightway repose ourselves: for sometimes it happeneth, that the son seeth the father die, which son if he be godly, he understandeth withal, that God's will is, that he should die. Shall he not therefore be sorrowful, and desire that his life may still be prolonged? What shall then be done, when such things do happen? Verily we must consider what is meet for the will of God, and what is convenient for our will.

Truly it agreeth with the will of God, that he should work according to his goodness and righteousness, to the end he may benefit the good, and punish the wicked: and it is fit for our will, that it should do those things which be agreeable thereunto. Also, what things are agreeable to our nature, we shall perceive by the constitution thereof; that is, by the law of nature and of God; and otherwhile also by an inward inspiration of the spirit: and thus, albeit we do in very deed disagree from the will of God, yet as touching the form and efficient cause, we agree with the same. For as much as God sometime, willeth two things at once, namely to punish a city, a nation, and our parents; and also that we for that cause should mourn: neither are these things repugnant one with another. In times past God willed Sodom and Gomorrah to be destroyed, which thing he declaring unto Abraham, Abraham was many ways sorrowful, and he entreated for them which should be destroyed; neither are we to think that Abraham poured out his prayers without the spiritual inspiration of God.

44. Furthermore, to these things this also must be added; namely, that the things which we know that God would, may be two ways considered. First simply and absolutely; in which respect we must do those things, which be agreeable to our will or nature rightly instituted: or else we must behold them, with a just comparison unto the divine providence, whereunto if we confer them, they must wholly rest thereupon; because (as Augustine in his *Enchiridion* saith) that It is a wicked thing to strive against the providence of God. Briefly it is our part in all things, to will that which God would we should will, and that to a right end; that is, with a good purpose: or (as men commonly speak) with a right intent; although as touching the matter, it behooveth not that that should always like us, which seemeth meet unto God. But if thou demand what those things be, which agree with our nature well instituted? I answer, things holy, honest and just. Wherefore the apostle said to the Philippians; Whatsoever things be true, honest, just, pure, profitable, of good report; if there be any virtue, or if there be any praise, those things think upon and do. And therefore David, when he determined to build the temple, although God would not have it done; yet was David's will allowed as just and right. Our of doubt, the good king knew that God was willing to have a temple built into him, and he understood that it should be done at Jerusalem; wherefore his will dissented not from godliness. Moreover, seeing he was a child of God, and was stirred up by his spirit, no doubt, but God inspired him with that will.

Neither must we mark what God doth outwardly, but consider what he doth within us, and then we must follow that. He worketh in us both to will and perform; indeed not always a perfection of the work, or a will that is perfect and sound: neither are these two always so joined together, as he worketh at once both to will and to perform. For sometime he only worketh

to will, and granteth not, that the thing which we will, shall come to effect. And not only our will ought to be conformable to the will of God, but also our understanding: for we ought to understand those things only, which God would reveal unto us, and no further. No man therefore hath said; I will understand those things which God himself knoweth. These things are largely entreated of in the first book of sentences, the 48th distinction; and in Augustine's Enchiridion.

Another discourse of the same argument.

I affirm the cause of man's sin to be the will or the free will of our first parents, who fell of their own accord, and obeyed rather the suggestion of the devil than the commandment of God; from whom afterward was derived original sin unto all the posterity: whereupon we have vice and corruption enough in our own selves. Wherefore God instilleth not in us a new naughtiness unto sinning, neither doth he bring in corruption; and therefore I do affirm our wills to be the causes of sin, and not God.

But the scripture saith in the epistle to the Romans, that God delivered up the Ethnics unto a reprobate mind, and unto vile affections. And in the second of Samuel it is said, that God stirred up David to number the people. And in the same history David said, that God commanded Semei to curse David. In the same book the twelfth chapter, God said unto David by the prophet; I will take thy wives, and give them to thy neighbor, and he shall sleep with them: for thou didst it secretly, but I will do this thing before all Israel, and in the open sun light. It is said by others, that these speeches must be referred unto the permission; which thing I do not absolutely deny: for God, if he would, might have let these mischiefs, but he would not hinder them. Howbeit I add, that such a permission must not be granted,

whereby some may affirm, that God dealeth so idly, and so leaveth the government of things, as he doth nothing about sins themselves.

[1] First, he taketh his gifts and his grace from certain men, because they abused the same; which grace being removed, and that justly, for a punishment of their former sins, men being destitute of that help, do fall into more grievous crimes. And that God doth sometime withdraw his grace, David knew well enough, when he sometime said; Turn not thy face from me, nor take away thine holy spirit from me.

[2] Secondly, God doth punish sins with sins; as it appeareth in the epistle to the Romans, and in the places now alleged. And sins, so far forth as they be punishments, do belong unto justice, and in that respect are good. Wherefore it is not unfit for God, thus by sins to punish former sins.

[3] Thirdly, he ruleth and governeth sins themselves; for he suffereth them not to rage so far out of measure, as the evil will of man desireth: he restraineth them, he keepeth them back, neither doth he suffer them to rage against every man, and at all times: also, he directeth them to the performance of his counsels; namely, to the trial of just men, and to the scourge of the wicked, and such like purposes. Wherefore the scripture saith, that fierce and cruel tyrants are in the hand of God, as staves, hammers, and saws.

[4] Fourthly, God sendeth in other occasions, which if they should light upon good men, they would provoke them unto good things: but because they light upon evil men, they are by those men's fault, soon taken in evil part, and are made occasions of sin. So Paul saith, that By the law sin was increased. And the words of God, spoken unto Pharaoh by Moses, were an occasion to express out of him blasphemies and hardness of his heart. Which thing God saw would come to pass, yet did he not restrain his own

word, when he knew that Pharaoh would become the worse thereby; who nevertheless had the naughtiness in his own self, and took not the same of God.

[5] Fifthly, since that the defect of sin is only in human actions, the which are deprived of right government; the very action of man cannot be sustained, preserved, and stirred up, without the common influence of God, by which all things are governed and preserved: for truly is it said; In God we be, we live, and are moved. Therefore the defect, which properly is sin, proceedeth not of God: but the action, which is a natural thing, wherein the defect sticketh, cannot be drawn forth, but by the common influence of God.

These be the things, which I said that God doth by his providence and government about sins; although he be not the true and proper cause of sins. By which interpretation we may rightly understand, what those speeches of the holy scriptures, and sayings of the fathers do mean, wherein God seems to be made the cause or author of sin.

CHAP. XVIII. How it may be said, that God doth repent, and doth tempt.

The interpreters labor earnestly to understand how repentance may happen unto God. For God saith; I am God, and am not changed. And in the first of Samuel; The triumpher of Israel is not changed. And Balaam in the book of Numbers saith; God is not as a man, that he should be changed: neither as the son of man that he should be a liar. Yet in Genesis he saith; It repenteth me that I have made man. Forsomuch as these places seem to be repugnant, they must be accorded together. Some after this sort expound these places, that Even as the holy Ghost is said To call and make request for us, with sighs that cannot be expressed; so it may be said, that God doth repent. But the spirit prayeth not, requesteth not, sigheth not; for he is God: but because he stirreth us to pray, to make request, and to sigh, he himself is said to do the same. And according to this sense Paul biddeth us, that we should not make sorrowful the spirit of God: that is to say, we should not with our wicked acts offend the saints, in whom is the spirit of God. Even so, because the wickedness of Saul was a grief unto good men, and that God stirred up that affection in them; therefore God himself is said to be led

with repentance. This reason Luther followeth in his treatise upon Genesis. But Augustine in his book of 83 questions, the 52nd question, where of set purpose he handleth this question, saith, that The scripture is accustomed oftentimes to humble itself to our capacity, and to attribute those things unto God, which we see done in the life and conversation of men; for that the same cannot otherwise be understood.

Therefore, because men use not to revenge, unless they be angry; the scriptures say, that God, when he doth revenge, is angry. And because that men possess not the chastity of their wives, without jealousy; and that God in like manner taketh principal care, least his church being as it were his spouse should play the harlot, they say he is jealous. On this wise are feet, hands and other parts of the body ascribed unto God. And so, because men are not accustomed to change their purpose, unless they repent them of some deed; therefore, as often as God changeth his doing, they say that he is moved by repentance: not that there is become any alteration in God, but because that thing may be changed, which we hoped would have continued forever. And for this purpose it is said, that God repented him that he made Saul king. Others think that this doubt may more easily and plainly be dissolved, if the change be understood in the thing itself, and not in God. And to hold us to our example, Saul was godly and honest before, now he became wicked and rebellious; therefore he seemed worthily such a one, of whom God would repent. And this seemeth the more probable, because it followeth in the text itself; And Saul went his way.

Look the propositions out of the sixth, seventh, and eight chapter of Genesis.

2. The first opinion, although it may have some show, yet it cannot be allowed in every respect. Indeed it may be said, that God doth that which he

bringeth to pass in us; and also causeth us to do it, but yet this holdeth not always. For he burned Sodom, he destroyed Pharaoh, and by that means exercised his wrath and revenge; yet he did not drive men to do these things. And we read that God repented him, and yet it is not written that Samuel repented him. Augustine's judgment is both plain and probable. The second opinion also may not be forsaken, wherein nevertheless it must be considered, that the change is said to be in the thing itself, and not in God. Jeremiah saith; If they shall repent them of their ways, I also will repent me of all the evil that I have threatened them. Therefore unto this changing in man, there followeth also a change of God's sentence; whether the same appertain unto the promise, or unto the change. For so often as a sinner doth repent him with a true faith, he is by and by delivered from everlasting destruction. But the sentence of temporal punishments is not always changed, although he repent him never so much. David was penitent for his adultery, yet the judgment of God, which Nathan pronounced, remained stable. Moses repented, and yet he might not enter into the land of promise. True therefore is this saying, as concerning the judgment of everlasting death; but not always touching temporal punishments.

Moreover, that change cometh not of ourselves, but of God: for so Paul writeth unto Timothy; If God peradventure shall give them repentance. And unto the Philippians; It is he that worketh in us to will and perform. We cannot once think a good thought, of ourselves, as of our selves. And unto the Corinthians the 15th chapter; I have labored more than all, and yet not I, but the grace of God that is in me. But it is in us (they say) to consent. Nay rather, the assent itself is also of God; for we have a stony heart, and unless the same be changed and made fleshy, nothing is brought to pass. And although they think it a small matter, while they say there is a consent of

ours; yet if the same be attributed unto us, we shall have whereof to glory: for Who hath severed thee (saith Paul?) what hast thou which thou hast not received? And if thou have received, why doest thou boast, as though thou hadst not received? And; It is neither of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy. Here Augustine saith; If anything be left unto us, Paul concludeth nothing: for the proposition might be so turned, as it should be read on this wise; It is not of God to have mercy; but of man, that willeth and runneth. I know (saith Paul) there dwelleth not in me, that is, in my flesh, any good thing. And Christ saith; You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you. David also saith; Incline my heart unto they testimonies. And; A clean heart create within me, O God. But no man can create himself. It is said we be regenerated, but no man is regenerated of himself. And yet are not we regenerated as stocks, stones, or blocks; for we understand, we perceive, and we will: but it is God, which bringeth to pass that we understand, perceive and will. Wherefore there must be put a difference of men; for some be regenerate, and some be not. He that is not regenerate, can of himself do nothing: but after we be once regenerate, our strength is renewed, and we become workers together with God.

3. But in my judgment, we shall more easily understand what this phrase of God's repenting betokeneth, 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, insomuch as it is said; God is not changed; that ought to be referred to his secret will. God decreed from the beginning, that Saul should be king. That is his eternal and stable will, and without the which nothing is done. But he doth not always reveal the same full and wholly; it is enough that he showeth some part thereof through the law 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 forever. The revealed will of God was, that the kingdom should always be in the stock of Saul; for so it was like to have been: but yet the other part of his will was secret and hidden. Hezekiah falleth sick, Isaiah warneth him that he should die; for such was the nature of that disease, that it might seem he should die: this will was changed; the other which was secret, could not be changed.

But they object, that where we say; The will of God was from everlasting: it is but a mere devise; for that in God, there is nothing either past, or to come. But we allege nothing strange from the scriptures. Paul saith; that God hath predestinated us before the foundations of the world were laid. If they believe not us, let them look upon the propheties. Jacob fore-showed that David should be king. How might this have been, unless the will of God have respect unto the time to come? But Paul in the 11th to the Romans saith; The gifts and calling of God are without repentance. But the sentences of the scriptures must not be more largely understood, than the place itself, wherein they be written, may bear: for otherwise we may be sooner led to error. Paul entreated in that place of the covenant, which God made with the Jews, and saith, that these promises cannot be void; and that it cannot be, but that many of the Jews 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 sure and steadfast. Indeed other gifts, whether they belong to the justice of this life, or to things which be temporal, may both be given and taken away. For there be many, who having once believed, do afterward fall to destruction. Theodoretus 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 own.

How it could be said to Saul, that his kingdom should be established forever, the same being before appointed to the tribe of Judah.

4. But let us see how Samuel said; The Lord would have established thy kingdom forever. For how could the kingdom have remained forever, in the family of Saul, seeing it was fore-told before of Jacob, that the kingdom should be in the tribe of Judah: and that God decreed from all eternity, that he would give the kingly right unto the house of David? Here we may not answer, that God indeed had so decreed at the first; but that he afterward changed his mind: for God is not changed. Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson thinketh, that this Hebrew word Adolam, signifieth not eternity, but some certain space of time; and that so Saul might reign, according to the meaning of that word Adolam, that is, for a long time, and afterward that David might succeed him. But this judgment I do not much allow; for David was now not only born, but was also of ripe age, so as Saul might not reign for any long time. But that God is not changed, all men confess; yet all men not after one and the same manner: for some say, that we feign, that God doth predestinate somewhat from everlasting, which yet he executeth afterward. That (say they) is absurd; for all things are present unto God. Howbeit, we say not that God is moved for a time, but his counsels are from everlasting. But this we say, that when a thing is come to pass, he doth not appoint any new counsels.

Paul saith, that He was chosen from his mother's womb, 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 will cavil as touching predestination, we

will object propheties, in the which they cannot cavil; When they had done neither good nor evil, 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 kingdom to be established in the tribe of Judah, it was fore-showed long before David was born, who first reigned in that tribe. How then doth Samuel say; God would have established thy kingdom forever? It is a potential manner of speaking. But what potency is this? There be also many such forms of speaking in the holy scriptures; If they had known (saith Paul) they would never have crucified the Lord of glory: but it was predestinated from the beginning, that Christ should die. So are they commonly wont to say; If Adam had not sinned, Christ had not suffered. But let us pass over those things, and let us examine that sentence which we have in hand, whereby the same being well understood, all other like may be understood.

5. And first let us see, whether the predestination of God touching David, were the cause why Saul was cast out of the kingdom. It seems to me that there were two causes of that casting out; one, the provoking of God, to wit, the sin of Saul; and the other was the will of God, but provoked and stirred up by sin: to which of these causes therefore shall we rather ascribe the casting out? Certainly, unto sin: for it was meet that he which had behaved himself ill, should be removed from his place. Therefore Oseas saith; Of the O Israel cometh thy evil. Indeed we cannot deny, but that the will of God was after some manner the cause; but the true and certain cause was sin. Also another, no small difference it shall be, if we compare our sins unto the punishments, and our good works unto the reward: for our sins deserve punishment, but good works deserve no reward, Why so wilt thou say? Because there is a proportion between sin and punishment; but between

good works and reward, there is none: for The passions of this life are not worthy of the glory to come, which shall be revealed unto us. Moreover, ill works are properly of our selves; but good works are not but of God. Wherefore eternal death may be called the reward of sin; but contrariwise, eternal life cannot be called the reward of our righteousness. So that we say, that the sin of Saul was the true cause why he fell from the kingdom; but his good works could never have been a cause for him to have continued. But whether did this counsel and decree lay a necessity upon Saul? Hereof there was no absolute necessity in him: for as touching the inward original of sinning, that had Saul in himself: and that which he did, he did it willingly, and of his own accord. Indeed God decreed the kingdom unto David, and to the tribe of Judah; but yet so, as the same should be first taken from him justly. And if God fore-saw that David should be king, he also fore-saw the sin of Saul: wherefore he saw the one thing and the other, both that the one should sin, and the other should reign: in this order there is no sin committed by God.

True indeed it is, that God might in such sort have punished Saul, as he would not take the kingdom from him. For he many ways punished the posterity of David, when they became idolaters; but yet he left the kingdom whole unto them. But it was in the hand of God to punish Saul after what manner he would: neither was the kingdom given to Saul, by the same covenant, that it was unto David. For when Jeroboam did invade Judah with four hundred thousand soldiers, Abias the king of Judah ascended unto a hill, and made an oration unto the ten tribes; Doo ye not know (saith he) that God gave the kingdom unto David with a covenant of salt? Salt doth not putrefy, nor suffereth corruption; further it was used in sacrifices. One thing [therein] signified that covenant made with David never to be

violated; and another thing that the same was confirmed in a manner by sacrifice, and so now to become a holy thing. He did not so promise the kingdom unto Saul; for if he had promised it, it could not have been taken from him. Wherefore, although God had decreed these things as touching Saul and David, yet Saul sinned through originals in himself, and of his own accord. But if thou have a respect unto the foreknowledge of God, some necessity indeed is in it; but yet (as they say) by supposition only, for the fore-knowledge of God cannot be deceived. But yet God interrupteth not the course of things, but suffereth that whatsoever is done, is done naturally, and of his own accord.

6. But come we nearer; He would have established thy kingdom forever. How? Because he would have ordained, by an everlasting decree, that his kingdom should have abiden with his posterity forever: and so this power shall stand in the decree of God. Over this, so far as concerneth the nature of Saul, God might have established unto him the kingdom forever; which we perceive was done in other kings, whom God cast not out when they had sinned. But there is another solution far more easy; to say, that these things were spoken after the manner of men: for men are wont to say, that something is done, or may be done, when it appeareth to be done, or seemeth that it may be done. For so Christ speaketh, when he saith; Rejoice and be glad, because your names be written in heaven, and yet in the meantime Judas was there, and the seventy 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 crown. How was that a crown, which might be forgone? Because unto men so it seemed to be; and because they used those outward

means, whereby we come unto the crown. For the crown is either of predestination, and that is certain and cannot be lost; or else of inchoation; or else because so it may seem to be, and that may be prevented.

Of the crown which may seem to be, thus Christ speaketh; From him that hath not shall be taken away, even that which he seemeth to have. He saith not; That which he hath, but only that which he seemeth to have. And of inchoation it is written to the Hebrews; They which were once lightened, and have tasted the good word of God, &c: those men, as touching these means, seem to have the crown; but if they fall away (saith Paul) they cannot be renewed. So the kingdom of Saul might have been established forever, because it had that beginning, and those means, by which a kingdom might have been retained. So Matthias was substitute in the place of Judas, Seth in the place of Abel, the Gentiles in the place of the Jews. So Job saith in the 24th chapter; God shall consume many and mighty nations, and shall set others in their places. So when the angels fell, men succeeded in their place. And in the prophet Jeremiah, the sense of this place is this; If I shall pronounce evil as touching any nation, and that nation shall repent, I also will repent me of all the evil, which I was purposed to do. The promise made to Saul, as touching the kingdom, had a condition; whereunto when he stood not, the kingdom by good right was taken from him.

Of Temptation.

7. The etymology of the word cometh of [the Hebrew word] *Nas*, which is, A sign or token; for *Nasa*, which signifieth, To tempt, is then certainly done, when we would know anything by some certain sign or token: the Grecians call it *πειράζομαι, από τῆς πείρας*, which is Experience. Let us define it; Temptation is a thorough search for getting out the knowledge of an unknown thing. The formal cause is action; the end knowledge, of many

things doubtless, of man's own self, of weakness or strength, of God's divine goodness or wrath. But knowledge is not the principal end; because in godly men, the end is oftentimes, that they may vanquish and be crowned; or if they be fallen, they being raised up again by the help of God, may be humbled, and become more diligent in the service and religion of God. The matter wherein it is, is our mind; and it is conversant about all vices, the which, as to their own head, are reduced to infidelity. The efficient cause thereof (no doubt) is the flesh, the world, and the devil. But the controversy is as touching God, whether it may be ascribed unto him.

8. This doth James seem to deny, when he saith; that Every man is tempted by his own proper concupiscence, and the God is no tempter of evil things. And Paul seemeth to consent thereunto, at the leastwise that all temptations proceed not of God: for he saith, that he with temptations maketh a way to get out. But there be many temptations, wherein poor souls be caught; neither is there any way for them to escape, yea rather they perish in them. Besides this, we cannot perceive by any reason, how it comes to pass, that God can punish sins; and yet by tempting is become an author of them. But all this notwithstanding, we must lean surly to the holy scriptures, which everywhere ascribe temptation unto God. In the eight of Deuteronomy thou readest, that God tempted the children of Israel in the desert, that he might know whether they would keep his commandments or no: in which place thou hast the end of temptation. In the psalm David prayeth, that The Lord would tempt him. Job was tempted, God delivering him unto Satan. In the first of Samuel thou findest, that the wicked spirit invaded Saul, and moved him to depart from God. And David, in the second of Samuel, was stirred up by Satan to number the people; but in the 21st of Chronicles, it is said, that God stirred up David against Israel: wherefore

one and the same action is attributed unto God, and unto Satan. We have also a plain place concerning Abraham. Ahab is seduced by the will of God, who sent a spirit to be a liar in the mouth of the prophets; God hardened the heart of Pharaoh. In the first of Isaiah the prophet is sent to preach, that They seeing should not perceive; that their eyes should be shut, and their heart hardened, least peradventure (saith he) they should be converted, and I might heal them: God sendeth his word unto them for a snare. And in Isaiah the 63rd chapter; The fathers complain (saying) Wherefore hast thou led us out of the way? Wherefore hast thou made our heart to err from thy ways? Christ said unto Philip; Whence shall we buy bread? He knew what he would do: but so he spake, tempting him. And we pray to God our father, saying; Lead us not into temptation.

There be some, which would thus resolve the doubt; God tempteth, (that is to say) he suffereth and permitteth to tempt. But this prevaieth nothing, we must not shun the phrase of the scriptures. If the scripture speak thus, why should not we also speak it? Moreover, this cannot expound all the places of scripture alleged by us: for the Lord himself sent Isaiah, and God himself sent the lying spirit unto Ahab; neither was Abraham tempted by any other than by God. Add also, that in permission there is the will of God; and seeing it is manifest concerning the thing itself, what doth the changing of the word profit? But go to, let us see what ill comes of it, if tempting be attributed unto God. Verily no evil, nay rather it is meet for him, and it becometh his nature, who endeavoreth to reveal his righteousness and mercy in all things. They that be tempted, do belong either unto the chosen, or unto the damned; either they be godly, or else ungodly. If [they be] ungodly, as their sins may be punished with other sins (which is declared in the first chapter to the Romans) so they may be punished with temptations,

that through them they may fall headlong into diverse evils, whereby they may be judged worthy of everlasting punishment. If [they be] godly, God by tempting them declareth and testifieth what account he maketh of them; he is present forthwith, he delivereth them, crowneth them, and rewardeth them like conquerors, with many and honorable gifts: or else if they fall, that fall is but for a time, and at last (even as Paul said) it hath an happy issue. Thereby their faith, hope, and charity is increased, while they perceive themselves to be holpen, and by the great favor of God to overcome their enemies: or else because they be lightened from the burden of their sins.

9. But in the meantime let us make answer to those reasons, which seemed to persuade us otherwise. James, when he denieth that God doth tempt, doth not utterly deny it; but he denieth him to tempt after that manner, which those carnal Christians of his time affirmed him to tempt: as who should say, when they sinned, they should have been without blame: as our Libertines are reported to say at this day, namely that God doth all things in us; and that therefore sin is nothing: no not robberies, murders, adulteries, and such like. Indeed we grant, that God doth all things; but the respect of God's doing, and our doing of them is diverse. Men, in that they do those things, they sin; as they which are not led unto those things of an intent that they may work together with God; neither are they constrained or compelled unto those things against their wills; nay rather, they would be angry with them that should let them from sinning. Wherefore let them ask their own conscience, and then they shall plainly see, whether they sin against their will, or to the intent they may gratify God; or else not rather to satisfy their own unbridled lust.

Now by the like reason saith James, God doth not so tempt you, as the cause and fault of those things, which ye do naughtily and wickedly, should be laid against him. Ye be tempted by your own concupiscence; that is, ye therefore fall into your own wickedness, to the intent ye may satisfy your greedy lust. Wherefore that which the apostle there meant, and would in some respect to be denied, he uttered by an absolute denial. But Paul, when he saith, that God maketh a way to escape with the temptation, certainly he speaketh of those temptations, wherewith the godly and elect are sometimes vexed; whereby doubtless they have for the most part, not only an escaping, but also a reward. But in that we do not so well perceive, how it is not repugnant with the justice of God, to punish sins, and to drive [men] unto them by tempting, that is no marvel; for God can do more than we can understand. David said once, as touching the knowing of these secret judgments in the 73rd psalm; that he was very pensive, and that his grief was intolerable, until he entered into the sanctuary of God. Wherefore let us constantly believe, that whatsoever God doth, he doth it justly; neither let us withdraw from his providence or power, any of those things that be done: but if we understand not how they be agreeable unto his justice, or how they be repugnant therewith, let us with humility believe.

10. But let us proceed. Since they be of God, whether may we pray to be rid of them? Let us distinguish temptations; either they be adversities, or else they be suggestions unto wicked deeds: if they be adversities, we must not pray to be pressed with no adversities, seeing it is plainly told us by Paul; They that will live godly in Christ must suffer persecutions. And Christ offereth the cross unto his to be borne, in a manner all their life long: but if we doubt of fainting in those persecutions, or that the glory of God be hindered by them, we may pray, that he will remove them from us. Paul

prayed, and would have it prayed for, that he might be delivered from the persecutions, which were ready for him in Jury. Moreover, if our flesh be frail, while affliction lasteth, and we pray the father devoutly, that he will deliver us, if it be his pleasure; yet nevertheless, in preferring his will before our own will, we offend not by such a request: which thing Christ taught us, when he prayed to his father in the garden. But if we consider the saints, while they constantly, through the grace of God, behave themselves in these temptations, we shall perceive, that they rejoyce in them; for Tribulation worketh patience, patience experience. And Peter in the first chapter of his first epistle, saith; that There is joy to the saints in temptations: yea and Paul doth glory in his adversities. The which he meaneth not, as they proceed from the devil, or from wicked men; but as they come from the providence of God, and be the instruments of his reward and salvation. But if they tend unto evil, that is, that they be provocations unto sin, then must they be distinguished; because therein is either fall or victory. If victory be joined with them, this kind is desired of saints; to the intent the devil, the flesh, and the world, may every day more and more be vanquished in them. But if they be afraid of falling, it is either temporal or eternal: if it be temporal, we must pray for the avoiding of temptation, as we do in the Lord's prayer; And lead us not into temptation.

This did Christ teach his apostles, when he said; The spirit indeed is ready, but the flesh is frail: watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. And reason leadeth us thereunto; for we ought to detest all things that are contrary unto the will of God, such is a fall against the law of God: yea nothing ought to be more displeasing unto us, even as it appeareth by the commandment; Thou shalt love the Lord, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul. To these things add, that none ought to have such

confidence in his own strength, as he should not fear in temptation. Wherefore in temptation we must always pray, but not that we may not be tempted at all, seeing God hath appointed our life to be a warfare. But godly men are not afraid of temptations, which have a perpetual and deadly end; for they know, that God is a father unto them: which they would not believe, if they misdoubted that they should be forsaken of him. Further, they acknowledge, that The calling and gifts of God are without repentance, as it is said in the epistle to the Romans.

The end of the first part.

APPENDIX. Scripture References.

In the original edition of this book, there were a considerable amount of scripture references in the margins. They have been listed here. Duplicate scripture references within a specific chapter have been omitted.

A good resource for using these references electronically, is to visit Blue Letter Bible at www.blueletterbible.org and utilize their “Multiple Verse Retrieval” tool. Doing so will allow you to paste in an entire section of references and retrieve the whole verses, without having to look them up individually.

CHAP. I.

Ge 1:18; 6:5; **Ps** 27:4; 32:1; **Ec** 1:2; 12:13; **Mt** 11:25; **Jn** 17:3; **Ro** 7:18, 19; 8:25; **1Co** 1:26; 7:10; 13:12; 14:27, 30; **Php** 1:23

CHAP. II.

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CHAP. III.

Ge 2:23; 20:7; 41:1; **Ex** 3:11; 7:1; **Nu** 12:6; 22:23; 24:16; **Dt** 13:1; 18:15, 18, 21; 34:1; **Jdg** 6:36; **1 Sa** 2:34; 5:10; 10:2; 19:23; **1 Ki** 13:17; **2 Ki** 1:8; 3:15; 5:26; **1 Ch** 17:2; **Pr** 29:18; **Is** 6:1; 38:1; **Je** 1:6, 13; **Eze** 14:19; **Da** 1:8; 2:1; 5:5; 10:8; **Am** 7:14; **Jon** 3:4; **Zec** 1:18; 4:2; **Mt** 3:4; 7:23; 11:11, 13; 17:6; **Mk** 16:17; **Jn** 11:49; **Ac** 3:22, 24; 5:3; 7:37; 21:4, 9, 10; **1 Co** 11:4, 5; 12:3, 11; 14:3, 27, 32, 34; **Ga** 1:12; **Eph** 4:11; **Php** 1:16; **1 Th** 5:21; **2 Th** 2:11; **1 Ti** 2:11; **2 Pe** 1:1; **Jud** 14; **Re** 1:17

CHAP. IV.

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CHAP. V.

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CHAP. VI.

Ge 5:21; 18:2; 49:4, 8; **Ex** 11:2; 17:14; **Nu** 21:15; **Jos** 10:13; **Jdg** 19:20; **1 Sa** 24:7; 26:7; **2 Sa** 1:18; 13:29; 19:9; **1 Ki** 4:22; **Ps** 19:8; 119:3, 12, 18; **Is** 40:8; **Mt** 4:4, 7, 10; 7:7; 10:4, 29, 30; 13:19; 24:35; 26:69; **Lk** 24:45; **Jn** 5:39, 46; 8:47; 10:4; 11:49; 14:26; **Ac** 8:28; 17:11; **Ro** 4:13; 8:9; 13:14; **1 Co** 2:7; 4:15; 13:12; **Ga** 1:8; 2:14; **Php** 1:8; **1 Ti** 3:15; 4:13; **2 Ti** 3:16; 4:13; **2 Pe** 1:19, 21; 3:16; **1 Jn** 2:27

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Mt 7:6; 9:11; 19:11, 14; **1 Co** 1:18; **Jas** 1:21

CHAP. VIII.

Ge 24:14; **Le** 16:8; **Nu** 16:2; 27:22; **Dt** 18:10; **Jos** 13:6; **Jdg** 1:1; 6:15, 36; 20:8, 27; **1 Sa** 1:13; 6:9; 10:19; 14:9, 41; 17:14; **1 Ki** 12:15; 20:31; **1 Ch** 24:31; **Pr** 16:33; 21:1; **Jon** 1:7; **Lk** 1:36; **Ac** 1:26

CHAP. IX.

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CHAP. XII.

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